

Critically Exploring the Institutional Work in Sport-for-Development:  
The Case of a Local Programme in Swaziland

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Applied Health Sciences  
(Sport Management)

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## Abstract

Sport-for-development (SFD) has exponentially increased in practice, research, and policy in recent years – yet, despite this, a need for further research into the complexity of sport and development has been identified (Coalter, 2013a; Sherry et al., 2016). In particular, scholars have argued for critical research adopting a postcolonial lens and new forms of theory and concepts to be applied to studies of SFD (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016). In this study, a critical institutional ethnographic case study approach was adopted with a postcolonial perspective to explore the institutional work and social relations of a local Swaziland sport organization (called the Sport Success Centre) implementing SFD programming. The purpose of the study was to explore and discover the role of institutional work that is shaped by and shapes the SFD and sport activities of the Sport Success Centre (SSC). Fieldwork was undertaken from May to August 2016 and involved multiple data collection strategies. The main source of data was through means of participant-observation of the daily work of the SSC. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 5 staff and volunteers. In addition, publicly available and organizational documents totaling 302 were also analyzed. Analysis involved an iterative process moving between the data, reflexive journal memos, and the literature. NVivo qualitative analysis software was used to support the analysis and emergent themes. Findings suggested that organizational actors were involved in a complex of social relations at the SSC that contributed to shaping (and resisting) two forms of institutional work. Additionally, the SSC as an organization was embedded in a neocolonial management style privileging Westernized ideas and white authority structures, as well as perpetuating gender inequalities in the workplace. Although SFD and sport development

benefits were discussed, a blurriness between what constituted ‘sport development’ and ‘SFD’ also emerged in SSC practices. Increasing the reliance on local knowledge and working towards an equal gendered structure in the SSC is needed to improve the postcolonialized environment of the organization. Further research is needed in the field of SFD utilizing new theories (such as institutional work or the institutional logics approach) to examine organizations implementing SFD and sport development at the local level and how SFD is inherently underlined by both opportunities to contribute to and hinder social and SFD goals.

Keywords: sport-for-development; institutional work; sport development; ethnography

## Acknowledgments

Where to begin? There are countless individuals who played a prominent part in my educational journey over not only the last two years, but my six years at Brock University, and a whole thesis much longer than this could be dedicated to them. Although I am not able to specifically identify each person, a sincere thank you goes out to all my other family, friends, and colleagues not listed here who contributed to the success of this project in anyway. This list is in no particular order of importance. To begin, I wish to thank the organizations that allowed me to conduct research – the CMGSA, the SMGSA, and the SSC. More importantly, those people I met throughout my studies in Swaziland who welcomed me unconditionally into their community and workplace, such as my SSC and SMGSA co-workers, my research gatekeeper and intern supervisor, and all those who I met in Swaziland. Your friendliness, kindness, and willingness to let me into your lives is immensely appreciated.

To my MA committee: I do not know how to express my gratitude in ways that would match your support and unbelievable assistance in this short amount of space. Dr. Cathy van Ingen, thank you for your constant insights and friendliness whenever I met with you, and of course I will never forget my ability to ensure I did so when you, Lucie, and Lisa would be going out for dinner. Dr. Lucie Thibault, thank you for your tedious edits on my drafts (which there were many!), your humor, and of course, your amazing style (i.e., the white sweater). Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst, thank you for your belief in me – from accepting to be on my committee, to providing guidance over Skype, to supporting me in my future endeavors – I look forward to working with you in the forthcoming years and continuing my research journey. To Dr. Simon Darnell, your scholarly work has inspired me in various ways, and I thank you very much for being the external examiner for my defense. Last, but not least, my incredible advisor, Dr. Lisa Kikulis, who I consider a lifelong friend. No words can describe the amount of work (and hours) you committed to supporting me. From meeting with me weekly since I began in September 2015 (and in many weeks, more than once), to our common walks to get coffee, and of course, our discussions about yoga, school, and everything else in between. I will truly miss our long meetings – it was something I looked forward to each week, and having these conversations with you opened my mind, motivated me as a researcher, and

allowed me to grow professionally, academically, and personally. Thank you so, so much Lisa!

To my friends, many of whom have influenced this achievement in ways they do not even realize. My Hamilton friends, who have been there for me for many years, and every summer, allow me to ‘kick back and relax’: Fairburn, Ty, Danielle, Michelle, Jess, Lazz, Lukay, Matty, and all those who have been there for me both before my time at Brock and during – thank you. To my Brock friends, or more specifically, the Arvona and Chetwood ‘crew’: Mike, Ben, Nick, Sean, Dave, Patty, and Kirin – thank you for always providing me with many humorous moments and breaks from the academic world. To my friends who traveled with me throughout the last two years and the hardships of graduate study, including Evan, Sean, Cole, Ty, Dan, Jordyn, Lindsay, Stephanos, Steph, Eddie, Adam, Mitch, Mike, Josh and all of the other graduate students and the whole department of Sport Management – thank you. I wish you all the best in the future and will miss our many sessions of pickup basketball, or ‘ball’. To my girlfriend Laura, who was always willing to listen, engage, and discuss this thesis, even when I felt worried or concerned about various elements of the project. Your open arms and support, even in my most busy times, was wonderful, and I look forward to our future.

To my family: my Mom, my Dad, my brother Matt, my sister Mel, my grandparents, Frank and Eleanor Duffy, and Geraldine and Albert McSweeney (who I know is watching down on me) as well as my whole extended family (which would take an additional six pages to list), thank you. My Mom and Dad are my biggest supporters, and none of my personal accomplishments, let alone this thesis, would be possible without them. I cannot say enough about you - never once did you not believe in me, and your unconditional support and love is something I will never be able to fully thank you for. To Matt, who inspired me through his own career path and, although always reminds me how much better he is (as many brothers do), has always been caring, supportive, and willing to provide me guidance when needed (and beer!). To Mel, who has also inspired me to chase my own dreams through her own personal motivation and aspirations, as well as your kindness and support, thank you. The following pages would never be possible without these people.

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## **List of Acronyms**

**SFD:** Sport-For-Development

**SSC:** Sport Success Centre

**SMGSA:** Swaziland Multi-Games Sport Association

**CMGSA:** Canadian Multi-Games Sport Association

**CSR:** Corporate Social Responsibility

**MGSA:** Multi-Games Sport Association

**TRRFCC:** Trust, Respect, Responsibility, Fairplay, Caring, Community

**SDP:** Sport-For-Development and Peace

**NGOs:** Non-Governmental Organizations

**IGOs:** International Governmental Organizations

**IORs:** Inter-organizational Relationships

**TNCs:** Transnational Corporations

**PFPAR:** Postcolonial Feminist Participatory Action Research

**LVP:** Life Values Programme

**LIT:** Leaders in Training

**HIV/AIDS:** Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Systems

**UN:** United Nations

**IOC:** International Olympic Committee

**SFDT:** Sport-For-Development Theory

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1. Research Background, Purpose, and Questions

*A crowd of young children with tattered clothing and what appears to be a youth peer leader run across a desolate field, kicking a taped and torn football to one another, only the goalposts representing any material infrastructure in their surrounding environment. The sun has begun to set and rays of light shine vibrantly onto the muddy, deteriorating field on which the group plays, and hard raindrops have begun to plummet to the ground, adding to the irregular conditions. The children play on, seemingly oblivious to the darkening sky and the uncertain environment, and joyfully participate with an unrivaled passion and enthusiasm. Before the last ray of sun fades, the youth leader gathers the group together and discusses the life lessons taken from their sporting experience and how this applies to their personal life; the children depart exuberated and happy.*

The above fictional account is representative of narratives that are told and retold with the intent of eliciting positive emotions—the imagery of observing young children in “less-developed” areas of the globe, ignoring their social and economic challenges in favour of being children and playing—is what many international sport-for-development<sup>1</sup> (SFD) organizations use to portray their organization and advocate for the use of sport as a tool to address social conditions and improvement of life for Others.<sup>2</sup>

SFD - not to be confused with sport development, which is the development of sport in communities - can be defined as, “a social movement that seeks to improve lives through the use of sport and physical activity, and to advance sport and broader social development in disadvantaged communities” (Kidd, 2008, p. 370). The idea that sport is

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<sup>1</sup> The term ‘SFD’ is used when referring to the sport and international development field. Although there are various names for this field (see Chapter 2), SFD is used as a broad and encompassing term for the purposes of this proposal. Sport for development and peace (SDP), a term popular in the literature, is not used, as there is no explicit focus on peace in the SFD programme being researched.

<sup>2</sup> Othering means, “The process whereby a dominant group defines into existence a subordinated massed ‘other.’ This process entails the invention of categories and ideas about what marks people as belonging to these categories, treated as objects of enquiry by an international aid system that non-reflexively – and erroneously – understands itself to be in charge” (Eyben, 2014, p. 58). The ‘Other’ or ‘Others’ is used as a term to refer to those marginalized participants of SFD programmes who are typically categorized as ‘less-developed’ and ‘in need of assistance’ from external sources in order to ‘succeed’ in life. The term is used in order to avoid language such as ‘less-developed’ and further perpetuate the alienation of those individuals of society who are Othered.

‘universal’ has led to an ostensible and taken-for-granted or institutionalized role of sport in society as good-natured and apolitical, leading to the globalization of sport worldwide and influencing the growth of SFD globally (Darnell, 2012; Forster, 2006; Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996; Houlihan & Green, 2011; Maguire, 2011; Wilson, 2014).

The opening narrative also exhibits how seemingly apolitical action such as the everyday activity of an SFD programme is influenced by power relations and taken-for-granted institutions of sport. The youth leader teaches and discusses life skills, such as self-esteem and discipline, with the children using sport and play, leading to the preconceived outcome of individual social and educational benefit. However, upon further investigation, this may be a form of power/knowledge production, where knowledge is produced and shaped by a powerful organization (most of the time Western) and employed to shape the Other to be civilized and ‘developed’ humans, defined by Western society. These taken-for-granted notions of sport and international development have led practitioners to rarely consider the idea that sport may be of a superficial nature and scholars have called for the critical examination of SFD programmes in order to identify whether marginalized groups are actually being empowered or whether SFD further perpetuates ideas of those ‘less-developed’ (Coalter, 2009, 2013a; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst, 2009, 2011a, 2014).

Development, traditionally, has been subjugated by nations from the Western world or Global North into the Global South (e.g., the British Empire), and has been disseminated through acts of imperialism and colonization until the member states were ‘freed’ from subordination during a period of decolonization (Darnell, 2012; Eyben, 2014). Nations released from the hegemony and imperialism of colonialism were now



‘free’; but what appeared true to many in society as freedom and equality for all did not occur, as traits of colonization were (un)consciously integrated, and still exist today, in the postcolonial institutional environments that shape and are shaped by new forms of neocolonialism (Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2009; Morrow, 1994). Sport, as with traditional development methods, is not free from the historical socio-political environment in which it was formed, and has exhibited many similar traits of traditional forms of development, a key example being the British Empire sending British missionaries to teach Others about the game of cricket and how it is played (Fletcher, 2011).

The exponential growth of SFD programmes has only increased the need for empirical investigation of specific SFD contexts as organizational actors continue to turn to sport for the purposes of development (Coalter, 2013a; Darnell, 2012; Kidd, 2011; Levermore, 2010). Due to sport’s attractiveness, popularity, and commercialization, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), transnational corporations (TNCs), and governments have sought distinctive ways to use sport for the purposes of development in the Global South<sup>3</sup> and assist nations with economic development, health and education, and social issues (Darnell, 2012; Giulianotti, 2012; Smith & Westerbeek, 2007). However, scholars have suggested that partnerships between funding organizations from the Global North and SFD programmes in the Global South have tended to reproduce notions of neoliberalism (Calkin, 2015a, 2015b; Hayhurst, 2011a, 2014), implemented

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<sup>3</sup> The term ‘Global North’ is used to refer to those ‘developed’ nations such as those within North America, Western Europe, and some parts of East Asia. The term ‘Global South’ is used to refer to those ‘developing’ or ‘least developed’ nations such as Africa, Latin America, and some parts of Asia. The term is used to eliminate further notions of those ‘less-developed’ and those areas in which they live, and places more importance on geographical location. Although it still constructs a binary division between the two areas (Darnell, 2012), this places less importance on how far ‘developed’ a specific nation is (which is usually based on economic and ambiguous factors).

programming using top-down approaches (Coalter, 2013a; Levermore, 2010, 2011a), and/or exhibited underlying traits of domination and Whiteness (Darnell, 2007, 2012).

Thus, critical scholars have identified underlying themes and structures of SFD that frames Others as ‘less-developed’ and constitutes ideologies of people in the Global South. Furthermore, the increasing institutionalization of sport and international development has advanced the field of SFD in unprecedented and ambiguous ways, in which the outcomes of programmes rely on technically defined objectives of achievement rather than creating a democracy of equality and justice in which those marginalized are no longer silenced by powerful voices (Calkin, 2015a; Coalter, 2013a).<sup>4</sup>

To challenge the status quo of SFD and empower participants of SFD, adopting a critical lens in research on sport and international development assists in detecting the power relations that lie beneath processes of institutionalization, which shape and are shaped by organizational actors (Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hayhurst, 2009; Hayhurst et al., 2015). Wilson (2012, p. 16) rightly argues that, “critiquing sport can lead to a better sport”, acknowledging the role of critical approaches in teasing apart power relations inherent in the study of SFD organizations and identifying fundamental issues that may be inhibiting social change.

The call for adopting a critical lens when investigating SFD has been accompanied by scholars’ increasing emphasis on the need to understand the cross-cultural relations involved in the environment of SFD and how the local context of

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<sup>4</sup> When I speak of powerful voices silencing Others, I am referring to how many times, Western-created SFD organizations or programmes implement their ideas and practices in the Global South. These organizations typically run their programmes based on Westernized ideas of SFD and perceptions of Others, rarely recognizing the context in which the programme is located and the people involved in the everyday activities. Thus, the organizations’ powerful voices may often override the voice of Others.

programmes and their actors are influenced by broader ideas or ideologies that inform organizational policy, practice, and knowledge (Coalter, 2013a; Hayhurst, 2015; Levermore, 2010). Coalter's (2013a) call for focusing on processes rather than outcomes stresses the need for critically analyzing monitoring and evaluation strategies that are commonly adopted by SFD practitioners and organizations. Additionally, Hayhurst and Darnell (2012, p. 121) state, "in addition to making sense of local actions, scholars should also now connect and communicate such understandings of sport-for-development in ways that challenge or contribute to broader structures of knowledge and power on a global scale". Coming to understand the social relations and processes involved in SFD programming at a local level and connecting these relations with broader institutional arrangements may allow a researcher to exploit how a programme is further oppressing Others or, conversely, may be contributing to transformation of the societal status quo.

Darnell and Hayhurst (2012) and Hayhurst (2016) have argued that research approaches emphasizing collaborating with participants is a way to unravel the power relations and taken-for-granted assumptions inherent in research and SFD. In particular, Hayhurst (2016) has called for a postcolonial feminist, participatory action research (PFPAR) approach to the study of SFD organizations, especially in global cross-cultural research. However, she also argues that, "...the time is ripe for more conceptual lenses and methodological strategies to be debated and discussed" (Hayhurst, 2016, p. 16). In an effort to address this call, and consider the processes that are shaping the development of SFD programmes, as well as the practices adopted to implement these programmes, the conceptual lens of institutional theory frames this study. In particular, the recent contributions that recognize that within institutional fields there are particular

institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2012; Scott, 2000) that are socially constructed organizing principles and ideas shaping the institutional work or practices of organizations are emphasized (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Zilber, 2013). Lawrence and Suddaby (2006, p. 215) coined the term “institutional work” to refer to the “purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions.” Exploring institutional work (i.e., practices and processes) enables a closer examination of the tensions placed on programmes and those who implement them at the local level by potentially conflicting institutional ideas about SFD and local organizational practices. The conceptual framework is explored in Chapter 2.

The contemporary knowledge on SFD clearly identifies the need to consider the micro- and macro-political context of SFD organizations in relation to the complex institutional environment in which they exist and how actors within SFD organizations work to challenge or maintain underlying concepts associated with SFD (e.g., neoliberal policies of development). Therefore, the purpose of this critical institutional ethnographic case study was to explore how SFD is understood and implemented within a complex, power-infused, local Swaziland sport organization, the Sport Success Centre (SSC), and how the institutional work of actors is shaped by and shapes ‘SFD’ at the local level.

The guiding questions of inquiry for this study were:

1. How is sport-for-development understood and implemented at the local level?
  - 1a. What role do the organization’s executives, members, volunteers, and programme participants have in creating, shaping, and influencing SFD and sport development programme policy and activity?

2. How does the institutional work of organizational actors and agency create, maintain, or disrupt the institutionalized ideas associated with SFD and the cultural context in which the programme is located?

2a. How does race and gender shape underlying power relations of institutional work?

## **1.2 Overview of Chapters**

In the following chapter, I provide a definition and examination of the contemporary institutional literature and specify the particular institutional theory approach (institutional work) that was adopted in this study, while identifying arguments for the need to consider power in institutional processes. Additionally, I provide a review of literature on the areas of international development and sport-for-development, and discuss how the field of SFD has various viewpoints and critiques of programming. The chapter concludes by stating my own location on the SFD continuum of perspectives.

In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of my research design. First, I discuss the theoretical frameworks of critical theory and critical organizational theory, while also examining the purpose (and usefulness) of a postcolonial lens that was adopted throughout the research process. Second, I highlight the rationale for a critical perspective in SFD research and provide an explanation of the methodological process utilized in this research, a critical institutional ethnographic case study approach. Third, I discuss the specific case involved in this study, the SSC (and Swaziland Multi-Games Sport Association), and highlight key participants within this ethnographic study. Finally, I underscore the importance of trustworthiness, reflexivity, and ethics for this study based on my methodological approach and critical worldview.

In Chapter 4, I briefly discuss my own reflexive process and practices in which I was engaged throughout this study. I highlight four vignettes of my own experience in the field and identify how my reflexive screens (e.g., class, gender, and race) influenced the research process and my own shifting identity. I conclude by discussing the role of researcher reflexivity in the shaping, production, and favoritism of knowledge.

In Chapter 5, I provide an overview of the two specific SFD programmes implemented at the SSC, the Life Values Programme initiative and the Leaders-in-Training programmes, by outlining their creation and development. The main purpose of the SFD programmes, based on organizational documents, interviews, and participant-observations, are highlighted and three themes of programming are identified: human immunodeficiency virus /acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) education, life values education, and leadership development. In addition, I also provide insight into how the SSC was involved in forms of sport development, including athlete development, traveling for sport competitions, and hosting sport events – arguing that, based on their sport development activities and focus, the SSC favours sport development programming rather than SFD programming. To conclude, I suggest that the SSC is involved in a form of ‘ruling relations,’ whereby SFD programming, ideas, and their related work have been delivered to the local organization in a top-down, Westernized way.

In Chapter 6, I expand on and explore how the SSC is an organization implementing SFD (and sport development) programming based on neocolonial traits of management and organizational processes. Specifically, I discuss how postcolonial issues of class, race, and gender in the SSC influence the work of organizational actors in their everyday practices, that, in turn, provide either stability to or opportunities to resist the

organizational status quo. Furthermore, I identify one form of institutional work in the SSC related to the institutionalized nature of sport and international development – the education of the ‘TRRFCC’ (trust, respect, responsibility, fairplay, caring and community) values (see Chapter 5 for detailed information about values). Additionally, I also explore how the SSC as a space is more than just a physical location for SFD and sport development. It is also a space of psychological security to some individuals who identify the SSC as safe or a ‘home,’ while (re)producing social inequalities, particularly an unequal gendered structure, within the SSC and the greater cultural context of Swaziland. A second form of institutional work is identified based on the actions of a young woman named Thembile working to disrupt gender norms within the SSC and greater community.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I highlight the overall findings of this study related to existing literature and also suggest how this research adds to the fields of SFD, sport management, and institutional theory. I provide future research ideas and outline the challenges and limitations involved throughout the research process. I also offer recommendations to the SSC and SMGSA, as well as provide suggestions for scholars and researchers conducting empirical inquiry into SFD and sport. To conclude, I offer my current position within the field of SFD and offer my own, final remarks about undertaking research.

## **Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review**

In this chapter, I examine the contemporary literature pertaining to institutional theory, and more specifically, I explore the conceptual lens of the institutional work approach, while providing relevant examples of sport management studies utilizing an institutional lens. Additionally, I review recent scholarly work supporting the idea that a critical lens may be applied to institutional theory, as well as suggest that an institutional work approach may be complementary to a critical lens. Furthermore, I discuss the history of international development and outline important concepts that inform this study, as well as provide a synthesis of the contemporary sport-for-development literature, highlighting the various views within the field of SFD and specific SFD projects in the continent of Africa, where this study took place.

### **2.1 Institutional Theory**

#### *2.1.1 Roots of Institutionalization*

Institutions influence humans and organizations and play a role in the everyday lives of individuals whether they are consciously or unconsciously aware of it (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Clegg, 2010; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Scott, 2008). The roots of institutions and institutionalization is founded in a sociology of knowledge explained by Berger and Luckmann (1967) from the Frankfurt School in Germany, which is also the school that had a significant impact on the development of critical theory (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Morrow, 1994). To understand contemporary institutional theory, one must come to comprehend how institutions have emerged historically and how they exist in social reality.

Berger and Luckmann (1967) suggested that habitualization in human activity, which can be explained as repeated actions that become cast into patterns, plays a large



role in sustaining institutions throughout history. These repeated actions may be utilized once again in the future in a similar manner and in a similar situation, resulting in habitualized actions that become taken-for-granted by actors and entrenched in their knowledge for particular social experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Furthermore, institutions are constructed through the course of a shared history of actions that become manifested in collectivities of numerous individuals and cannot be created instantly, needing to be understood in the historical context of their creation (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

For Berger and Luckmann (1967), these historical institutions are then ‘passed on’ to others (such as children) and become objectified in the social reality of individuals, where, “institutions are now experienced as possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact” (p. 58). The historicity of an institution is crucial for understanding how they become ‘hardened’ and ‘thickened’ in social reality – if an institution is constructed between only two people, the institution at hand may be changed readily by the two individuals; but if the institution has been strengthened by a collectivity and transmitted to future generations, the institution is firmly embedded in collective rationality and the contestation of such an institution is less likely to occur (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

But why are institutions so concerning to human activity? How does human activity influence institutionalization? Berger and Luckmann (1967, p. 55) stated,

Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction that would theoretically be possible. It is important to stress that this controlling

character is inherent in institutionalization as such, prior to or apart from any mechanism of sanctions specifically set up to support an institution...to say that a segment of human activity has been institutionalized is already to say that this segment of human activity has been subsumed under social control.

Thus, an institutionalized segment of society can be said to go through a process of habitualization and objectification, leading to sedimentation (whereby resistance to changes of values, ideas, and practices is high) which results in institutions that may be (un)consciously taken-for-granted by individuals in specific collectivities, resulting in limited challenges to the status quo or the institutional order. Once an institution is legitimized, which occurs when it is explained and justified to others in ways to ensure conviction, actors who diverge from the common social reality are viewed as radicals, and as less challenges are considered in relation to the institution, the more controlled it becomes and other options recede (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Berger and Luckmann (1967) also discussed the role of deinstitutionalization in society, in which the institutionalized structures and actions of society become challenged and contested by individuals, collectivities, or the general public:

Institutionalization is not, however, an irreversible process, despite the fact that institutions, once formed, have a tendency to persist. For a variety of historical reasons, the scope of institutionalized actions may diminish; deinstitutionalization may take place in certain areas of social life. (p. 81)

Therefore, regardless of the level of institutionalization, a structure or action may be eroded due to human actors and agency within society, organizations, or collectivities seeking to challenge the perceived collective rational way of acting. Although this

process is not spontaneous and does not occur instantly, this suggests that taken-for-granted phenomena of society may be contested and delegitimized (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). The role of deinstitutionalization is discussed in more detail below, along with the contemporary literature on institutional theory.

### *2.1.2 Contemporary Institutional Theory*

The field of institutional theory may be viewed as ‘old’ and ‘new’ institutional theory, with the latter being said to commence with the publication of Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) influential paper concerned with organizational homogenization and the adoption of rational ‘ceremonial myths.’ Organizations conformed to specific procedures, policies, or structures in response to institutional pressures that would then be ‘decoupled’ from the actual practices of the organization for the purpose of appearing legitimate (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 2008). Meyer and Rowan’s (1977) breakthrough article led to a revamped and increased interest in the discipline of organizational studies to adopt institutional theory as a way to analyze organizations and organizational fields, leading to the development of various ways of conducting research through different institutional lens, such as institutional work approaches (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009), the institutional logics perspective (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012; Scott, 2000), and critical institutional perspectives (Clegg, 2010; Cooper, Ezzamel, & Willmott, 2008).

Many scholars built on the foundational work set out by Meyer and Rowan (1977). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) argued that the cause of the ‘iron cage’ of organizations described by Weber (1952) involving bureaucratization and rationalization had changed from efficiency and competitiveness in organizations, to one of

homogeneity in structure, culture, and output for the purposes of achieving legitimacy. Further, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identified three causes of such institutional isomorphism in organizations, which can be broadly defined as: (1) coercive isomorphism, which are rules or cultural expectations that result from pressures exerted on them by organizations on which they are dependent for societal and cultural expectations; (2) mimetic isomorphism, resulting from standard responses to uncertainty and occurs when an organization imitates another organization's formal structure in order to be legitimate; and (3) normative isomorphism, relating to professionalization and is concerned with how members of a certain collective occupation struggle to meet conditions and methods of a certain type of work .

In their work, Tolbert and Zucker (1996) referred to Berger and Luckmann's (1967) idea of habitualization, objectification, and sedimentation of institutions, suggesting that there are various levels of institutionalization. The first level of institutionalization is a 'pre-institutionalized' stage, defined by the processes to which structures are constructed due to problems within an organization and may be integrated into the policies and procedures of other organizations that may face similar issues (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996). This level of institutionalism is an example of habitualization, and these institutions are easily changed due to their low level of institutionalization. The second stage of institutionalism described by Tolbert and Zucker (1996) is 'semi-institutionalism', in which structures or actions that are disseminated across organizations become objectified as standard and suitable, but yet still can undergo change. Lastly, the final stage of institutionalization involves sedimentation, and can be described as:

Full institutionalization involves sedimentation, a process that fundamentally rests on the historical continuity of structure, and especially on its survival across generations of organizational members. Sedimentation is characterized both by the virtually complete spread of structures across the group of actors theorized as appropriate adopters, and by the perpetuation of structures over a lengthy period of time. (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996, p. 184)

This level of institutionalism involves sedimented structures that become taken-for-granted in organizations, and thus, are able to resist change or transformation due to the strength of the collectivity's acceptance of it. Although sedimented structures and actions can be resistant to changes and attempts for transformation rejected, a process of deinstitutionalization as briefly described above by Berger and Luckmann (1967) may occur and identifies how institutions are susceptible to change. Scott defined deinstitutionalization as the, "process by which institutions weaken and disappear" (Scott, 2001, p. 182). Oliver (1992) also proposed an idea of deinstitutionalization as, "the process by which the legitimacy of an established or institutionalized organizational practices erodes or discontinues" (p. 564). However, Dacin and Dacin (2008) argued that, based on a number of studies (Ocasio & Kim, 1999; Ahmadjian & Robinson, 2001; Davis, Deikmann, & Tinsley, 1994),

...institutionalized practices are rarely ever completely extinguished. The practice continues albeit weaker in scope (extent of diffusion) or potency...studies also suggest that various features or elements of institutionalized behaviors continue and serve as either a reminder of prior strategies and/or as raw material for the construction of new ones. (p. 328)

Thus, institutions, although may be challenged or weakened, may still play a role in organizational activity in the construction of new practices and structures, and new institutions may carry remnants of previous institutions that are manifested in the organizational and societal environment in which they exist. This is especially important to consider in this study, as a postcolonial lens underscores that traits of the colonial past remain embedded in the societal relations of countries that were once controlled by powerful colonial Empires (see Chapter 3).

Organizational actors also play a role in the process of deinstitutionalization, by rejecting, challenging, or outright disputing institutional norms and organizational structures, practices, or policies (Oliver, 1991). Rational human activity and the reciprocation of certain institutional practices become manifested in collectivities and societies that tend to lead to the objective nature of certain institutions and thus, become “undeniable facts” (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 60; Zucker & Darby, 1997). As a structure is strengthened and becomes fully institutionalized, the tendency of separating it from human action arises and the institution is then seen as an external structure to which resistance is not possible or severely limited (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Therefore, human actors play a crucial role not only in the process of deinstitutionalization, but also in the construction and maintenance of institutions in everyday life and the future of social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

An important consideration when exploring the process of institutionalization and/or deinstitutionalization is the notion of organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, 1991; Scott, 1991, 1995; Scott & Meyer, 1994), defined as, “...those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers,

resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products” (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148). Scott (1994) argued fields enable us to consider how organizations shape and are shaped by their environment. For Wooten and Hoffman (2008), definitions of field provide an opportunity to consider “...the field [a]s a locale in which organizations relate to or involve themselves with one another. ... where a field is as much about the relationship between the actors as it is about the effect of the field on the actors” (p. 138). It is this focus that is particularly relevant as this research is at the local level of a sport organization in Swaziland that is immersed in the field of international development and SFD. As discussed in the SFD section, the field of SFD has rapidly grown in recent years and has become institutionalized. The ‘ideas’ and conceptualizations of sport-for-development have become constituted in the broader field of international development and sport – thus, the broader field is important to recognize as the local SSC and SMGSA shapes and is shaped by the wider assumptions of ‘SFD’ (e.g., health objectives) through its SFD practices, programming, and focus. Exploring these arguments are important to consider in the role of actors and institutions in sport organizations.

This overview provides a brief overview of some of the salient elements and features of institutional theory, although, evidently, not all concepts were covered due to the extensive body of work involving the institutional perspective. I believe institutional theory may be complementary to a critical theory research paradigm –as it is Berger and Luckmann (1967), two students of the Frankfurt School of critical theory, who argued how the roots of institutionalization and institutions play a role in social reality. I seek to utilize a specific approach of institutional theory in this study: institutional work. In the

next section, I discuss institutional work and highlight how this institutional theory approach may contribute to identifying the role of organizational actors and agency in institutionalism.

### *2.1.3 Institutional Work*

Institutional work is “the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions” (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 215). The institutional work perspective has been developed from concepts drawn from neo-institutional theory that are focused on organizational actors and agency, especially institutional entrepreneurship (DiMaggio, 1988; Oliver, 1992; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), and has questioned traditional institutional concepts pertaining to external structures and institutions shaping organizations and organizational fields (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009). Institutional work is concerned with understanding how agency and actors, through practices and action, are not merely ‘cultural dopes’ or highly influential institutional entrepreneurs, but rather how they both shape and are shaped by institutional factors. Institutions and actions are in a recursive relationship where, “institutions provide templates for action, as well as regulative mechanisms that enforce those templates, and action affects those templates and regulative mechanisms” (Lawrence et al., 2009, p. 7). Thus, institutions, although self-reproducing, are not stable entities that are resistant to change, but are rather manipulated by work of agency in a continuous and complex process (Dowling & Smith, 2016). In this way, institutional work,

Aims at reconciling two disparate traditions in institutional theory: one that emphasizes the pressures applied by institutions to individuals and organizations,



which result in conformity and compliance (e.g., DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), and one that focuses on the ways institutional entrepreneurs transform institutions (e.g., DiMaggio, 1988). (Voronov & Vince, 2012, p. 58)

Three key elements underline the conceptualization of the institutional work approach (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006): (1) “the study of institutional work would highlight the awareness, skill and reflexivity of individual and collective actors” (p. 219), and views organizational actors as culturally competent and able to navigate within their organizational field; (2) “an understanding of institutions as constituted in the more and less conscious actions of individual and collective actors” (p. 219), emphasizing how actors are both shaped by and shape institutions (un)consciously; and (3) the recognition that even acts to alter the institutional order occurs within deeper sets of institutionalized rules of a field or fields - for example, a sport for development organization is located in the field of SFD but also, in many ways, international development (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009). Institutional work may occur at the macro level, such as examinations of organizational fields and organizations (Trank & Washinton, 2009), or at the micro level of organizations and individual actors (Lok & de Rond, 2013).

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) proposed a framework that identifies three broad categories of institutional work: creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions, and emphasized the difference between the ‘creation, maintenance, and disruption of institutions’ compared to ‘creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions’. The former refers to a set of accomplishments, whereas the latter refers to a set of activities – this distinction is crucial for the concept of institutional work (which adopts the latter), as it emphasizes that it is practice being examined rather than a linear process of

institutionalization. Nine specific forms of institutional creation that they highlight include: advocacy (“mobilizing political and regulatory support through direct and deliberate techniques of social suasion”); defining (“constructing rule systems that confer status or identity, define boundaries of membership or create status hierarchies within a field”); vesting (“creating rule structures that confer property rights”); constructing identities (“defining the relationship between an actor and the field in which it operates”); changing normative associations (“remaking the connections between sets of practices and the moral and cultural foundations for these practices”); constructing normative networks (“constructing the connections through which practices become normatively sanctioned; normative compliance, monitoring and evaluation”); mimicry (“associating new practices with existing sets of best practices, technologies and rules in order to ease adoption”); theorizing (“developing and specifying abstract categories, and elaborating chains of cause and effect”); and educating (“training actors in skills and knowledge required to support the new institution”) (Guillemette, Mignerat, & Paré, 2016, p. 3).

Additionally, Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) identified six forms of institutional maintenance, including: enabling (“creating rules that facilitate, supplement and support institutions such as the creation of authorizing agents or diverting resources”); policing (“ensuring compliance through enforcement, auditing and monitoring”); deterring (“establishing coercive barriers to institutional change”); valorizing/demonizing (“providing public consumption positive and negative examples that illustrate the normative foundations of an institution”); mythologizing (“preserving the normative underpinnings of an institution by creating and sustaining myths regarding its history”); and embedding/routinizing (“actively infusing the normative foundations of an institution

into the participant's day-to-day routines and organizational practices") (Guillemette et al., 2016, p. 3). Lastly, three forms of institutional disruption including disconnecting sanctions (separating rewards and sanctions from some set of actions, technologies, or procedures), disassociating moral foundations (disconnecting the action, policy or technology from its ethical foundation as appropriate within a particular cultural context), and undermining assumptions and beliefs (reducing the apparent risks of innovation and distinction by undermining core expectations and beliefs) were identified (Dowling & Smith, 2016; Guillemette et al., 2016; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006).

Many research contexts have been examined using institutional work as a conceptual framework, such as the forestry industry (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010), the pharmaceutical industry (Signh & Jayanti, 2013) and organizational leadership (Kraatz, 2009) to name a few. In many of these contexts, researchers focused on broad elements of institutional work, including how institutional work transpires (Jagd, 2011; Taupin, 2013), who does institutional work (Kraatz, 2009; Rojas, 2010), and what constitutes institutional work (Lawrence, Leca, & Zilber, 2013). In the context of the forestry industry, Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) conducted an in-depth longitudinal analysis of the British Columbia coastal forestry based on interview, field research, documents, and media report data that were collected from 1985 to 2006. Specifically, they explore the "work of actors to create, maintain, and disrupt the practices that are considered legitimate within a field (practice work) and the boundaries between sets of individuals and groups (boundary work), and the interplay of these two forms of institutional work in effecting change" (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010, p. 189). Practice work is defined as those collective routines or standard forms of activity that guide behaviour according to a

situation, while boundary work, generally, is a distinction among people and groups (Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010, p. 191). The findings of the study suggested that practice and boundary work were simultaneously operating to influence processes of institutionalization in the forestry industry, due to constant states of innovation, stability and conflict between organizations and the field. Overall, Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) displayed how those organizations within a field (such as the forestry industry) may, through various processes, enable change to institutions while also being subject to those institutions they work to change.

At the organization and individual levels, Guillemette et al. (2016) explored how organizational actors “act and interact in order to initiate, develop and consolidate the transformation of the IT [information technology] function profile in organizations” (p. 1). In particular, they examine the motives, actions, and decisions in which actors engage to create, maintain, and disrupt the IT function archetype in the organization, a hospital, over a five year span (Guillemette et al., 2016). Using a case study approach including methods such as interviews, document analysis, and observation, they argue that actors played key roles in transforming and influencing the acceptance of the IT function in the ‘Belfini’ hospital, and relate specific individual’s actions, beliefs, and assumptions to certain forms of institutional work identified by Lawrence and Suddaby (2006). For example, one research participant, Mark, “used valorizing and demonizing institutional work practices. Following the creation of the new ISD [information systems directorate] archetype, he continued to maintain the IT function’s initial model through actions including policing, embedding and routinizing until August of year 2” (Guillemette et al., 2016, p. 8). The study explicitly addressed how individual organizational actors are

dynamically involved in processes of institutionalization – although participants such as Mark attempted to maintain assumptions about the new IT archetype, questions arose later about the archetype’s ability and utilization in the organization. Despite the archetype being envisioned by the organization to be a new, innovative form of IT function, the beliefs of individuals in the organization and the embedded practices of organizational actors (from previous IT functions) prevented the stabilization and institutionalization of the newly introduced IT function (Guillemette et al., 2016). Overall, the practices, beliefs, and assumptions of organizational actors in the Belfini hospital played an integral role in the institutional work of the implementation of the IT archetype, displaying how, at the micro-level, individuals are actively engaged in institutional work while being embedded in the organizational institutional order as well as its broader field. The growth of institutional work in academia has also seen the approach utilized by scholars in the field of sport management – in the following section, I briefly examine the academic literature on institutional work and sport, due to the current study’s context.

*Contemporary sport management research on institutional work.* Recently, scholars within the field of sport management have utilized the institutional work approach to explore organizational actors and organizational fields. Dowling and Smith’s (2016) article titled *The Institutional Work of Own the Podium in Developing High Performance Sport in Canada* addressed all three forms of institutional work (creating, maintaining, and disrupting) and analyzed various Own the Podium (OTP) documents using an exploratory case study approach to examine how actors and practices of OTP have further institutionalized the norms, routines, and practices associated with high

performance sport in Canada. Furthermore, they identified how the institutional work of OTP contributed to shaping the rules and regulations of Canadian high performance sport, leading to the construction of taken-for-granted norms and beliefs, such as the “articulation of OTP’s contribution to high performance sport” (p. 404) and the development and support of new high performance sport programs initiatives to form a normative network (Dowling & Smith, 2016). Thus, they suggest that the agency of OTP plays a considerable role in structuring particular institutions, such as high performance sport within Canada, and suggested that institutions are constantly in states of creation, maintenance, and disruption (Dowling & Smith, 2016). While Dowling and Smith’s (2016) study added to the contemporary knowledge of institutional work and sport by analyzing all three forms of institutional work, their analysis was limited due to their focus on document analysis. Integrating other forms of data collection and analysis (i.e., interviews, observation) may provide deeper insight into not only how organizational actors play a role in influencing institutions, but also how individual agency influences, transforms, and constrains the very institutions they create, maintain, and disrupt.

Woolf, Berg, Newland, and Green (2016) integrated three forms of data collection in their study on the institutional work of sport development in an elite mixed martial arts (MMA) gymnasium. By observing the practices of those at the gymnasium, as well as conducting interviews and collecting relevant documents, the researchers were able to identify two institutional work processes that assisted in sport development at the gymnasium: refinement and barrier work (Woolf et al., 2016). They describe refinement work as, “efforts by actors to make MMA not only more palatable, but mainstream. Refinement work involves a professionalization of services and service delivery” (Woolf

et al., 2016, p. 442), while barrier work, “the artificial requirements placed on membership - is performed to ensure and/or manage who is accepted into the fighting community” (p. 443). The authors explained that these two forms of institutional work are simultaneously creating, maintaining, and disrupting the institution of sport development in MMA, and as such, are analogous. Similarly, Edwards and Washington (2015) discussed how key actors in the NCAA (i.e., the commissioners) created and maintained a hockey recruitment organization, College Hockey Inc. (CHI), that enabled the NCAA to recruit Canadian hockey players earlier than NCAA regulations allowed. The organization provided a ‘loophole’ for the NCAA to be able to recruit Canadian athletes at the same age (14 years old) as the Canadian Hockey League (CHL). Thus, the institutional work of actors in the NCAA that led to the creation (and further maintenance) of College Hockey Inc., which promoted and framed educational opportunities, student life experiences, player development, and professional hockey opportunities to players and parents, resulted in, “the recruitment landscape between the CHI, CHL, and NCAA shifting to where the CHL has less competitive advantage over the NCAA” (p. 297). Like other scholars (Dowling & Smith, 2016; Washington & Patterson, 2011; Woolf et al., 2016), Edwards and Washington (2016), concluded by calling for further research on sport organizations and institutional work – a call that contributed to the rationale for this study.

Despite the increased sport management studies utilizing conceptualizations of institutional work, a noticeable gap in the studies above – the lack of examining power relations inherent in institutions - is consistent with earlier mentioned institutional literature. Although institutional scholars have been hesitant to adopt a critical lens when

conducting institutional analyses, the argument for critical institutional investigations has grown in recent years as new theories such as institutional work have sought to integrate agency and history back into institutional theory. The question, however, remains: can institutional theory be critical?

#### *2.1.4 Can Institutional Theory Be Critical?*

“Whereas critical theorists are always suspicious of the elite’s agendas, institutional theorists are not as apprehensive at all” (Munir, 2015, p. 90). The utilization of institutional theory in organizational studies has commonly been dominated by quantitative, post-positivist studies that regularly do not consider institutions, and the logics and work associated with institutionalization, in a political context.<sup>5</sup> Instead, institutional theory has typically been concerned with the outcomes associated with processes of institutionalization, such as changes to or preservation of the institutional order, and do not assist in developing an in-depth understanding of how power is involved in institutions and their creation (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 2015; Munir, 2012; Suddaby, 2015). Cooper et al. (2008) suggested that neo-institutional theory directs its attention to how institutional, dominant logics (i.e., ideas) are reducible and analyzed to link with a number of rational choices and environmental contingencies, while ignoring how those same choices are embedded with underlying processes that are infused with values and shape the very nature of how individuals make sense of the world (Munir, 2015). Clegg (2010) supported this view by arguing that rather than a ‘ceremonial myth’ (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) or rational choice that enabled institutionalization to occur, it is

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<sup>5</sup> Albeit various studies have also investigated institutions and organizations using a qualitative approach (Woolf et al., 2016; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010) yet they tend to limit the examination of power dynamics explicitly.



a political process that involves acts of power in society, organizations, and individual actors (Cooper et al., 2008; Lawrence, 2008). For critical theorists then,

processes of institutionalization account for how patterns of domination and oppression – for example, racism or sexism but also more subtle, normalized forms of subjugation such as bullying and pressurizing at work – become naturalized in workplaces and elsewhere yet, in principle, are open to transformation. (Cooper et al., 2008, p. 674)

Additionally, institutional theorists often avoided critical theorists' contributions to understanding how belief systems are formed, and rarely consider the works of Habermas, Gramsci, or Foucault, to name a few (Lawrence, 2008; Munir, 2015). Cooper et al. (2008), Clegg (2010), Hirsch and Lounsbury (2015), and Munir (2015) all emphasized the need for institutional theory and critical theory to be bridged in order to examine how organizations and individual actors are both influenced by and influence social relations that are contingent on the institutional environment in which they exist. Institutional theory must be concerned with the power relations involved in institutional work because of how society, as well as organizations, influence and play such an important role in constraining certain groups of society or individuals; or in contrast,, provide opportunities for individual actors to resist and exert power by way of challenging institutions. As Clegg (2010) explained, "in contemporary everyday interaction, social activists are always confronted with the dilemma of structuring, thus legitimating, the existing order of things or of destructuring, thus, hopefully, trying to change the order of things" (p. 6). The everyday interaction of an organization then, plays a large role in legitimating or challenging the institutional order of the environment in

which it exists, and many times, is taken-for-granted by actors who systematically play back into the reified institutional order in which they have constructed themselves. Institutions are laden with acts of power, and as Lukes (2004) stated, “power is at its most effective when least observable” (p. 1), therefore emphasizing how underlying institutions of society and organizations are infused with power relations by the very construction, maintenance, or transformation of them.

Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca (2011) argued that institutional work provides an answer to the relationship between institutional and critical traditions of organization studies, stating that:

The study of institutional work focuses on situated practices of actors reflexively engaged with the institutions that surround (penetrate) them. Thus, it suggests neither determinism nor heroism and is potentially sensitive to both the oppressiveness of social, cultural, and material structures, and the potential for emancipation from some of those structures some of the time. (p. 56)

An understanding of institutional work in this sense allows a researcher to bridge institutional theory with a critical lens in order to understand how actors may disrupt institutionalization; or, in contrast, be further constrained by institutions influencing the reproduction of taken-for-granted ideas, processes, and practices of organizations.

With numerous scholars calling for institutional theory to be bridged with a critical theory perspective, I seek to offer a response by drawing on institutional work to complement my critical lens. Therefore, I believe that this study contributes to the contemporary literature on institutional theory and institutional work - by answering the call for critical institutional analyses, as well as by providing insights into the micro

institutional work of organizational actors. As SFD occurs most of the time in an international context, with Western NGOs operating programmes in the Global South, there are various institutions at work in not only the macro-structures of organizations and its policies and procedures, but also in the micro-everyday activities of human agents within the local SFD organization and programme. Before discussing the body of literature concerned with SFD, I briefly explore the literature on international development in order to situate this study in an international context and connect international development with SFD.

## **2.2 International Development**

### *2.2.1 Historical Context of International Development*

International development was part of a turn of ‘developed’ countries to assist ‘poorer’ and ‘less-developed’ nations in the Global South post-World War II, in order to minimize further conflict such as global wars and to strive for international peace, prosperity, and sustainability (Darnell, 2012; Papp, 1994). The United Nations (formed in 1945), and the League of Nations before it, were formed as international governmental organizations (IGO) concerned with overseeing international relations between countries and providing international regulation. Some of these global issues include: the East-West conflict between the powerful United States of America (USA) and communist soviet Russia (USSR) during the Cold War years; global issues such as the disparate North-South economic situation; issues of global health (such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic); and many others, such as gross human rights violations (e.g., the Milgram study) and environmental crisis (e.g., the BP oil spill) (Papp, 1994).

Additionally, along with the formation of IGOs, in 1949 President Harry Truman of the USA proclaimed the need for socio-economic advancement in the areas of the world that were ‘underdeveloped’, leading to international development focused on “late modern capitalism – decolonization, rationality, and development – and influenced by free market economics and positivist social science” (Darnell, 2009, p. 11). Truman’s speech, rather than contributing to the solution of global inequality and justice, further embedded notions of a developed/underdeveloped world in which the Western world was favoured and deemed the rational way of achieving development, focused primarily on increased economic prosperity and essentialist views of progress (Eyben, 2014; Sen, 1999). Thus, many of the following approaches outlined in the next section have been influenced by Western ideologies of development and critiqued for ethnocentric views about humans and cultures.

### *2.2.2 Traditional Approaches to International Development*

*1950s-1990s.* The early stages of international development brought numerous theoretical and conceptual analyses to understanding global development, and were typically concerned with economic solutions and linear advancement of nations (Eyben, 2014). In the 1950s and 1960s, modernization theory was utilized by many development economists and focused on the role of the nation-state in building capital and economic sustainability by way of adopting Westernized industrial notions of education and technology (Eyben, 2014; Papp, 1994). These early economic theories of international development were primarily concerned with how economic growth plays a significant role in the improvement of a country from ‘underdeveloped’ to ‘developed’, and relates to a focus on the gross domestic product (GDP) of countries, seeking to

understand international development through logics of economic surplus, loss, or profit (Nussbaum, 2011).

In the 1970s, dependency theory, or *dependencia*, became a main feature of international development along with a focus on basic human needs that were ‘universal’ (Darnell, 2012; Eyben, 2014). Latin American neo-Marxist scholars argued that, through personal experience of development, the Western world was only further perpetuating the divide between the Global North and Global South, failing to recognize the role of local knowledge and cultures in processes of international development (Darnell, 2009; Eyben, 2014). Thus, “*dependencia* showed how developmentalism tended to characterize the Third World as a cultural caricature, with no claim to history prior to northern penetration” (Darnell, 2009, p. 12).

In the 1980s, the Washington Consensus directed a change from state-led to market-oriented policies, resulting in an emphasis on free markets, individual triumph, and delimited government involvement in development (Eyben, 2014). Thus, a first wave of neoliberal development characterized by the capitalist world economy was ushered into the field of international development, and emphasized how the production of goods and services would help ‘less-developed’ countries economically gain from capital investment and new corporate infrastructure in their nations (Eyben, 2014). It was soon learned however, that the dominant Western states were accumulating profit based on the cheap production and labour costs within the Global South (Eyben, 2014), and therefore, once again, the Global North failed to recognize how their role in international development further negatively affected the Global South (Darnell, 2012).

In the 1990s, development practitioners and leaders of organizations turned their focus to poverty-reducing and people-centred approaches, seeking to provide guidelines and handbooks for NGOs that explained and described how to properly engage in development (Eyben, 2014). These approaches – although much more encouraging than the traditional economic theories – were still ignorant of the complex relations in international development. Eyben, as a practitioner and scholar, experienced the problems herself when she provided seminars and handbooks for development organizations. Ultimately, she realized through conversations with various project managers in local contexts that she was viewed completely differently by those she sought to help, and acknowledged that although she strived for good, the history of colonial relations may never change the view of her in others' eyes (Eyben, 2014). These approaches once again did not meet the high expectations of international development.

*2000s – Present.* Upon entering into the 2000s, a second wave of neoliberal economic international development saw the decline of government funding for the purposes of development, which in turn allowed for corporations and other NGOs to expand to other countries and 'assist' in alleviating development issues (Eyben, 2014; Sylvester, 1999). However, although believed at the time to address the problems of Others in the Global South, it devastated developing economies and like its predecessors, did little to affect the macro-environment of development and more to widening the gap between the 'rich' and 'poor' of the Global North and Global South (Darnell, 2009). Yet, today, neoliberal traits of development remain strong in international development, many times playing a latent role in development initiatives or programmes in the Global South and exhibit the reproduction of hegemonic traits.

Additionally, prominent scholars have developed theories and concepts that build on the notions of rights-based and people-centred development of the 1990s. Sen and Nussbaum were particularly important in the creation of a ‘capabilities approach’ to development. Sen (1999), in his book *Development As Freedom*, discussed the role of human freedom in relation to development and how the focus on economic theories of progress such as income or wealth, or theories based on a utilitarian or libertarian views such as those identified above, are not suitable for analyzing development. Development, he argued, must be concerned with human freedoms, called capabilities, which encompass both processes and opportunities. He claimed,

...the view of freedom that is being taken here involves both the *processes* that allow freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual *opportunities* that people have, given their personal and social circumstances. Unfreedom can arise either through inadequate processes (such as the violation of voting privileges or other political or civil rights) or through inadequate opportunities that some people have for achieving what they minimally would like to achieve (including the absence of such elementary opportunities as the capability to escape premature mortality or preventable morbidity or involuntary starvation). (Sen, 1999, p. 17)

Furthermore, Sen (1999) suggested five types of “instrumental freedoms that contribute, directly or indirectly, to the overall freedom people have to live or would like to live” (p. 38), and includes: (a) political freedoms (including civil rights) that are concerned with how the government and authorities are run and what opportunities are available to individuals to engage; (b) economic facilities, referring to individuals’ opportunities to “utilize economic resources for the purpose of consumption, or production, or exchange”

(p. 39); (c) social opportunities, defined as the freedom of humans to live better based on social resources, such as education or healthcare; (d) transparency guarantees, relating to the trust people should have in relation to openness with one another and disclosure; and (e) protective security, that encompasses a social safety net whereby individuals feel safe from extreme forms of emergency situations, such as famine, starvation, or economic bankruptcy, based on the specific responses that are in place for such events. This list of instrumental freedoms is certainly not exhaustive, but provides specific capabilities to analyze when considering development. Sen's (1999) approach to development as freedom and how it plays a role in enabling key aspects of development built further on how individuals' views of freedom and their values must be considered in order to properly understand how social change may occur.

Nussbaum (2011) built upon Sen's (1999) work by describing the capabilities approach (also referred to as the Human Development Approach by the United Nations (UN)) as a new theoretical paradigm that can be used for the analysis of social justice and freedom. Nussbaum (2011) explained,

...the key question to ask, when comparing societies and assessing them for their basic decency or justice, is, "What is each person able to do and to be?" In other words, the approach takes *each person as an end*, asking not just about the total or average well-being but the opportunities available to each person. (p. 18)

Thus, the approach is concerned, like Sen (1999), with the choices or freedom that people have opportunities to act on or not, defines value as pluralist, in which the only way to understand each freedom or choice is to comprehend the specific nature of each one, and also concentrates on "entrenched social injustice and inequality, especially capability



failures that are the result of discrimination or marginalization” (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 19). Furthermore, Nussbaum (2011) developed a theory based on universal political entitlements, broadly based on ten central capabilities of each human which includes: life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination, and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play; and control over one’s environment. She concluded by arguing that:

The purpose of global development, like the purpose of a good domestic national policy, is to enable people to live full and creative lives, developing their potential and fashioning a meaningful existence commensurate with their equal human dignity. In other words, the real purpose of development is *human development*... (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 185)

As evident in both Sen’s (1999) and Nussbaum’s (2011) approach to human development, they were concerned with understanding individuals relative to their various cultural and social settings as well as their knowledge on what it means to ‘develop’ and achieve freedom. Although they both define general universal instrumental freedoms (Sen, 1999) or capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011), both advised that these lists are extremely broad in scope and are not meant to be exhaustive – other ideas of freedom or capabilities by individuals are related to the opportunities they have and their personal experiences.

A cultural approach to development has accompanied the increasing involvement of human development theories in the contemporary literature. Most especially, it is argued that international development must understand that there are different worldviews, and therefore, different ways of knowing and coming to comprehend

different cultural environments and settings (Radcliffe, 2006). The turn to a relativist cultural perspective was induced by the limitations of viewing culture as a universal phenomenon – most especially by Westerners who imposed development policies and practices on projects and initiatives in the Global South (Darnell, 2009; Eyben, 2014). Thus, various scholars argued that development organizations should view culture as an ongoing process of change and as autonomous based on and shaped by various macro and micro environmental factors. Radcliffe (2006) noted,

development's cultures are not at a remove from the market and the state, but constructed at the interface between political economies and racial formations, in relation to a combination of global, 'Western', national, and local agendas... Culture has to be situated firmly within an analysis of development's grids of power where hierarchies between world religions, races, cultures, and modernity/tradition act to differentiate social actors. (p. 24)

The role of culture in international development has extended to include numerous studies focused on exploring culture in specific developmental contexts, most especially in the Global South (Radcliffe, 2006). Eyben (2014) highlighted the importance of culture in international development – not only specific values and customs of people where development takes place, but also the culture of the researcher and the individuals with which they interact in their research. Specifically, Eyben (2014) presented a relational perspective where,

The connection between individuals and their social world is a simultaneous process of people making society and society making people. From a relational perspective a donor is not capable of taking action without being affected and

influenced by the patterns of relationships of which its organization and staff are an integral part. (Eyben, 2014, p. 129)

Eyben<sup>6</sup>, in her book, *International aid and the making of a better world: Reflexive practice*, provided a timeline of her experiences in the field of international development with various examples of projects in which she was involved, including ones with the United Nations and the British Government. Providing insights based on her on-the-ground encounters with individuals from the Global South, as well as her history of involvement with development policy and practice, she argued that a reflexive approach to development is needed if one is to recognize the cultural, social, and political environment that exists in the complex processes of international development (Eyben, 2014). By writing an autobiography of her past and critiquing the history of international development (including herself), she offered readers both an opportunity to understand how their own past plays a role in relations with other people, and also suggested how international development has thus far failed to meet the basic notions of social equality and justice (Eyben, 2014). In addition, Eyben (2014) suggested specific ways to practice reflexivity while involved in international development, one of which is single-loop inquiry, where one directly involves him/herself in experience and create meanings for particular actions. A second form is double-loop inquiry, which is when one questions where his/her basic assumptions and beliefs have originated (Eyben, 2014). She built on these practices of self-inquiry by explaining that,

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<sup>6</sup> Eyben provided key conceptual understanding of international development in a practical way for researchers – thus, my reliance on her concepts and insights into international development are emphasized because of the way she is able to highlight the critiques of international development not only globally, but also at the local level and through extensive experience.

reflexive inquiry takes this into a further, triple loop that turns the lens back onto the practitioner and examines the interplay of history and biography that shapes their practice. Critical consciousness takes one beyond *reflective* practice and asks what I should do different to make a better, more just world... There are seven key words I try to remember in my everyday practice: mirror, marginality, history, relationships, dialogue, power and contradictions. (Eyben, 2014, p. 155)

Eyben's (2014) distinction between single, double, and triple-loop inquiry provided a conceptual analysis that I may enact during an investigation of an SFD programme. This analysis allows a researcher to consider the historical socio-political environment in which they are located and connects these relations with the broader historical, social, cultural, and political setting of the research setting, researcher, and participants of the study.

In conclusion, Eyben (2014) demonstrated the importance of finding out and responding to other people's views of the researcher's personal, professional, and organizational identity. She also discussed how organizations in complex Global South-Global North circumstances or other geographical spaces must acknowledge that the use of foreign aid is a mutually beneficial learning experience for all involved (Eyben, 2014). These insights, reflexive practices, and the need for a critical lens that Eyben (2014) highlighted speak well to this study and the multifaceted context in which it takes place.

### *2.2.3 Organizations and International Development*

The role of IGOs and NGOs in international development has had a significant impact on ideologies about cultural homogenization and international development (DeChaine, 2005; Papp, 1994). Dechaine (2005) argued that the growth of NGOs has

fostered an increased sense of a global village or international community and further perpetuated issues of nation's solidarity and cultural autonomy. Furthermore, the consequences of NGOs on the cultural and social community in which they are implemented strengthen the collective and individual sense of a global humanitarian community in which a universal 'ethos' is constructed. Notions of human dignity, universality, brotherhood, duty, and democracy constitute this universal 'ethos' across various national, political, and ideological borders by materially linking them to a rhetorical culture (DeChaine, 2005). DeChaine (2005) pointed out that,

Humanitarian NGOs have to work diligently to shape public attitudes and values, and to persuade governments, international institutions and the general public that their causes are worthy...however, they must themselves attend closely to the cultivation of a public perception that underscores their competence, reliability, moral integrity, goodwill, legitimacy, accountability, commitment to the international community, and democratic behaviour. The overarching challenge of humanitarian NGOs is nothing less than the crafting of an ethos of global community, a challenge that, as I have argued, is significantly rhetorical. (p. 59)

Thus, NGOs play a large role in constructing the symbolic and material culture in specific environments whether they are consciously or unconsciously aware of their political role. DeChaine (2005) exemplified how NGOs may mobilize a global rhetorical culture through humanitarian action, by analyzing two prominent international movements in the Global South, including Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders and the international campaign to ban landmines. Through these two examples,

DeChaine (2005) highlighted how NGOs use discursive tactics in order to frame and transform the humanitarian space and culture in which individuals live.

This brief overview of DeChaine's (2005) work on the role of NGOs in international development and the influence they have in constructing symbolic and material culture cannot be ignored in any study of organizations operating within international development. Most especially in the SFD field, almost all programmes that are offered in the Global South rely on international NGOs to implement and create programmes, displaying the need to understand the organizations in a cultural, global, and political sense. The next section identifies how the contemporary literature on international development links to the SFD field.

#### *2.2.4 Connecting Sport-for-development with International Development*

It is evident by the above review that there are varied approaches to studying international development. SFD has emerged from the broader field of international development, and although may appear as an apolitical and universal way of achieving social change using limited economic means, has been critiqued for exhibiting similar processes and traits of traditional international development, most especially related to neoliberalism and neocolonialism. Furthermore, various global actors, such as the UN, transnational corporations, NGOs, and governments that have historically been involved in foreign relations also influence SFD policy and ideologies while constructing a rhetoric of sport and international development (Darnell, 2012).

For the purposes of this SFD study, the theories and concepts from Sen (1999), Nussbaum (2011), and Eyben (2014) are drawn on to inform my research. Specifically, a relational perspective was utilized as I conducted research within Swaziland due to the

complex institutional environment I myself was placed in. This perspective fits well with my critical lens and answers the call by scholars in the SFD field to consider SFD in a multifaceted institutional environment (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016). In the following section, I offer an overview of the field of SFD, its history, the various views of scholars and practitioners in the discipline, and conclude by identifying specific case studies and gaps in the current body of empirical studies.

## **2.3 Sport-for-development (SFD)**

### *2.3.1 Sport-for-development and Sport Development*

Prior to examining the history of ‘SFD’, it is important to recognize how the field has emerged from broader forms of traditional sport and has been related to conventional sport development. The two arms of ‘sport development’ and ‘sport-for-development’ are similar in various ways, however differ in specific purposes and objectives. Schulenkorf et al. (2016) provided a conceptualization of the two ‘arms’ of sport development, clarifying between *development of sport* and *sport-for-development*:

While SD [sport development] aims to create pathways for professional participation and talent identification, SFD focuses on the role that sport can play in contributing to specific social outcomes and overall community well-being. In other words, SD aims at improving the sport-related skills of particular athletes, while SFD refers to the improvement of sport and other skills achieved through sport participation. (p. 6)

Although the above conceptualization provides a distinction between SFD and sport development (SD), Schulenkorf et al. (2016) also noted that many sport organizations, rather than focus specifically on either SD or SFD, engage in implementing both forms of

sport in various ways, causing a space of ‘ongoing tensions’ (p. 8) between the two arms. The tensions involved in the conceptualization (and implementation) of SD and SFD has been explored by various scholars, whom many suggest that, although sport organizations may focus on either ‘SD’ or ‘SFD’, the distinct ‘boundaries’ of each are blurred and become hazy (Bowers & Green, 2016; Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Houlihan & White, 2002).

Bowers and Green (2016) discussed how challenges arise due to the tensions between sport development and SFD:

One of the other primary challenges of studying or working in the field comes from the disconnect between the efforts of those who are working to develop high performance athletes in elite settings (SD) versus those who work to utilize sport as a context to achieve some non-sport developmental outcome (SFD). In theory, there need not be a distinction between these two goals, but in practice considerable psychological and structural barriers to coordinating these efforts have shown to exist; in fact, in many cases, initiatives are characterized by distinct policies and programs that often target distinct populations.

Hayhurst and Frisby (2010) identified some of these challenges in their study focused on partnerships between SFD NGOs and national multi-sport organizations (NMSOs) in Canada and Switzerland. Although this partnership contributed to organizational legitimacy for the NMSOs and SFD NGOs, challenges underlined the relationship due to differing organizational values and goals centered on SFD (the SFD NGOs) and SD (the NMSOs). Waldman and Wilson (2015) also discussed how SFD may be adopted by an organization to achieve non-sport related outcomes, such as health promotion, but when



examined more closely, may be utilized for the purposes of other organizational goals, such as those related to traditional sport development. Particularly, the International Cricket Council (ICC) appears “invested in highlighting the use of cricket for health promotion purposes,” yet, “the ultimate ‘cause’ is growing the sport” (Waldman & Wilson, 2015, p. 14). Additionally, ICC executives would present ‘development’ differently to specific stakeholders depending on their perceived interests; for example, the ICC would display their SFD programmes to stakeholders striving to use cricket for more than sport, while sport development objectives and initiatives would be presented to stakeholders more likely inclined to be involved in elite sport performance (Waldman & Wilson, 2015).

Thus, the ongoing conceptualization of the fields or ‘arms’ of sport development and SFD continue to be blurred and investigated by scholars attempting to categorize the terminology of SD and SFD. These conceptualizations become more complicated as specific goals and objectives of SD and SFD are outlined distinctly by sport organizations, and, as seen from the two studies above, cause tensions and ambiguity in partnerships, sport programming, and organizational policies and ideas. This tension is important to acknowledge, as the organization in this study is involved in a complex relationship between the SSC (the local sport organization) and its parent organization, the Swaziland Multi-Games Sport Association (SMGSA) that is involved in implementing both SFD and SD programming at the international, national, and (through the SSC) local levels (see Chapter 3). Although the history of sport development is beyond the scope of this literature review, it is evident that SFD and SD are closely related – in the next section, I discuss how the field of SFD has progressively grown to

become its own field of research and practice, separate (while also intertwined) from sport development.

### *2.3.2 Historical Context of SFD*

Coalter (2013a) suggested that SFD is not a ‘new’ field as has been suggested (Kay, 2009), but has been around for many decades and should be recognized as a growing field. Viewing SFD as a new field can result in overlooking the historical context in which sport has grown to become a global phenomenon (Harvey, Rail, & Thibault, 1996; Maguire, 2015; Thibault, 2009). Coalter (2013a) warned that considering sport as ‘de-historicized’ or ‘de-politicized’ may cause general, essentialist views of sport. For these reasons, the history of sport and international development in any study of an SFD organization must be recognized and understood.

It is hard to establish when SFD first ‘began’ or ‘occurred’ – however, the United Nations Sport for Development and Peace website suggested that sport-for-development may have first emerged in the early 1900s during the Olympic Games, with the ‘Olympic Truce’ establishing ‘temporary peace’ between all competing countries in the Olympic Games (United Nations, 2016). The recent rapid growth of SFD organizations and programmes is believed to have occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s, with organizations such as Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) (1987) in Kenya, Sports Coaches Outreach (1991) in South Africa, EduSport Foundation (1999) in Zambia, Magic Bus in Mumbai (1999), the Kicking AIDS Out Network (2001), and Right to Play (formerly Olympic Aid) (2003) being formed during this time (Coalter, 2013a; Darnell, 2007; Kidd, 2008). These organizations and their success paved a pathway for future sport practitioners, most especially those wishing to work in the

Global South, and can be seen in the growth of organizations listed on the *International Platform on Sport and Development* from 160 in 2005 to 639 in January 2016 (Coalter, 2013a; International Platform on Sport & Development, 2016).

The increase of sport-for-development and the myopic nature of sport has led to NGOs and corporations becoming increasingly interested in the role of SFD and the opportunities it provides to potentially contribute to social capital and justice (Coalter, 2013a; Darnell, 2012; Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016). In 2003, the United Nations (UN) approved a resolution that applied sport as a role player in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals (Coalter, 2013a; United Nations, 2003). Additionally, in 2005, the UN proclaimed an International Year of Sport and Physical Education, further escalating the global growth of SFD, and today continues to promote and release documents related to the positive impact of sport and its role in reaching societal goals. Governments, NGOs, IGOs, corporations, and SIGs have initiated SFD in both the Global North and Global South due to the popular appeal of sport. Lastly, research in the field of SFD has increased dramatically over the past decade, and based on Schulenkorf et al.'s (2016) literature review of the field, includes a number of theoretical, conceptual, and empirical studies across disciplines of sport such as sociology (Coalter, 2013a; Darnell, 2012); gender studies (Calkin, 2015a; Hayhurst, 2016); and management (Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Waldman & Wilson, 2015). The growth of academic research into SFD has also led to various definitions of sport-for-development field, which I review in the following section.

### 2.3.3 Definition of SFD and Tensions

SFD, not to be mistaken with sport development (growth of sport in communities), can be defined as, “a social movement that seeks to improve lives through the use of sport and physical activity, to advance sport and broader social development in disadvantaged communities” (Kidd, 2008, p. 370). Additionally, Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011, p. 311) defined SFD as,

the use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialization of children, youth and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic development of regions and states, and on fostering intercultural exchange and conflict resolution.

The definition of both sport development and SFD has not been collectively agreed upon in the literature, and a tension has emerged from within the literature about what differentiates sport development from SFD (Coalter, 2012, 2013a; Houlihan & White, 2002).

Furthermore, there are numerous terms that are used when referring to the general field, such as development-through-sport (DTS), sport for development and peace (SDP), sport, gender, and development (SGD), sport-for-change, to name a few (Coalter, 2013a; Young & Okada, 2014). Sport development and SFD often overlap or play a role in each other’s definitions, resulting in a confusion between the two terms. Coalter (2013a) provided a broad approach to this tension when categorizing SFD organizations, using sport-plus and plus-sport to differentiate programmes:

Sport plus, in which sports are adapted and often augmented with parallel programmes in order to maximize their potential to achieve developmental

objectives...plus sport, in which sport's popularity is used as a type of 'fly paper' to attract young people to programmes of education and training (a widespread approach to HIV/AIDS prevention programmes), with the systematic development of sport rarely a strategic aim. (p. 24)

Although Coalter proposed this classification, he acknowledges that most SFD organizations may be a mix of both sport-plus and plus-sport, and suggested the classification is a continuum in which organizations may locate themselves based on programme objectives or practices. These tensions as well as the contentious nature of the very definition of SFD display how the field has numerous views and perspectives.

An effort to effectively categorize the different views and individuals involved in SFD has been attempted by Wilson (2014), who grouped individuals involved in the area of SFD in three groups: pro-SFD evangelists,<sup>7</sup> SFD middle-walkers, and SFD-critics. This categorization is by no means defining each and every viewpoint of SFD. The grouping is merely to assist in being able to distinguish specific features of individuals' views on SFD and what elements may be included. Furthermore, this grouping also exists as a continuum in which SFD individuals can locate themselves along, and all three categories may interrelate with one another. Each perspective is briefly explored below in order to provide an overview of the different views of SFD and also identify where the present study stands in relation to these proposed views.

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<sup>7</sup> The term 'evangelist' is used to emphasize that many pro-sport supporters advocate and encourage others to adopt sport for the use of development purposes. The term is not meant to frame SFD supporters as a negative element of SFD – it serves to display their perspective on sport.

#### 2.3.4 Pro-SFD Evangelists

We underlie that sports can foster peace and development and can contribute to an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding, and we encourage discussions in the General Assembly for proposals leading to a plan of action on sport and development. (Beutler, 2008, p. 362)

This is a quotation from the published article *Sport Serving Development and Peace: Achieving the Goals of the United Nations Through Sport*. Authored by Beutler (2008), a former member of the UN, the article articulates the vision that many SFD evangelists share in relation to using sport to meet developmental purposes. Wilson (2014) highlighted how many pro-SFD evangelists are those practitioners and organizations that implement SFD programmes in different areas of the world. These individuals are evangelists in the sense that they assume that sport's ability to reach out to various social groups unquestionably allows for the cure of a social issue and the development of Others. Indeed, scholars have pointed to the 'turn to sport' of development organizations and also of governments in order to contribute to the elimination of certain social problems (Hayhurst, 2009; Young & Okada, 2014).

In large part due to the UN, governments have integrated and promoted sport within national, state, and local policy to increase the use of sport in their countries as a way to contribute to citizens' health and well-being (Hayhurst, 2009). It is apparent through major sport event bids that governments view sport as a means of potential economic, social, cultural, and political gains which may enhance their country's position globally (Atkinson & De Lisio, 2014; VanWynsberghe & Pentifallo, 2014). International sport federations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) promote sport as

beneficial to countries not only economically, but also socially, and make it necessary for a host country to demonstrate the benefits of the event for its citizens (VanWynsberghe & Pentifallo, 2014). Finally, corporations have begun to join the SFD world in attempts to perform socially responsible acts and do so most regularly by funding SFD organizations (Calkin, 2015a; Hayhurst, 2011a, 2014; Levermore, 2010). Many governments, corporations, and sport federations can be viewed as sport evangelists as they have a strong and ostensible view of sport as a social good.

Evangelists are seen to promote and disseminate sport in an attempt to empower the Other, and practitioners have rarely questioned the idea that sport is a force for good and/or when sport should be used for specific purposes (Coalter, 2013a; Wilson, 2014). It appears by the very increase of SFD organizations in recent times that sport is believed to be inherently good and, regardless of the context of development, has been promoted to ‘automatically’ contribute to the elimination of social problems (Coalter, 2013a). This element of SFD has led scholars to critique the ‘myopic’ nature and the ‘pre-given’ outcomes that are associated with SFD implementation (Coalter, 2007, 2009; Hayhurst, 2009; Kidd, 2008). It is here where SFD-critics have emerged in order to shed light on the misconceptions of sport as instinctively good and have posed questions and identified deep concerns about the processes and power in SFD (Coalter, 2009; Darnell, 2007, 2014a; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst, 2009, 2014).

### *2.3.5 SFD-Critics*

Whether it be Right To Play as the Secretariat of the SDP IWG, CIDA (and other government international aid agencies), academics who study in the ‘ivory tower’, or corporations such as Nike who fund these initiatives, the power relations

embedded in the global governance of SDP need to be exposed, and room needs to be made for ‘agency from below.’ (Hayhurst, 2009, p. 208)

The issue of power underlying SFD has been a rising concern and appears to be a reflection of the broader issue of sport and its historical underpinnings of colonization. These issues have led numerous scholars to approach SFD with a critical lens, analyzing programmes and organizations through post-modernism, postcolonial feminism, post-structural, participatory action research (PAR), and other approaches in order to highlight the reproduction of social and cultural constraints on Others and their social interpretations (Calkin, 2015a, 2015b; Darnell, 2007, 2014a, 2014b; Hayhurst, 2009, 2014; Hayhurst, Giles, & Radforth, 2015).

Hayhurst (2014) and Calkin (2015a, 2015b) are postcolonial feminist theorists who examined the outbreak of women as the focus of development initiatives. Hayhurst (2014) discussed how the ‘girl’<sup>8</sup> in many development initiatives is framed as either ‘can-do’ or ‘at-risk’, in which they have to choose which path to follow, and those in the West are the ones to ‘save’ or are the only chance of developing the ‘girl’ into the ‘can-do’, successful archetype. Hayhurst (2011a, 2014) highlighted in several studies how young women are not merely binary discourses, and how development programmes that are privately funded by corporations reproduce neoliberal forms of development. Furthermore, Hayhurst (2014) investigated specific contexts, such as a taekwondo programme in Uganda, to highlight how policy design is socially constructed by Global North corporations that fund the programme and therefore does not consider the on-the-

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<sup>8</sup> Hayhurst et al. (2013) only used the term ‘girl’ when necessary. Pulling from critical girlhood studies, they tried their best to use the term ‘young women’ in order to disrupt binary discourses that frame the ‘girl’ as a subject/object rather than a complex human being. I use the term ‘young women’ throughout this dissertation, and only use ‘girls’ when speaking directly about how they are framed by common discourse.



ground needs of the Others and the community in which they exist. The complex networks of organizations involved in SFD initiatives underpin and shape the creation of SFD programme policy and regularly fail to consider the SDP subjects' personal voice that is the main focus of the agency (Hayhurst, 2009).

Calkin (2015a, 2015b) also discussed how young women are marginalized until a 'Westerner' comes and empowers them due to the logic that has been diffused through philanthropic action in the Global North. Does the 'girl' really has a choice? (Hayhurst, 2014). Calkin (2015b) delved into this question by way of her analysis of Nike's Girl Effect,<sup>9</sup> and noted three themes that are shaped in the discourse of the online marketing videos. The themes Calkin (2015b) identified include the reflexive spectator, in which Westerners are persuaded to 'donate' even though they have been fatigued by numerous attempts of charity; a breakdown of solidarity, in which the 'girl' is once again viewed as a binary discourse; and a marketing morality, which is explained as young women marketed as a form of economic growth rather than as growing a sense of global sisterhood, which is related to the repeating theme of neoliberal development identified by Hayhurst (2011a).

Other scholars, such as Darnell (2014a), Kidd (2011), Coalter (2009, 2013a), and Black (2010) highlighted questions and ethical challenges within SFD. Darnell has been an avid investigator of power structures underlying SFD, and argued different research approaches to the study of programmes, including Foucauldian lens (Darnell, 2007), decolonization approaches (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011), postcolonial lens (Darnell, 2012), and uncovered traits of westernization, imperialism, and neocolonialism in the structure

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<sup>9</sup> Nike's Girl Effect campaign is an online marketing campaign that promotes the development of young women, with a particular focus on those in the Global South (Calkin, 2015a).

of SFD organizations and initiatives (Darnell, 2014b). In his investigation of RTP and their international volunteers in South Africa, Darnell (2007) examined website quotations from volunteer experiences and suggested that athletes and volunteers may be, in some ways, benefiting more from the experience of SFD rather than the participant. Darnell also highlighted how images of the Other are constructed by volunteers in a way that is not recognized as an actual reality, which was shown by how volunteers would refer to the development site as ‘over there’ (Darnell, 2007). The discourse involved in the language of RTP volunteers and the social (re)construction of views of the Other appear prominent within many SFD organizations. Darnell’s insights into the nature of Western volunteers or interns traveling to the Global South to carry out SFD initiatives shed light on the underlying notion of ‘helping’ Others become more civilized and ‘like us’ (Darnell, 2012). Interning or volunteering in this way is often a politically infused process that involves experiencing a different socio-cultural world and experiencing a different way of knowing. In this research, I had to consider the role I played in the everyday activity of the SFD environment to consciously reflect on how I was embedded in a relational environment and faced critiques Darnell (2012) highlighted (see Chapters 3 and 4 for a review of reflexivity).

Although only specific examples and case studies are identified above, these studies highlighted how hegemony and postcolonialism may be (un)consciously influencing SFD programmes. It seems clear that in order for scholars to conduct research within SFD, approaches that work in collaboration with the Other and understand the Other must be embraced. As well, power within SFD structures must be better understood. Before examining the stance of a middle-walker within SFD, a quick note

must be made about critical scholars - although it may appear as though they completely disagree with the idea of SFD or, at the very least, believe programmes are inherently problematic in their underlying structures, this is not accurate. While researchers may be critical of SFD, almost all acknowledged that SFD programmes have the potential to contribute to the achievement of social goals, and agreed there is opportunity for contributing to eliminating the epistemological and ontological views of the Other and the Global South. For example, in the context of gender relations in sport, scholars such as Hayhurst et al. (2015), Nicholls, Giles, and Sethna (2010) and Meier and Saavedra (2009), suggested that, although SFD may further embed structural inequalities of gender such as neoliberalism, SFD programmes, in some ways, may provide an avenue where women are able to challenge gender norms through their actions in sport. As with this study, critiquing is not meant to dissuade SFD or inhibit social change – as noted in the introduction from Wilson (2013), being critical is a way to bring about change in a constructive and enabling way. The section below reviews what is believed to be the current SFD middle-walker research.

### *2.3.6 SFD Middle-walkers*

A middle-walker can be defined as an individual who does not take either side of the extremes of SFD (Wilson, 2014). Rather, middle-walkers agree and acknowledge that there are both potential benefits and issues with SFD initiatives and programmes and their growth (Wilson, 2014). Wilson (2014) noted that even those who take an extreme critical stance on SFD is in a way a middle-walker, as through their work and detection of problems they are contributing to the field of SFD in the hopes that practitioners and organizations adapt to face challenges rooted in programmes.

Some examples of middle-walkers in the contemporary SFD literature include Coalter (2007, 2009, 2013a), Levermore (2008a, 2011a), and others (Giulianotti, 2012; Kidd, 2008, 2011; Wilson, 2014). The work of these scholars are examples of middle-walking in the area of SFD based on their positive outlook on the benefits of SFD if implemented appropriately, and their acknowledgement that many challenges and issues arise and must be addressed in SFD settings (Coalter, 2011a; Levermore, 2011a). Using a mixed methods approach that integrates both quantitative and qualitative interpretive approaches, Coalter (2009, 2013a) examined various SFD programmes such as Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) in Africa and Go Sisters in Zambia that seek to empower the Other, including young women, in sport and education settings. Coalter's experience with the Magic Bus programme in Mumbai, India, provides an example of how processes in an SFD programme are conceptualized, delivered, and lead to desired outcomes in certain contexts (Coalter, 2013a).

Furthermore, Coalter (2013a) analyzed how peer leadership strategies and the empowerment of young women can be achieved by investigating and adapting practices relative to the voices of the Other. However, Coalter (2007, 2009) also noted how those processes and outcomes need to adhere to continuous analysis of the programme and participant needs, stressing that the theories of change involved in the process of development must be critically explored. He argued that each SFD setting and programme in which the participants live and interpret reality is different from other SFD programmes and cannot be implemented according to a general model of SFD (Coalter, 2013a). Instead of focusing specifically on outcomes, which many leaders of SFD organizations tend to do in order to attract and sustain funding, programmes must focus

on those inputs and processes that make it possible for development goals to be achieved by way of integrating participants' views into the organizational structure (Coalter, 2007, 2009, 2013a).

Levermore (2008a, 2011a) also appeared to middle-walk the landscape of SFD in the hopes of identifying possible future successes and concerns within development programmes. In numerous perspective articles, Levermore (2008a, 2008b, 2011a) noted that there appeared to be an opportunity in SFD to form partnerships between national governments, NGOs, and corporations. As an SFD middle-walker however, he also recognized that although partnerships may enhance relations between different institutions, the organizations and actors involved in the specific alliance must be careful not to create heavy top-down relations in which the powerful, possibly a Western organization, is influencing the major decision-making processes and causing unequal North-South relations (Levermore, 2011a).

Lastly, Levermore (2008a, 2011a) suggested that sport has reach-out capabilities that can be used to attract marginalized groups and bring individuals together in a sense of community and belonging; he also pointed to how there are perhaps underlying motives of corporations using SFD as a way to achieve corporate social responsibility (CSR) 'insurance.' Those corporations, that may have a history of questionable practices, colonialism, and mistreatment of the Other (Nike is an example)<sup>10</sup> may carry out acts of CSR through SFD to legitimize and enhance their public image however, in many cases

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<sup>10</sup> Nike, as evident in the work of Calkin (2015a), has had an infamous history when it comes to their operations and policy creation in the Global South, including issues of child labour, worker abuse, and corruption. This footnote is provided only to briefly shed light on how Nike may be an example of an organization using CSR as a form of 'insurance' for past misdeeds, and also to enhance public image.

may simply be a distant-disengaged member of the SFD activity (Banda & Gultresa, 2015; Levermore, 2010).

There are other authors who voiced their perspective on SFD (Giulianotti, 2012; Kidd, 2008, 2011; Sherry et al., 2016). As mentioned previously, Wilson (2014) suggested that even critical scholars may appear to cross the line into the middle-walker camp due to the research they produced from a critical stance that address what SFD programmes must consider when carrying out development initiatives. All of these viewpoints, most especially those identified above as middle-walkers, appear to highlight the multiple perspectives involved in SFD, and also underscore the need to constantly question the field of SFD in order to effectively succeed in its primary purpose – that of contributing to social change.

### *2.3.7 SFD in Africa*

Recently, research focused on SFD programmes in South Africa has been published by scholars interested in how SFD plays a role in post-apartheid South Africa and contributes to social development (Burnett, 2015; Cubizolles, 2015; Marshall & Barry, 2015; Sanders, Phillips, & Vanreusel, 2014). Two studies were briefly examined to highlight how research has been conducted when investigating SFD in Africa, where the current study took place. More specifically, these two studies were examined because of their focus on programmes that sought to teach about HIV/AIDs prevention, an area of SFD that has interested practitioners, funders, and scholars in the field (Lindsey & Banda, 2010; Okada, 2014). Interestingly, the sport organization being researched in this study (SMGSA/SSC) was included in Marshall and Barry's (2015) study, albeit in a much different way than in this study.

Marshall and Barry (2015) applied Lyras' (2009, 2012) sport-for-development theory (SFDT) to a study of the Kicking AIDS Out (KAO) Network operating in South Africa and conducted semi-structured interviews with project practitioners in order to understand SFD contributions. It appears in this study that Marshall and Barry (2015) adopted an interpretive worldview, in which they use the personal experiences of sport practitioners to analyze the KAO projects' effectiveness in enhancing life skills through sport to foster youth empowerment, raise HIV/AIDS awareness, and promote behaviour change. The SFDT proposed by Lyras (2009, 2012) integrates a broad model that includes an impacts assessment component, organizational component, sport component, educational component, and cultural enrichment component that are then considered in terms of the specific SFD context in which the study is being conducted. Marshall and Barry's (2015) findings suggested that SFDT provides a suitable framework for understanding and also enhancing SFD project design and implementation, through the integration of sport, education, life skills development, use of leaders as change agents, and participation in programme analysis.

However, this study, although significant in supporting the use of SFDT, the study rarely referenced any critical scholarly work done by researchers within the field of SFD, only touching briefly on Kidd's and Darnell's work, but mostly emphasizing more so the opportunities they highlighted rather than the challenges. Although this work contributed to the field, most especially by furthering an argument for the use of SFDT, it seemed limited in its application due to only focusing on the benefits of SFD and ignoring most critical work that emphasized the role of SFD in a neoliberal society. How did this study argue that SFDT enhances social and behaviour change when they did not

consider the participants of the programmes? The practitioners are those who, most of the time, wish to see the organization and initiative succeed in its attempt to produce social development – therefore, as with many sport evangelists, they may have a slighted view of SFD benefits. The integration of the participants’ viewpoint must be acknowledged if one is to understand how sport plays a role in social or behavioural change, and all research, whether positive or critical in its view of SFD, must be recognized in order to logically situate a study within the scholarly field. This study of the KAO Network using SFDT, although furthering the field, appeared to ignore the critical work of SFD and the participants’ viewpoint of development (Marshall & Barry, 2015).

Sanders, Phillips, and Vanreusel (2014) conducted a qualitative study of two NGOs based in Cape Town, South Africa, one of which was focused on school curriculum for teaching about HIV/AIDS, and the other concerned with running intramurals and other non-sport activities for the purpose of social development. The NGOs were both operating in a partnership with the government – the programmes ran in the schools located in the city and provided a replacement for physical education programmes that were cut from the curriculum (Sanders et al., 2014). The study integrated individual in-depth interviews, focus groups, document analysis, and observation in their research method, seeking to understand the relationship of the partnership between the NGOs, the government, and the schools. The results of their study and the discussion that followed supported the view that partnerships between NGOs and schools could assist in developing physical activity programmes for students due to limited government spending.



Sanders et al. (2014) however, also identified several challenges in the partnership, including issues of the NGO taking all the ‘credit’, making it appear as if the NGO is ‘doing all the work’ and rarely acknowledging the government for its state funding, which resulted in the withdrawal of the government to fund one of the NGOs. Furthermore, many teachers who were interviewed suggested they liked the NGO and its practitioners more so than the government and the way it operated – therefore, Sanders et al. (2014) proposed there may be a political competition between the two NGOs as well as the government, being further perpetuated by a lack of resources for the NGOs and a competition for funding from the government. Additionally, the practitioners, as well as students, highlighted how some teachers (a limited few) would not provide the proper resources for NGOs’ practitioners, sometimes seeing the practitioners as competing for student attention or respect (Sanders et al., 2014). On the one hand, when teachers were around during the programme sessions, practitioners claimed that students were less talkative, perhaps because of the teachers’ presence; on the other hand, some practitioners also acknowledged that teachers had established relationships with students and knew more about students’ way of learning, making it easier to connect with them. These findings shed light on the complex environment of SFD, most especially when there are various actors and individuals involved in the programme.

The above case studies exhibit how SFD can be seen both as an opportunity to serve social development for marginalized participants, and also cause many issues in relation to processes of social development. One feature missing in both of these studies however, is the underlying issue of power that has been discussed by SFD critics.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Sanders et al. (2014) did not explicitly refer to an analysis of the power relations underlying their study, although they explored how different organizations in SFD are in a highly contested political environment.

Africa, where post-apartheid is still fresh in many minds, is a setting where power relations play a significant role in SFD participants' lives, whether they are consciously or unconsciously aware of it. These aspects of power must be considered in relation to a Swaziland SFD context, and thus, this is where I believe my study fits into the contemporary knowledge of SFD. Therefore, in conclusion of this section, I currently locate myself as an SFD middle-walker – I place importance on working with participants and seek to understand how power plays an underlying role in programmes – but I also believe that implementing SFD in a reflexive way may lead to social benefits for individuals, groups, or communities.

#### **2.4 Summary**

The above literature review examined institutional theory, institutional work, international development, and SFD for the purposes of building a foundation for this research project. I also identified how I consider myself as an SFD middle-walker, while acknowledging that I adopt a critical lens throughout my research that may lend to more of the position of an SFD critic. Throughout the research process, these 'sensitizing concepts', such as institutional work, and the literature on areas including international development and SFD, informed my own researcher lens and biases. In the next chapter (Chapter 3), I expand on how my theoretical frameworks and worldview also influence an important element of any study – the research design.

### Chapter 3: Research Design

*Appreciating research as a power-driven act, the critical researcher-as-bricoleur abandons the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social locations of other researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge.* (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011, p. 168)

The word *bricoleur* refers to a “handyman or handywoman who makes use of the tools available to complete a task” (Kincheloe et al., 2011, p. 168), and has been used in the spirit of Levi-Strauss. The researcher-as-*bricoleur* moves into the realm of complexity and as the research process unfolds, adapts to what is happening around them as they gain insight from the “margins of Western societies and the knowledge and ways of knowing of non-Western peoples” (Kincheloe et al., 2011, p. 169). The researcher becomes comfortable with multiple perspectives and different ways of knowing, and rather than being concerned with a limited understanding of particular dynamics of social realities, realizes that there are numerous benefits from being able to learn various dimensions of the social (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Additionally, the *bricolage* allows researchers opportunities to open up new possibilities of knowing the world by gaining meaning and knowledge from those whose voices are usually silenced in society (Kincheloe et al., 2011). The concept of the researcher-as-*bricoleur* explains the process of this study and its ethnographic fieldwork approach.

Thus, as the researcher-as-*bricoleur*, in this chapter I draw on ideas from multiple disciplines to develop my theoretical perspective. In particular, in this chapter, I explore critical theory and postcolonial theory and argue that these theoretical approaches are well suited to tease apart the power dynamics inherently involved in this sport and international development study and the more specific conceptual interest in institutional work. I considered multiple theories and concepts (see Chapter 2) related to my own

research before entering the research site – bringing together these multiple concepts and theories to my research was beneficial for the purposes of my study by providing ‘sensitizing concepts’ as I was in the field, yet remaining open to emergent themes and ways of knowing. Next, I consider my methodology drawing from multiple disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and feminist studies in order to effectively link my basic assumptions of reality with my methodology. Specifically, I bring together aspects of traditional, critical, and institutional ethnography. I entered the research field using an ethnographic approach that sought to understand how those involved in local SFD programming in Swaziland experience and engage with the ideas and work that shapes the organization and as such shapes their social reality of SFD. Additionally, in line with ethnography, multiple methods were used in this study. In particular, I describe my case study approach used as the focus for my fieldwork research that involved methods of participant-observation, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis.

### **3.1 Theoretical Perspective**

#### *3.1.1 Critical Theory*

I positioned myself within a critical lens in an attempt to seek a more, “just and freer society than we have at the moment” (Crotty, 1998, p. 157) and opted to take a qualitative approach to research, allowing me to interpret how people make sense of the world. Adopting a critical stance to research means the focus is on examining how people experience social reality while (un)consciously being influenced by underlying power dynamics within society (Morrow, 1994; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The critical investigator also acknowledges that empirical analysis is value-laden and a study’s

methodology cannot be detached from the theoretical orientation and frameworks guiding a specific study's approach (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2000; Crotty, 1998).

At its core, critical theory is concerned with coming to understand how social reality has been constructed and maintained historically by the interests of powerful elitists or groups of society and seeks emancipation of those marginalized Others who are constrained and influenced by underlying hegemonic ideologies and structural power imbalances (Creswell, 2014; Morrow, 1994; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Critical theory rests upon assumptions drawn from both the post-positivist paradigm and the interpretive paradigm – integrating both phenomenological meanings of social reality that are subjectively constructed by humans, as well as having a shared belief with post-positivists about a material reality (Carey, 2011). Thus, critical theory does not define social reality as subjective or objective in nature – suggesting that reality is both subjectively and objectively constructed by humans (Berger & Luckmann, 1969; Creswell, 2014; Morrow, 1994). Rather than seeking out a 'regime of truth' that is the main concern of post-positivists or believing an individual's meaning of existence can be determined through interviews or other interpretive approaches, critical theorists emphasize that individuals of society, most especially those marginalized or discriminated historically, are socially constrained in their understanding of social reality due to underlying power imbalances in the world (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Coming to understand the social and cultural constraints with which individuals are politically infused, critical theorists seek to identify the oppressive nature of the contextual environment in which they conduct research and strive to produce or contribute to social change via their research. Therefore,

Critical theory is a brand of social philosophy which seeks to operate simultaneously at a philosophical, a theoretical and a practical level; its proponents seek to reveal society for what it is, to unmask its essence and mode of operation and to lay the foundations for human emancipation through deep-seated social change. (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 284)

One might argue this emphasizes the utopian nature of critical theory – recognizing that social change, although extremely hard to define and initiate (most especially when faced with resistance) is the ultimate goal of critical theory in the hopes of providing a just and equal world for society as a whole. By operating at a philosophical, theoretical, and practical level, critical theorists seek to work with humans towards social change, while examining the power/knowledge relations at play.

Critical theorists argue people's realities are constituted, regulated, and maintained by the universal narratives and privileged groups of society that support such claims, upholding the status quo and institutional order of society (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Morrow, 1994). The 'universal' nature of society and the maintenance of the status quo consequently blinds many individuals to the 'hidden truths' of society, in which power is used to shape the very knowledge and wants of individuals, and in turn, hide the true desires and freedom of humans in a way that unconsciously integrates them into the institutional order and social status quo. Lukes (2004, p. 24) commented,

Is not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of

things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable?

Adopting a critical theory lens allows for these taken-for-granted assumptions of reality to be questioned and furthermore, examines the power relations at play in society or in an organization in order to understand how certain groups or individuals exhibit hegemonic traits that further marginalize Others; or, in contrast, allow for opportunities for Others to be emancipated. Power is everywhere in society - more specifically, leaders of organizations and management inculcate knowledge into their environments that are politically infused with power dynamics. As discussed in the International Development section of Chapter 2, an organization, such as the one in this study, which is located in a complex global environment with multiple institutional actors striving to achieve development, is permeated by power relations. With this in mind, it is important to recognize that power plays an underlying role in all organizational activity, and it is for this reason that power cannot be ignored in any analysis of management or organization – whether those power dynamics allow for transformative change or further oppress groups or individuals.

*Critical organizational theory.* Traditionally, mainstream organizational analyses, such as organizational theory (OT), organizational behaviour (OB), and management studies, have been concerned with evaluating and building upon technical functions of employees, managers, consumers, and society in general, seeking to find means-ends relationships in which the improvement of organizational effectiveness is the main focus (Alvesson & Wilmott, 1992, 2003; Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Mills, Simmons, & Mills, 2010). Such a functionalist or managerialist approach has focused on managers

(typically white, male managers) and their concerns, such as profitability, productivity, and goal attainment (Mills et al., 2010). Clegg and Dunkerly (1980) argued, in relation to organizational studies, that:

People in organizations are frequently treated in organization theory as either sources of social psychological “problems” or as embodiments of individual needs and dispositions. We eschew this perspective...in favour of one which stresses the reality of structural divisions in society: notably sexual and class divisions. These are not only important in their own right but are also significantly interrelated. As practices they are in large part reproduced by organizations, particularly in their recruitment strategies and work design. (Clegg & Dunkerly, 1980, p. 6)

Clegg and Dunkerly’s (1980) definition of organizational theory is concerned with the impact of organizations on individuals’ lives, and more particularly, as with critical theory, is focused on how discrimination or marginalization occurs within organizations or management. In Clegg and Dunkerly’s (1980) view, power cannot be ignored and is relational, and organizations are seen as actors themselves who are both influenced by structural factors due to the complex setting in which they exist and by organizational actors and agency. As Clegg (1989, p. 197) stated,

Organizational action is an indeterminate outcome of substantive struggles between different agencies: people who employ different resources; people whose organizational identities will be shaped by the way in which disciplinary practices work through and on them, even in their use of such techniques; people who routinely seek to control and decide the course of organizational action and those



many things to which they will routinely have recourse in their membership, work, and struggles.

Consequently, the requirement of a radical critical perspective to organizational analysis has only become greater as technological advances, postmodern times, and the advancement of capitalism has revolutionized aspects of not only bureaucratic organizations, but also the lives of human beings in ways that enable the maintenance of the status quo via organizational policies, practices, and regulations (Alvesson & Willmott, 2003; Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Mills et al., 2010).

The call to adopt a critical lens has become increasingly louder as realizations of capitalism, industrialism, neoliberalism, and other traits of dominant Westernized societies have disseminated across the globe and, almost unconsciously, become accepted into society and organizations (Alvesson & Willmott, 2003; Mills et al., 2010; Papp, 1994). Indeed, Mills et al. (2010) emphasized the missing nature of these sociological issues in organizational analyses by reviewing 107 major business textbooks between 1956 and 1996, and found that only seven dealt with race and ethnicity, and only five discussed the issue of gender in-depth. Although these numbers are now dated and the field of organizational analysis has seen an increase in critical management studies to explore these social issues, the dominant focus of organizational analysis and management has still been concerned with organizational efficiency from a manager's perspective, largely ignoring issues of power relations at play in organizations and management and also delimiting the role of individual human agency (Alvesson & Willmott, 2003; Mills et al., 2010). A response to these calls has emerged, and can be seen by various scholars' organizational analyses from a radical perspective, whether that is a

feminist approach, a racioethnicity approach, or a postmodernist approach (Mills et al., 2010). Thus, it can be argued then, that any research concerned with organizations and management must consider the political environment in which it exists in order to come to understand how organizations reflect society by reproducing social reality according to the dominant interests of powerful elitists and organizations. Therefore, a critical organizational approach, it is argued below, was well-suited for an investigation of the SFD programmes explored in this study.

*The need for a critical organizational approach in the study of SFD.* SFD, typically, is a taken-for-granted idea that seeks to serve social, health and/or economic development purposes and, as with sport, is regularly assumed to ‘automatically’ contribute to positive social development and provides an apolitical environment in which all individuals in society are treated fairly and equally (Coalter, 2009; 2012; Darnell, 2012; Levermore, 2011a). Various scholars (Calkin, 2015a; Darnell, 2007, 2009, 2014a; Hayhurst, 2009, 2011a, 2014; Kidd, 2011) however, argued that SFD programmes may only be serving to reproduce the social and cultural constraints of SFD participants by not considering the underlying structures involved in development historically, thus ignoring the role of organizations and practitioners in conserving the status quo revolving around sport and SFD.

As seen in Chapter 2, the complex relationship between various stakeholders of SFD programmes, including NGOs, corporations, special interest groups, international governmental organizations, and other organizations, increases the complicated, bureaucratic nature of the SFD organizational environment, and reflects greater societal notions of global capitalism, neoliberalism, and Western dominance (Coalter, 2012;

Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2009, 2014, 2016). Adopting a critical organizational lens for this study was therefore appropriate in order to move beyond those technical analyses that are concerned with measurable outcomes of SFD and traditional management studies, rather than seeking to understand the political environment of SFD organizations and management.

More specifically, by adopting a critical organizational lens, I was able to analyze the power dynamics involved in the institutional work of SFD programmes that have become taken-for-granted by organizational actors. My critical worldview assisted in guiding my methodological process as the researcher-as-*bricoleur* - however, in order to further explore the local site of SFD as a location infused with power dynamics, the utilization of postcolonial theory aided in my understanding of how neocolonialist traits remain present in contemporary organizations of the Global South. A postcolonial lens accompanied my critical worldview for the purposes of guiding and informing me as I, a white male from the Global North, completed research in Swaziland that was once a protectorate of the British Empire and has faced numerous socio-political issues.

### 3.1.2 Postcolonial Theory

At its core, postcolonial<sup>12</sup> theory is concerned with critiquing colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism, and emphasizes the need to critique the complex nature of modern Western colonialism<sup>13</sup> in order to understand the “ongoing significance of the colonial encounter for people’s lives both in the West and the non-West” (Banerjee &

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<sup>12</sup> There is no hyphen used in post(-)colonialism so as to display that although colonial Empires may have ‘freed’ nations from colonialism many years ago, there are still forms of neocolonialism as well as traits of colonialism remaining in countries that were once colonized. The hyphen is not used because it would then suggest that colonialism has permanently disappeared upon formal decolonization and a new age free of colonialism has occurred (Hayhurst, 2011b).

<sup>13</sup> The ‘modern form of Western colonization’ refers to the new ways of neocolonialism (such as knowledge production) by which nations may be influenced and shaped.

Prasad, 2008, p. 91). A foundational work of postcolonial theory is based on Said's (1978) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, which Jack, Westwood, Srinivas, and Sardar (2011) summarized:

Said describes the manifold discursive forms (classifications, categories, images) – and their linguistic organization into binary oppositions – through which these sources culturally constructed notions of the Orient (the non-West), and also the Occident (the West) as a fictive reality. This discourse juxtaposed the West and the non-West in binary, asymmetrical terms; the former considered superior, civilized, developed, moral, scientific; the latter inferior, uncivilized, backward, immoral, and superstitious. (p. 277)

In this way, development targeted 'those natives' in the non-West who were perceived as uncivilized and inferior through a broad form of European modernity, "one that was transposed onto the colonies through economic and cultural imperialism, military power, death and dispossession" (Jack et al., 2010, p. 277). Colonization in the continent of Africa, where this study took place, was especially the target of imperialism and 'developing' Others in the Global South, and portrayed how colonial traits were re-inscribed in European discourse:

Everything 'African' was represented as negative while everything positive was European. Mudimbe (1988) argues the reformation of the natives' minds was designed to socialize Africans to despise their history, culture and themselves – their very blackness. Black people were dehumanized and represented as a race not fit to be members of the civilized world. (Nkomo, 2011, p. 367)

Eurocentric ideologies influenced the views of Others, depicting them as ‘undeveloped’ and in need to be transformed into the societal ‘developed’ status quo based on Westernized knowledge. The consequences of such colonialism included the external control and economic exploitation of the non-West, which, in (un)conscious ways, continue to permeate neocolonial notions of management, organizations, and business in the Global South.

Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) displayed how management was created by forms of colonial administration and, most especially in the non-Western world, depicted Others as ‘lazy’ and not as hardworking as Westerners (Ulus, 2015). Utilizing a postcolonial lens is useful for analyzing elements of political, economic, and cultural control that may lie beneath structures of management and organizations, most especially management that operates internationally (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008). Thus, postcolonial theory, it is argued, may be of use to organizational studies by potentially highlighting how neocolonial traits or neoliberal notions of development from the Western world remain engraved in management and organizations operating in the Global South. In this particular study, the country in which research was conducted (Swaziland) is a former colony of the British Empire – thus, the need for a postcolonial lens in the study of a sport organization implementing forms of ‘development’ is necessary in order to uncover social inequalities that may reflect the neocolonial remnants of the colonial past.

*The need for a postcolonial lens in the study of SFD.* A postcolonial approach to the study of SFD has recently been emphasized by scholars (e.g., Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2011a, 2016). Given my interests in SFD and in particular in the context of international development as discussed in Chapter 2, adopting a postcolonial

lens for this study and methodology was appropriate for conducting a critical institutional ethnographic case study, which emphasizes the role of social relations, reflexivity, and power dynamics in multifaceted, intricate research studies. Darnell and Kaur (2015) stated,

The type of postcolonial perspective that we are endorsing encourages scholars to acknowledge that the very idea(s) of what constitutes *sport* and *development* need to be understood within the historical and social context of their derivation and then subsequently interrogated within contemporary relations of power. (p. 8)

By examining how sport and development are understood within the social and historical context of the local sport organization, the Swaziland Sport Centre (SSC<sup>14</sup>), I explored how contemporary power relations play a role in SFD programming. Postcolonial analyses seek to situate SFD contexts in a historical and social grounding that allows for simplified approaches to SFD being problematized – in this way, development is best viewed as embedded in historical, social, political and economic relations and structures, structures that both produce and constrain the ideologies, viewpoints, and actions of stakeholders (Darnell & Kaur, 2015). C.L.R. James' work, especially his well-known *Beyond a Boundary* (1963) that involved a political and social analysis of cricket and colonialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, displays how postcolonial theory is concerned with the contemporary consequences of colonialism and less so with the end of imperialist and colonial control (Darnell & Kaur, 2015; James, 1963). In adopting this lens, researchers rejected the notion that full-fledged decolonization has taken place and argued that nations are still influenced and affected by colonial traits that have

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<sup>14</sup> This is a pseudonym used for the purposes of confidentiality.

disseminated into underlying structures and interactions of society (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2016). Furthermore, this lens opposes the idea that sport is a universal language and seeks to understand how interpretations of sport and development in particular contexts may serve to maintain (or resist) the societal status quo (Darnell & Kaur, 2015).

In addition, adopting a postcolonial lens to research allowed for me to utilize a decolonizing praxis throughout the course of this study. Darnell and Hayhurst (2011) stated,

Not only does a decolonizing praxis question and challenge those institutions, practices and ideas that promote and sustain material inequalities and Western power, as well as regularly misrepresent, essentialism and ignore the voices, agency, and identities of local persons, but it offers a way to support struggles for development as social justice and to move towards a more ‘people-centered’ politics in the face of social inequality and hierarchies. (p. 185)

Darnell and Hayhurst (2011) identified three main features crucial to a decolonizing development praxis, which included: (1) restore what it means to be in ‘need’ of development, by recognizing that discourse defines what people are ‘developed’ or not; (2) the shifting terrain of international development and the political economy may provide a new way of theorizing how global change may occur, with opportunities for new and previously silenced voices to be heard; and (3) decolonization transforms the researcher so that he/she become self-reflective of his/her role and actions in the social relations in which he/she is involved, and strives to incorporate local knowledge and understanding of Others. For the purposes of this study, I believe I was able to achieve a

decolonizing development praxis through my research by: (1) recognizing that the people involved in the local SSC programme are the ones who define development and SFD in this context rather than defining development based on common discourse; (2) allowing for knowledge to be gained from various members of the SSC, most especially individuals involved with SFD programming, to learn about how SFD may be enabling (or constraining) social change; and (3) understanding that my positions as researcher and intern were politically infused and being reflexive of my role in the social setting, which I discuss further below.

Guided by a decolonizing praxis and informed by the worldview of critical theory and postcolonial theory, I emphasized how the power relations inherent not only in societies, but in conducting research, cannot be ignored and must be dissected throughout the research process. Darnell and Hayhurst (2012) argued that ethnographies of SFD are appropriate for a postcolonial lens, stating that by using ethnography, “it is possible to account for *both* transnational and local forces and issues in the same study” (p. 2). Therefore, in this study, I fused a critical and institutional ethnographic approach together to explore the embedded social relations inherent in organizational activity of the SSC, and challenge the assumption of sport as an apolitical tool for social development. As evident throughout this chapter, I believe I integrated many aspects of a decolonizing praxis throughout my research.

## **3.2 Methodology**

### *3.2.1 Ethnography*

Ethnography has a long history in qualitative scholarship, where the focus is on the meaningfulness of people’s social settings, actions, and interactions from a cultural



perspective (Van Maanen, 1988; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) noted that ethnographers immerse themselves in a cultural context that was previously unknown to them by 'getting close' to people. SFD scholars call specifically for researchers to adopt ethnographic approaches in their studies in order to effectively come to understand Others (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). Darnell and Kaur (2015) however, argued that traditional ethnographic approaches focused on descriptive explanations of culture need to be adapted to ensure that power relations are considered. For the purposes of studying an SFD organization operating in an international context, ethnography enables the identification of everyday human action and interaction that influence the underlying social relations tied to the broader macro-institutional environment of SFD. Two forms of ethnography, critical ethnography and institutional ethnography, were employed in this study to effectively scrutinize the political nature of conducting research, and more importantly, exercise critical awareness as I became embedded in the SSC research site. It is crucial to note, however, that I was not conducting what would be considered a strictly critical ethnography or institutional ethnography - instead, I blended concepts and principles from each methodology in order to effectively conduct research and data collection.

### *3.2.2 Critical Ethnography*

Critical ethnography builds on traditional ethnography by not only seeking to create understanding, but also to initiate action in order to unmask unequal power relations that may add to oppression in society (Crotty, 1998). By striving for social justice, researchers appreciate the cultural and social context in which they are located and stay committed to using findings for the purposes of understanding Others. Critical

ethnography provides a way to link a critical and postcolonial lens with a specific form of analysis and interpretation. Madison (2005) emphasized that by recognizing your positionality as a researcher, you are able to establish how you wish to carry out ethnographic inquiry and how you represent Others. In terms of researchers and representation, Madison (2005) discussed how when transmitting information from participants, researchers should not let the 'self' become evident in the Other's words, as well as underscored the point that critical ethnographers must focus on the participants themselves as voices and we must strive to represent their most original meanings and experience. These two elements of critical ethnography were not only appropriate for writing the final research product, but were also important to remember as I conducted fieldwork and participant-observation, most especially when making my initial fieldnote and later fleshing out my fieldnotes. It was important that I limited my voice in the words of Others and attempted to characterize what I saw and heard in a form that was closest to what I believe they meant or experienced.

Madison (2005, p. 9) stated, "critical ethnography understands that the Other is always already a subject in their own right, and it is the ethnographer who must cross the boundaries into the territories of Otherness in order to engage with the Other in their terms." Thus, throughout fieldwork, I was willing to accept numerous views of phenomena and the world, and sought to use the Other's knowledge as a way to immerse myself in not only their social reality as it is presently and locally, but also historically through time and space. By understanding the Other's world, I learned how their identities have been constructed and shaped by the social relations in which they are embedded. According to Madison (2005), this also allowed me to highlight stereotypes,

arrogant perceptions, or encourage loving perceptions<sup>15</sup> of Others while being reflexive about how I may reinforce acts of prejudice and discrimination unconsciously.

Critical ethnography is also concerned with how researchers may overcome biases and their own perceptions of reality in the research setting (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000) built on the idea that a critical ethnographer must be open to various ways of knowing by stating, “a particularly important element in critical ethnography is the constant use of negation – trying to see things not as natural or rational but as exotic and arbitrary, as an expression of action and thinking within frozen, conformist patterns” (p. 141). Consequently, I remained open-minded and conscious of how I and Others’ view of social reality contradicted one another and how we may have fundamentally different outlooks on life and society. I was also aware that many times, my action and knowledge, as well as Others, may be unconsciously constructed by powerful, invisible influences of the social that lie under the visibility of the everyday actualities in which we took part while I was in the field.

A critical ethnographic approach was appropriate for my research as I explored the institutional work of the SSC. Critically engaging in fieldwork within the SSC setting allowed me to comprehend how the social relations in which participants are embedded empower them or continue to constrain them from opportunities in society. Although adopting such an approach ensured researcher reflexivity and the consideration of power dynamics, it did not provide a clear method to highlight the institutional relations involved in the social setting. Thus, the next section explores how specific concepts of

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<sup>15</sup> Madison (2005) wrote, “arrogant perception objectifies the Other and casts the Other as an inferior being” (p. 103). This also results in a ‘failure to love.’ Loving perception is when a research “sets forth a love of deep caring and responsibility” (Madison, 2005, p. 103).

institutional ethnography<sup>16</sup> were integrated into my methodology to complement critical ethnography and assisted in developing a deep intimate familiarity with the SSC environment.

### 3.2.3 Institutional Ethnography

In 1987, Dorothy Smith developed institutional ethnography as an orientation to ethnography that “explores the social relations organizing institutions as people participate in them and from their perspectives” (Smith, 2005, p. 225). The aim of institutional ethnography is to uncover and understand the social relations in which individuals are embedded so that people may understand how their everyday actualities and relations extend to the broader social institutions that they both shape and by which they are shaped (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Nichols, 2014; Smith, 2005). Like critical ethnography, institutional ethnography intends to work with people to expand their awareness of the social setting in which they are immersed, rather than exchanging our knowledge in place of Others (Smith, 2005). In this way, an institutional ethnographer extends traditional ethnography’s concept of immersing oneself in a particular social setting and identifies the ‘problematic’ of their study by becoming familiar with how individuals experience their everyday lives. It is this that differentiates an institutional ethnography from a typical ethnography – the researcher begins with the *actualities* of people’s work<sup>17</sup> locally and their *experiences*, and investigates how these constitute and

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<sup>16</sup> I wish to make clear that only certain concepts of institutional ethnography were utilized as part of my methodology. I did not adhere to a strictly traditional institutional ethnographic approach but many tenets of its approach were fused with critical ethnography.

<sup>17</sup> When Smith (2005) discussed people’s ‘work’ in their everyday institutional environment, she was referring to, “everything that people know how to do and that their daily lives require them to do” (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p. 72). I only refer to ‘institutional work’ in this dissertation when speaking of institutional theory institutional work. I use ‘work’ when discussing people’s everyday activity in relation to their everyday lives that I observe and learn about through fieldwork.

are constituted by wider *social institutional relations* (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Nichols, 2014; Smith, 2005). The problematic is not a research problem; it is a territory to be discovered, which many times includes people's relevant issues or concerns and is formed as the ethnographer maps out the local social relations in connection to the broader institutional order (Nichols, 2014; Smith, 2005). It is the problematic that identifies aspects of the institutional process that are central to the individuals participating in the site's social relations and becomes the topic of inquiry for the institutional ethnographer. Rather than only describing a social setting and coming to understand people's experiences (as with traditional ethnography), the institutional ethnographer seeks to explicate understanding of people's actualities in order to identify the problematic that hooks people's experiences with the broader institutional society, and in turn, may provide potential for "change from within" (Smith, 2005, p. 32) the local social setting. Here, the researcher-as-*bricoleur* is crucial due to the inductive process of developing a research problematic that relies on individuals' perceptions of their social world and the researcher's ability to trust in the different experiences and knowledge with which they are confronted.

As noted above, this study was not an institutional ethnography but rather it was heavily informed by those who have developed this methodology (e.g., Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Nichols, 2014; Smith, 2005). I did not enter the field without any interpretive commitment (as with traditional institutional ethnography; Smith, 2005). As evident in Chapter 2, various theoretical frameworks and concepts from institutional theory, international development, and SFD contemporary literature informed my research. These theories and conceptual arguments, such as institutional work, provided

informative background for my study, supplying “sensitizing concepts” as I explored social actions and interactions. As such, they allowed my findings to, “be built up from and refer back to ideas already established in the literature” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 17).<sup>18</sup> Developing a research problematic based on an institutional ethnographic approach enabled me to examine how certain institutional work became taken-for-granted within the social relations in which they are embedded. Institutional ethnography provided a method to explicate how the social institutional order is put into practice (Smith, 2005) in the SSC – an order that is embedded with institutional work.

An important aspect of institutional ethnography is the intertextual environment, which is any form of text that influences the social relations within which particular people live and work. Smith (2005) explained how the ‘ruling relations’ of the institutional order are created and influences the social relations in which individuals take part, including the researcher, most especially when conducting ethnographic research. The ‘ruling relations’ do not refer to modes of domination, but rather according to Smith (2005, p. 227):

The concept of the ruling relations directs attention to the distinctive translocal forms of social organization and social relations mediated by texts of all kinds (print, film, television, computer, and so on) that have emerged and become dominant in the last two hundred years. They are objectified forms of consciousness and organization, constituted externally to particular people and places, creating and relying on textually based realities.

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<sup>18</sup> While also acknowledging that what is found may not be in agreement or connection with the contemporary literature.

Thus, the ‘ruling relations’ are mediated by texts that are interpreted by individuals and become objectified in the social relations in which they participate daily. These texts, albeit each person may have a different interpretation due to human subjectivity, is commonly institutionalized by its history over time and space (Smith, 2005). For example, ‘police officers’ have commonly become taken-for-granted and objectified as law enforcers. If one was to mention a police officer, an individual, recalling on past experiences of self (which for each person differs) and their textual objectifications (police officers on television), would typically know that a ‘police officer’ is a law enforcer. Depending on the socio-cultural context however, ‘police officer’ may have a very different connotation to certain people based on histories of police abuse or exploitation of power. Thus, although each person may have a different interpretation of a text due to human subjectivity, texts take on a role in society for objectifying the way phenomena are understood - traveling over time and space, texts reify historically held objectifications of social reality and are ‘translocal’, creating a juncture between those texts that are activated in local settings and the extra-local (outside of the local) (Smith, 2005).

The ‘ruling relations’ in my research were important to consider, as the SSC is located in an international context and various actors create and implement activities based on documents that inform SFD goals and objectives. Texts were mediated internationally from the Global North to the SMGSA, which were then transferred to the SSC for the purposes of SFD. These texts exhibit ruling practices by organizing people’s interest towards, “certain information because some facts are relevant to the organizational decision-making” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 36) while other

information is disregarded as the ruling practices become routine. In my research, it became necessary to note how texts played a role in the local organization due to the transfer of knowledge across international boundaries. I discuss further the role of documents in the SSC's structure and SFD design in Chapter 5.

It can be seen then that institutional ethnography is concerned with two analytical sites: (1) the original setting where people live and experience their actualities, and (2) the “extra- or trans-local that is outside the boundaries of one's everyday experience” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 31). In my study the SSC is the original setting where the institutional work of organizational actors and agency took place and the trans-local environment is where the ideas and text-mediated documents influenced people's social relations and everyday work at the SSC. This is merely to display how institutional ethnography is a way to explore the institutional work of the SSC – ideas, institutional work, and social relations are all at an interplay with one another and did not only occur at the micro level or macro level, but at multiple levels and across various organizational actors and individuals.

### **3.3 Methods**

#### *3.3.1 Case Study*

Case studies are commonly used when researchers wish to explore a phenomenon in a real-life context and when they wish to provide an in-depth analysis of a certain case (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013; Yin, 1994). Additionally, case studies are explicit rather than broad and strive to produce a detailed account of its contextual environment (e.g., cultural, political, social, or historical context). Case studies are typically bounded and can be holistic, such as in this study, seeking to provide a whole description of a



particular case and establishing limits on how much data collection takes place (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). For this critical institutional ethnography, this case study was bounded depending on how far matters of importance were extended by both the researcher and the research participants (Madison, 2005; Smith, 2005). Specifically, my research problematic and those social relations that became relevant throughout the research process defined the whole of the case study, which arose out of the local operation of the SSC and the research participants. A case study approach was an appropriate method to utilize for the purposes of this study – due to the complex relationship between the SSC at the local level and the social relations involved in its practices focused on sport development and SFD, an in-depth and detailed account of the organization as a whole allowed for deep insight into the organization and its broader role in sport in Swaziland.

Scholars however, have questioned case studies' ability to be applicable to other research contexts (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Flyvberg (2006) addressed five misunderstandings of case studies – three, in particular, including doubt on case studies' transferability, biases toward verification, and challenges of summarizing large amounts of information for one case were salient. He argued that although these challenges may definitely arise, a properly executed case study ensures that these limitations do not hinder studies. I quickly address these issues in order to dispel limitations in regards to my research.

In relation to case studies' generalizability<sup>19</sup>, I argue as Smith (2005) does, that institutions are themselves socially organized phenomena that are generalizable due to their extension across multiple settings. Flyvberg (2006) also noted that generalizability is overvalued in science, and argued that 'the force of example' is undervalued – case studies provide specific examples of research studies, and additionally, can sometimes be generalized as an alternative or complement to other methods. Other researchers as well as practitioners or members of organizations may learn from single case studies – for example, in the case of this study, various findings may be linked or similar to organizations implementing SFD in the global South (see Chapter 7).

Furthermore, Flyvberg (2006) argued that case studies are no more biased toward verification than other research approaches, and, conversely, actually have led to the falsification of preconceived notions of the researcher. In this case study, my research methodology continuously questions the role of the researcher and their influence in the production of knowledge – as spoken to further in the Trustworthiness section of this chapter, my own reflexive and ethical procedures in the process of research enabled me to reflect on and examine my own biases and understanding. Lastly, the issue of case studies' information overloading (an excessive amount of information that a researcher cannot possibly handle) is highlighted by Flyvberg (2006) not as a weakness but rather as a strength. He argued that attaining and analyzing a large amount of information (such as in this study which included participant-observation, interviews, and document analysis – see below) allows for the case study to achieve its thick and rich explication of a specific

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<sup>19</sup> I do not advantageously seek generalizability as the outcome of this study – I believe, like many critical scholars of SFD, that each SFD context yields a specific complex environment that is never identical to another. I also believe people experience social reality differently from one another. For this reason, I only speak of generalizability to address prominent issues of utilizing case study approaches.

social setting, and highlights the ‘little things’ of a case that enable the researcher to tell a story about the complex, diverse environment they studied (Flyvberg, 2006).

Additionally, the rich rigor of this case study (e.g., the amount of data collected and time in the field) contributes to achieving trustworthiness in qualitative research as discussed by Tracy (2010) (see Trustworthiness section).

Ethnographies and case studies have very much in common and both strive to examine how real-life activity occurs between people in certain environments. Schensul (1999) noted,

Case study researchers and ethnographers typically live with or in the institutions or groups they are studying for extended periods of time to become acquainted with the participants; understand the dynamics of their interaction; understand how they relate to the physical and material environment; and elicit the meanings, goals, and objectives that are important to participants. (p. 85)

I focused on one case, the SSC that is involved in SFD programming. This case study has a holistic design in which I developed the problematic and the focus of the study based on what I learned from people within the SSC. Additionally, I decided to conduct a case study as part of my research approach in order to provide a thick description and explication of the SSC and the embedded social relations involved. Since SFD programmes vary based on contextual factors and the environment in which they are located, focusing on one organization provided a detailed analysis of how SFD is understood and implemented in Swaziland, and thus, adds to the field of SFD.

*A critical institutional ethnographic case study.* I argue that critical ethnography and institutional ethnography may be employed successfully for the study of an

organization implementing SFD. Broadly speaking, these two approaches complement each other based on similar ideas that acknowledge the power relations inherently tied to conducting research. Critical ethnography is explicit in its understanding of power and emphasizes the role of the researcher in being open to new knowledge and perspective of Others (Kincheloe et al., 2011). Institutional ethnography argues that an ethnographer must allow their research focus (i.e., problematic) to be developed based on what participants experience in their everyday lives and how they are tied to broader social relations (Smith, 2005). Additionally, institutional ethnography complements critical ethnography by having a history of apprehending and investigating how the oppressed in society have been marginalized over time by dominant forces external to their control while at the same time acknowledging potential for change (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). Moreover, both approaches highlight how the researcher influences the environment in which they are and how their actions (including asking questions and writing up the research) are infused with power dynamics that may reproduce the dominant status quo that has constrained Others historically (Madison, 2005; Nichols, 2014). Committing to critical ethnography and institutional ethnography in this study, I connected with Others' way of knowing while at the same time analyzed how my own knowledge has been constructed – in this way, I was able to, “explore how knowing relates to power...how one's knowing is socially organized – by whom and by what” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 15). For this reason, I believe a critical institutional ethnographic case study approach was appropriate for this study. Furthermore, a case study design provided a detailed and explicit description of the SSC, the people involved with SSC and its various

partners, and the institutional order it both shapes and which shapes it. In the next section, I discuss the process of selecting a case and research site for this study.

*Case and research site selection.* Lofland et al. (2006) claimed that in order to select a research site and gain access for undertaking fieldwork, a researcher must conduct an appraisal of potential research sites with a consideration of the barriers they may face in that setting. I would argue however, that this research did not take a traditional path of locating a case study or research site. The selection of the research site was somewhat coincidental. I began to consider where I might be able to gain access to conduct research on SFD – as a first-time researcher, I was unsure where or how I would start to search for potential cases or sites. At this time, I was also considering the early stages of my research design and contemplating my methodology, and as such, began to develop the idea that I would seek to conduct research while being intimately involved with the social setting (i.e., ethnography). Luckily, I did not have to search far for a potential research site – inadvertently, as I was seeking different SFD organizations, I came across a scholarship programme at my University that is focused on sending student volunteers and interns to SFD and sport development organizations in the Global South. As such, this was an opportunity that I could not pass up – gaining access would be easier as an established relationship was already present between my University (Brock University) and a Canadian multi-games sport association (CMGSA). Brock University partners with the CMGSA and the CMGSA also partners with the Swaziland multi-games sport association (SMGSA) that oversees the local sport organization called the Swaziland Sport Centre (SSC). Together, the SMGSA and SSC implement the SFD programmes at the local level.

As part of the partnership between the CMGSA and SMGSA, I was involved in the social setting as an intern for the SSC at the same time as I researched (see Reflexivity section for more details). To gain access, I wrote an information letter for the CMGSA and SMGSA in order to ask the gatekeepers of the SSC and the SFD programmes if I may conduct research while I intern (see Appendix A). The letter included information about the study including its purpose, the potential benefits involved, and described how the research is completely voluntary. Both gatekeepers (one of which is an executive at the CMGSA and the other the Chief Executive Officer/Secretary-General of the SMGSA as well as supervisor of the SSC) granted permission for me to conduct ethnographic fieldwork within the SSC. Thus, there were relatively few barriers to gaining access for this research project – I came across an opportunity that was well suited for the purposes of my research project that also allowed me to gain access as a participant-observer. In addition to this information letter, upon arriving in Swaziland, I secured permission from the SMGSA to distribute an information letter about my research project to all actors involved in both the parent organization (SMGSA) and the local sport centre (SSC). This letter provided people with information about the research, as well as notified them that I would be conducting participant-observation (see Appendix B).

Before commencing fieldwork, I received confirmation to undertake the research from Brock University's Research Ethics Board (BREB). The BREB ensures that all researchers at Brock act ethically and conduct research in appropriate ways. Upon gaining access from the CMGSA and SMGSA, as well as the BREB, fieldwork began in early May 2016. Although the CMGSA acted as a gatekeeper to this research due to its

partnership with the SMGSA and Brock University, I was not actually involved in the workplace of the organization located in Canada. However, it is still important to provide an overview of the CMGSA and its role in the partnership with the SMGSA and by extension, the SSC, which I do in the following paragraphs.

The CMGSA is a Canadian multi-games sport association that seeks to strengthen sport within Canada and other nations of the world by hosting sport events, enhancing sport development, and using SFD as a means to encourage positive social development.<sup>20</sup> It comprises a volunteer board of directors made up of ten individuals who are selected based on their relative experience and enthusiasm for sport in Canada. Additionally, 16 individual members as well as professional staff who are responsible for carrying out the everyday duties and tasks related to the organization support this volunteer board of directors. The CMGSA's core values include excellence, development, and community, and 'believe' in these three values to guide their excellence in sport in Canada. Through these core values, they seek to successfully strategize in two distinct areas, that of which include: (1) sport excellence, concerned with improving the performance of Canadian athletes, coaches, and national sport organizations (NSOs); and (2) sport and development, focused on achieving individual and community development objectives using the 'power of sport', specifically by sharing SFD know-how, skills, and resources. There are four other distinct areas that the CMGSA strives to improve in its core operations: (1) hosting sport events and cultivating national and international relations; (2) branding and communication; (3) marketing; and

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<sup>20</sup> Some information in regards to the CMGSA and SMGSA in this section has been obtained from online sources – however, as confidentiality of the research site is being secured, I do not provide any reference to the websites I accessed for this information.

(4) organizational effectiveness. Each strategic area encompasses its own specific programmes that are implemented by the CMGSA, and individuals who greatly contribute to the CMGSA and its strategic areas are motivated and rewarded by way of an awards programme that honours specific people for their work.

Members of the CMGSA suggest that they hold a strong presence in the Canadian sport landscape and their involvement with both sport development and SFD is based on the idea that sport and its values are a way to break barriers and connect people of different socio-economic characteristics. They seek to provide SFD to nations with which they have strong relationships and emphasize that fairplay and friendliness are key components to any sport programme wishing to derail racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and marginalization. Two of the CMGSA sub-programmes focus specifically on implementing SFD programmes in Canada and other nations abroad, such as Swaziland in the case of this study.

The CMGSA SFD aspect of its organization was created in 2001<sup>21</sup> and seeks to send ‘Canadian sport leaders’ to nations around the world as part of one week to one year placements, who seek to assist in creating and implementing sustainable sport programmes and develop sport capabilities. As of 2016, the CMGSA has sent over 200 Canadians to over 30 countries around the world, which includes those students from Brock University (such as myself) who have the potential opportunity of traveling to other areas of the world for the purposes of sport. Presently, the CMGSA operates SFD programme in seven different countries for varying lengths of time, each being concerned with objectives related to the local setting in which it operates. The role of the Canadian

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<sup>21</sup> This is the CMGSA’s most recent SFD programme – it is uncertain when they first became involved in SFD, however I believe it to be the early 1990s.



interns in the organizations with which the CMGSA partners have become increasingly important in the remaining chapters of this study – the CMGSA relies on interns to be able to provide knowledge, direction, and guidance to their partners. This includes myself, who upon my arrival in Swaziland and the local SSC, was expected to contribute to the organization in various ways that led to challenges and opportunities throughout the research process. The role of Canadian interns in both the SMGSA and SSC for which I interned and researched became an important element of the SFD programmes at the local level throughout fieldwork. Highlighting the primary purpose of the CMGSA and other elements of the organization provides a backdrop for the organization's involvement with SFD and the SSC. The next section examines the Swaziland multi-games sport association (SMGSA) and the Sport Success Centre – the two organizations that served as the primary focus of this case study and where I conducted research from May to August 2016.

### *3.3.2 Background of Research Sites: The SMGSA and SSC*

The SMGSA was formed in 1968 by King Sobhuza II and was developed further in 1972 to encompass a broader range of objectives and events, including a focus on spreading ethical and moral values, creating friendship, and improving a sense of collectivity in Swaziland. The executive board comprises 11 individuals (one of which is Canadian) and nine administrative staff members supporting them. The organization relies heavily on volunteers to assist in organizational operations and has many objectives to achieve, including the promotion of sport ethics, gender equality, and peace, as well as concern over environmental issues. The organization also partners with various government and non-governmental bodies in an attempt to achieve harmonious relations

and to succeed in their social setting. In this study, the most prominent partnership is with the CMGSA, who sends Canadian interns to the SMGSA to assist in the workplace.

The SMGSA's organizational structure is made up of an executive board that oversees and directs the operations of the organization. Additionally, the CEO/Secretary General of the SMGSA holds the highest position within the actual workplace of the SMGSA and hires, directs, and runs the organization on a daily basis, which includes overseeing the SSC. The CEO also holds a position on the executive board, the only employee to do so. The other eight employees have positions such as project officer, project manager, messenger, project assistant, office administrator, and finance officer, amongst others. No hierarchical structure was stated in organizational documents other than the CEO is the highest position of authority. Based on my fieldwork, the office administrator and project manager were seen as the two highest positions below the CEO.

Due to the SMGSA being a national multi-games and service organization representing Swaziland in international sport competitions, it is primarily concerned with sport development in its constitution and charter, emphasizing how professional sport and elite training may lead to an improved sense of unity and harmony within Swaziland culture and society. In addition to a focus on athlete development, the SMGSA also provides proper facilities, coaching frameworks, and sport administration training to national sport associations in the country of Swaziland. The SMGSA has various stakeholders and partners to which they are responsible due to their national role in the country. These stakeholders and partners include: the CMGSA (provides human resources from Canada); the government of Swaziland (provides regulations, guidelines and resources related to sport for the SMGSA); the United Nations (funds sport and

education projects such as the specific SFD programmes); the various sport associations (e.g., Swaziland Gymnastics Association); the public of Swaziland; and the Sport Success Centre (discussed further below), amongst other groups and organizations. Based on their various stakeholders, the SMGSA is tasked with providing a number of events, programmes, and services to athletes, organizations, and individuals of Swaziland both for the purposes of sport development and SFD. Included in their services are the creation, operation, and execution of SFD programming. These programmes are carried out through the SSC at the local level, striving to contribute positively to surrounding communities, youth, and Swaziland via sport and education.

Notably, the SMGSA heavily influences the function of the local SSC. As the overarching ‘parent’ organization, the SMGSA is responsible for overseeing, funding, and providing resources to the local SSC. The SMGSA also controls the ongoing operation of the SSC – it hires the employees, implements events and programmes, and generally runs the SSC from afar. The physical site of the SMGSA is in the city of Mbabane, Swaziland, whereas the physical site of the SSC is located in Lobamba, Swaziland – about 20.8 kilometers from one another or a 25 minute car drive down the MR3 highway, one of the few major roadways in Swaziland. As an intern and researcher, I spent numerous days at the physical site of the SMGSA when not working at the SSC. Upon my initial entry into the organization, I worked at the SMGSA site for the first month of fieldwork approximately 35-40 hours a week and also on other days when requested (i.e., such as large sport events or when extra assistance was needed).

The physical location of the SMGSA is within the heart of the ‘industrial sites’ of Mbabane, Swaziland. Driving up to the office, businesses such as automobile mechanics,

paper production companies, and the Times of Swaziland newspaper offices (directly across the street) displays how the SMGSA is surrounded by other business ventures. While in the offices, the constant sound of construction occurred due to renovations being completed in the back of the offices – the SMGSA is expanding into another building to create a museum and more office space. The office was very rarely quiet – power tools used for the renovations, yelling from the mechanics next door, and roosters crowing and walking freely outside would filter into the open window’s high up on the office walls. The building was spacious and organized into rooms split by walls and doors. All the doors remained open - except one (the CEO’s) – allowing people to move freely from one room to the other.

In the ‘main’ office space, five desks were set up around the room, including mine that was located between two other people’s desk. Nine people worked in the space, with the office administrator in the entrance area, the finance officer in his own office near the entrance, and the CEO in her own much larger office. Five of us worked in the main office space – discussion occurred occasionally, ranging from work-related conversation to individual’s personal lives. Many times, silence would permeate the room during the day for hours at a time while everyone worked. The constant hum of heater fans punctuated the silence – the concrete tiled floors and red orange concrete walls emitted a cold climate within the office, making the heater fans necessary. Various people visited the offices throughout the day, including athletes, SMGSA board members, construction workers, SSC workers, to name a few. Every day at the SMGSA, all nine individuals in the office worked on specific duties relative to their position, whether that was communications assistant, project officer, or finance officer. Of importance is the fact

that 2016 was an Olympic year for the Summer Games – thus, organizational duties, events, and management focus were primarily geared towards the upcoming event. This included preparing events related to the Rio Olympic Games (see Chapter 5), selecting athletes to travel to Brazil to represent Swaziland (a total of two athletes), and many logistical tasks (such as planning travel accommodations for athletes, coaches, and representatives of the SMGSA and government) in the work of the SMGSA. Thus, it is necessary to recognize that the organizational work of the SMGSA and the SSC presented in Chapters 5 and 6 may have been (in)directly influenced by the Rio 2016 Olympic Games.

An understanding of the SMGSA and its organizational structure, operations, and physical site provides information in regards to the organization and workplace in which I was involved as both intern and researcher. To provide further context of this case study, the next section examines the local SSC and its physical site, the research setting in which I was primarily involved throughout this critical institutional ethnographic case study.

Very little information about the local SSC was available on the SMGSA's website – however, information about the physical site and workplace of the SSC was gained throughout fieldwork by way of participant-observation and analysis of documents. In 1994, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) first awarded funding for the SSC to the SMGSA and was sourced by a new foundation that the IOC created, called the Olympafrica Foundation (see Guest, 2009 for an extensive review of the Olympafrica Foundation). Thus, the SSC is a non-governmental organization like the SMGSA. After years of deliberation, the SSC was built in Lobamba, Swaziland in 1999

and opened later that year for operation. The SSC is primarily a sport development centre that hosts tournaments, rents courts and facilities to external organizations (such as schools), runs community and national sport events, offers daily sport activities, and also engages in sport and education projects that include SFD programming. In the SSC handbook, the question of, ‘Who are we?’ is posed and answered:

We are a centre that uses physical activity to better the lives of others. We use sports, games, courses and workshops to educate children, adults, volunteers, coaches, parents and teachers who come to the centre. Our sports coaches deliver programmes through quality coaching. We give our volunteers the opportunity to better themselves with self-empowerment initiatives and the opportunity to take different courses and workshops. We are the people’s project. (SSC Handbook, 2014, p. 4).

The SSC is a centre that seeks to provide development to those in the community both in sport and in their own personal lives. Volunteers, employees, and members of the SSC have opportunities to enhance their skills and education by participating in programmes at the SSC and learning. Through the philosophy of Olympism<sup>22</sup> and their own values (discussed further below), the SSC strives to achieve their mission statement, which is:

To promote sport for all programmes, organise activities that are cultural and educational for youth and adults, to develop and train volunteers, coaches, administrators, officials in collaboration with SMGSA, to improve participation in quality recreation and sport activities, to achieve excellence in sport performance

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<sup>22</sup> Olympism is a way of life promoted by the IOC. It is, “the perfect balance of body, will and mind. It is about blending sport with culture and education. Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for the universal fundamental ethical principles (OAC Handbook, 2014).

and to ensure equal opportunity in participation of men and women in the training and recreational activities. (SSC Handbook, 2014, p. 5)

Furthermore, the SSC strives to engage in four major areas of work that contribute to achieving their mission statement: (1) recreation (physical or non-physical activities in which people participate); (2) sport (physical activity following rules and involving competition); (3) education (delivery of teaching and developing individuals); and (4) self-empowerment community initiatives (supporting business community initiatives) (SSC Handbook, 2014). For the purposes of this study, the three areas of work in which I was most involved as both intern and researcher were the components of sport, recreation, and education.

While in the field, the majority of my time as both intern and researcher was spent at the SSC site and, from June to August 2016, I would spend every day from 0900 until 1600 at the local site (except on Saturday and Sundays). A daily kombi (bus) ride would take me to Mbabane, at which point I would get off the kombi and walk the remaining distance, about 200 meters, to the SSC. A dusty, beige, red clay path would lead me to the front gates of the centre, which, when closed, would be locked by the security guard(s) who remained at the site throughout the day and night. The walk to the SSC was beautiful – from afar, the SSC building stood out directly to the right of the country's football (soccer) stadium. In the distance, mountains could be seen on the horizon in every direction you looked when standing within the boundaries of the SSC. To the right of the entrance, the red brick building of the SSC housed various areas of the centre: the storage room, holding large bags of hand-made sport equipment that was used in programming and delivered to schools of Swaziland; the SSC hall, where meetings,

training sessions, and other activities took place; the kitchen, a small rectangle room for cooking and water; and the bathrooms, many times which would not be available due to water supply issues or limited hygienic products. The most important area of the large, concrete floored building was the office space. Two large wooden desks stood side by side to one another at the far end of the office closest to the entrance, with various documents, laptops, food, pens, and other items strewn across their surfaces. Posters were pasted on the walls promoting 'sport for life', tables stood in various spots, sponsor banners hung from the ceiling, and shelves against the walls held first aid equipment, medals, certificates, and other organizational documents that stuck out haphazardly. Sport equipment lined the back of the room, including gymnastics beams, baseball bats, and soccer balls that had rolled near the refrigerator in the back right of the office. Dust through the open door would accumulate on top of the desks and swirl around the office, while the sun shining in through the door and single window displayed the dust particles in the air. The smell of the office was almost always the same – a stale, paper-like smell that would occasionally change when large oranges, avocados, and fruits were eaten inside. On days when tournaments or sport competitions were held, the chanting of school songs and yelling from fans would echo into the office and break the silence. Through the football stadium speakers, announcements could be heard when events were taking place next-door to the SSC. On days with no events, volunteers and members of the SSC would routinely come into the office, offering breaks in work to those employed at the SSC. Card games would begin outside under the tree near the courts, videos would be played on laptops, or general conversation would occur. Other times, volunteers and



employees would sit in silence for hours at a time and individuals would be on their phones, laptops, or simply sleeping.

The SMGSA employees were often engaged in the completion of work, sitting at their desks and working on assigned tasks. At the SSC, work was not as common as at the SMGSA or in my own experience in the Global North – work rarely occurred on a daily basis, with my co-workers opting to play cards, watch sport tournaments or events taking place on the courts outside, or just conversing rather than fulfilling organizational duties. Importantly, the work and tasks of the SSC are dictated by the SMGSA to those at the local SSC site – this also included myself while I was involved in the SSC as an intern. Any work that was carried out at the SSC, whether a court booking, an SFD training session, or a large community event, would be planned and carried out by the SMGSA and then delegated to the SSC. At this point, the SSC would be responsible for preparing the facilities for what would take place – for example, a court booking (depending on the sport) would mean that workers would set up the required equipment for the event. All information and knowledge regarding practices, policies, and programming (including documents) would flow from the SMGSA to the SSC. Thus, as evident in the following chapters, the role of the SMGSA in the operations of the SSC cannot be ignored.

The physical site of the SSC in this case is important to understand, as it is not only where I interned and carried out research for four months, but also the site where SFD programming is implemented and conducted. Although the SSC is the site where SFD takes place, the SMGSA plays a major role in the design and implementation of the SFD programming due to its role as a parent-organization. The two specific SFD

programmes that have been created by the SMGSA are: Leaders-in-Training (LIT) and Life Values Programme (LVP). These programmes are the main focus of the ‘SFD’ component of the SMGSA as well as the SSC, and in Chapter 5, I discuss further the purposes, description, and aims of the initiatives as well as how the SSC was also a site of sport development.

### **3.4 Data Collection Methods**

#### *3.4.1 Fieldwork*

I chose to conduct fieldwork for the purposes of this study because it provided a range of data collection methods that I utilized to become closely involved with the participants of the research setting and the environment in which they work (Lofland et al., 2006). Collecting data is a crucial aspect of critical ethnography and institutional ethnography – I acknowledged above how data collection and how privileging certain knowledge over Others is extremely important when conducting a critical ethnography. During data collection, I was guided by a fundamental query in order to properly prepare for data analysis.<sup>23</sup> “What does the data tell me about how this setting or event happens as it does?” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 83).

In order for me to understand how the everyday work of people in the SFD programme connected with the broader institutional order in which they exist and shape, three data collection strategies of semi-structured interviews, participant-observation, and documents allowed me to link how local actualities of research participants are embedded in the social relations of the institutional order that becomes taken-for-granted by many and oppress individuals of society through unequal power relations. Campbell and Gregor

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<sup>23</sup> Data collection and analysis were intertwined and in many cases during data collection, data analysis occurred during my time in the field.

(2002) stated, “to be able to move from local accounts and local action to the social relations of ruling, research must be conducted at different levels” (p. 81). These two levels of data collection for institutional ethnography include entry-level data, which were data about the individuals and their local environment (that of the SSC), and, as the problematic formed, level two data that described and analyzed the broader setting in which they are embedded, such as the SMGSA and the cultural context of Swaziland (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). Utilizing interviews, participant-observation, and documents for data collection enabled me to become familiar with the everyday activities of people who shaped my research problematic and assisted in understanding the SSC’s institutional environment. Before describing the specific methods of data collection for this study I describe the key informants or participants.

*Research Participants.* Participants of this study, in a general sense, included any individual with which I interacted while in the field during participant-observation. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 50 years old (as well as possibly younger or older). Upon becoming immersed in the field, key research participants who were important in the local site of the SSC became noticeable and these individuals were the ones with which I purposely conversed in order to understand the SFD work of the SSC. Although I conducted participant-observation for four months in the field and engaged in discussion with numerous people from within the SSC, the SMGSA, and beyond, key participants were identified based on my ethnographic approach that became important to the context of this study and story. Therefore, I provide brief descriptions of the four research

participants<sup>24</sup> who were most significant throughout this study and who are vital to the functions of the SSC workplace and its SFD programming.

1. Margaret (Chief Executive Officer/Secretary General of the SMGSA; Employer and Supervisor of those at the SSC; Research Gatekeeper and Intern Supervisor)
  - Margaret is a white, English-speaking, South African woman in her 40s or 50s who moved to Swaziland in the late 1980s to work within sport. She was primarily involved with South African gymnastics and sport financial positions before her involvement with the SMGSA in Swaziland. She has been involved with the SMGSA from 1989 and was elected as Secretary-General in 1993 for the SMGSA. In 2004, Margaret left the SMGSA to return to South Africa to assist with gymnastics and rope-skipping competitions. She returned to the SMGSA in 2011 as the Secretary-General and, at the present, remains the head of the organization. Margaret is authoritative, demanding, and very passionate about the work and success of the SMGSA – she would not ‘ask’ for tasks to be completed but would ‘tell’, and would also speak intensely about sport and the SMGSA/SSC. She is referred to by all in the organization as ‘Mrs. H’ and is the head - the ‘boss’ (referred to by others in the SSC/SMGSA as this) - of the SMGSA and the SSC, and all documents, policies, practices, events, and organizational activities must be approved by her. She has created and is primarily involved in all SFD programming at the SSC and is very knowledgeable of the programmes and SMGSA/SSC as a whole. Margaret

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<sup>24</sup> Pseudonyms are used for each of the four participants – for the local Swazi’s, Swazi names were given to them based on the name’s definition.

is responsible for a vast majority of the organization and seemed commonly overwhelmed and busy due to her heavy workload – breathing heavy sighs and holding her head in her hands during moments of particular busyness (see Chapter 4). She is also very direct, harsh, and confrontational in the workplace – offering her point of view and thoughts without hesitation while overriding others’ ideas or comments. Employees of both sites of work did not engage in discussion about work practices, policies, and daily tasks with Margaret unless they were asked. The SSC workers would remain quiet during Margaret’s visits to the SSC, rarely talking unless spoken to. Although Margaret’s leadership style was authoritative, she was also involved in various interactions with people in the SSC in well-intentioned ways. For example, Margaret displayed mentorship by supporting SSC interns and employee in schooling and sometimes work practices; she was involved in various meals that were shared by all SSC workers; and she would occasionally talk about SSC volunteers or workers as her ‘kiddies’<sup>25</sup>. Margaret is the figurehead of both the SMGSA and SSC and has the largest and most influential role in the organization.

2. Jabulani<sup>26</sup> (SSC Manager, Former Volunteer of the SSC, and Former Participant/Member of the SSC)

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<sup>25</sup> It is important to recognize that in the following chapters Margaret’s role in the SMGSA/SSC is focused on due to her central role in both organizations. Although her actions and interactions may have been well-intended (e.g., providing funding for SSC volunteers to attend school), these occurrences also have unintended consequences (whether ‘good’ or ‘bad’) that may also exemplify how “support”, although well-intentioned, may be an example of “Othering” or at least one of ‘aid’ or the ‘saviour’ to those Others.

<sup>26</sup> Meaning ‘be happy’ in siSwati.

- Jabulani is a Black, Indigenous, male Swazi in his early 30s who is the manager of the SSC and ‘head’ of its operations. He lives locally in one of the homesteads near the SSC, and was born and raised in Swaziland. Jabulani speaks the native language of siSwati and although he can speak English, he prefers not to. Jabulani first started competing in sport events at the SSC in 2005 before deciding to volunteer in the organization. When volunteering, a former manager of the SSC recognized his work at the centre and asked him to become a driver of the SSC bus, allowing him to travel for the purposes of the SSC. His role became increasingly prominent in the SSC and in 2008 when he was given a position as the SSC coordinator/assistant manager. In 2014/2015, upon the departure of the former SSC manager, Jabulani became the present head of the SSC. Jabulani is quiet and despite his position, rarely ‘tells’ others what to do. However, people at the SSC know that he is the manager and follow his lead. While leading school training sessions or activities, he is loud, full of confidence, and displays enthusiasm by organizing activities involving songs, dancing, and sports through the microphone and speaker. Jabulani is also very welcoming and kind to all – whenever a person would come to the SSC, Jabulani would smile, greet them, and assist them in whatever they needed. However, many days, Jabulani would rarely engage in ‘work’ duties – rather, he would play cards, watch events at the soccer stadium, or converse with others. Jabulani is responsible for the daily functioning of the centre and its operations, such as booked

events/tournaments, providing assistance to guests, and reporting to the SMGSA on the centre's resources, practices, and ongoing activities.

3. Thabani<sup>27</sup> (SSC Intern/Employee, Former Volunteer of the SSC, and Former Participant/Member of the SSC)

- Thabani is a Black, Indigenous, male Swazi in his early 20s who assists Thabani in carrying out SSC tasks and activities. Although Thabani is technically below in the organizational structure, the two work mostly together and on the same level of authority in most cases. On days Jabulani is away from the SSC, Thabani is in charge. Thabani also lives close to the SSC in a community homestead and speaks siSwati. He speaks English very well, however only used the language when speaking to me or other English speaking people. Thabani has been involved with the SSC as a member, participant, volunteer, and intern/employee since its inception and was first given the opportunity to intern in 2014. Throughout his time interning, Margaret (through both her own means and the SMGSA) has paid for his schooling outside of work and recently Thabani started to receive payment for work at the SSC. He first began coming to the SSC when it was being built, and has been present almost daily at the site for 15 years from Monday to Sunday. Thabani is outgoing, talkative, and energetic – he regularly is yelling, joyfully talking with people at the SSC, or leading sport activities as well as singing and dancing. He was often the ‘centre of the attention’ when in groups at the

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<sup>27</sup> Meaning ‘you all be joyful’ in siSwati.

SSC and very loud. Whether he is teaching people or simply speaking to me, he laughs, smiles, and likes to tell jokes. Thabani especially likes to talk to young women who come to the SSC and spends large amounts of time talking to them—more details regarding this behaviour are explored in Chapter 6. As part of his intern/employee responsibilities, he does much the same work as Jabulani when work needs to be completed – however, also like Jabulani, on many days Thabani would seem not to be involved in ‘work’ duties.

4. Thembile<sup>28</sup> (SSC Intern, Former Volunteer of the SSC, and Former Participant/Member of the SSC)

- Thembile is a Black, Indigenous, female Swazi in her late teens/early 20s who was recently brought on as an unpaid intern at the SSC (in June of my fieldwork). Thembile also lives in a homestead near the SSC and has been involved with the SSC in some capacity from 2006. She holds a unique position in the organization – she is one of only 2 female volunteers (out of approximately 25-30) at the SSC who were involved with the organization during my time there. As an intern, Margaret pays for her schooling (through both her own means and the SMGSA) as she did previously with Thabani. Thembile is the only female worker at the SSC presently and during my time there. Thembile speaks siSwati and has limited knowledge of the English language. She is shy, quiet, and prefers to do ‘her own thing’ – often staying online on her cell phone while other

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<sup>28</sup> Meaning ‘hopeful/trust’ in siSwati.



members and volunteers at the centre were conversing or playing cards. Thembile would assist in the duties of the centre, most of the time teaching tennis to youth as well as helping with the set-up of courts and the SSC hall. As evident in Chapter 6, Thembile's role became prominent in this study.

These four research participants were key actors in the SSC and the SFD programmes. Throughout the four months of fieldwork, they became increasingly important in the operations, social relations, and practices of the SSC. Other volunteers, members, participants of the SSC and co-workers of mine from the SMGSA were a part of the setting involved in this study; however, their role was not as prominent as those key actors described above. Although the research site was located at the SSC and the SMGSA, other data based on my own involvement in the country of Swaziland outside of the organizational workplace are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 to complement the data obtained from within the SSC and SMGSA. Additionally, my role as a participant-observer who acted as both a researcher and intern within the SSC played a prominent part throughout this study. Therefore, below, I briefly provide a description of my role in the SSC and my background:

##### 5. Mitchell McSweeney (Researcher, SMGSA/SSC Intern)

- I am a white, 23-year old, male Canadian from a middle-class family who was selected as an intern for the SMGSA and SSC as part of an internship programme through my University. I was also given permission to conduct research within the organizations for the purpose of my master's thesis. I only speak English (although I was able to learn limited siSwati)

and my intern supervisor, Margaret, tasked me with the responsibility of being the ‘SSC Manager.’ As an intern and researcher, I worked daily at the SMGSA in May 2016 and worked daily at the SSC from June through August 2016. I was the only white person and non-native language speaker at the SSC on a daily basis, other than limited times when another white person would happen to be at the SSC or Margaret was present. As an intern, I was mostly responsible for carrying out a sport and education project that saw SSC workers travel to schools to teach sport and (supposedly) teach values of sport. I also assisted in the daily tasks for which the other SSC workers above were responsible. Additionally, I was given duties such as preparing budgets, action plans for certain events (i.e., ‘Parent Day’, School Sport Festivals, and Olympic Day Run activities), as well as preparing a daily programming schedule for the SSC to implement. In essence, Margaret expected me to act as the leader of the SSC and run various components of the organization.

I describe my role here to clarify my work and position as an intern—further discussion related to how my role and background was considered in light of my research is provided in Chapter 4 where I detail my use of reflexivity. One important note to highlight here is my lack of ability to speak fluent siSwati – everyone at the SSC, even more so than the SMGSA, spoke siSwati to each other. My use of the English language (although I made a concerted effort to learn and speak siSwati as much as possible) created a challenge while in the field and in the workplace. Despite this, fieldwork as a researcher and work as an intern was completed and without significant incidents or

problems due to language barriers. In the next section, I discuss the specific methods I utilized to obtain my data for this critical institutional ethnographic case study.

### *3.4.2 Participant-Observation*

My primary form of data collection was acting as a participant-observer. Creswell (2005) noted, “as a participant, you assume the role of an ‘inside’ observer who actually engages in activities at the study site. At the same time that you are participating in activities, you record information” (p. 205). Additionally, the ethnographer is commonly a participant-observer, who writes down what he/she sees, hears, smells, feels, and learns from their experiences in order to build a thick description of the social setting in which they are involved (Emerson, 2001; Emerson et al., 1995). Through observation and participating, the researcher is able to apprehend those he/she is studying and the social setting in which they are embedded, as well as allows the researcher to become “intimately familiar” with the environment (Lofland et al., 2006, p. 16). In this way, the researcher is not an objective observer who is detached from the social setting – they are involved with participants and are ultimately responsible for deciding what to account for and what to leave out in fieldnotes, as well as the development of research questions and inquiry (Fife, 2005; Lofland et al., 2006).

As participant-observer, I conducted observation and unstructured interviews or conversations.<sup>29</sup> I engaged in conversation while communicating with people in my daily duties as intern, and thus, was continuously involved in the social relations of the people involved in the organization. During these moments of communicating with people,

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<sup>29</sup> Unstructured interviewing is when the researcher and research participant have a discussion with no questions guiding the direction of the conversation (or perhaps one posed by the researcher). Many scholars refer to it as conversation, or, in institutional ethnography, ‘talking to people’ (Campbell & Gregor, 2004).

people would often say something that was particularly interesting, or as the discussion emerged, the topic of interest became fascinating in relation to my research. In these moments, I asked people whether they mind elaborating on something specific they mentioned or asked whether I may write down information about our conversation (see Appendix C for a verbal script). This allowed individuals to realize that he/she may be involved in the research— and if he/she rejected, I respected their wishes – however, this did not occur.

During participant-observation, the institutional ethnographer listens for repetitive words and watches for recurring activity of people (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). The institutional ethnographer seeks to understand how what happens in a certain situation is connected to something that has happened ‘over there’ and uses his/her data (i.e., fieldnotes) to map out how what happened in actuality is connected to an individual’s specific actions or experience (Nichols, 2014; Smith, 2005). The personal accounts of people and the closeness that the participant-observer has with the social setting “can be rich for institutional ethnography if researchers learn how to see, hear about, and otherwise understand what people do in the course of their everyday lives” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 70). While I watched for recurring language and activity of people in the field, I was also guided by “sensitizing concepts”—those concepts from my review of literature and theoretical framework, which framed my observations. However, in coherence with an ethnographic approach, I remained open to emergent aspects and to the possibility of some of my sensitizing concepts becoming less important than others in understanding the role of institutional processes in the implementation of local SFD programming. In fact, my research question posed before commencing fieldwork that

focused on the institutional logics of SFD in the local SSC was removed from this study due to its limited importance as fieldwork progressed.

In terms of participation involvement, I acted as a moderate to active participant in the research setting, due to my attachment with the activities, processes, and operations of the SSC (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). This means that as I participated I was able to, “seek to do what other people are doing, not merely to gain acceptance, but to more fully learn the cultural rules for behaviour” (Spradley, 1979, p. 60). Many times, I was fully engaged as an active participant within the research setting because of my role as intern. However, during other times, I acted as a moderate participant – weighing when I should act as an insider or outsider, as well as between participation and observation (Madison, 2005; Spradley, 1979). For example, when visiting a traditional Swazi village outside of the SSC, I acted as an outsider and only moderately participated in a guide of the village, because I did not know the etiquettes of such a lifestyle. As another example, upon first being involved with school visits, SSC workers would dance at the end of the sessions to music – dancing being a common activity within Swazi culture. All SSC workers would dance while, at least for the first 2-3 school visits, I watched or very slowly became involved. Upon learning how to ‘dance’ (something I rarely do) and realizing I should not be embarrassed due to the open environment, I would dance with the rest of the SSC workers and school students at the end of visits. Thus, I intuitively decided, as the

researcher-as-*bricoleur* and participant-observer, when to become more fully involved in a setting and when to distance myself from an activity or interaction.<sup>30</sup>

As a participant-observer, on a daily basis, I was involved in unstructured interviewing or conversations with individuals while at work at the SSC and in my day to day activities getting to and from work and engaging in activities outside of work. These conversations took the form of many different modes of communication, including casual conversations with a person I had just met (which occurred many times outside the research setting) or a conversation that may be guided by a specific question I have for a participant (such as when I had informal ‘interviews’ with SSC workers). Regardless, these conversations were not as formal as the semi-structured in-depth interviews I conducted – rather than using an audio recorder to listen, I would listen to what the individual was saying and recorded notes by hand in my fieldnote memo pad. Additionally, being a participant-observer meant that I was able to experience certain elements of the social world along with participants. Being involved firsthand and being able to follow up with participants through dialogues about experiences facilitated my understanding and extended my knowledge of life in and around the SSC and the local context. Dialogue, as Smith (2005) noted, is never able to provide the full totality of an individual’s experience. However, without dialogue, we are limited to only self-interpretation of certain activities or procedures we witness (Smith, 2005). Therefore, when I talked with people, casual conversations were important as I sought to

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<sup>30</sup> There were times when I faced a tension as both researcher and intern – in extreme cases, as an intern, I was asked to do something I did not want to do. In these instances, reflexivity was of vital importance as I sought to understand these inherent tensions of the self (see Chapter 6). An example of such a tension was when, as the new intern, I was given Thabani’s desk at the SSC. However, by distancing myself from the situation (I did not engage actively in the conversation) I was able to take another desk and later told Thabani that the desk I had was “good”.

comprehend specific experiences of multiple individuals involved in social relations in the SSC. For example, in one particular instance, I witnessed rotations of groups at a school based on dancing – rather than telling each SSC worker it was time to rotate groups, one group would start singing and dancing and begin a ‘chain-reaction,’ where all groups rotated. I asked Thabani about this in a conversation and he informed me that that is how the SSC workers communicate. Thus, I became aware at school sport visits that in order to begin a rotation, I must communicate through singing and dancing. These strategies above were used to assist me in appropriately carrying out participant-observation.

*Fieldnotes.* I kept a fieldnote journal throughout the course of fieldwork and participant-observation, in which I recorded my observations as descriptively as possible about the research setting, the actions and interactions involved, and the key people within these actions and interactions – basically what was going on, where, and how. In addition to these descriptive notes, I also recorded observer comments as I reflected on the initial descriptive notes – these comments were highlighted by ‘OC’ in my journal. It was important to distinguish between my observational comments and my descriptive notes for the purposes of seeing my own thoughts compared to what was going on.

Writing fieldnotes is a crucial element of ethnography and cannot be taken-for-granted by researchers (Emerson et al., 1995). The researcher transforms what he/she observes into words on paper through processes of selection and thus, as mentioned above, chooses to represent objects and participants in particular ways (Emerson et al., 1995; Madison, 2005). The fieldnotes that are written during a particular time and space in the research setting are the data that researchers use for their findings – the methods of

a study, then, cannot be separated from the data or findings in an ethnography (Madison, 2005). Writing fieldnotes is an intuitive process carried out by the researcher. Although I was a first-time ethnographer with no research experience when entering the field, I followed guidelines and tactics suggested by experienced researchers that I utilized while in the field (Emerson et al., 1995; Spradley, 1979). These strategies were as follows:

- When I was in the field, if possible, I tried to write fieldnotes as events occurred in the environment. If I was not able to write notes immediately, I would often find a way to excuse myself or make a mental note to myself to recall later.
- I sought to provide fine detail, value, and detailed reports of interaction so that when re-reading fieldnotes, I would understand the processes of social interaction at that time.
- Due to English being rarely spoken and my attempts to learn siSwati, I wrote down key expressions and terms while in the research setting, one example being ‘fishing’ (see Chapter 6).
- I would reflect on and make a judgment on when, where, and how to write fieldnotes (e.g., when in a meeting, I would write notes in my work journal whereas in the middle of a sport training session, I would write notes later).

These guidelines assisted me in writing fieldnotes while I became immersed in the research setting. As part of data collection, and in addition to a reflexive journal, I made observational notes and comments in a small notebook while acting as participant-observer. Based on situational and ethical contexts, I also decided when it was best to write a note down. For example, in some cases, I waited until after a conversation with someone to write a note, such as when having a random conversation with a person I just



met; conversely, in some cases, I felt that it would be better to demonstrate to the individual that I was taking notes, so as to remind them that I was conducting research, such as when SSC volunteers would be speaking to me.

At the end of each day, I wrote full fieldnotes based on my notes and conducted an overview of what I wrote that day – I made comments, connections, and analytical memos about patterns, themes, and interesting notes that emerged. These patterns and themes, as well as questions that I developed based on the data I collected, was used to guide me as I acted as a participant-observer and focused the study on the specific social relations involved in my research problematic. Additionally, I maintained a reflexive journal that included my feelings about my own experience in the social setting, methodological issues that arose throughout the research process, and thoughts I was having about my own approach to research, including my view of social reality. Upon returning to Canada, I typed up my fieldnotes in Microsoft Word – due to time constraints and computer access, I was not able to type out fieldnotes while in the field. As my primary means of data collection, participant-observation and my fieldnotes played a crucial role throughout the research process, including data analysis and writing up of findings – the total amount of written and transcribed fieldnotes are discussed in the data analysis section below. In addition to participant-observation, I also conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews during fieldwork.

### *3.4.3 Semi-structured In-depth Interviews*

Both parties to the interview are necessarily and unavoidably *active*. Each is involved in meaning-making work. Meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning nor simply transported through respondent replies; it is actively and

communicatively assembled in the interview encounter. (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p. 4)

Many ethnographers utilize semi-structured interviews to build on what they have observed while in the field and use individual interviews to gain deeper knowledge about specific topics or interests they have garnered from participant-observation (Lofland, 2006; Madison, 2005). In institutional ethnographies, interviews<sup>31</sup> are utilized to analyze the extensive and discursive processes of a social setting that organize people's everyday actions and answers the question, "How do they do what they do?" (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 77). Semi-structured interviews however, are not without their problems. Issues of free-flowing and open discussion between researcher and participant arise since the interviewer directs the topic of discussion (Spradley, 1979). Furthermore, interviewees' responses are rarely without contradictions, suggestions, and complicated answers about their social world (Madison, 2005). For this study, I strived for semi-structured interviews to be as close to an ethnographic interview as possible. This included interactive interviewing, which, for example, acknowledged that discussion and topics of the interview may change throughout the course of an interview (Madison, 2005). Respondents may take the question and change the very nature of it (e.g., reject a question and redefine it) and what interviewees discuss may lead me to change the questions or topics of the interview (Davies, 2008). Thus, in many interviews at the SSC, some participants ignored a question or provided answers in unexpected ways that led to other topics. For example, in one particular interview, I asked about the positive benefits

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<sup>31</sup> Institutional ethnography interviews can sometimes be considered 'talking to people' (Campbell & Gregor, 2004). In semi-structured interviews, I strived to achieve this but interviews commenced based on an interview guide. 'Talking to people' occurred more so in participant-observation, and I discuss this further below.

of the SSC. Rather than identify positive benefits, the interviewee directed his answer towards how the SSC was structured – in this instance, I pursued his line of answering rather than directing my questions back to the topic of benefits of the SSC.

I chose to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews as part of this study in order to gain understanding from various actors involved in the SSC. Interviews were conducted after 10 weeks in the field, in late July, after trust with participants was built and the focus of SFD and the SSC was developed. The interviews were semi-structured so that I was able to focus on broad topics related to the SSC rather than specific, close-ended questions that only allow interviewees to respond in particular ways (Lofland et al., 2006). By using open-ended questions and asking questions such as “What are your views of sport-for-development?” allowed for participants to interpret and answer the interview questions as they saw fit. An important part of institutional ethnography, however, is that interviewees are chosen as the research problematic forms and the research advances, and as such, individuals were selected based on what I learned and who I thought would know best about certain aspects of the SSC (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Nichols, 2014).<sup>32</sup> Thus, I asked to interview individuals in the SSC and the SMGSA who seemed to be the most involved within the organizations and connected to the SFD programming. Each individual approached for an interview was given a letter of invitation (see Appendix D) based on his or her role in the SSC or SMGSA, as well as an informed consent form (see Appendix E), however, in many cases, oral consent was given by participants as the informed consent form was not needed (i.e., many

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<sup>32</sup> An example of this is Naomi Nichols’ (2014) research on ‘youth work’. As her study progressed and her research problematic expanded, she sought out different individuals in relation to how homeless youth in Toronto faced social relations outside of their control that constrained them in institutional processes of applying for public funding assistance.

participants would explicitly state they did not want the informed consent form, or would glance at it and hand it back to me). All interviews listed in the table below were audio recorded using a Sony IC Recorder and would later be transcribed for data analysis.

**Table 1 - Interview Information**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Date and Time</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Length</b>
Margaret	CEO/Secretary General - SMGSA	July 12 <sup>th</sup> , 10:00AM	SMGSA Offices – CEO Office	1 hour, 5 minutes
Margaret	CEO/Secretary General – SMGSA	July 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2016 – 11:10AM	SMGSA Offices – CEO Office	1 hour, 4 minutes
Zachary	Business Development Manager – Ministry of Sport	July 21 <sup>st</sup> , 2016 – 12:00PM	Ministry of Sport Offices	40 minutes
Jabulani	SSC Manager	August 10 <sup>th</sup> , 2016 – 1:00PM	SSC Offices	58 minutes
Thabani	SSC Intern/Employee	August 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2016 – 10:00AM	SSC Offices	36 minutes
Thembile	SSC Intern	August 17 <sup>th</sup> , 2016 – 11:00AM	SSC Hall	45 minutes

*Interview guides.* There were two different interview guides for this research project, including one each for SMGSA executives (9 questions; see Appendix F), and SSC volunteers/leaders (6 questions; see Appendix G). The questions in the interview guides were all open-ended and provided a range of specific elements in relation to the work, SFD, and their own experiences. The guide prepared for the SMGSA was focused on the work of executives in relation to the SSC, how they viewed SFD programming, what its purpose and benefits were, and how it was implemented and developed. Other

questions focus on the relationship between the SMGSA and the CMGSA and how this partnership influenced the SSC.

The interview guide for SSC volunteers, interns, and employees included questions about what they do in their everyday lives/work, how they view the SFD programmes, what its benefits are, and how it contributes to the local community. These interview guides were intended to understand how the actions and practices of individuals involved in the SSC were influenced by and influence the larger organizations running the programme and the institutional order in which it is located. Spradley (1979) emphasized that ethnographic interviews should include three different types of questions: (1) descriptive questions, that ask for an illustration of a concrete phenomenon, such as an experience or example; (2) structural or explanation questions, that require clarification about institutions or specific experiences of which the interviewee spoke; and (3) contrast questions, which allow for comparisons and can assist in clarifying a term. Although the guides did not cover all three areas of questions, the questions were developed as I carried out interviews and conducted participant-observation. Often, these questions were useful when having conversations with people – thus, these types of questions were not only utilized in semi-structured interviews, but also during conversations. Additionally, my immersion in the field allowed me to tweak and edit my interview questions in relation to what was important to the work of the SSC and the people within it. For example, when asking about specific SFD purposes, I began to inquire about the values education programme the SSC implemented due to its prominence within the organization. I also asked if I had missed anything or if participants would like to add anything further, as well as inquired what they would like

to see accomplished by my research. This question generated unique insights from research participants, such as when Jabulani commented about how the SSC would like to see a research report before it is delivered to the SMGSA, in order to read and view the report before it is delivered to the SMGSA, due to the SMGSA receiving all mail (including items from former interns of the SSC) that is sent to the SSC. Finally, questions I asked changed while I was in the field, not only due to the emergent nature of the ethnography and what I learned about the social setting (Madison, 2005) but also based on what direction interviewees took the discussion.

#### *3.4.4 Documents*

The last form of data I collected as part of this critical institutional ethnographic case study was documents. Both ethnography and case studies integrate multiple forms of data collection and rely on various methods for an ample explication of the topic of study (Lofland et al., 2006). Documents contain information that cannot be obtained during interviews and also may provide the researcher with a history of certain aspects of organizations and society (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, documents are readily available and may provide a researcher with additional questions for fieldwork due to new information (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

I collected documents for the purposes of this study in order to gain a deeper understanding of the historical, social, and political context in which the SSC is located. Additionally, documents provided me with new knowledge that I was not able to gain through participant-observation or in-depth interviews. Documents are also an important part of institutional ethnography – as Smith (2005) argued, text is much more than simple words in a book – they are a part of text-reader conversations in which the reader

activates the text in real time and in the local setting where it is read. As noted in an earlier part of this section, text is embedded in social relations (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). Smith stated that, “institutional ethnography recognizes texts not as a discrete topic but as they enter into and coordinate people’s doings, and, as activated in the text-reader conversation, they *are* people’s doings” (Smith, 2005, p. 228). Thus, documents did not only provide me with a better understanding of the research setting in which I was located – it also allowed me to examine how text is activated through people’s doings and how these texts were inherently tied to power relations and the social relations of the SSC.

There are two ways documents were collected for this study. First, I was working with documents based on my involvement as an intern within the SSC. These documents were readily available to me and it is important to note that I created the document; for example, I was responsible for a sport and education project ‘action plan.’ The second way I collected documents was by requesting permission from the SMGSA for organizational handbooks, policies, and other forms of text. These documents, such as the ‘SSC handbook,’ were used to map out the translocal social relations that are embedded in text and play a role in the implementation of the SFD programmes at the SSC. Many of these documents were given to me once I arrived at the SSC – I was given a usb flash drive that included all relevant documents related to the SSC and SMGSA. Documents provided a rich source of data for analyzing the structure of the SMGSA in relation to the SSC. Once data collection was completed<sup>33</sup> and I returned to Canada, data analysis was undertaken.

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<sup>33</sup> Data analysis in this study occurred as I collected data. Intensive data analysis occurred upon the completion of fieldwork.

### 3.5 Data Analysis

Analysis of the data in this study was an ongoing process. As with traditional ethnographic analysis, throughout the study I was engaged in writing fieldnotes and analytical memos based on my thoughts and experiences within the research setting (Spradley, 1979). Fieldnotes were the primary means of data. They were written while in the field and described what I observed firsthand. Analytical memos and reflexive memos were also written while in the field to connect my fieldnotes with concepts and theories that informed my research (e.g., a specific action of an individual may have appeared to me as working to disrupt an institution). Additionally, throughout my time in the field, I immersed myself in my written fieldnotes and analyzed them inductively for similar themes and occurrences. Reflexive and analytical memos were also analyzed for themes and patterns, which informed my data collection strategies upon re-entering the field by providing me with specific elements to examine while acting as participant-observer (Lofland et al., 2006).

Immersing myself in the data in this way not only provided me with patterns and themes – it also allowed me to gain deeper understanding of the research setting and the social relations in which I was involved during the research. As the critical institutional ethnographer, it was important for me to remember during data analysis and writing up the research that I wished to *explicate* people's everyday experiences and their actualities, rather than just describing an account based on a local's viewpoint (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Nichols, 2014; Smith, 2005). Therefore, ultimately, through data collection, data analysis, and the writing up of research,



Getting to an account that explicates the *social relations* of the setting is what an institutional ethnographic account is about. This kind of analysis uses what informants know and what they are observed doing for the analytical purpose of identifying, tracing, and describing the social relations that extend beyond the boundaries of any one informant's experiences (or even all informants' experiences)...An institutional ethnography must therefore include research into those elements of social organization that connect the local setting and local experiences to sites outside the experiential setting. (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 90)

This way of data analysis allowed me to appreciate how my data collection methods were inherently tied to my findings and data analysis. Additionally, it provided a clear and logical way to use critical ethnography and institutional ethnography to analyze the institutional work of the SSC.

When I arrived back in Canada in late August, intensive data analysis using the qualitative analysis software programme NVivo 10 took place. In order to provide a clear step-by-step procedure of my data analysis, an outline below is provided:

- 1) In early September 2016, I inputted/transcribed all of my collected data into Microsoft Word, including all written fieldnotes, reflexive fieldnotes, and the interviews I had transcribed using the transcription computer programme Inqscribe. The amount of handwritten notes included:
  - In-fieldnotes: 8 50-page small pocket sized notebooks, totaling 375 pages of in-fieldnotes.

- Full fieldnotes: One large 200-page notebook and one large 154-page notebook, totaling 354 pages of fieldnotes.
  - Reflexive fieldnotes: 27 pages total.
- 2) As I transcribed my data and inputted it into Microsoft Word, I also maintained a small memo-pad for analytical purposes as I typed up my data. This memo-pad was where I wrote small analytical memos, reflexive notes, and observational comments as I transcribed. In late September/early October, all of my fieldnotes and interviews had been inputted into Microsoft Word. The following table provides an overview of my data:

**Table 2 - Microsoft Word Transcribed Data**

<b>Type of Data</b>	<b>Information</b>	<b>Total Transcribed Pages</b>
Fieldnotes	Recorded from May 9 <sup>th</sup> – August 17 <sup>th</sup> , 2016	176
Reflexive Fieldnotes	Recorded from May 7 <sup>th</sup> – August 22 <sup>nd</sup> , 2016	28
Interview	Zachary – 41 minutes	11
Interview	Thabani – 36 minutes	14
Interview	Themobile – 46 minutes	13
Interview	Jabulani – 58 minutes	14
Interview	Margaret #1 – 65 minutes	20
Interview	Margaret #2 – 64 minutes (2 parts)	21
<b>Total Time and Pages:</b>	<b>310 minutes (5.2 hours)</b>	<b>297 Pages</b>

- 3) After inputting all transcribed data into Microsoft Word, I then inputted all of my data (fieldnotes, interviews, and documents) into the qualitative analysis software programme NVivo 10 beginning in mid-October 2016. Documents that were collected were reviewed, with many being copies of each other in different

folders, or being repetitive based on the information within. Initially, documents were grouped in file folders according to the SMGSA and SSC. After removing documents based on repetition, copies, and relevance to the study, I personally categorized documents into groups in NVivo 10 based on similar information and purpose. The tables in Appendix G display the categories and number of pages of documents, as well as display the total amount of documents before and after I reviewed them.

- 4) I organized the data in NVivo 10 based on type – for example, fieldnotes were organized as fieldnotes and then broken into ‘reflexive’ and ‘in-field.’ Interviews were organized by interviewee. Documents were organized based on the categories outlined in Appendix H. In order to further review fieldnotes, I organized the data into locations – for example, if a specific fieldnote was written based on something I witnessed at the SSC, I created a node titled ‘SSC’ and placed the data in that node. I also did the same for people – for example, a node titled ‘Thabani’ was where conversations and actions of Thabani were filed under. I also organized data into nodes based on SFD programming, such as ‘LVP.’ Documents such as modules and conversations or interview parts based on ‘LVP’ would be placed in this node – the same was done for ‘LIT’, ‘TRRFCC Values’, and other prominent events or programmes at the SSC, such as the ‘Olympic Day Run.’
- 5) Following the use of word queries, I began to open code my data. This was an iterative process where I would continuously read my data, write analytical memos and annotations, as well as review connections between chunks of data.

Some nodes were created before open coding occurred – these nodes were based on research participant names (e.g., Thembile) or SFD programmes (e.g., LIT programme). Upon open-coding, I would go through each data source and create nodes as I coded, creating new nodes that I would look for in other sources. For example, one node I created was based on conversations about the SSC – it being a ‘safe place’ or ‘home’ to certain individuals. I then coded other interviews and conversations to identify whether this pattern was prominent in other chunks of data, which in some cases, it was. See Appendix I for an example of coding chunks in NVivo 10.

- 6) As I coded, I made notes and analytical memos about the difference in themes and patterns based on sources – for example, many modules of the LIT programme focused on HIV/AIDS education. However, when coding fieldnotes, HIV/AIDS education was rarely mentioned and if it was, little information was discussed in relation to the document modules. These analytical memos and comments would assist later in understanding the SSC. They were also important to examine how what is not spoken, observed, or written in such memos and comments may provide further insight into my own research and interpretation process.
- 7) Coding took approximately from mid-October to late November/early December. The iterative process involved me going back and forth between my data sources and immersing myself in the data in order to achieve saturation. Around early December, I achieved saturation once coding became repetitive and new nodes were not being created based on my analysis. The final nodes, themes, and patterns were given descriptions based on the references located in each. For

example, when examining the ‘Leadership’ node/theme, references to each source that was coded based on this node would be able to be seen in NVivo 10 (see Appendix J). This provided easy access to each reference located in the node/theme.

- 8) Based on analysis and data saturation, nodes that I created before open coding as well as new themes that emerged as I analyzed my data were included in the final list of themes and patterns – overall, four prominent themes emerged, each with additional descriptive nodes in each theme classification. For an overview of each theme and sub-themes, please see Appendix K.
- 9) Throughout the process of data analysis and the utilization of NVivo 10, interpretation of the data based on my ‘sensitizing concepts’ occurred through the use of analytical memos and comments. Additionally, as I analyzed the data, connections to the literature on SFD and international development was continuous in order to prepare for the writing phase of the study.

The process of data analysis was an intensive, iterative process where I conducted coding and reviewed my data sources that led to immersion in my data and data saturation.

Although I used the NVivo 10 analysis programme to assist in data analysis, a period of training and self-teaching occurred in order for me to be able to utilize this analysis tool.

Throughout the duration of data analysis, I constantly went through the three phases of data description, analysis, and interpretation – although it appears linear as described here, this process was iterative, where I went from one stage to the other randomly and at different times, as well as simultaneously back and forth. Once data analysis was completed, the writing stage of this study began – however, throughout the process of this

research, including entering the field, collecting data, data analysis, and the writing up of this thesis, I had to ensure that I was conducting trustworthy research. In the next section, I discuss the important elements of trustworthiness, reflexivity, and ethics in any ethnographic study.

### **3.6 Trustworthiness**

As a qualitative researcher, the term trustworthiness plays a much different role than how it has been traditionally defined by quantitative scholars, whose focus relies heavily on generalizability, validity, and reliability (Sparkes, 1998). The issue of validity and trustworthiness in qualitative research has long been a question for researchers – some qualitative scholars believe it is near impossible to achieve validity in their work, whereas others believe that there are ways to effectively display trustworthiness (Kvale, 1995; Sparkes, 1998). In this study, I enhanced trustworthiness in various forms based on different conceptualizations. In one way, trustworthiness was accomplished based on certain ‘criteria for excellent qualitative research’ (Tracy, 2010); in the other way, a different, less ‘criteria-based’ form of trustworthiness was also recognized that relates to arguments of the legitimization of knowledge.

Tracy (2010) outlined eight criteria of excellent qualitative research – although she suggested these criteria, she also argued that each, “may be achieved through a variety of craft skills that are flexible depending on the goals of the study and preferences/skills of the researcher” (p. 839). The criteria are to represent a tool for researchers when conducting qualitative research and also increase dialogue in relation to methodological trustworthiness. The criteria include: worthy topic; rich rigor; sincerity; credibility; resonance; significant contribution; ethical; and meaningful coherence. This

study achieved various ‘criteria’ of qualitative research - for example, as discussed in the Case Study section, acquiring a large amount of data (documents, interviews, and participant-observation) for this study as well as spending four months in the field (as both researcher/intern) is two ways of achieving ‘rich rigor.’ Additionally, ‘credibility’ was accomplished by providing “thick description, concrete detail, explication of tacit (nontextual) knowledge, and showing rather than telling” (Tracy, 2010, p. 840). Due to the ethnographic approach used in this study, and my methods while in the field, detailed description and nontextual knowledge was gathered (see Chapters 5 and 6). Finally, the two criteria of ‘sincerity’ and ‘ethical’ were attained throughout this research process. Specifically, in terms of sincerity, I engaged in “self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases, and inclinations of the researcher(s)” (Tracy, 2010, p. 840) as seen by my methodological approach and, as further addressed in this section and Chapter 4, my reflexive process. I also emphasized a relational ethics approach to research – a component of the ‘ethical’ criteria for qualitative studies that Tracy (2010) discussed. Before discussing my methods of reflexivity and relational ethics to achieve trustworthiness, it is important to also recognize how scholars adopting a critical, poststructuralist, or postmodernist stance have questioned trustworthiness, most especially due to my own critical and postcolonial theoretical frameworks.

When discussing the role of validity in contemporary postpositivism and from a poststructuralist stance, Lather (1993) emphasized how the “conditions of the legitimization of knowledge” (p. 673) have to be re-thought in an antifoundational discourse context. Rejecting the notion that methodology and the research process can be detached objectively from the researcher, Lather (1993) tried to loosen the code that

positivist science has shaped in relation to validity in research – and thus, argued for a dialogue with readers about how to approach reality construction, which, “involves making decisions about which discursive policy to follow, which ‘regime of truth’ to locate one’s work within, which mask of methodology to assume” (p. 676). Therefore, although I outlined specific ‘criteria’ and the techniques used in my study that enhanced the quality and trustworthiness of the findings, my central approach to trustworthiness was through engaging in reflexive, ethical practices of qualitative research and knowledge production in order to account for power issues in the conduct of research. By recognizing how trustworthiness and other forms of ‘validity’ in research have been socially constructed, trustworthiness is achieved in different ways that focus on power dynamics inherent in research rather than those ‘checklists’ of qualitative methodology (Kvale, 1995). In this study, I enhanced trustworthiness by ‘increasing consciousness’ (Morrow, 2005):

Increasing consciousness involves identifying sources of inequality and representing the perspectives of those who have been silenced or disempowered. It also explores and makes visible who benefits from power and how power is exercised. Research participants are collaborators in the action/investigation, and researchers attend to the power issues and relationships between and among researcher and researched. (p. 253).

In the complex, institutional social setting of the SSC, I was aware of how certain knowledge or ideas of my own had been selected and utilized in the research process and sought to be reflective about how and why I chose certain ways of research methodology (i.e., critical institutional ethnographic case study) and particular conceptual frames (i.e.,



institutional work). Although research participants were not collaborative in each step of this research process (such as data analysis), my own reflexivity and ethical approach ensured that the voices of those who have been traditionally marginalized were heard and represented. Additionally, I strived to constantly engage in issues of power between the researcher and the researched – for example, by acknowledging the power I had in the process of this research, I would also work to display to people in the SSC that they were the ‘experts’ (see Chapter 6 for a specific example). In this way, and influenced by my critical institutional ethnographic approach, I sought to give voice to those at the local SSC who had been traditionally marginalized in the organization and also ‘Othered’ historically. Approaching trustworthiness in this way was suitable for conducting a critical institutional ethnographic case study, as both critical and institutional ethnography emphasize the need to recognize knowledge production when conducting research. In the following sections, I outline how I engaged in ethical practices and reflexivity while in the field and throughout the research process in order to facilitate trustworthiness.

### *3.6.1 Relational Ethics*

Critical ethnographers are concerned with how ethnographies are completed for political purposes (that of research)<sup>34</sup> and how they must recognize that these politics do not stand outside of the ethical procedure (Davies, 2008; Madison, 2005). I wish to emphasize the importance of ethics and reflexivity and expand on how I strived towards trustworthiness. In relation to ethics and informed consent, Davies (2008) discussed how researchers may face multiple difficulties that must be addressed when presenting their

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<sup>34</sup> Another political reason for conducting research is as part of the completion of a Master of Arts’ degree.

research to potential participants. Researchers must think of how to present their research in a way that is meaningful to participants and use language that is free of mixed interpretations. Although in Swaziland they have two first languages, one of which is English and the other siSwati, I remained conscious that a person in Swaziland may interpret what certain words and phrases may mean completely differently than my interpretation – for example, ‘fishing’ (see Chapter 4). Recognizing this, I presented my research in a language that is free of specialized terms drawn from specific theories and concepts – although the participant may have recognized the terms, I wished to present the research to all participants in the same manner and hoped that many interpreted it meaningfully.

Davies (2008) also commented on how researchers may face the dilemma of explaining certain aspects of the study to individuals – for example, in my case, it was sometimes hard to specifically identify what I was ‘looking for’ or hoping to uncover, as I wished to have my research problematic arise out of participants’ knowledge and experiences. As a critical institutional ethnographer, I explained clearly that for me it was a process of discovery where the implications were not known at the outset and that, as I was involved in the field, the study evolved as I learned. Furthermore, once I explained the research to participants, I noticed that some participants may have tended to forget that I was also acting as a researcher, and I would occasionally remind them of my role, especially when trusted with information that may have been provided to me due to friendships or informal encounters (Davies, 2008). For example, as an intern and friend to many at the SSC, some would confide in me about their activities outside the centre or about their dislike for certain people in the organization – at these times, I would

sometimes change direction of conversation or subtly remind them of my dual role as intern and researcher. Like Davies (2008), I saw consent as a process and not a one-off event. However, relational ethics is only one layer of ethical commitment – in addition, moments of situational ethics occurred while in the field. These moments involved respecting other's viewpoint or assumptions and reflecting on my own ethical standing and place in the organization. For example, discussed more fully in Chapter 4, situational ethics were needed when Margaret would say something with potential racial connotations – in order to deal with my own feelings, the relations of myself and others, and ethical procedures, I would reflexively negotiate my position based on certain situations of these kind.

Participants of any research must also be informed of the risks. Although there were no clear risks of the research beyond the risks present in everyday life in the SSC, I informed participants that the research findings, when written and presented, might be interpreted or used outside of my control. If a participant did not wish to be involved in the research or answer any questions I had, I respected their wishes and ensured that they were not involved in any aspect of the study – however, this never occurred. Another ethical consideration in social research is confidentiality. Confidentiality “essentially concerns the treatment of information gained about individuals in the course of research” (Davies, 2008, p. 59). Researchers must be cautious when informing participants that their participation is kept confidential, as researchers must be realistic to the extent that they are able to protect one's identity (Davies, 2008). Especially in ongoing research such as participant-observation, I had to ensure that confidentiality, like informed consent, was an ongoing process as I built relationships with those with whom I was involved and

learned more about them (Davies, 2008). Pseudonyms are used for participants in this study in order to provide confidentiality, however, no research participants I spoke to, nor the organization, requested confidentiality – this is merely to provide the potential of privacy to all involved.

Informed consent and confidentiality are two aspects of ethics taken into consideration in any study. I made every effort to be as ethical as possible throughout the research process, and strived for what Tracy (2010) called relational ethics, where ethics are a continuous process rather than an initial, single moment of informed consent. This was particularly important when considering entering and leaving the field which are important phases of ethnographic research. In some ways, entering the field was easier than leaving the field. When entering the field, I was aware that I would be deemed an outsider (which never changed throughout the course of the research due to my race), and additionally, I was also prepared for individuals' hesitance to approach me or be suspicious of me. Although my status as a complete outsider changed in some situations after entering the field, while outside the SSC, I would still suggest that I was seen as an outsider.

Leaving the field is also an important part of the research process (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Researchers may establish relationships and trust amongst various individuals in the research setting. Additionally, researchers should not enter the field to 'get their data' and then leave once data collection is complete. I ensured that I did not collect my data and then have no other relations with the SSC or the SMGSA. As part of completing an internship with the SSC and SMGSA, I had a duty to present what I did with the organization throughout my research and internship. This was a commitment

that I made before commencing the internship and is a mandatory component of interning with the CMGSA and SMGSA. In addition, my responsibility as part of being an intern was to engage in regular blogging about my experience on the CMGSA website – thus, I am responsible even after completion of the research and internship to speak about my experience in the SSC and the SMGSA. Furthermore, researchers should be aware of how they have influenced those around them and must inform participants and the organization when the research is coming to an end (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Having a specified date for the end of fieldwork and my internship set well in advance that was known by researcher(s), participants, and other relevant people allowed for a fluid departure from the research site – especially as, closer to my departure date, I reminded individuals in the research setting that I would be leaving soon. However, some of the participants at the SSC and SMGSA wanted to keep in touch with me and rather than cut ties completely and we agreed to keep connected through ‘WhatsApp’ on our mobile devices. This allowed me to remain in contact with those I met at the SSC and SMGSA. Thus, although I prepared to leave the field, I also ensured that I would not simply ‘leave’ and never be heard from again. In the next section, I discuss how reflexivity also aided in achieving trustworthiness.

### *3.6.2 Reflexivity*

A reflexive approach to research underlies much of the work presented thus far in this proposal. Broadly, reflexivity can be defined as, “a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference” (Davies, 2008, p. 4). Adopting a critical lens underscores the importance of understanding the researcher’s value-laden role in research and to work to emancipate individuals of society by seeking new ways of research that strives to identify

power relations and achieve social change. The concepts I have drawn from the international development and SFD literature<sup>35</sup> highlight reflexive approaches to research<sup>36</sup> and the epistemological foundation of a postcolonial lens emphasizes how a researcher must be aware of how knowledge is shaped, produced, and favoured. Eyben's (2014) triple-loop inquiry was used as I conducted fieldwork so as to identify my role in the research setting and its broader social, political, and cultural relations. This also connected well with a postcolonial lens to research, by ensuring that I was aware of my place and relationship within the historical context in which I was located contemporaneously.

As qualitative research is subjective in nature, researchers have a responsibility to represent those they study correctly and ethically. Madison (2005) argued that, "how our subjectivity in relation to the Other informs and is informed by our engagement and representation of the Other" (p. 9) is necessary for researchers to examine critically how they ultimately have control of both the research process and final product. Although I strived to work with participants and inductively located the research problematic for the current study by learning from people, I ultimately shaped the questions I asked them (most especially in interviews) and I was also responsible for taking their words and interpreting the meaning of what they discussed. I heard their voices and applied my own beliefs, assumptions, and experiences to their quotations and words. Thus, I was aware of how my interpretations of what participants discussed were filtered through my own

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<sup>35</sup> There are two pieces of literature that provided me with unique insights into researching within SFD – both of which emphasized the role of autoethnography. These two works included Shawn Forde's (2013) research within Lesotho, and Megan Chawansky's (2015) vignette about her experiences researching within SFD.

<sup>36</sup> e.g., Eyben's (2014) triple-loop inquiry and Darnell's (2012) and Hayhurst's (2016) call for reflexive research in SFD.

personal lens. In order to try to limit misrepresentation of what others had said while in the field, I attempted to confirm with individuals about certain quotations or statements they made and how I interpreted them (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Nichols, 2014; Madison, 2005). I also asked them if how I interpreted what they discussed represented what they meant – this strategy was helpful when I asked interviewees about certain aspects of the programme that I noted during participant-observation. For example, I would often ask interviewees about something they said during conversations around SFD. Specifically, Thabani mentioned in one instance that he would like to see different teachers at SFD programming – upon asking him what he meant by this in an interview, he clarified that he meant new people should be teaching SFD rather than the same person all day, so as to keep the attention of SFD participants.

It is important to recognize this aspect of reflexivity in qualitative research, and more specifically, ethnography, as it is the primary task of the ethnographer to come to understand participants and represent them as accurately as possible. As Madison (2005) noted, “to be means to be for another, through the other, for oneself” (p. 9). I took this quotation and applied it to my own research – it was not enough to merely take what one had discussed and apply my own personal meaning to it – especially as a critical institutional ethnographer, I had/have a heavy burden placed on me. Research must be reciprocal – I negotiated and engaged in dialogue with Others to ultimately represent their experiences, voices, and the world in which they live through my own words and understanding.<sup>37</sup> Additionally, my own involvement in the research setting and the

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<sup>37</sup> Regardless of how well I may think I have accomplished representing Others and the participants of my study, I may never fully appreciate their reality or be able to represent them to their fullest, based on my own unconscious biases and power inherently involved in the research process.

‘reflexive screens’ (Tracy, 2010) that I carried with me as I engaged in research were necessary to acknowledge due to the power-infused, cross-cultural context of the SSC and greater Swaziland in which I was immersed. For this reason, the following chapter highlights particular experiences I had while in the field that clearly displayed my own identity in the research setting and practices of reflexivity.

### **3.7 Summary**

Crotty (1998) suggested that by connecting four foundational areas of research (i.e., epistemology, theoretical orientation, methodology, and methods), researchers are better able to grasp a sense of direction and stability for the purposes of their own studies. For my own research, I now try to justify how my epistemological view, theoretical orientation, methodology, and methods not only informed one another, but also, I believe, complemented one another.

As noted earlier, my epistemology is rooted in the belief that humans produce knowledge based on both a subjective and objective reality. Seeing knowledge and reality in this way informs my critical and postcolonial theoretical orientation which both underscore the importance of power, reflexivity, and the history of social reality. They also mutually suggest that epistemology and people’s social reality are shaped by historically objectified knowledge of humans that has been subjectively created, maintained, and also disrupted by human agency (Morrow, 1994). Thus, rather than accepting research as objective whereby the researcher is detached from the social reality they investigate, both critical and postcolonial theory appreciate the value-laden role of the researcher and the implications that research may have, most especially for Others in society, whom critical researchers rely on for learning and understanding (Darnell &



Kaur, 2015; Madison, 2005; Morrow, 1994). Additionally, these theoretical approaches are important for the study of sport and international development – postcolonialism highlights the role of colonialism and neocolonialism in the world today, while critical theory offers a way to approach investigation with the purpose of exploiting how unequal power relations remain in the world and how this may be resolved through social change, whether micro or macro in scope.

In terms of conceptual understanding that provided further ‘sensitizing concepts’ during fieldwork, I explained earlier that the concept of institutional work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006) framed my study of the “work” that went on in relation to implementing SFD in this case study. Furthermore, in terms methodology, I also argued that a critical institutional ethnography not only ensures power is involved, but also that institutional ethnography allowed a way to connect the social relations of individuals with the specific institutional work occurring in the case.

My methodological approach signifies how I acted as the researcher-as-*bricoleur*, seeking to develop my research problematic based on the information I received from participants and then using that knowledge to construct a map of social relations and the organizational work of the SSC (Kincheloe et al., 2011; Smith, 2005). In relation to Darnell and Kaur’s (2015) call for researchers to take into account contemporary power relations, utilizing the radical potential of institutional ethnography, I was able to, “rethink social settings, taking existing power relations into account” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 68). Informed by my epistemology and theoretical orientation, critical ethnography and institutional ethnography approaches to the study of SFD allowed me to investigate my own historical background and biases in relation to research and Others,

while recognizing the power relations embedded in social reality contemporaneously. As addressed earlier, critical theory seeks to operate on a theoretical, practical, and empirical level, something I believe that this study appropriately accomplished.

Finally, my methods of data collection, including participant-observation, in-depth interviews, and documents were in line with what many ethnographers and case studies utilize when conducting research. Furthermore, acting as participant-observer ensured that I am actively involved and immersed in the social and cultural settings within which I was researching (and interning). This allowed me to come to understand people's way of knowing and seeing the world. This is crucial as I wished to ultimately represent Others' social reality and lives in a way that could 'transport' readers of the final product to the actual ethnographic setting.

In conclusion, I adopted a critical institutional ethnographic case study approach informed by critical theory and a postcolonial lens while utilizing the institutional work approach as my conceptual framework. By emphasizing the importance of power, institutions, understanding of Others, and reflexivity in my research methodology, I was able to work with the people involved in the SSC in order to explore unequal power relations and strive for future social change leading to a more just and equal world – something that I could not do without becoming immersed in the social life of Swaziland and becoming close to the people within the SSC. In the next chapter, I discuss my own reflexive process while in the field as well as during data analysis and interpretation, and highlight four specific vignettes of my experience in the field related to reflexivity. Following that, in Chapter 5, I discuss my findings related to the SSC and its SFD and sport development programming by identifying the major SFD programmes of the centre,

the major themes of ‘for-development’, and the focus of the SSC on what appeared to be sport-development. In Chapter 6, I then explore and investigate the organizational work and specific practices of those in the SSC involved in SFD and sport development. In particular, I display how neocolonial traits of the SSC and SMGSA further perpetuate issues of class, race, and gender in the organization, while also arguing that these social relations influence the engagement of organizational actors in institutional work. Finally, in Chapter 7, I provide concluding remarks and summaries of this study, and offer insights into future research ideas and recommendations for the SSC and SMGSA.

## Chapter 4: Reflexivity

*Reflexivity reminds the qualitative inquirer to be attentive to and conscious of the cultural, political, social, linguistic, and ideological origins of one's own perspective and voice as well as the perspective and voices of those one interviews and those to whom one reports. (Patton, 2002, p. 65)*

As I conducted research, I was also involved in the SSC as an intern who worked within the confines of the organization and was regarded as an insider in the workplace. In Chapter 3, I emphasized the role reflexivity plays in research that uses a postcolonial lens and a critical institutional ethnographic approach. In particular, I discussed how Eyben's (2014) triple-loop inquiry of reflexivity used in international development would be used while I was in the field in addition to tenets of reflexive practices involved in my methodological approach. To assist in my own reflexive process, I maintained a reflexive journal throughout the research process, most especially when conducting data collection in the field from May to August 2016 in Swaziland. Within the journal, I would commonly write about my methodological process, my own knowledge in relation to SFD and sport, the literature I had reviewed for the purposes of this study, and, most especially, my own personal experiences as an outsider within Swaziland, the SMGSA and SSC. Darnell's (2007, 2012) research in relation to Global North volunteers and interns traveling to the Global South to work within sport-for-development organizations, as discussed in Chapter 2, also informed my reflexive process and assisted in preparing me for my own role as a white, Canadian, male intern<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Additionally, autoethnographic pieces by Megan Chawansky (2015) and Shawn Forde (2013) prepared me for acting as a researcher and intern within a cross-cultural, sport-for-development context. Their own experience of being in the field in a different culture and society shared many similarities to my own – some that stick out most especially include Forde (2013) being regarded as somewhat of a 'saviour' to the SFD programme and Chawansky's (2015) experience of having people in SFD comment about her 'bluest eyes'.

In this chapter, I express specifics of my role as a (partial) insider while I acted as an intern within the SSC and SMGSA, as well as discuss how alternating between my intern hat and researcher hat posed challenges, opportunities, and interesting insights into the research process. I provide examples of my reflexive process<sup>39</sup> by highlighting four vignettes of my experience in the field (and greater environment of Swaziland) in order to identify how reflexivity played a key role in navigating my own positionality in the SSC, SMGSA, and communities of Swaziland. By discussing these events, I exemplify how being reflexive while conducting qualitative research acknowledges the way knowledge is shaped, produced and favoured in an interactive process involving researchers, their social characteristics, and the conceptions of other individuals.

#### *4.1 “Your Name is Sibusiso”: The First Day at the SSC*

It is somewhat of a ‘workplace tradition’ for the Canadian interns who work in the SMGSA and SSC to be given a Swazi name by the local workers of the organization. Upon my first day at the SSC, about two weeks after initially meeting everyone from both offices, I walked into the SSC office--Margaret had left to return to the SMGSA, leaving Thabani and I alone. Thabani looked over at me and says, “Want to know your Swazi name?” I replied “yes”. Thabani says, “Sibusiso.” Every name in Swazi culture has a meaning – I ask him what Sibusiso means – “it means blessing. It is a blessing you are here [at the SSC] and will help us.” I immediately think back to Forde’s (2013) article about being seen as a ‘saviour’. I am torn between being given such a name, especially because I am here to help as both intern and researcher – but my own critical lens as not wanting to appear as if I have ‘all the knowledge’ as either an intern or researcher makes

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<sup>39</sup> This chapter is in addition to the various reflexive fieldnotes I have included throughout Chapters 6 and 7. Those fieldnotes and elements of the reflexive process are not mentioned here unless necessary to do so.

me wary of such a name. From then on, many people at the SSC – and SMGSA – would call me “Sibusiso!” or “Suburu!” which is a nickname for Sibusiso.

My reception to being given a Swazi name was one of mixed emotions – I had told Thabani and Jabulani at the SSC that I would like one – so as to fit more into the culture and display my eagerness to ‘fit in’. However, upon hearing the meaning of my name, as well as the reasoning for it, I was worried that I was being given a name based on past experiences of those in the SSC with Canadian interns. Although, yes, we are sent to help the organization through our intern duties and responsibilities, it was still early in my own experience in the SSC, and I was unsure of whether this name was given to me based on how much ‘knowledge’ and ‘expertise’ I was seen to have due to the traditional way Canadian interns had been promoted by the SMGSA to the SSC (see Chapter 5). Either way, the name ‘Sibusiso’ was what I would move forward being known as – even being introduced to others as ‘Sibusiso’ rather than Mitch at schools, in communities, to friends, and to others at the SSC.

My own identity as a white, male Canadian in this instance influenced the Swazi name I was given. Even though I had yet to work at the SSC full-time or display the ways in which I was a ‘blessing’ to the organization, Thabani assumed that the name ‘Sibusiso’ would be a good fit for me due to the foreseen benefits of my involvement at the SSC. Although I was definitely at the SSC to assist as both intern and researcher in various ways, as time went on in the field and the role of Canadian interns in the SMGSA and SSC became more apparent (i.e., being relied upon for knowledge, organizational planning and roles as ‘managers’; see Chapters 5 and 6), I reflected on how the name ‘Sibusiso’ was influenced by more than just being a new ‘worker/intern’ in the SSC.

Rather, being seen as a ‘blessing’ was also based upon how past white, Canadian interns (those similar to my own gender and cultural background) were seen as knowledgeable, ‘expert’, individuals in the SSC and SMGSA. This was one of the first instances while in the field that explicitly demonstrated how my own reflexive screens as the researcher underlined how others within the SMGSA and SSC saw me due to their own history of involvement in the organization.

#### *4.2 “I Do Not Usually Like White People; I Like You However”*

Four of us from the hostel I stayed in for four months in Swaziland decided to go to a Swaziland African music festival, one of the largest music festivals within Africa involving well-known African musicians and singers, called ‘Bushfire’. The day went from noon until late in the morning, with the most anticipated performance, an artist named ‘Mafikozolo’, performing the ‘main’ show at 11PM. As the crowd became increasingly larger and tightly packed in front of the stage as the artist before Mafikozolo finished his performance, a Swazi young man talked to us, asking where we were from and what we were doing here (it is quite clear we are not from Swaziland – although this event in particular had many more white people than any other event I would experience). As we talked and the crowd prepared for Mafikozolo to come on stage, he explained that, “We do not usually like white people too much.” Because of the natives, when his ancestors were here and the “white people came”, he explained that many had lost homes or personal items. He finished by saying, “I like you guys, just not so many white people.” The conversation ended there as the topic was changed and was not brought up again.

Even while in the middle of this conversation at a very loud, crowded concert, my mind immediately went to the literature I had read on Swaziland's history – the British Empire serving as a protectorate to the country and colonizing it in other ways – such as white people moving to Swaziland and securing land, resources, and more (Debly, 2014). Thus, this encounter with an Indigenous Swazi brought the postcolonial issues of the present day to the forefront – within this atmosphere, he was not afraid to state his opinion about white people and his dislike due to his historical ancestry and colonialists. Once again, I thought back to Eyben's (2013) experience in international development (the very reason I was even able to attend this festival – traveling internationally) that despite her efforts, people saw her based on their own reflexive screens, their thoughts and biases towards her, as well as the history of their own upbringing. Here, in this interaction with this young man, although he seemingly 'liked us,' I was (correctly) identified as a white man, which influenced his conscious mind to relate my identity with issues of colonialism in the history of Swaziland. Based on his very blunt and overt statements, I further reflected on how another reflexive screen, my race, influenced the ongoing production of knowledge in research. Although this event was outside the 'research field', it emphasized how, despite my best efforts, my race was ultimately part of my identity and shaped the way Others perceived me. This brought about further questions about my own research: How many people at the SSC and SMGSA may have similar feelings? How may my identity as a white male from the Global North underline what people tell me during research or as an intern? How do traits of the colonial past permeate the social relations and reflexive screens I carry with me as a researcher? The interaction above triggered deeper questioning of my own social and cultural identity



while in the field and also exemplified how knowledge and meanings are interactively and culturally constructed – displaying how my own race was inherently involved in meanings and production of knowledge.

#### *4.3 “It Might Be Hard for You To Understand, But I Think Ahead”*

As part of my intern duties, I was tasked with writing the minutes of a meeting between Margaret and six other individuals who were to discuss the operation of the SSC and the future possibility of creating a trust for the organization to improve sustainability and its long-term future. The meeting included various people from different organizations, including various sport associations, the Swaziland Ministry of Sport, members of the Olympic Committee Board of Directors, as well as Margaret, the SMGSA CEO. Notably, Margaret and I were the only white people in attendance – myself being present only to record the meeting. The meeting was very confrontational - in various instances there would be direct insults from Margaret to the football (soccer) association representative, such as accusations of under-the-table work and intense arguments. Furthermore, Margaret would become visibly upset if someone talking would provide a different viewpoint than hers – if she was able to, she would interrupt, or in other cases, she would put her head in her hands and sigh. In two particular instances of agitation, Margaret stood up and left the SSC hall, only to return five minutes later. However, what resonated with me most throughout this two-hour meeting was when Margaret said to everyone at the meeting (all Indigenous Black Swazis), “It might be hard for you to understand, but I think ahead and can see the outcomes of what will happen.” No one said anything in response to Margaret but there was a moment of silence

between everyone in the room. A member from the Ministry of Sport broke the silence, asking what Margaret sees ahead and how they can reach that point.

As an intern in this instance – although introduced to everyone at the meeting as also conducting research – I was taken aback by this comment. I am unsure how Margaret meant this – did she mean this as she had more knowledge based on her position, or was this meant as an insult? Regardless, it was a comment that, although she may have meant it only in the ‘heat of the moment’, entrenched a feeling of the white person knowing what is better for the future of the SSC than those Swazi individuals who were asked to be here for the same purpose of ensuring sustainability of the SSC. Her role in the SMGSA/SSC is a position of privilege and as a white woman from South Africa, her race has important social, historical and political undertones. Who speaks and what they say has connotations for the audience – in this instance, a white woman of privilege from South Africa speaking to Black colleagues about ‘who knows best’ is underlined by historical, racialized relations. Although she may have been referring to her position, connections, and experience in sport, her identity as a white, privileged South African may have produced connotations of the statement as racialized.

It is important to recognize how I felt in this instance and how this may differ from other people. Indeed, I felt shocked and taken aback by such a comment – to me, it felt directed as an insult at the other people in the meeting. However, due to my past experiences with Margaret and racialized comments or actions (see Chapter 6) in my presence, this feeling of such a comment being insulting may be influenced by my personal interactions with her. Additionally, my own readings on the literature related to postcolonialism, international development and SFD (Darnell, 2012; Eyben, 2014)

influenced my perception of this comment. Although the other individuals at the meeting appeared taken aback (i.e., not responding, widening eyes) by such a comment and may have possibly also felt that Margaret was suggesting she has greater 'knowledge' (which in some cases she may, such as gymnastics) or may have perceived this as simply a recognition of her position as someone involved in sport for many years.

Regardless of the intended outcome of Margaret's comment, this further complicated my own feelings of alternating between the two 'hats' of researcher and intern and, more importantly, shaped my own interpretations involved in the research process. As an individual operating between both 'hats', comments that were interpreted by me to have racial undertones (as I speak to more in Chapter 7) influenced my relationship with Margaret and my own perceptions about her as my intern supervisor and research gatekeeper. Thus, my own views, beliefs, and knowledge were challenged by her actions and words while I was in the field, leading to moments of tension between my own subjectivity, operating as an intern, and my research worldview and methodology. In these moments, engaging in reflexivity assisted in understanding how my own interpretations of her actions influenced the research and production of knowledge. For example, although I disagreed with Margaret in various instances, I reflected on how my perceptions and interpretation of her actions (as both intern and researcher) influenced how I viewed the SSC and its operations. Specifically, my view of Margaret as an authoritative, centralized figure that displayed racism in some instances (e.g., overt statements such as 'he doesn't know much of anything' when a Swazi could not speak English; subtly displaying her privileged position by having a 'messenger' at the SMGSA deliver her meals) guided me to inquire about her relationship with Others in

the SSC and their work. Thus, my own reflexive screens (e.g., cultural background, personal beliefs, education) and Margaret's own assumptions and preconceptions about Others (e.g., 'not being able to think ahead') shaped the production of knowledge in an interactive process where I began to look closer at Margaret's role and influence in the SSC. Additionally, it is also important to recognize that Margaret's role in the SSC and SMGSA as well as her relationships with workers was seemingly well-intentioned.

#### 4.4 *"Do you want to go fishing?": "Fishing" and Representing Others*

A young woman had just finished selling avocados to Thabani and I in the SSC field. Thabani, speaking in siSwati, spoke to the woman while smiling – as the woman walked away, Thabani continued to speak in siSwati, shouting loudly as the woman continued to stride towards a near homestead community. Turning back to me, he asked, "Do you want to go fishing?" I agreed that I would go fishing, but I inquired (since there was very limited water in the surrounding area), "Where would we go fishing?" Thabani smiled and very generally explained to me what 'fishing' was. Over my time in the field, I would learn that 'fishing' was an act where males would engage in conversation with females to 'fish' them – with intended outcomes such as receiving a phone number, engaging in sexual activity, or dating them (see Chapter 6).

As evident in Chapters 6 and 7, acts of 'fishing' occurred regularly in the workplace of the SSC. As an intern, 'fishing' was strictly against my own actions, beliefs, and values, and thus, interactions involving 'fishing' often caused an awkward experience involving tensions of the self, my research hat, and my intern hat while in the workplace. As the postcolonial researcher wishing to understand the views, behaviour, and culture of those local at the SSC, I did not want to break relationships by outright

speaking against ‘fishing’ – additionally, ‘fishing’ was suggested to be a part of Swazi culture, which posed questions of whether it is my place (as a Global North researcher/intern) to say anything about such practices. Therefore, alternating ‘hats’ also impacted my own actions and behaviours – although not outright speaking against ‘fishing’ enabled me to witness the ongoing actions of people within the SSC as a researcher (and how the cultural environment shaped such relations), ‘fishing’ went against my own personal values that I embody, influencing tensions between how I should act as the researcher (seeking to uncover social inequalities) and as an intern (my own personal beliefs and values). In these moments, although I would never engage in ‘fishing’ (see Chapter 6), reflexivity contributed to fleshing out and reflecting on how my own upbringing and history influenced my biases towards such acts. For example, ‘fishing’, although carried out by individuals, was suggested to not be due to any specific person; rather, due to the historical and cultural context of Swaziland (as discussed in Chapter 3) an unequal gendered structure was constituted at the local level of the SSC due to broader gender equality issues. Thus, these structural issues contributed to acts of ‘fishing’ in the SSC.

These overt attempts of ‘fishing’ by individuals at the SSC provide examples of how I would strive to appreciate different ways of understanding – rather than consider acts of ‘fishing’ as natural (although they were ‘normal’ occurrences) I sought to examine how the historical and structural context of Swaziland influenced acts that, to me, were seemingly disrespectful and objectifying to women (which they were). However, this is based on my upbringing in Canada, where there is a more equal gendered structure<sup>40</sup> than

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<sup>40</sup> Although it still has much more progression to be achieved.

Swaziland, and thus, my own views on such a matter are influenced by my reflexive screens. Overall, the four vignettes highlight how the researcher cannot be separated objectively from the research process – my own interpretation, analysis, and social identity is an active ingredient in shaping and producing the knowledge involved in this study.

#### *4.5 Reflexive Screens of the Researcher: Understanding Others and the Production of Knowledge*

As I think back on my role as both the researcher and intern, as well as both partial insider (within the SSC and SMGSA) and outsider (in the community and in the country) during my time in Swaziland, I become overwhelmed with thoughts, feelings, and memories of this experience. The complexity of embodying various roles and identities within a cross-cultural context is influenced, underlined, and infused with social relations and power dynamics, many of which I believe I was able to speak to throughout this project, but also many that I may never have realized due to my own reflexive ‘screens’ and subjectivity, as well as others. As I progressed through the field for four months, my own identity as a white, middle-class, Canadian male became increasingly noticeable as I engaged in reflexivity and reflected on my role as a researcher in an environment instilled with unequal power dynamics (as seen in the following chapters). Although the four vignettes above are only brief examples of how my own social characteristics influenced the research process and are meant to display the complex involvement of the researcher in the production and shaping of knowledge, reflexivity is an ongoing process throughout data collection, analysis and interpretation. As Alvesson & Sköldbberg (2000) suggest:

Reflexivity is thus above all a question of recognizing fully the notoriously ambivalent relation of a researcher's text to the realities studied. Reflection means interpreting one's own interpretations, looking at one's own perspectives from other perspectives and turning a self-critical eye onto one's own authority as interpreter and author. (p. vii)

Therefore, as I progressed from fieldwork into data analysis and interpretation, I continuously reflected on and thought about those I am representing in relation to my own research lens, subjectivities, and methodological decisions. Who am I representing in my findings and discussion? How do those vignettes above and other elements of social research, such as my identity, influence the data I am interpreting? How may I understand the actions of Others by acknowledging my own history in the social world? How, overall, does this study perhaps further inscribe notions of Others in the Global South and make me the authoritative, 'knowledgeable' researcher? In the following chapters, I present my research findings and interpretation – thus, while I highlighted specific instances of reflexivity above, the following chapters are also underlined by the questions above concerning reflexivity and the production of knowledge.

## Chapter 5: SFD and Sport Development at the SSC

*The SSC volunteers, workers, and I pull up to the school in the SSC bus – the bus comes to a rolling stop and we all jump out and look around. The school is made up of small, beige rectangle buildings in a semi-circle formation. Students walk around in the middle of the buildings, chatting and turning their attention to us, the newcomers to the school. Teachers begin to assemble each class into groups, and Jabulani introduces all of us from the SSC to the students. The students are fidgety, waiting in a large group to begin the sport activities. Upon being split up, each SSC worker takes a group and begins to teach a specific sport to them, whether rope skipping, sprint slalom, or baseball. Every 20 minutes a rotation occurs and groups switch sports. As I assist Thabani at his station, I look around and take in everything that is going on – when will we teach the sport values that we planned to do? Another rotation occurs and it is soon time to depart from the school – we leave without teaching any values. Where was the sport-for-development? (Fieldnote, June 2016)*

### 5. Introduction

In Chapter 1, I defined sport-for-development based on Kidd's (2008) definition: "the use of sport and physical activity to advance sport and broad social development in disadvantaged communities" (p. 370). In this chapter, I return to the specific SFD programmes involved in the SSC and SMGSA in order to provide a description about the initiatives and how they relate to SFD. To contextualize the 'for-development' aspects of the programmes, the LVP and LIT, I highlight three main themes that are the focus of development: (1) HIV/AIDS education; (2) education of life values; and (3) leadership development. Based on interviews, documents, and my own participant-observation, I discuss how these three themes are related to the larger field of SFD. I also explore how, based on my own involvement within the organization for four months, it was not always explicit what the "for development" focus was (e.g., education; health; values; leadership) – rather, sport development events and initiatives in which the SSC were involved seemed to be (at least during my fieldwork) the focus of the SSC. In the following section, I describe each SFD programme to provide information regarding the initiatives.

#### 5.1 SFD at the SSC: The LVP and LIT Programmes

There are two specific SFD programmes at the SSC overseen by the SMGSA: the



Leaders-in-Training (LIT) and Life Values Programme (LVP) initiatives. The LVP and the LIT programmes are the two main approaches to SFD within the SSC. Training sessions based on the two programmes are run throughout the year at varying times for people from the SSC and the surrounding communities. Additionally, those at the SSC utilized elements of both initiatives for the purposes of their work, such as sport activities, training sessions with youth, and values education during school visits. More extensive training sessions took place in the field when the SMGSA scheduled full days of SFD programming for certain groups. For example, during my first month in Swaziland, Margaret decided to hold an all-day (9AM – 6PM) LVP workshop for volunteers (notice to the SSC was given three days in advance for planning), interns, and employees of the SSC involving a classroom setting where the LVP modules (discussed below) were taught, lunch and snacks provided, and sport activities included throughout the day. Other times, prior to my four months in Swaziland, the SMGSA held a 10-day LIT session, inviting individuals from distant communities to participate in the training session as well as providing them with sleeping accommodations and meals. The LIT and LVP training workshops were not scheduled regularly and longer durations of the initiatives (i.e., ten day training sessions) were planned for by the SMGSA. In each of the following sections, I describe the two SFD programmes based on their organizational documents, the work of those at the SSC, and my own involvement in their execution throughout fieldwork.

### *5.1.1 Leaders-In-Training*

What is the LIT Programme? The LIT Programme is a training programme for youth. You will be taught about ‘Sport for All’, and how to create your own ‘Sport for All’ Centres. Chosen youth (you!) will become equipped with the skills needed to run sport and recreation centres in your own communities. (Introduction, LIT Manual)

The LIT programme was the first SFD programme implemented at the SSC by the SMGSA and was first initiated by Margaret in 2003. She provided an interesting story about how the idea of the LIT was influenced by youth from a Swaziland community:

...but I think for me, what really, really drove, what really got me onto the thing of, um...sport for development and development in sport, was...the group from Ezulwini. And really, I think...they deserve that credit, of being that five or six youngsters who came...and said, help us build a stadium, I said no, I can empower you, go and get a piece of land from your chief...they came back, write up a thing. So it was okay, so now let's do the empowerment, now that they've got a piece of land, now they need to know things what to do. So I then designed the leaders in training, which we had actually called Asinglongwe. (Interview, July 2016)

A group of young children approached Margaret about a sport stadium – rather than providing a stadium, she designed the LIT to achieve ‘empowerment’, a common word associated with SFD literature and practitioners (Coalter, 2013a). Seeking empowerment in some form for these youth, Margaret began to think about an SFD initiative that could be built and implemented in Swaziland. She explained that the partnership between the SMGSA and CMGSA assisted in the creation of the LIT programme, displaying how Canadian interns have had a long history in the SMGSA and SSC “But I think...basically the leaders in training, when we started it in 2003...again, the CMGSA was running...an intern programme and they specifically sent out a woman called Lacey [pseudonym]...who came and sat with me to design the manual” (Interview, July 2016). The Canadian intern sent to the SMGSA was selected to work with Margaret to create and build the initial LIT programme. According to Margaret, the modules of the programme were built based on various ‘snippets’ and research done using the Internet. Limited

consultation with those who would be involved in the LIT from the community (i.e., volunteers/workers of the SSC, community members involved in the LIT) was completed for the purposes of the programme. Rather, Margaret and Lacey - both white, middle-class, and non-Swazi women – created the LIT, relying on information from the Internet, Lacey’s own involvement in sport in Canada, and Margaret’s own experience in sport. The LIT programme parallels scholars’ suggestions that SFD programmes may sometimes ignore the local voice of those intended ‘beneficiaries’ of programmes (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2015). Thus, although Lacey and Margaret may have been pursuing empowerment opportunities for youth in Swaziland, the LIT programme echoes arguments related to top-down development where larger organizations (the SMGSA) implement local SFD based on knowledge from the Global North (Lacey’s knowledge and the use of the Internet). It also represents how the local community had little say in what the SFD focus of the LIT programme should include or what ‘development’ was needed.

The LIT initiative is made up of ten modules that include various educational elements related to becoming a leader and being able to run a sport and recreation centre in their communities. These ten modules are described below in Table 3. In addition to these ten modules, each ‘leader-in-training’ would receive handouts and appendices related to running their own sport club in their communities. The modules covered a broad array of issues in both the everyday lives of leaders and their communities, as well as about how to properly lead as a coach.

**Table 3 – LIT Modules and Components**

<b>MODULE</b>	<b>COMPONENTS</b>
Leadership	- What is a leader/mentor?; Cooperative leadership and teamwork; communication; decision making; conflict resolution; celebrating success
Coaching Theory	- Role of coach; benefits of sport and physical activity; differences between children, youth, and adults; discipline
Roles and Responsibilities	- Of leaders/mentors; of SSC trainers
Inclusion	- Survey of needs – all population groups; working with people with disabilities
Organization	- Rotation of leader roles; having meetings; structures and equipment; scheduling activities; competition/tournament planning; paperwork/logbooks
Ownership/Sustainability	- Creating a name and logo; getting community involved; resources and income generating activities; evaluation
Fun	- How to create a fun centre
Health and Safety	- Indemnity forms; accident and incident forms; injury prevention; first aid kits; emergency action plan
Life Skills	- Stereotypes; positive decisions; assertiveness; rights of self; professionalism; condom use; HIV/AIDS
What's Next?	- Your questions; on-site visits; future training sessions; future development as a sport leader

The modules have a central focus on how to properly develop as a leader and to use such skills and attributes towards building a sport community centre. Also included in the modules are other educational elements that are taught to participants, such as components related to HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and professionalism that are located within the ‘Life Skills’ module. The LIT modules components are similar to other SFD programmes throughout the Global South, such as Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) that is focused on using sport to develop peer leaders (Coalter, 2013a) and HIV/AIDS manuals used by Right to Play (RTP) in various countries (Forde, 2014), displaying that the LIT programme is aimed at forms of SFD similar to other organizations operating in the Global South. These ideas around what SFD constitutes (e.g., HIV/AIDS education) are permeated in the documents that leaders of the

SMGSA have created and suggested that programming focuses heavily on benefits associated with traditional SFD (i.e., health, social and economic aims; Darnell, 2012). Examination of the documents uncovered the apparent goals of the 10-day programme that the SSC and SMGSA hope to achieve through the LIT, however it was Margaret who explained how the initiative works in practice. As the head of the organization, Margaret discussed what the LIT initiative includes in its operation and how SFD is achieved through the work of the programme:

It really is about empowerment and, um...delivery of...life skills...umm, using sport as the tool. It's a ten day program. That also involves social interaction, as people stay together they have to, um, cook their food, they have to clean the table, they have to sit together. It's about teaching more of the theory side of how to form a community club, how to communicate with communities, how to write your CV, problem solving, decision making...and of course, all that through using games for understanding, so using games as the tool - rather than a specific sport.

By living together for 10 days during the programme, participants not only are taught about the different modules, but also develop skills related to everyday living, including cooking, cleaning, and teamwork. In her experience, Margaret stated she has seen how the theory in the modules as well as the actions of participants at the LIT work together to improve individual's life skills, leadership, and social interaction – achieving SFD in some capacity.

Other benefits of the LIT included the ability to build sport equipment. Through the LIT, participants learn how to build equipment and use it within their communities that may not have the resources to purchase equipment. This is discussed in the 'Organization' module, and Jabulani explains its importance to the LIT:

MM: Okay, so what kind of things did they learn at the LIT?

Jabulani: Ahhh....one thing, that I like about this, is to make your own equipment. Ahh, not to buy but to make...ahhh....here in Swaziland we are good at ah, improvising. We have these ahh, bats, we know how to make bats. And we don't have to copy it. We have rope skipping...we always use - we always do, hmm, skipping rope. But, not with this equipment that we have now. We used to take ropes. Yeah. So, we were good at improvising.

Jabulani did not speak about the 'SFD' aspect of the LIT programme – rather, he emphasized the construction of equipment that can be used for sport in the community. The ability to make equipment may be a form of SFD in the context of the SSC that does not relate to traditional 'for-development' aspects of the field that include health, social, or economic benefits.

No training sessions that took place during my time in the field included the building of equipment – instead, only those modules that were selected by the SMGSA were taught. In the past, the LIT programme would be run for a full 10-days that would involve teaching the 10 modules that are included in the initiative. The most recent 10-day LIT training session was in December 2015, when a former Canadian intern was responsible for implementing the initiative. As with the initial creation of the LIT, a Canadian intern was responsible for overseeing the implementation of the LIT session in 2015, displaying the reliance of the SMGSA on Canadian interns for SFD, which is discussed further in this chapter. During my four months of fieldwork (May – August, 2016), no training sessions longer than a day were held – only three scheduled training sessions took place, each from approximately 9AM to 5PM at the SSC, with Margaret, Jabulani, Thabani, other volunteers, and myself assisting in its completion. On these three days, the SSC was closed and certain groups were involved in the training session. For example, at the first training session (June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016), volunteers, workers, and interns of the SSC participated. At

the second training session (June 16<sup>th</sup>, 2015), teachers from certain sponsored schools in Swaziland were taught about specific modules of the LIT while also learning about the other SFD programme, LVP. Not all the modules of the LIT programme were taught on these days due to time constraints – however, certain modules that Margaret selected were discussed.

Noticeably, the three one-day LIT/LVP training sessions that took place during the summer of 2016 included limited relation to the actual LIT modules – only two LIT modules were taught at the three different sessions, including ‘What is a leader/mentor?’ and the ‘role of the coach,’ as chosen by Margaret, who oversaw the sessions. The modules were taught in a classroom setting in the SSC hall, with tables, a projector, and beverages available to participants. Sport activities and games took place separately outside on the SSC courts and were led by SSC volunteers or employees such as Jabulani, Thabani, and myself. The games involved technical aspects of certain activities, such as skip rope, and contained limited application to what was taught based on the modules – displaying how the LIT has a mix of ideas included in its operation that focus on both sport development and sport-for-development.

Even though research participants such as Jabulani and Margaret spoke about the various benefits of the LIT programme, very limited implementation of this SFD initiative took place in the way that was discussed in documents and by those at the SSC and SMGSA. Although the training sessions involved the teaching of some LIT modules, other documents from the LVP modules were often used to complement the LIT components and were favoured during the specific SFD training sessions.

### *5.1.2 Life Values Programme*

As seen above, the LIT programme focuses on enabling individuals from Swaziland communities to create and build their own community club based on the life skills, educational

elements, and sport development areas they were taught during the 10-day programme in previous years. During the summer of 2016, participants in one-day training sessions were mostly taught two of the LIT modules ('What is a leader/mentor?' and 'Role of the coach') and certain LVP modules. The LVP initiative is the second and most recent SFD programme created and initiated by the SMGSA within the SSC and began in early 2015. The LVP is an 'upgraded' version of the LIT programme and has four components, including: Leaders in Training; Sports Equipment Delivery, School Sports Festival, and Sports Field Grading (LVP Introduction Letter). The LVP is a continuation of the LIT but also incorporates technical expertise related to sport skills and movement patterns to develop coaches within communities. The main component that relates to SFD in the LVP is the Leaders in Training. The other three components, sport equipment delivery (providing schools with equipment for sport activities), school sport festival (a tournament between schools with equipment) and sport field grading (improving field conditions for soccer) relate to sport development.

The LVP programme also has a connection to a Canadian intern from the CMGSA. In 2015, an intern at the CMGSA was responsible to assist in the creation of the LVP and its implementation. The larger SFD initiatives (such as the 10-day LIT or the 2015 LVP) appear to have been influenced by the work of Canadian interns and implemented with their assistance, displaying how the SMGSA relies on Canadian workers (and knowledge) for SFD. Although various documents of the LVP are related to the LIT, the involvement of interns from the CMGSA in both SFD programmes cannot be ignored due to the seemingly necessity to have input from them for the purposes of local SFD – rather than asking for input from the local SSC or communities. The ongoing influence of Canadian interns and Global North knowledge is also discussed in relation to the TRRFCC values later in this chapter.



As with the LIT programme, the LVP includes modules that are taught to SSC volunteers, members, and other groups of people around Swaziland during training sessions. A brief overview of the modules is provided below in Table 4.

**Table 4 - LVP Modules and Components**

<b>MODULE</b>	<b>COMPONENTS</b>
You the Coach	What is coaching?; Coaching philosophy; Qualities of an effective coach; Coaching responsibilities; Parents
Olympic Values	Educational values of Olympism; Purposes of the Toolkit
Ethics and Philosophy of Values	Understanding ethics; TRRFCC song; Coaching ethics; The six pillars of character; Understanding the six pillars of character
Planning and Organization	Scheduling; Lesson Plans; Warm Up sessions; Movement skills; Conditioning exercises/cool down
Teaching and Learning	Teaching skills; Demonstration and explanation; Correcting errors and feedback
General Warm-Up – Fun and Fast Moving	Examples of warm-up activities; Examples of cool-down activities; Examples of stretches
Movement to Music	Music analysis; Terminology; Forms of dancing; Components of moving
Aerobic Gymnastics	Definition of aerobic gymnastics; Aerobic gymnastics basic steps
Physiology	The skeletal system; Bones; The muscular system; The cardiorespiratory system
Nutrition	Six major nutrients; The food groups; Food as energy

The modules cover a wide-range of knowledge in regards to coaching, technical skills of sport and movement, and values education. An important aspect of the ‘Ethics and Philosophy of Values’ module is the LVP ‘TRRFCC values’ or, as people at the SSC called them, the ‘Terry Terrific’<sup>41</sup> values. People involved in LVP training sessions are taught ‘six pillars of character’: trust, respect, responsibility, fairplay, caring and community. Each value is explained in-depth in the module and discusses how individuals may display these values through sport and in their

<sup>41</sup> The TRRFCC values would sometimes be referred to as ‘Terry Terrific’ due to the similarity of the acronym TRRFCC and terrific, as well as the SMGSA’s official mascot being Terry the Leopard.

everyday lives – for example, during visits to schools, SSC volunteers and workers would exemplify the value of respect by having each individual in a group participate in the activity before rotating (Fieldnote, July 2016). These six values were not only taught at specific LVP training sessions, but also taught when teaching sport to people at the SSC, visiting schools in communities, and throughout the work practices of those at the SSC. These values were to be used in the everyday actions of those involved with the LVP training.

Other components of the LVP module focused heavily on developing coaches – the coaches would use the TRRFCC values in their coaching styles to lead athletes and also have the technical expertise to develop individual's sport skills and attributes. Margaret explained how the idea of LVP differentiated from the LIT programme, although similar in many ways:

Than the Life Values Programme is, really, an extension of that [LIT], which now concentrates more on the coaching aspect rather than the administration aspect. So this is about giving youth more - a better understanding of the dominant movement patterns of - of self - of the body and how you utilize games to teach a sport before you actually teach the rules. Again, it's an empowering programme because you have to - it's communication, it's planning - and it's working with your communities.

The LVP operated differently than the LIT programme. In April 2015, (before my arrival in Swaziland), SSC volunteers and employees taught students from various schools about the TRRFCC values and various forms of sport. These SSC workers had been taught the LVP modules before the commencement of teaching at schools. The 'finale' of the LVP was the 'School Sport Festival' mentioned above, where all schools came to the SSC to compete in an all-day sport tournament. Although the LVP festival involving different schools had been completed, the modules were still used by the SMGSA and SSC during training sessions of

volunteers, students, and other groups of people while I was interning in the organization. I observed various moments where volunteers, employees, and SSC members would be teaching values while teaching sport to people at the SSC or at school visits. An example of one such moment involved Thabani teaching a tennis activity to a group of youth at the SSC – there were about seven young boys being given instructions in siSwati on how to participate in the game. Before engaging in the activity, Thabani then explained the six TRRFCC values (in English mostly), providing examples for particular values, such as ‘respect’ - you respect who you play with; care, if someone is hurt when playing you help; and ‘fairplay’, everyone takes a turn (Fieldnote, August 2016).

LVP modules were also intertwined within LIT modules during more formal training sessions such as the planned one-day workshops. However, these one-day formal training sessions that were observed in the field involving LVP and LIT modules differed from Margaret’s description of the LVP week-long training that took place in April 2015:

MM: And so now turning to the Life Values Programme, what were those couple of days like, how are those days scheduled or what happens during those days?

Margaret: Well as I said, now that's more formal to learning, um, but again, it's very much the hands on, so you're doing the theory of dominant movement patterns, the theory of what a fundamental skill is, the theory of what is your philosophy of a coach, and - really, um, you use sport to change a person because coaching is about change. So, it's interlinked and interlaced with theory and practical...a lot more practical, again, getting people to be able to work together and actually being able to correct or change things, so again, that positive way of how you as a coach approach...um, the learner, instead of just saying listen to me and this is how you kick the ball.

I observed limited ‘mix’ of practices and theory in the three training sessions in which I taught - rather, modules were discussed in a classroom environment while sport activities were done outside – these sport activities and games were not related to what was being taught in the modules. Like the LIT, only certain modules of the LVP were used in these SFD training sessions – specifically, the “You the Coach,” “Ethics and Philosophy of Values,” and “Planning and Organizing” modules were selected by Margaret to accompany the two LIT modules. These modules were exclusively tied to coaching and values education.

In the LVP, a focus on improving sport development appears prominent due to the emphasis of the initiative on coaching expertise, education, and styles. It also includes other variants of coaching that can be used when training athletes, such as movement patterns, proper nutrition for exercising, and technical aerobic skills. Overall, the LVP is a programme that teaches about sport development while also educating about values and other forms of SFD (such as HIV/AIDS) that has been integrated into the LVP based on the LIT programme. The daily sessions I observed during my four months in the SSC was a mix of these approaches – using LIT modules and LVP modules, as well as sport activities and games, the three one-day training sessions in which I was involved was a smaller version of the larger week-long sessions the SSC and SMGSA held at other, perhaps more opportune times (such as during a non-Olympic year). These shorter training sessions were condensed versions of the longer sessions that had been held, and allowed the SSC to train certain groups of people quickly before certain events or programmes. While also recognizing that school was many times in session during my time in Swaziland, these one-day ‘SFD’ sessions was how the SSC and the SMGSA carried out smaller forms of SFD throughout the school year, when members, volunteers, and even employees were not as available due to educational responsibilities. Thus, these one-day events, although not as

formal as the week-long LVP and LIT programmes, included some modules and then forms of sport participation and sport development. The mix of both SFD and sport development in the sessions I observed was separated rather than intertwined with one another – for example, sport activities would take place independently from the modules. Once the activities were completed, participants would then return to the classroom setting to learn about ethics or coaching techniques unrelated to the sport or game that had just ended.

Due to the blended nature of both programmes, it was not always clear what the dominant approach being used was to implement the programmes – in other words, is sport-for-development the main focus of programmes, or is sport development the primary aim? The ambiguity surrounding SFD programmes and how they are ‘classified’ has been discussed before (Coalter, 2013a; Houlihan & White, 2002), and as discussed in Chapter 2, many SFD programmes are a mix of both sport development and SFD in many cases. Based on the LVP and LIT documents, as well as the training sessions that I observed during my time in the SSC, the SMGSA and SSC appear to implement ‘SFD’ using a mix of both sport-plus and plus-sport, defined by Coalter (2013a) as:

Sport plus, in which sports are adapted and often augmented with parallel programmes in order to maximize their potential to achieve developmental objectives...plus sport, in which sport’s popularity is used as a type of ‘fly paper’ to attract young people to programmes of education and training (a widespread approach to HIV/AIDS prevention programmes), with the systematic development of sport rarely a strategic aim. (p. 24)

The LVP is a form of sport plus, using a coaching framework to develop people at the SSC and in communities to improve coaching skills while also developing values and other knowledgeable skills. The LIT modules and programme is focused on developing leaders to

begin their own sport clubs (e.g., groups of individuals playing games and sport), while also teaching about HIV/AIDS, life skills, and other ‘SFD’ elements – it uses sport for education, making it primarily plus sport. At the one day training sessions, the use of both LIT and LVP modules with sport activities makes it hard to locate exactly where ‘SFD’ would be located on the sport-plus/plus-sport continuum, due to the alternating focus of such sessions. Regardless, throughout my four months of fieldwork in the research setting and interning with the SSC, very limited formal ‘SFD’ took place in relation to the LVP and LIT programmes spoken to above and was evidenced by only three scheduled training sessions occurring during my time there. Despite this, three major themes of ‘for-development’ in the SSC and SMGSA became apparent through the LVP and LIT initiatives.

## **5.2 What is the “For Development?”: Using Sport to Educate**

SFD programmes are often associated with specific social issues that SFD initiatives strive to delimit or resolve in specific communities, usually involving particular future accomplishments of the programme and, in some cases, monitoring SFD initiatives for the purposes of evaluation (Coalter, 2013a). In the case of the SMGSA and SSC, the ‘for-development’ aims or goals of the LVP and LIT initiatives included three primary themes: the education of HIV/AIDS, the education of life values (the TRRFCC values), and the development of leaders. Although these themes appeared prominent throughout discussions around SFD, the actions of those at the SSC many times contrasted with the ‘for-development’ focus (see Chapter 6). Other aims of the LVP and LIT were observed throughout my time in Swaziland, such as nutrition and hygiene, however, the three themes outlined below were the main focus of the SSC and the SMGSA as evidenced by the LVP and LIT documents as well as their own personal perspectives.

### 5.2.1 *“Sex is Taboo”*: Is HIV/AIDS Education Happening?

Various modules in the LIT and LVP programmes are focused on HIV/AIDS education, an element of SFD programming that has been commonly associated with the SFD movement for many years and falls under the area of health development (Darnell, 2011; Forde, 2013). Funders, such as the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), and the International Olympic Committee (IOC), many times request that SFD programming is directed towards teaching youth, most especially in Sub-Saharan Africa (such as Swaziland), about sexually transmitted diseases and wish to understand how programming assists in alleviating these health issues (Forde, 2013; Okada, 2014). These funding organizations often ask for some form of monitoring and evaluation to be completed, or in limited scope, reports to them based on the programme and quantifiable numbers of people involved with its implementation (Coalter, 2013a).

At the SMGSA and SSC, reports to the United Nations on who attended the LIT and LVP sessions, what was involved, and total numbers of participants were expected of the SMGSA when they held larger week-long training sessions, and on an ongoing basis, reports to the IOC about sport programming using IOC funding were also needed. Coalter (2013a) and others (Levermore, 2010) discussed how funders often request quantitative numbers of SFD programming in order to ‘prove’ or display the amount of people involved in development initiatives. In the case of the SSC and SMGSA, the quantifiable numbers involved with the LVP and LIT (such as participant numbers, number of certificates, and number of sports) dominated reports that were sent to the UN – during my time at the SMGSA and SSC, two reports were sent to the UN and monthly ones to the IOC.

While in the field, however, I observed very limited emphasis on HIV/AIDS education

occurring at the SSC or during one-day SFD training sessions. Although training sessions were based on LVP and LIT manuals, few instances of SFD involving elements of HIV/AIDS occurred. The longer training sessions that took place before my internship may have included these components, a question I asked of people at the SSC. Thabani stated that, “People went away and were taught values and also how to teach sport to others. It was not about learning about HIV/AIDS. I cannot remember” (Fieldnote, June 2016). When having a conversation with Thembile, she also had similar comments about the LIT and HIV/AIDS, saying that she could not remember before and stated, “Margaret, Nadia [Previous SSC manager] and Amy [Former Canadian intern] taught volunteers about HIV/AIDS and other stuff” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Both Thabani and Thembile were participants in the LIT programme, and both remained unsure of the teachings around HIV/AIDS, signaling that such components may not have resonated well with all participants, even though reports to the UN and IOC would include how many people at programming would have learned about HIV/AIDS. Such reports resemble other research arguing that some organizations may feel pressured to display numbers to funders while not actually achieving development objectives (Coalter, 2010; Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010).

Despite Thembile and Thabani not being able to recall specifics about HIV/AIDS education at the LIT, Thabani mentioned how the programme provided him and other participants a way to teach about HIV/AIDS to other individuals:

Sometimes there is a song, a song that we [volunteers/SSC workers] sing. Like we say, one, one day, my mother say...stop what what, or stop HIV with your right hand so you need to...do like this, with your right hand. Then...they go again, one day one day my mother say, abstain with your left hand, then both hands. What else...yeah...I think that..is how we teach it. Or sometimes...like hurdles...one day doing hurdles. We talk about



life...they say when you are running in life, when you are living in life...there's some difficulties. Sometimes when you are running through the hurdle, sometimes you - the hurdle will make you fall, then you need to get up and...go again...yeah, it's like life. Not all the time life is sweet.

It became apparent that although HIV/AIDS was involved in the SFD programmes and individuals had been taught ways to teach it, they did not appear to integrate these teachings into their own activities at the SSC, at least during the four months I interned in the organization. The limited observations I saw of HIV/AIDS education may have been related to the 'taboo' nature of sex in Swaziland communities, as expressed by Margaret in the first month of my fieldwork.

During one of my first weeks of interning at the SSC and SMGSA, Margaret noted to me while discussing HIV/AIDS awareness that 'sex is taboo,' and that this may be a reason why it is difficult to teach about such an issue at the SSC. The notion of 'sex as taboo' does not appear unique to Swaziland. Okada (2014) discussed how HIV/AIDS awareness in sport has occurred in Global South countries where talking about sex is taboo as well. As with other countries in the Global South, Margaret expressed that talking about sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS may be challenging due to the stigma around such discussions and conversations in Swaziland. Although SSC volunteers, participants, and members may have been taught at the LVP and LIT sessions about HIV/AIDS, limited discussion and application of such an issue were completed in their work throughout May to August 2016. Additionally, these volunteers, interns, and employees are not 'experts' in the area of HIV/AIDS – whenever such modules were taught at training sessions in the past, Margaret or other 'knowledgeable' people (such as previous Canadian interns or the former SSC manager) would teach about it – even if they themselves are not wholly qualified to discuss such a health issue. During my time in the field, I was given the

responsibility of teaching about HIV/AIDS – something I am not knowledgeable about but was expected to teach to Others at one of the SFD training sessions. This was the only time throughout fieldwork that HIV/AIDS education was suggested to be taught – at no other training session or during any activities at the SSC was teaching about HIV/AIDS awareness mentioned. The limited focus of the health issue in actual organizational practices may be due to the challenge of educating about such a topic, as Margaret explained:

MM: And how do the participants and volunteers who help teach about HIV/AIDS or who are learning about it, how do they respond to it?

Margaret: Well they respond to it very well within the learning section but they don't respond very well to be able to then go and teach it.

MM: Okay, okay. And why do you think that is?

Margaret: Because maybe deep down it's saying, ok, well yes I could get HIV, but really, what's - so what? Um, you know, if you look at our lifespan, I think the UN has put it at something like 38, the average. So in our rur - in our rural communities, it's really ah, you know I don't have a job, my education is going nowhere and if I do have one, no - how am I going to pay for it...so so what?

Margaret explained that people being taught about HIV/AIDS awareness may not care much for it – whether or not her assumption about why they would not care much about the health issue is correct, my own observations at the local SSC signified that SSC volunteers, workers, and others did not feel that HIV/AIDS awareness was a priority in their activities or practices. Although the LVP and LIT manuals have modules and other documents relating to the health issues, this knowledge was rarely utilized in the actual SFD activities of the SSC, displaying how goals identified in documents were rarely applied in practice. As such, the objective of developing

health awareness and specifically HIV/AIDS awareness was difficult to observe given its absence from activities related to SFD at the SSC.

Okada (2014) proposed that it is difficult to see clear evidence of the positive role of sport in HIV/AIDS education – arguing that it is difficult to identify how sport contributes, or is ‘measured’ to examine the success of SFD programmes. In the SSC, reports to the UN or IOC outlined how many individuals involved in SFD training learn about HIV/AIDS awareness – however, in reality, the practices of SSC workers, volunteers, and others who were taught about the health issue do not convey the information to others at the SSC, at least during the time period I was involved with the organization. Jeanes (2013) and Forde (2014) discussed how education involving HIV/AIDS education in SFD is a complex, multifaceted process that includes various levels of commitment from those involved. As with the SSC and SMGSA, the larger SMGSA organization may have identified the importance of HIV/AIDS education via reports to the UN and IOC, organizational documents pertaining to SFD, and the manuals of the LIT and LVP. However, despite the goal of HIV/AIDS awareness in official documents, at the local SSC it was not deemed necessary to include such teachings in the daily activities or be able to confidently discuss the issue of HIV/AIDS due to cultural norms or expectations. Thus, although participants of SFD training sessions may remember (in some cases) being taught about HIV/AIDS, the work of the SSC and the training sessions that I observed throughout fieldwork raise the question about the capacity to carry out this objective. There was a disconnect between stated objectives in written documents and the practices and activities of the SSC. However, the SSC was also focused on other educational elements during my four months there – particularly, the teaching of the ‘TRRFCC’ values was of clear importance.

### *5.2.2 The TRRFCC Values In Action*

The values of trust, respect, responsibility, fairplay, caring, and community are outlined in the LVP manual and are a main focus of the SSC and its daily work. Upon becoming a volunteer, member, or intern/employee at the SSC, you are expected to know the values and embody them, with the statement, “Be trained and informed on the TRRFCC values and able to educate youth at schools on the values of sport” (SSC Membership Agreement), on a document signed and agreed upon by each newcomer to the SSC. Various documents, most especially the LVP module used for SFD programming, describe the values in-depth. The values module was commonly used at the three one-day formal SFD training sessions. During the sessions, participants were taught about how these values assist in their life, as well as about how embodying values allow you to build character and develop relationships with others based on these six values. During some visits to schools with SSC volunteers and employees, the TRRFCC values were taught, displaying a difference between the values and HIV/AIDS education – SSC individuals would actually integrate them into their organizational practices and activities, unlike HIV/AIDS awareness. In other cases, Thembile or another volunteer of the SSC would be teaching youth at the centre a sport such as tennis – while doing so, she or he would be explaining that values were important when playing sport, such as the value of respect for your opponents. In this way, the SSC utilized values education in their daily work, while also teaching them to those individuals involved in SFD training sessions that included LVP and LIT modules. Thus, the TRRFCC values became a recurring theme in the ‘for-development’ practices of the SSC – not only in organizational documents, but also in daily practices and activities of the centre.

The six values were commonly used to teach about sport and how to play ‘sport-for-all.’

Rather than have individuals sit and learn about these six values (as with the formal training sessions), SSC workers felt that it was better to teach the values as they taught sport to youth, students, and other groups of people who would come to the SSC. Multiple people spoke about how teaching sport and the values enable children, youth, and students to develop their own principles within their life – thus, the six values would be taught by SSC workers to others who came to the SSC, hoping to instill the values in individuals. Thomas (SSC Volunteer) explained that, “The children like it, they say yes, because we are playing sport – we must respect – the person standing alone - we must respect and include them in the game” (Fieldnote, July 2016)

During observation, all individuals at the SSC, such as youth, were invited to join in the activities that volunteers or workers would be running. In a particular instance, when Thembile was leading a tennis drill with older athletes, a younger boy playing alone on another court was invited to join the drill despite the age difference. Due to the ‘nature of sport’ and the inclusion of people within activities and games, the children learn how to respect and include each individual through the values according to Thomas. I witnessed multiple times Thomas and Thabani discussing values to youth they were training in sport. Thabani talked about how the youth and students utilized the values after being taught about them:

“We see the values when we are done with the teachings on them [values].” We see the kids or students bringing back the stuff we taught, for example being responsible. “For example, respect. If they hurt someone when playing, they say sorry.” Or when the leaders tell them something – they listen and respect the instructions that they are given. (Fieldnote, July 2016)

Thabani believed that sport provides an appropriate stimulus for the values to be used in action and allows individuals to display how they utilize and embody the values in their own sport

participation. Thomas and Thabani spoke highly of how the youth, students, and other groups of people to whom they teach sport at the SSC would take up and use the values – however, when at the SSC, only rare, spontaneous teachings of the values occurred. For example, although Thabani, Thomas, and other SSC workers occasionally taught the values to those learning about sport at the SSC, these moments of values education would occur sparingly and often in a short-time span. The person from the SSC would quickly emphasize the values to youth or students, and then the sport activity would begin, displaying how although the values were discussed, were they, as promoted by people at the SSC and in documents, being ‘caught’ (i.e., taken up by individuals in their daily lives)?

Regardless of the effectiveness of values education addressed above, individuals from the SSC commonly spoke about how they taught values in various instances, displaying how this educational component originating from the LVP modules was an important element of SFD in the SSC. Jabulani explained that, “When going places, we try to instill values because it is easy to catch things from other people. We teach to adapt to being the way of a sportsman. The values of playing sport” (Fieldnote, August 2016). When Jabulani spoke about going places, he was describing how SSC volunteers and workers would travel to various locations in Swaziland to teach youth and students about values and sport skills. During fieldwork, I observed how the SSC traveled to various schools in Swaziland as part of a project with a local organization – these visits would often include SSC workers teaching students about specific sports and in limited cases, also about the TRRFCC values. However, these school visits were typically focused on sport development, where SSC workers taught the skills of a sport to groups in rotation. If the opportunity arose, the person leading a sport station from the SSC briefly talked about their values and the TRRFCC values to students. Approximately 10 to 15 school visits

took place while I interned and participated at the SSC – only about 3 or 4 times did someone (Thabani) from the SSC talk to students about the values. Other times, the visits to schools would only include sport education with limited education of values. However, as Jabulani commented, sport itself may allow for ‘for-development’ of values to happen ‘automatically’ (Fieldnote, August 2016), relating to Coalter’s (2013a) argument that many times, SFD practitioners view SFD as ‘automatically’ occurring due to the myopic or universal nature of sport. The limited ‘formal’ teaching of the values that Thabani completed at some of the school visits may be unnecessary if Jabulani’s view is correct – by learning about sport and how to play, such as allowing all individuals involved to have a turn, the TRRFCC values may instinctively be adopted by those students and youth they teach at the SSC and schools. Thus, as Coalter (2013a) and others (Darnell, 2011a; Kidd, 2008) argued, the universal nature of sport and its various proposed benefits may influence how individuals understand sport as contributing automatically to social good – in this case, Jabulani believed that sport itself develops values in people to whom they teach sport, regardless of whether they emphasized the specific values or not. But how do those who are taught the values at the SSC receive them? Is the ‘for-development’ of values occurring?

Jabulani believed that some form of development is occurring due to the TRRFCC values, and explained that:

Here at the SSC, the values by the children, “they are doing it.” For example, the rules of the SSC courts. “It doesn’t say they have to wear sports gear, but they know they have to change.” If there is someone new and they want to play but are in formal wear, people will say, “I can’t play with you because you’re not wearing sports gear.” For example, a teacher wanted to coach on the courts, but the teacher asked what’s wrong and the kids

said that, “How will you run?” The shoes will damage the court, and the teacher said OK, OK. (Fieldnote, August 2016)

The values appear to resonate with people at the SSC, in ways related to sport such as the court rules above. Various times throughout participant-observation at the SSC offices would a school student or participant at the SSC ask me about shoes they could wear on the sport courts. In some cases, students would understand that they were not allowed to wear dress shoes on the court because of possible damage. In these cases, students and SSC participants respected the rules, as Jabulani mentioned above, and displayed the values of respect, responsibility, and caring. Specifically, it appears that by obeying the rules of the SSC and sport, the values were exemplified by those at the SSC wishing to participate in sport and games. In these particular instances, I observed how sport or its rules may lead to individuals exemplifying the TRRFCC values naturally based on their own knowledge of following rules or respecting facilities. However, although values were seen ‘in action’ during school tournaments or sport activities at the centre based on the rules of the SSC, the question of whether ‘for-development’ of values occurred outside of the SSC remained.

The benefits of the values outside of the SSC and specific training sessions is important in order to examine how SSC volunteers and workers believe they are achieving ‘for-development’ of values. For example, if workers did not believe that they were accomplishing SFD objectives related to values education, they may not be as inclined to teach them to others at the SSC. Mostly every person at the SSC was confident that the values were a positive attribute of SFD and the SSC. Thomas (SSC Volunteer) believed that the values assisted youth and other SSC members, such as volunteers like himself, outside of the centre in their daily lives:

The TRRFCC –they really, really help. If you do have values, they will help you, and



take away from bad behaviour, like drinking, like drugs. Even if you do stuff, when you have values, you are responsible for what you are doing. If you are going to play, you have to play fairly, like fairplay, and everyone plays. If you follow the terrific values and during a game the ball goes out, you will say that the ball went out, even if there are no cameras. (Fieldnote, August 2016)

The values are a form of development to Thomas by guiding his decision making and actions – in some instances, he believes that the values influence children and youth away from those ‘bad things’ in life, such as drugs, alcohol, and other social issues. Jabulani also reinforced how the values assist in developing an individual as a person, and spoke about how parents would notice a change in their children not only at home, but also at school due to the education of values occurring at the SSC:

Yes, they are working because some of the parents, they come, or when we meet,...they say - they ask, what type of, ahh, lesson do you teach the children, because, ahh, he or she is different from...the past. Ahhh, it doesn't - he - he was not coming to the centre but now he is coming to the centre and he's learning something's, and he's passing even at school. And that gives me the, ahh, the courage to tell the par - to tell the child that - that, that the parent, that, okay, ahh, what we are teaching, we are not teaching like teachers but the values, or the basics of every sport...ah, it opens the mind of the children. So, automatically, you find that even at school, his mind is open. Mmmm. (Interview, August 2016)

For Jabulani and Thomas', the ability of the values to achieve some form of ‘for-development’ beyond the site of the SSC appears to be working based on their viewpoints. However, although Jabulani and Thomas spoke to how the values appear to be successfully contributing to how

youth act at the SSC and in their own personal lives, other people from the SSC voiced their doubts that the values were being ‘caught’ by those being taught.

Interestingly, when asked if the values ‘work’, Thembile had a different answer than those above, claiming, “Sometimes. Other times some people don’t want to listen” (Fieldnote, August 2016). Thabani also talked about how youth or students only exemplify the values when at the SSC or just when leaders are around:

“There is nothing that is changing.” They only show them [the values] when they are in front of the leaders. When the students or kids go back to the communities, they are not following the values, but instead, “go back to their roots,” or how they act usually. “A few, they grab them and use, while a few, they don’t.” The girls use values most of the time, but the guys don’t. (Fieldnote, July 2016)

Thembile’s and Thabani’s opinion about the values contradicts the success of ‘for-development’ occurring based on values education. Although it is hard to imagine each person ‘catching’ the values, it appears that there are both positives and negatives to the SSC educational TRRFCC values – some people, as evidenced by my own time at the SSC, take up the values in their lives, while others, based on Thembile’s and Thabani’s own experience, may decide to disregard the values. However, although it appears evident that these values are an important element of SFD at the SSC, and used to assist people in their own lives as well as develop leaders, how is it that these six values became an objective of the SSC in the first place?

*Where Did it Come From? Tracing the Development of the TRRFCC Values.*

“We find it here, we’re not sure who created it. You see that board outside – I don’t know, we find it here, maybe it is from Canada” (Jabulani, Fieldnote, July 2016). This quotation from Jabulani was his response to my question about how the TRRFCC values

that are so important to the SFD programmes at the SSC were created. As he answered, he spoke about a blue banner outside of the SSC offices that is clearly visible upon entering the centre. Each day when entering through the gates to start the workday, the blue banner would be visible immediately in front of the entrance to the fenced-in sport courts. Its faded yellow writing highlighted the values, or six pillars of character as an important aspect of ‘for-development’ within the SSC and written about in the LVP manual. Jabulani, although in the position of SSC manager, does not know where this banner came from – even guessing that ‘maybe’ it is from Canada, making this relation due to the ongoing placement of interns from Canada at the SSC for SFD.

Other volunteers and employees at the SSC made similar comments about the creation of the values. Many spoke of how Margaret at the SMGSA was the one who created the TRRFCC values, and when asked further about any information pertaining to when or how they were initiated, little information could be provided. When speaking to Thembile about who created the values programme, she simply stated, “Margaret – everything comes from Margaret” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Thembile, being the newest intern at the SSC, may have been unsure of the creation of the programme due to her limited time within the organization. Thabani also spoke of the very limited knowledge around the invention of the values programme, commenting that, ‘Margaret created it. Margaret also taught it to everyone and now they teach it to others’ (Fieldnote, July 2016). Each worker and intern to whom I spoke at the SSC centre had similar observations about the origin of the values, or how they were created. Usually, some sense of ‘I don’t know,’ or ‘Margaret created it’ would be provided, clearly displaying that those who had been involved in the SSC for various years were unsure of how the values became integrated into the organization.

It became clear that very limited consultation with the local SSC or the local community

about the TRRFCC values education programme occurred, similar to the LIT and LVP programmes. Margaret spoke specifically about how the TRRFCC values, or six pillars of character, were implemented, with no comments about input from the local:

MM: And these values, um, where have they come from or how have they been created?

Margaret: ... the idea of having looked around and especially seen in our communities that – values are something that we didn't quite understand and, of course you can't teach a value, you can only catch a value. So, really, it was looking and saying well there's so many values out there, you know, how – what is the best way to bring a value to life, and it actually comes from the Josephson Institute of Ethics, where they came up with these pillars of character, being terrific. So through...their permission, we [the SMGSA] than created our pillars of character of being terrific, and then develop the programme around that.

The values for the SSC and the LVP were based on developed 'pillars of character' from the Josephson Institute of Ethics located in the United States (Character Counts!, 2017). These six values were selected by the SMGSA to be used in the daily operations of the local SSC and have been implemented in ways that parallel top-down development discussed in Chapter 2 by both international development scholars (DeChaine, 2004; Eyben, 2014) and SFD researchers (Coalter, 2013a; Hayhurst, 2015). My interview with Margaret allows insight into how work at the local level in Swaziland has been organized by translocal policy making and Westernized organizations, specifically the idea of six pillars of character from the Josephson Institute of Ethics. Rather than using local knowledge to develop values that community members may have believed to be needed, or inquire further with the SSC about the idea of values education, knowledge created in the Global North was adapted and incorporated into the SFD activities of

the local SSC by the SMGSA. Margaret explained further how these values were based on her own history in sport and how they became incorporated into SMGSA organizational documents and the actions of those at the SSC:

...and we had, Terry Terrific...values for life...and we [the SMGSA] wrote the song...and the song was part of the demonstration and display...by the Danish gymnast – gymnasts, but they used the nursery school version, which was more of the rumbling, tumbling, where as the one we use is the rap....But, um, yeah, so that's how...the values came in. And then of course, so when we came back, of course, leaders in training incorporated the values, and then sport values [for life] just made it bigger. So as you can see, I mean, they all link.

Margaret utilized the values previously in a different context, when she was an employee in South Africa for the Danish gymnast association. Upon her return to the SSC in 2011, the values were then incorporated into the LIT programme and used in the daily practices of the SSC – in 2015, the LVP was created with a focus on the TRRFCC values and how they could be used for coaching. Based on the creation of the TRRFCC values as well as the LIT and LVP programmes at the SSC, neocolonial transfers of knowledge from the Global North to Global South underline SFD practices, programmes, and policies. Within the SMGSA and SSC, management and organizational knowledge are undergirded by knowledge from the Global North, such as the six pillars of character, operating in a top-down manner that allows for homogenization of values in the local community based on values from a Westernized organization (Westwood, 2006). Furthermore, the SMGSA considers these values universal, in that they would be transferable to those at the local level of the SSC and in Swaziland, disregarding whether these values would fit with the community or were needed. Westernized knowledge is regarded as being transferable

beyond international boundaries (Westwood, 2006) and Margaret believes that the universality of the TRRFCC values enables those involved in SFD and at the SSC a way to 'develop'. Thus, the TRRFCC values appear to be connected to neocolonial forms of knowledge, which have been incorporated into documents and practices of the local SSC by the SMGSA.

Additionally, the implementation and functioning of the LIT and LVP programming that involves the 'universal' TRRFCC values is carried out with assistance by white, middle-class Canadian interns from the Global North, while local knowledge and individuals are ignored in SFD planning and programme policies. Thus, the SFD programming at the SSC implemented by the SMGSA is related to postcolonial critiques of SFD (Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2015) and critical scholars who argue that international development knowledge and management is infused by Westernized knowledge (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008). In this instance the local voice was marginalized while SFD programming has been created based on Westernized ideas and practices, as well as influenced by Margaret, a white South African at the head of the organization. Although both Margaret and Canadian interns (including myself) may have good intentions while building such SFD programmes, it appears that one of the main focuses of 'for-development' at the SSC, values education, has been created and infiltrated by Westernized ideas. Thus, although these values may be assisting in development, as spoken to by some from the SSC, the TRRFCC values and SFD at the SSC is involved in the complex nature of international development and sport that has been infiltrated by top-down development and Global North ideas.

Even though Canadian interns may simply be completing their expected duties as a member of the organization, the reliance on some to develop and initiate SFD programming continuously embeds those postcolonial traits of international management and business that

have persisted since colonialism, such as when white colonialists would teach colonies about sport (Subhabrata, Banerjee, & Mir, 2008). Albeit may be effective in certain circumstances for the purposes of the SMGSA, the continuation of such a power/knowledge transfer across translocal settings (Canada and Swaziland) ensures the ongoing dominance of the white, Westernized, ‘knowledgeable’ race compared to Others in the local setting of the SSC, rather than allowing for those locally to potentially contribute to “change from within” (Smith, 2005, p. 32) by applying their knowledge to the SFD programmes and its components such as the TRRFCC values. Allowing for local knowledge to be used in values education and SFD would also contribute to achieving the final theme of ‘for-development’ theme in the SSC – developing leaders.

### 5.2.3 *“It Makes You Have Courage”*: For-Development of Leaders

The purposes of the LIT programme is to develop community leaders capable of going back to their local communities to teach sport and build a community club based on what they have learned throughout the workshops. Leadership is a common component of many sport-for-development programmes in Africa, where SFD is utilized to ‘assist’ and train leaders of the future in communities and countries by providing them with knowledge, skills, and attributes that are transferable to the world outside sport (Forde, 2014). Leadership was the third dominant ‘for-development’ aspect of the SSC and its SFD programmes. Overall, both the LVP and LIT programmes aimed to develop leaders in the community – the LIT had a focus on developing life skills and knowledge about social issues so participants would be able to build their own community clubs. The LVP, using values and improving coaching attributes, aimed to develop leaders, or coaches, in communities for the purposes of sport development. The TRRFCC values are also used to build character in leaders at the SSC and in local communities.

While interning at the SSC, I observed various forms of leadership by SSC volunteers and employees. For example, Thomas (SSC volunteer) discussed how he is a leader just by being able to assist people at the SSC, and explained, “Like today. I say, you can’t use the courts because of their shoes...they ask ‘Where’s the washroom?’ I tell them where...that is how we are being leaders, we are telling them where to find stuff, what they can do, yeah” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Although I did not realize this was Thomas’ way of displaying leadership, I witnessed multiple acts of ‘leadership’ by him when he was at the SSC. On one particular day while only Thomas and I worked at the SSC, Thomas acted as manager and directed the schools visiting the centre for a tournament to the courts. He also told teachers about the court rules, provided bathroom supplies for the change room, and oversaw the tournaments. Thus, Thomas displayed how he was a leader in his own work at the SSC – although not related directly to an SFD module, what he had learned at the LIT and LVP appeared to provide him with the confidence to act as manager.

Those working at the SSC displayed other instances of leadership that were observed in the workplace. Thembile noted that by “helping others,” much in the same way as Thomas, “You can be a leader to kids or [I] can do things by myself, without the help of others because I know.” By acting autonomously and acting without assistance from others, Thembile displayed leadership when she ran training sessions for tennis players and lead them in practice. Additionally, as discussed in the following chapter, the work Thembile does as a leader when she taught sport to both males and females makes her a leader in many ways – not only is she a young woman teaching sports (such as soccer) dominated by males in Swaziland, but she is also demonstrating confidence to those young women at schools to be able to try new sports. Thembile also led sport rotation stations at schools, displaying how she acted as a leader in the



workplace.

Other SSC workers displayed leadership through their actions in the workplace – Thabani, an energetic, loud individual, was confident during training programmes and would lead various songs, games, and activities at the SSC and at school visits. During SFD training sessions, he would lead almost all sport activities and guide participants in what to do. Within the SSC, Thabani was able to provide an enthusiastic environment based on his self-confidence, something that Margaret believed to be due to his growth as a leader when she stated: “Thabani–Thabani, I mean, up until the age of 12 or 13, he was a mute little kid, he never said a word, you know, so I think the confidence grown, and I mean...” (Interview, July 2016). Margaret spoke how Thabani would rarely speak when he was younger and at the SSC – upon his involvement with the SSC and SFD however, Thabani’s confidence developed. Based on my own observations and SSC’s individual’s descriptions of being leaders, it appeared that working, and volunteering at the SSC also assisted in the growth of leadership skills. Although the SFD programmes were attended by many of the workers, their leadership skills were also built at the SSC based on their personal work responsibilities.

In relation to the LVP and LIT programmes, Jabulani spoke about how the SFD initiatives build confidence and explained, “It [SFD programming] opens minds and you can see the other side you are not seeing. It makes you have courage,” like coaching and speaking to others, “it gives you courage” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Like Margaret, Jabulani felt that a priority of the SFD programmes is to develop confidence in leaders, enabling them to be able to achieve goals in the manuals such as starting a community club, leading sport activities, or other smaller forms of leadership. Jabulani exhibited his own growth of confidence throughout fieldwork – he became more involved in SFD training sessions as time went on and he taught modules. I discuss

Jabulani's teaching of SFD further in the following chapter. He displayed how teaching at the SFD training sessions increased his confidence as a leader that encouraged him to speak at formal sessions in which he was not commonly involved.

The leadership capabilities of volunteers and workers at the SSC seemed evident in various cases – most especially when there were sport activities to be taught or special events (such as SFD training) going on at the SSC – volunteers and workers displayed leadership by teaching others, leading sessions, or assisting people at the SSC. While teaching at sessions or educating youth about values, the SSC workers and volunteers attempted to lead participants in becoming leaders themselves. The priority of the 'for-development' of leaders was seen in both SFD manuals, and the actions of volunteers (most of the time) displayed how they prioritized developing leaders in their teachings about sport and SFD. As discussed in Chapter 6 however, the work of those at the SSC contradicted their roles as leaders in SFD (in some cases) due to their social interactions while within the workplace.

The three 'for-development' themes of HIV/AIDS education, values education, and leadership development were the dominant focus of the SMGSA and SSC SFD initiatives during my time in Swaziland. Additionally, documents displayed how these three themes have been the focus of SFD programming in past years and in some cases, such as values education, practices of the local SSC took up these themes and used them to potentially achieve SFD. The SSC was a location of sport development as well – although the SFD themes above were outlined in documents and people at the SSC displayed how they engaged in practices related to these themes, the SSC, during my time there, was primarily a site of sport development.

### **5.3 Which is it? The Overlap (and Possible Tensions) of SFD and Sport**

#### **Development**

As evidenced above by the description of the SFD within the SMGSA and SSC, only three formal one-day SFD workshops took place during my fieldwork. Although elements of SFD were observed in practices at the SSC, sport development was regularly occurring at the centre due to the SSC having a SMGSA as a parent organization. Additionally, the SSC rented out its sport courts and halls to groups of people, including schools and sport associations, meaning that on various days, the SSC would be running a sport tournament or other events for renters. These sport development events displayed the blended nature of the SSC and how it sought to achieve both SFD purposes through its specific programmes as well as serve as a site of sport for competition and training. Thus, people at the SSC were not only prioritizing the themes of ‘for-development’ outlined above – a lot of the time, they were responsible for other tasks at the SSC, primarily involving sport development. The ongoing practices of the SSC – such as sport training, sport tournaments, and the limited education of values at school visits, displayed how the SSC many times prioritized sport development. Thus, although SFD was discussed with various people from the SSC and Margaret, and in their actions they would teach values and display leadership, overall, the training and development of sport itself remained the focus of the SSC during May to August 2016.

#### *5.3.1 The SSC Everyday Action: Where is the ‘SFD’?*

As evident from previous sections of this chapter, SFD programming at the local SSC has various elements, intertwining a mix of both sport development and SFD components to form a mix of what Coalter (2013a) calls sport-plus and plus-sport initiatives. Documents and practices of the SSC displayed how three themes of ‘for-development’ remained prioritized, yet, only

three ‘formal’ SFD sessions took place over four months. In these sessions - and addressed in Chapter 6 - Margaret and I were responsible for teaching the LVP and LIT modules, with Thabani or Jabulani very briefly teaching a section of a module or one of the SFD manuals. Rather than teach these SFD elements of the sessions, SSC workers and volunteers would mostly be involved with the teaching of specific sports or activities during the sessions. For example, Sam (SSC volunteer) assisted at one training session by leading all participants (school teachers) in sport activities but was not tasked with teaching a module. Those involved with the SSC were most likely to teach sport development rather than be involved in some capacity of SFD at these training sessions. As with these training sessions, it became noticeable that SSC volunteers and workers focused on sport development rather than SFD in their daily work and programming – thus, sport development events happened frequently at the SSC during fieldwork and my internship. I briefly explain these events to provide a sense of how the SSC prioritized sport development over the course of four months.

The largest event that occurred during fieldwork in the SSC was the Olympic Day Run (ODR) (three total in different cities), an annual event held by the SMGSA, the SSC, and sponsors every year in Swaziland within communities that have asked to host the event. As defined by the IOC, Olympic Day is, “Much more than just a sports event, it is a day for the world to get active, learn about Olympic values and discover new sports. Based on the three pillars move, learn, and discover, nations and communities<sup>42</sup> are organizing sports, cultural and educational activities throughout the world” (Olympic Games, 2011, para. 4). The SMGSA and SSC holds such an event every year – however, based on what was observed in Swaziland, the day event focused on engaging youth, adults, and individuals in sport, while also including some

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<sup>42</sup> Changed for confidentiality purposes.

forms of cultural activity, such as traditional dance (Fieldnote, June 2016). Educational components of the event were seemingly not included, although the cultural dances displayed the history of Swaziland to people who may not have known, such as myself. The two ODR events I attended as an intern included a free lunch, sport activities, a competitive run, free giveaways, and music. Below is a fieldnote taken from my journal describing the ODR in one city, Manzini:

About an hour long of sport activities. After the second run was “drummies.” Drummies is a group of about 5-6 female students who march and dance to a song. Everyone stood in a circle watching as the drummies performed. One young woman was the leader and led the group, yelling out words in siSwati that they would all follow. At the end, there was a loud applause. After the drummies, 4 young women performed a cultural dance, dancing to a song that played on the speaker. While waiting for lunch, the circle of people remained and individual students, volunteers, and people would run into the middle and dance, leading to cheers and applause. (Fieldnote, June 2016)

During May and June 2016, the focus of the SMGSA and SSC was on the Olympic Day Runs and their execution in the three cities hosting the events. The events included more than 1,500 people and provided a way to ‘get involved’ with sport while also promoting the upcoming Summer Olympic [and Paralympic] Games in Brazil. While at the SMGSA headquarters, all employees had certain responsibilities to complete in relation to the ODR. At the SSC, planning took place on a slow basis; however, the centre was responsible for hosting one of the events and promoting it to the local community. This was a yearly event that both the SMGSA and SSC had to prepare in advance, meaning that both organizations were focused on this for many weeks leading up to the runs. As planning for the runs took place however, members of the SSC were still involved in organizing daily events at the centre such as ongoing sport competitions,

tournaments, and events.

The second main focus of the SSC's everyday programming included hosting sport competitions. The three sport courts of the SSC and available equipment for various sports including football (soccer), netball, tennis, volleyball, and more, led to facility rentals by other organizations, such as schools, sport associations, and non-government organizations. Upon renting the facilities, these organizations run sport competitions and activities, including events such as school tournaments, activities for a select group of people, or a casual sport event. On many days of the week (due to school being in session), the SSC was kept busy with an event or competition – these events would often happen two or three times per week, and the SSC would be a loud, active centre with cheering and chanting between schools and groups of people. On these days, SSC workers and volunteers would often set up the courts for the events and then watch the competitions, keeping an eye on what may be needed. These events were part of the regular activities occurring at the centre every week. In addition to these competitions, a weekly sport and education project was a regular activity of the SSC during my fieldwork.

An ongoing sport and education project was in operation during my research and internship within the SSC – in fact, this project began the second month I worked within the SMGSA/SSC, and I was responsible for creating, implementing, and overseeing its execution. The project was called the 'Sport and Education Project,' an initiative carried out by the Taiwan Fund for Children and Families (TFCF) in partnership with the SMGSA and the SSC. Specifically, the role of the SMGSA was to provide SSC workers or 'sport specialists' to the TFCF organization in order to teach students at eight different schools in Swaziland about sport and the values of sport. As stated in the community project outline given to the SMGSA/SSC by the TFCF, the

main aim of the project is to provide sport material and offer sports education in our sponsored schools with the help of sports specialist. Specialist[s] from SSC would be roped in to provide their technical expertise in the different sports, which will include; netball and soccer. (Community Project, 2016, p. 4)

Upon working with the TFCF, the project would involve (at least in planning and documents) the teaching of the TRRFCC values as well as sport activities. As with the ODR however, very little education, other than brief teachings of the TRRFCC values, was implemented at school visits.

When planning the school visits with Zee from TFCF, she talked about how it has to be more than just sport, and that it will be about education of sport values. However, there was no educational elements involved in this first school visit, other than Thabani teaching some students the TRRFCC values. It was more about ‘sport development’ and teaching the students about different sports as well as the skills needed for participating in the activities. For example, Thabani would show them how to run the sprint slalom. ‘Lift this leg first (showing it with his own legs) and then lift your right’ (he was explaining this in siSwati). The values, although taught by him sometimes, would be said quickly, sometimes not even finishing them all before a rotation. (Fieldnote, June 2016)

The initial partnership between the TFCF and the SMGSA/SSC was focused on providing sport to students at schools while also educating them on the values of sport and the TRRFCC. During a SSC training session of teachers from the various schools about the sport and education project, Zee, the project manager from TFCF, noted, “It is more than just sport, it is about education” (Fieldnote, June 2016) referring to how the programme was both educational and a form of sport development. Like the ODR and the sport competitions at the SSC however, the sport and education project in practice was also emphasized by sport development.

These events and programmes of the SSC are what occurred throughout the duration of participant-observation – although SFD was outlined in documents and in specific programming at the SSC, such as SFD training sessions or teaching the values during sport activities, sport development was the primary focus of the SSC activity during my time in the field. Thus, although various forms of SFD, such as leadership, would occur at the SSC through sport development events (e.g., leading a sport group at the ODR), ideas of sport-for-development and sport development were ‘mixed’ when talking with research participants. For example, when asked what ‘SFD’ is, many participants would discuss how sport plays a role in developing a better athlete – disregarding the usual Westernized definition of SFD or those other themes that were discussed in relation to ‘for-development.’ These themes, although discussed in the context of SFD, were many times closely aligned with sport development purposes, and included elite sport development and international competition and ‘getting out of the country,’ which I discuss in the following sections.

### *5.3.2 Athlete Development and International Competition*

The various sport development events listed above organized by the SSC display how the actions of those at the SSC are based on a mix of sport development and SFD. This mix of both elements may have influenced how SFD occurs in the SSC and their perceived benefits. When I spoke with workers from the SSC about what they would like to see happen from sport or SFD in Swaziland, many spoke of how they would like to see athletes from the SSC compete at a high-level of sport competitions. The focus of the SSC on sport training and competitions may have influenced this objective of many of the workers and volunteers at the SSC. Furthermore, the SMGSA as a multi-games association that represents Swaziland in competition may have also encouraged those at the SSC to be more interested in sport development than SFD, or, in some



cases, perhaps suggest that athlete development is a form of SFD. When asked about what he hopes to see from 'SFD,' Jabulani stated:

I would like to see one of my kids [his own children and those he teaches at the SSC] competing internationally. "It's a pity I'm teaching table tennis only at the club." I want my kids to compete internationally, but the only practice they get is when they compete against each other, so it is not much. (Fieldnote, August 2016)

Jabulani's response to what he hopes SFD leads to aligns with the goal of athlete development for international competition – this is a goal disassociated with what the SFD programmes aim to develop and instead relates more to the actual events the SSC hosts listed above. Jabulani, a local SSC worker, prioritized the development of athletes in his organizational practices – whenever attending school visits or running sport activities at the SSC, Jabulani taught technical skills related to specific sports. Thembile and Thabani also displayed their focus on developing athletes in SSC programming. School visits as part of the 'Sport and Education' project involved them teaching sports such as skip rope to youth and students – only Thabani specifically integrated elements of values education in these sessions, with limited traits of SFD. Thembile and Thabani both spoke about how training youth and students properly in sport activities may lead to athletes to compete in international events. The emphasis of those at the SSC on developing an elite athlete was shown by their sport development focus in daily activities and events. Although I may consider athlete development as primarily a form of sport development, the people from the SSC to which I spoke regarded an elite athlete as an outcome or benefit of sport-for-development. Thus, allowing them to describe the benefits and positives of SFD, a tension emerged where it appears that Jabulani, Thabani, and Thembile all consider athlete development as SFD – a tension because of how athlete development, at least in Westernized definitions of

‘SFD,’ would most likely be seen as ‘sport development.’ In relation to athlete development, participants also described how ‘going outside of the country’ was a benefit of SFD.

### 5.3.3 *‘Going Outside the Country:’ Sport and Travel*

‘Going outside the country’ was a common phrase by volunteers, interns, and employees of the SSC - often, the opportunity to travel outside the boundaries of Swaziland would be an exciting and sought-after experience by those with which I conversed at the SSC. It was apparent that becoming an elite athlete and traveling to compete internationally was not only about the ability to compete at high levels of sport – it was also about being able to travel to different countries, crossing borders to experience new cultures, and learning about new places of the world. Thabani discussed in an interview what it meant to go outside the country:

MM: When you say going places, or outside the country, like what does that mean to you, or mean to the people who could go outside the country?

Thabani: When you go outside the country, you learn their life, how are they living in the other country...and you get to know their culture. And you - you get to know how is the society of that place.

During fieldwork, Thabani had the opportunity to travel to Greece as part of a two-week Youth Olympic Education programme, and returned to the SSC afterwards upbeat and enthusiastic about his travels. He especially spoke about traveling outside the country, whether as an athlete or just as a worker at the SSC, due to his own experience in Greece. Other volunteers also discussed how the prospect of traveling was positive for the SSC, such as Sam, who explained “I get to see all of Swaziland by being here [the SSC]. When the bus is working, you go all over” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Based on Sam’s desire to travel, he would accompany the SSC on almost every school visit as part of the ‘Sport and Education’ project, displaying how he takes

advantage of working in sport at the SSC.

Many at the SSC related being able to travel as a positive outcome of sport or SFD. Jabulani explained “Also because of sport, I get to travel to many countries without paying a cent. It is a big accomplishment. I was able to go to South Africa, to Mozambique, to Lesotho, Botswana...as a volunteer” (Fieldnote, July 2015). Traveling and ‘going outside the country’ was a beneficial outcome of the SSC, sport, and SFD. As with athlete development, people at the SSC regarded traveling outside of the country as a form of sport-for-development. Thomas (SSC volunteer) suggested that sport could create “opportunities for kids to go outside the country for sport” (Fieldnote, August 2016). The idea of ‘going outside the country’ is related to athlete development due to how elite athletes may travel internationally for competitions. Although through the SSC many workers are able to travel, they also related ‘going outside the country’ to athlete development, displaying how tensions of sport development and SFD arise in this description of SFD as well.

The SSC is a site of both sport development and SFD, however, my own participant-observation in SSC programming showcased how the majority of my time spent at the SSC related to sport development initiatives and only limited moments of specific ‘SFD’ occurred. People in the SSC described ‘SFD’ as sport development – upon considering my own views and knowledge in SFD as the critical researcher, I realized that learning from local Others to understand from their point of view meant thinking differently. As they discussed, these different ideas about athlete development and getting out of the country as forms of SFD, I began to realize that, to the “local” those are benefits of sport and ‘for-development’ in their communities, although they may not be recognized typically as ‘SFD.’ Overall, the blended approach of the SMGSA and SSC in their SFD and sport programming deeper entrenched the tensions of the two

fields and how to identify one from the other – or, as Coalter (2013a) suggested, differentiating sport-plus from plus-sport. Due to the SSC as a site for both, the description of only the specific LVP and LIT SFD programmes could not be understood without demonstrating how sport development appeared to be the main focus of the SSC and SMGSA. Regardless of the focus of the SSC and SMGSA, the SFD programming that was outlined above carried a distinctive trait of institutional ethnography (i.e., ‘ruling relations’) and echoed critiques of SFD that scholars have previously suggested, including unequal Global North/Global South relations (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2015). Therefore, in the next section, I discuss how neocolonial notions of development have dominated the SFD programming at the SSC in previous years and during my fieldwork from May to August 2016.

#### **5.4 Neocolonial Text-Mediated SFD: Activating the ‘Ruling Relations’**

While conducting a critical institutional ethnography at the SSC, it became noticeable that organizational processes had activated the ‘ruling relations’ involved in the local work of the SSC. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are certain texts from translocal forms of social organization that coordinate people within organizations towards “certain information because some facts are relevant to the organizational decision-making” (Campbell & Gregor, 2002, p. 36). In this section I discuss how certain texts underlined the SFD programming involved in the SSC and explore how these translocal forms of knowing were integrated into the local site of the SSC based on Westernized ideas of SFD. This incorporation of knowledge from Westernized society, or the Global North, follows the common trait of the history of international development – that of utilizing, or believing, that the Global North has the information and experts needed to deliver ‘development’ to Others in the Global South (Eyben, 2014).

There are three forms of text that guided SFD in the SSC, which included the LVP

manual, the LIT manual, and the TRRFCC values. These three documents, or forms of ‘ruling relations’ as described by Smith (2005), influenced the SFD programming and sport activities of those at the SSC while being transferred from a translocal boundary outside the local setting of the SSC (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). For example, the TRRFCC values that are based on Global North ‘universal’ six pillars of character were used by Thabani to teach individuals being trained in sport at the local level. The ideas around these values are transferred from the Josephson Institute of Ethics in the Global North, incorporated into SFD documents and manuals by the SMGSA, and used by SSC volunteers and workers to teach in sport activities, training sessions, and other events. The transfer of knowledge between international boundaries and organizations display how ideas from Westernized management have been filtered into SFD programming in Swaziland, further displaying how traits of neocolonialism occur in international development and sport by way of forms of text.

The LVP and LIT modules listed earlier in this chapter display other components of the SFD manuals, many of which, as Margaret explained, were informed by multiple sources found online, or as Smith (2005), argued, “distinctive translocal forms of social organization and social relations mediated by texts of all kinds (print, film, television, *computer* [emphasis added], and so on)” (p. 227). Various objectified forms of knowledge found online by a Canadian intern and Margaret were integrated into the LIT programme during its creation in 2003. A reliance on text was created due to the use of information from an external source outside of those at the SMGSAs and, more importantly, the SSC’s knowledge (Nichols, 2014). This is not to mean that the use of textually-mediated information for the SFD programmes negatively impacted the LIT initiative. Rather, the use of such documents from translocal sources found online instead of local community information or knowledge displays how the ‘ruling relations’ of text-mediated

sources underlie the SFD programming at the SMGSA and SSC (Smith, 2005). This does not necessarily mean a form of domination (although in some cases it may; Smith, 2005), but rather displays how mediated texts become objectified in Global South organizations based on Westernized knowledge, continuing a form of neocolonialism through knowledge transfer (Subhabrata et al., 2008) and contributing to the dominant approach of SFD programmes –where Global North ideas and initiatives are implemented in the Global South (Burnett, 2015). Thus, the LIT programme and TRRFCC values documents both appear to be forms of ‘ruling relations’ within the SSC and further complicate notions of neocolonialism in sport and international development (Darnell & Kaur, 2015).

The newest SFD programme in the SSC, the LVP, was also influenced by knowledge from the Global North due to its reliance on the TRRFCC values in its manual. Additionally, elements from the LIT modules were incorporated into the LVP manual – or as Margaret discussed, the programmes were built off one another. Thus, the ‘ruling relations’ as noted above also relate to the LVP initiative and are further embedded into the SFD programming of the LVP due to its use of LIT documents and the TRRFCC values. Based on the SFD programming at the SSC that includes the LVP, LIT, and TRRFCC values, the use of local knowledge and resources appears limited. As many critical scholars (Darnell, 2012; Levermore, 2010) have argued, the creation and ideas involved with SFD programming in the Global South, such as at the SMGSA and SSC, are infused with knowledge from the Global North and carry traits of neocolonialism. Thus, the daily programming completed at the SSC is influenced by texts outside the local centre that have been transferred into organizational documents and practices by the SMGSA – a specific form of SFD that scholars (Forde, 2014; Hayhurst, 2016) have highlighted as entrenching unequal forms of development.

#### *5.4.1 Conclusion: SFD Programming in the SMGSA and SSC*

In this chapter, I explored the two specific SFD programmes at the SSC, the LVP and LIT, and discussed their major themes of ‘for-development’ that included HIV/AIDS education, values education (specifically the TRRFCC values), and leadership development. These themes emerged as the three main foci of ‘for-development’ in the SSC and SMGSA. Additionally, I discussed how the SSC, in reality, prioritized sport development events and competitions during May to August 2016, and specifically listed the Olympic Day Run, ongoing sport competitions, and a ‘Sport and Education’ project as being the dominant focus of programming at the SSC.

The focus of the SSC on both SFD and sport development led to a tension in what people at the SSC believed ‘for-development’ should be contributing. Many spoke of how leaders could be developed in regards to SFD, but when also asked about how SFD helps those in the community, they would explain that athlete development and ‘getting out of the country’ were two benefits of sport, the SSC, and SFD. Thus, this chapter outlined the blended approach of programming at the SSC, while also emphasizing how the SMGSA plays a major role in the creation and implementation of SFD and sport development initiatives at the SSC – including how the parent-organization contributed to neocolonial ideas around SFD. Although SFD programming was not as common at the SSC during my time there, it is apparent that, like other SFD organizations and programmes, text-mediated forms of knowledge based on Global North ideas has infiltrated the local SFD practices of the SSC. As a critical scholar, it became noticeable how ‘on-the-ground’ programming was being guided by sources of knowledge outside the local setting of the SSC and influenced sport development and SFD programming at the centre.

Upon further investigation of the actual work of people at the SSC in relation to SFD and

sport development, the power-infused environment of the SSC and its complex of social relations became increasingly apparent as I immersed myself in the field. In the next chapter, I discuss the everyday work of people at the SSC and the web of social relations in which they are embedded while carrying out their organizational responsibilities and SFD work. Specifically, I discuss how the site of the SSC was a place where institutional work was occurring – as well as highlight how the social relations of gender, class, and race influenced and were inherently involved in work practices and relationships of those working in the SSC for the purposes of SFD.



## Chapter 6: The Organizational (and Institutional) Work of the SSC

*Upon exiting the cab, I begin my walk across the beige, barren field, dust spiraling up around me with each footstep I take. I slowly make my way to the SSC offices that are visible in the distance, standing noticeably beside the country's national football (soccer) stadium. As I make my way to the wired fencing that surrounds the SSC building, rolling, beautiful, mountains blurred by clouds are visible in the distance on the horizon. Bright, painted letters of all colour display the SSC's name on a shed at the front of the building: Sport Success Centre. I walk through the entrance gate, seeing the sport courts on my left that are surrounded by tall fences; the SSC bus is straight ahead, parked for use later in the week; the large tree that sits in between the offices to the right and the courts to the left stares me down. I take a right and walk into the offices, stepping onto the grey, concrete floor – and am greeted by my co-workers, Thabani, Thembile, and Jabulani. They each greet me, smiling, while Thabani turns on music that blares out of the office loud enough to be heard by people on the courts. I sit down and my workday begins at the SSC – what will happen today? (Fieldnote, July 2016)*

### 6. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore and discover the role of institutional work that shapes and is shaped by the activities of a local SFD programme in Swaziland – to do so, I conducted a critical institutional ethnography case study across two organizational sites, the SMGSA and SSC. In the previous chapter, I discussed the SFD and sport development programming that was observed in the daily activities of the SSC and highlighted broad themes of development involved in the documents, practices, and views of individuals at the SSC and SMGSA. In this chapter, I explore the organizational work that was carried out to achieve organizational objectives and SFD. However, rather than focus on the themes of SFD and sport development programming (as in the previous chapter), I discuss the social actors, relationships, and interactions of those working in the SSC and SMGSA to display how people working to achieve SFD and sport development at the SSC are involved in a complex environment underlined by social relations, power dynamics, and a neocolonial management style. As identified in Chapter 5, SFD programming at the SSC has been integrated into the local site by the SMGSA,

displaying how, “local practices and experiences are tied into extended social relations or chains of action” (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 372). These social relations not only influence the broader SFD policies and ideas of the SMGSA and SSC, but also influence the daily work of those at the SSC and how they act in their practices.

In order to describe how the SSC was a complex site of postcolonial management involving multiple issues of class, gender, and race, I highlight how organizational interactions and relationships within the SSC and SMGSA acted to embed an organizational structure and management that, while on the service seemed to support the development of the local, upon closer examination actually marginalized local knowledge and favoured the knowledge of white, middle-class individuals. Additionally, I discuss how work around SFD, such as teaching the TRRFCC values at LIT/LVP training sessions, was influenced by neocolonial inclinations of contemporary international development. Although these sections identify how the SSC and its work is an environment infused with power dynamics and hegemony, I also discuss how acts of power resistance seemingly disrupted the organizational status quo, resulting in opportunities to allow possible change within the organization. Finally, I emphasize how the SSC was more than just a physical location for SFD and sport – embedded in social relations, the SSC is a place of safety for many staff and volunteers; however, based on observation in the field and acts within the workplace, the SSC also appeared to be a site of both exclusion and inclusion of particular groups.

Importantly, within this chapter, I identify two forms of institutional work prevalent at the SSC that organizational actors were involved in creating, maintaining, and disrupting – the educational practices involved in teachings the TRRFCC values and

therefore SFD and the work of SSC intern Thembile, a young women who challenged gender stereotypes through her work in sport and position at the SSC. Overall, I explain how the practices, relationships, and everyday work of people at the SSC have contributed to shaping and are shaped by the institutional work of the SSC and SMGSA while being influenced by an array of social relations. In the following section, I discuss how issues of class and race underlined the organizational actions and interactions of the SSC and SMGSA.

### **6.1 Neocolonialism in Action: The White People in Charge**

As described in Chapter 5, the creation and implementation of SFD programmes at the SSC was heavily influenced by Westernized knowledge of Canadian interns, websites from the Global North, and Margaret's own understanding of 'development.' Thus, SFD programmes at the SSC reflected arguments of SFD scholars (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016; Levermore, 2010) that Global North ideas are used in the implementation of SFD initiatives in the Global South. In addition to Global North ideas being utilized for the purposes of SFD programming and initiatives at the SSC, the reliance on white, Canadian interns and their knowledge was seen through their continuous involvement in the creation and implementation of SFD programmes in the past. Although this study was not focused on SFD interns or volunteers from the Global North, during my own experience as an intern at the SSC/SMGSA, I was submitted to the neocolonial tendencies of the organization – specifically, Margaret tasked me with the role of 'manager' of the SSC, thus putting an unknown, English-speaking white person in charge. I briefly discuss my role as the 'manager' to provide context for the remainder of the chapter.

Upon first meeting with Margaret in the second week of my fieldwork and internship in the SMGSA/SSC, Margaret informed me that I would, “be the manager and run it [the SSC] like a business” (Fieldnote, May 2016). This included creating a weekly schedule, scheduling various sport events, and leading SFD and sport development programming at the SSC. During my initial visit to the SSC offices, Margaret even insisted that I take Thabani’s desk, since, ‘he was the new intern’ (Fieldnotes, May 2016) – although I declined and did not take the desk, in offering it to me she was implying I would be placed above Thabani in the SSC and act as a superior, ‘the manager.’ Margaret also informed Jabulani, the SSC manager, that I was here to manage the SSC – once again explicitly stating that I would ‘be in charge.’

#### **Reflexive Fieldnote 1 – ‘Managing’ the SSC**

*The other problem with not being at the SSC is that I am working on stuff for the centre (i.e., the schedule, camp, etc.) with only some direction from Margaret and no other assistance, which includes working with Thabani and Jabulani on it, who are the ones who know the centre best and work there. When I was at the SSC, I told them I wanted to work together, but now it is basically me doing exactly what I did not want to do – creating something using my own knowledge rather than the locals or the people from Swaziland. It has made this tension worse that Margaret has told me to be the manager of the SSC and run it like it’s my business. She has told me Swazis don’t tell other Swazis what to do – but here I am creating schedules, camps, and other things to implement at the SSC and which I will be telling other Swazis what to do and how – as the white male from Canada. (Reflexive fieldnote, May 2016)*

However, despite being the ‘manager’ of the SSC, during the first few weeks of interning, I would be working on SSC programming, scheduling, and other elements from the SMGSA offices due to transportation challenges. Although I would later work at the SSC daily, this meant that I would be following the paths of previous Canadian interns who assisted Margaret in building the SFD programmes; I would be responsible for creating programming (whether SFD or sport development) that would be

implemented at the SSC based on my Westernized knowledge and ‘expertise,’ without the local knowledge of those at the SSC.

Furthermore, Margaret’s placement of white, Canadian volunteers in managerial positions or leadership roles (i.e., creating and leading implementation of programmes) also influenced how individuals at the SSC responded to workplace duties, tasks, and responsibilities. In particular, when Margaret delegated tasks through me to those at the SSC, limited engagement in completing the duties occurred.<sup>43</sup> Although I would tentatively tell Thabani, Jabulani, or Thembile about particular tasks Margaret would want completed by them (e.g., a report Thabani had to create based on a programme with which he was involved) and they would nod, smile, or confirm the message, immediate action would not take place, whether that day or in the next few days. These acts of disengagement highlight how workers at the SSC may have resisted attempts at work due to my role as the new, Canadian, white intern (and also ‘manager’) – especially as I relayed information/knowledge from Margaret to those experienced, long-term individuals at the SSC.

When confronted with the challenge of me acting as the SSC manager, Margaret seemed unwilling to attempt a meeting between myself, her, Jabulani, Thabani and Thembile due to past meetings being unsuccessful:

I then ask her [Margaret] about having a sit-down meeting with the 5 of us

(Margaret, my 3 co-workers, and me) because it is hard for me to ‘be the

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<sup>43</sup> This was especially common early in fieldwork, perhaps as I was still very much considered an outsider and had not immersed myself in the SSC. Additionally, these acts of disengagement were usually when I had to specifically identify the task as being requested by Margaret. I also recognize that these may simply be forms of miscommunication or interactions unrelated to (un)conscious acts of power resistance.

manager.’ She immediately shoots the idea down, talking about how, “I’ve tried – we’ve had so many meetings Mitch! We talk about what are we going to do, what’s our plan and then it never happens! I give up!” Talking about the volunteers, she explains, “They all – they can all go piss off for all I care.” I say again that I have been having trouble asking or delegating tasks, hoping for her to see why they may not want to do the work. “You must tell them - Mrs. H said this, we must do it, and if we don’t, say that you will report back to me.”

(Fieldnote, July 2016)

This discussion with Margaret demonstrates how she appears to have reached her ‘breaking point’ in relation to meetings with members of the SSC, as well as the involvement of volunteers. Although I did not specifically mention how I am having trouble ‘telling them what to do’ as the white intern, she seems to not realize the tough position in which I have been placed as the new Canadian intern, once again explaining that I should tell them she said to do something, and if not, I report about them to her. She fails to recognize how this may further harm the relationship between the SMGSA and SSC and embed racial tensions due to the nuances in management style that exhibit neocolonial tendencies.

Thus, although this section heavily pulls from my own experience as the ‘manager’ of the SSC, it is evident that, in the case of the SSC, white, ‘knowledgeable’ interns are placed in positions of superiority and are put ‘in-charge’ of central components of the work at the SSC. In addition, Margaret’s own role as the CEO and head of the SSC highlights how leaders and managers of the SSC (including me) have perhaps been selected based on class and race. Although Jabulani is the acting manager

of the SSC, in actuality, white interns are tasked with the work of the SSC and local individuals marginalized. In this way, a neocolonialist management structure influences the relations of those involved in the organization (i.e., Margaret and SSC workers; Canadian interns and SSC workers), and contributes to an underlying power dynamic involving the dominance of white, middle-class knowledge. The placement of white, non-local individuals in positions of power also contributed to issues of race and class in organizational relationships.

### *6.1.1 Fuksek! Class and Race in Organizations*

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, organizations are more than just entities working towards concerns such as productivity, profitability, and goal attainment (Mill et al., 2010). Organizations are socio-political phenomena that influence the actions, practices, and lives of organizational actors and further maintain or disrupt organizational status quos reflecting structural divisions in society, such as class and racial divisions (Clegg & Dunkerly, 1980). In this section, I discuss how the political environment of the SSC and the relationship between organizational actors, like the neocolonial management structure, is embedded in class and race relations. Furthermore, I argue that the SSC is a ‘lived organizational experience’ (Mir & Mir, 2012, p. 97) for many individuals, and can be defined as a postcolonial space, as defined by Ulus (2015):

This postcolonial space may physically be a work setting located in a country with colonial history, or it may be a space of emotion that is evoked in organizations where individuals with different colonial histories meet and interact with one another in embodied, ambivalent ways. This space may also be an

intrapsychic space, where people maintain colonial images and assumptions in their conscious and unconscious minds. (p. 892)

Although this may be a space embedded in power structures of inequality, postcolonial space also provides opportunities for resistance to disciplinary practices and the organizational status quo, which occurs in unanticipated and (un)known ways by individuals (Ulus, 2015). Thus, while in the field, various interactions and encounters between organizational actors in the SSC and SMGSA where different colonial histories (i.e., white, middle-class individuals and Black, working-class individuals) collided due to the colonial history of Swaziland and Africa were observed.

### **Reflexive Fieldnote 2 - Margaret's Return**

*When Margaret came back to work I was shocked at the difference in the atmosphere of the offices and even more surprised at what Margaret was saying and doing. Nicola is the 'messenger' in the SMGSA offices, who goes to pick up stuff or who runs errands (such as taking Jennifer [other Canadian intern] and I to get work permits). However, she also is like a servant (waitress) for Margaret and gets her food, cleans up after her, and does whatever Margaret asks. Margaret is white and I cannot help but think this is not right – Margaret has people get what she prints for her, is very demanding, apparently yells when she is stressed (I have not seen this) and is very direct when telling someone they did something wrong. Everyone else in the office (except Jennifer and I) are Black, and Margaret is the boss. Perhaps this is the way it works in Swazi culture, but Margaret said herself that a Swazi person cannot tell another what to do...but from what I've seen that is what she does. Does she do this to get them to work, because they, as she said, 'are lazy'? (Reflexive Fieldnote, May 2017).*

Specifically, individuals spoke about how Margaret (a white, non-local Swazi) would treat volunteers and workers at the SSC (Indigenous, Black Swazis) and how this led to issues of workplace treatment. Thomas (SSC volunteer) discussed how people at the SSC felt disrespected:



He seems very interested [about my research] and begins to list issues about the SSC: (1) he speaks about how volunteers are treated at the SSC, saying “we want respect. You know Margaret,” and starts to imitate her, “Guys, do this! Hey, come here!” He says, raising his voice and changing the way he speaks to a sharp tone. He laughs quickly before stopping, becoming serious, and as he shakes his head, says, “That is not nice...we do not like that.” (Fieldnote, July 2016)

Thomas voices his displeasure in the way Margaret treats volunteers, emphasizing the way she talks to them within the workplace or at events. Jabulani also addressed the treatment of volunteers at the SSC, saying, “Volunteers need to get more, they need to be treated better” (Fieldnote, August 2016). Throughout fieldwork, I witnessed multiple interactions and encounters between Margaret and other employees or SSC workers that highlighted her management style or behaviour towards other organizational actors. My co-workers at the SSC, Thabani, Thembile, and Jabulani, immediately changed their behaviour when in the presence of Margaret – rarely would they have a dialogue with Margaret, and instead would listen as Margaret outlined what needed to be done at the SSC. “Okay Mrs. H” or, “Yes, Mrs. H” would commonly be the only comment by those at the SSC when speaking with Margaret. Furthermore, in some cases, such as when Thembile asked me to speak to Margaret on the phone for her, I would be asked to speak with Margaret (whether in-person or on the phone) rather than my co-workers; these requests may have been based on their desire to not speak with Margaret, their superior.

In specific instances where Margaret would speak with employees or people in the organization (either the SMGSA or SSC), I witnessed acts that, based on my own critical postcolonial lens and research methodology, appeared to embed issues of race and

class that have historically marginalized Others. For example, as I sat in Margaret's office at the SMGSA one day having a conversation with her, she began to search for a document that she could not find:

Margaret was searching for a document on her desk and calls Nicola into her office, asking about where the specific document has been placed. "I do not touch those things, ma'am," Nicola says. "Well it was here and you cleaned my desk," Margaret responds. Nicola begins looking around for it, saying she does not touch those things. Margaret says a few more words and then, "Go child," with a wave of her hand and a scowl on her face. Nicola leaves the office.

Although either Margaret or Nicola (or someone else in the office) may have been responsible for the missing document, the interaction between Margaret and Nicola sheds light on the treatment of those within the SMGSA and SSC. In particular, the dismissive tone used by Margaret and the language she uses to tell Nicola to leave is of particular interest – Nicola is a 'messenger' in the organization, an employee at the lowest level of the organizational hierarchy, who runs errands for the organization and cleans the offices, amongst other duties. By no means, however, is Nicola a 'child' (the word used by Margaret to dismiss her from the office), as she was in her early 30s and has also worked in the SMGSA since 2010. Margaret's use of the word 'child' to dismiss Nicola shows disrespect to her age, maturity, and past experience in the SMGSA, and may (un)consciously further embed notions of the white, 'knowledgeable', upper management supervisor privilege, while perpetuating notions of the 'less-developed', Black employee who is also already characterized in many cases as an 'Other' (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008).

Multiple examples of Margaret's racial and demeaning attitude<sup>44</sup> toward organizational actors in the SSC and SMGSA due to their race and class also became noticeable when she felt secure in the presence of another white individual. In particular, Margaret would often make comments around me, perhaps due to my identity as a white, middle-class, Canadian intern. For example, while being driven to the local SSC by Margaret, a conversation about a volunteer at the centre arose. Initially, I did not know to which volunteer she was referring, prompting Margaret to say, "The one who knows very little English." Almost immediately after I realized who it was, Margaret adds, "He doesn't know much of anything to be honest" (Fieldnote, June 2016). Margaret relates the volunteer's ability to speak English to his level of knowledge, and displayed that his ability to only speak native siSwati informs her assumption that he "doesn't know much of anything." In this way, Margaret's own assumptions and actions towards organizational actors at the SSC and SMGSA further contribute to, "the construction of northern, white subjects [who] possess knowledge and bodies of colour [who] have potential to know" (Darnell, 2007, p. 569) while disregarding the knowledge of local Others and workers. In essence, due to the organizational relationships and structure of hierarchy within the SMGSA and SSC, inclinations of racial and class divisions

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<sup>44</sup> Although there were moments where Margaret's actions may have had racial connotations, it is also important to recognize that her own perspective and history as a white South African woman frames her worldview differently than mine. Margaret, in creating SFD programmes and through her own work (such as paying or supporting Thabani in school) displays how she has tried to 'make a difference' and provide opportunities to those locally (such as Thembile) to work in the SSC. She also acted as a mentor in some observations – for example, she would provide advice or direction to those at the SSC about certain sport techniques. Thus, Margaret's 'behind-the-scenes' work may positively benefit people in various ways, and in her view, she may be contributing in to social development. Yet, there are tensions between the opportunities she provides (i.e., work opportunities) and the practices and interactions in which she was involved (e.g., actions underlined by racist connotations).

underlined workplace relations – however, as power is relational, various acts of resistance to such neocolonial traits seemed to occur within the SSC.

### *6.1.2 You're the Expert: Shifting Power Dynamics and Resistance in Organizations*

An unequal power structure underlined the work, management structure, and practices of the SSC – the knowledge of white, middle class individuals was prioritized. However, power is relational, infused throughout organizations in unconscious, unexpected, and unknowing ways (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008), and resistance to power structures can be achieved by small nuances and actions (Banerjee, 2011) from those individuals governed by the structure of an entity, such as the SSC being controlled by the SMGSA. Despite this, and recognizing that the actions of individuals in the SSC may be due to reasons<sup>45</sup> other than resistance, I suggest that acts of resistance or ruptures within the organizational status quo occurred occasionally. In particular, there were moments during participant-observation that I felt I was witnessing or was involved in (directly or indirectly) resistance to the status quo, whether based upon the way an individual spoke about something to me or the way they acted.

In many instances, SSC workers and volunteers would seem to disregard messages I relayed to them - however, upon building a relationship and working collaboratively with them in an ongoing process rather than ‘telling them what to do,’<sup>46</sup> working together became easier and increasingly likely the longer I was in the field.

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<sup>45</sup> ‘Other reasons’ behind the actions I witnessed may simply be due to dislike of a person, displeasure in the workplace, or disinterest.

<sup>46</sup> When I speak of working in ‘collaboration’, I mean that I would make an explicit effort to work with my co-workers cooperatively. Rather than ‘tell’ or inform them about an event or SFD programme (as Margaret), I would ask for their assistance and expertise in the planning and preparation stages. Due to my role as the ‘manager’ and the tension of such a role with my critical worldview, multiple discussions with my advisor as well as other members of my committee took place to discuss how I would go about negotiating my role as a ‘manager’ but also working cooperatively with co-workers. My own thoughts and reflection were also important in this matter, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Initially, workers and volunteers appeared hesitant to provide their own knowledge when creating or developing events and programming at the SSC. Rarely would Jabulani, Thabani, or Thembile be asked for their input in events, programme creation (either SFD or sport development) or policies and organizational documents. Rather, they would be tasked with completing duties such as setting up courts, ensuring the facilities are well-maintained, and teaching sport. Thus, they were not accustomed to being approached by interns or Margaret for matters related to event preparation, programming planning, and other elements of organizational policy and documents.

Yet, after building rapport and trust with co-workers, opportunities arose to challenge the limited involvement of SSC workers and local knowledge in the creation of documents pertaining to programming and events at the SSC. For example, when working with Jabulani one afternoon, his attitude towards the work I sought assistance with changed when I let him know he was the ‘expert.’

It appeared at first that Dalton was hesitant to tell me that something needed to be changed in the document [Operational Plan for TFCF school visits]. However, after informing him that he knows more than me in terms of these events and sports, he seemed eager and more willing to add his input, talking about which games are better for what age-group and why some activities would not work due to their longevity or equipment. (Fieldnote, July 2016)

Jabulani’s role in the organization does not usually feature him in such a position of planning or creating the events – he is usually the one who implements them. Being asked about what changes to the document were needed may have been an unusual inquiry – however, his interest in assisting after being recognized as knowledgeable may

have contributed to a disruption to the organizational status quo. Rather than acting as the ‘know-it-all’ researcher or Western intern that seemed common to (un)consciously occur in the past at the SSC, Jabulani’s valuable information assisted in the planning of the TFCF project and may also have shifted power from myself as the ‘knowledgeable’, white, intern, to him as the ‘expert’ in this position (Berger, 2015). Thus, an opportunity through the work of the SSC allowed for Jabulani to challenge the organizational status quo of those local workers at the SSC being delegated tasks without being involved in their creation.<sup>47</sup>

Other acts of resistance seemed to permeate interactions and the behaviour of SSC workers and volunteers. Many of these interactions occurred while at the local SSC with co-workers or volunteers, most often when Margaret was not present at the local site. During a walk to the store with Thabani during lunch, he discussed what we should say to Margaret about the power outage at the SSC. He first imitated Margaret, saying “Guys, guys, come on,” and following that, responded in his own voice: “And then you tell her to fuksek [fuck off in siSwati]” (Fieldnote, June 2016). Additionally, Thabani would once again tell me to tell Margaret to “fuksek” after a phone call I had with her one day, to which Jabulani and Thembile, who were both in the office at the time, laughed about (Fieldnote, July 2016). Although such interactions may simply be an act of employer-employee tensions and mentioned as a joke, the positions of both Margaret and Thabani (as well as my other co-workers and myself) are constituted by positions of power, and thus, may be a way for Thabani to voice his feelings towards management.

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<sup>47</sup> My own role in this situation also influenced an opportunity to challenge the organizational status quo. Working cooperatively with my co-workers in ways to which they are not accustomed in order to challenge the marginalization of local voices, I believe I played an active role in such power resistance.

Thabani was not the only one to imitate Margaret during my fieldwork; at events where both SMGSA and SSC volunteers and workers were involved, impersonations of Margaret were frequent (Fieldnote, June, 2016). These situations were different from the instance with Thabani due to Margaret being relatively close to the area where the impersonations happened – although she would be out of range to hear the imitation, this was a risk that individuals took in close proximity to their superior. These impersonations appeared to form a connection, and sense of resistance, amongst many involved in the organization when they occurred. In particular, the Olympic Day Run had many such instances of impersonation:

During the packing up of equipment from ODR, Jabulani impersonated Margaret while he puts stuff in the bed of the pickup truck. In a sharp voice that sounds like Margaret, Jabulani said: “Stuart [MGSA Project Manager] – Stuart! Guys, guys – come on guys!” Other volunteers, including Stuart, laugh as we continue to pack the vehicle that is beside the truck. Margaret is sitting in her truck about 15-20 feet away from where we are packing. (Fieldnote, June 2016)

These acts of mocking impersonation carried out by and with a number of workers from both the SMGSA and SSC display resistance to the dominant authoritative figure within the organizations. This resistance is also influenced by racial and class relations in the organization based on the above-mentioned interactions of people and the management structure. These acts may enable those within the organizations to decentralize the authoritative structure (Mir, Banerjee, & Mir, 2008) and, as a group of Indigenous Swazis, disrupt the dominant centralized nature of the organization maintained by their supervisor who is a white, middle-class South African.

Thus, the SSC as an organization is not a site of simple work and organizational relationships – based on the issues of class and race highlighted above, the daily interactions and actions of people within the SSC and SMGSA were embedded with social relations, power, and historical traits of colonialism. Furthermore, as addressed in the following section, these issues of neocolonial management involving racial and class relations influenced the specific actions of organizational actors in their SFD practices.

## **6.2 “She Teaches like An English Lady”: The Teaching of Values and Education**

Social relations of class and race as well as the postcolonial tendencies of the SSC and its everyday work also extended into the specific practices of teaching SFD. In particular, the work at the local level to teach about the TRRFCC values was involved in a complex political environment embedded with social relations and power dynamics. Therefore, in this section, I explore how the teaching of actual SFD took place within the SSC and how engaging in institutional work of SFD was underlined by issues of class and race related to the colonial history of Swaziland and the organizational structure of the SSC. The practices involved in the teaching of the TRRFCC values or SFD modules at the SSC not only reproduced unequal structures of power that marginalized Others further in the work of SFD, but in some cases, provided opportunities for what appeared to be acts of power resistance and disruptions to the organizational status quo – similar to those acts of resistance in the workplace discussed in the previous section. As mentioned in Chapter 5, there were three specific ‘SFD’ training workshops while I was in the field – an example of how work around teaching values and SFD was power infused was exhibited by the first training session.



In June 2016 of my fieldwork, the first SFD training session included approximately 20 participants, all SSC volunteers, coaches, or members who were being trained for the purposes of the upcoming ‘Sport and Education’ project discussed in Chapter 5. Margaret and I taught most of the modules, while Thabani and Jabulani each took sections of one module each. This would be one of Thabani’s and Jabulani’s first times leading the teaching modules – they would usually be responsible for training participants in sport, a task they also undertook later that day. When it came time to teach a module, I realized that perhaps the presence of Margaret and I may have influenced Jabulani to speak English – since I was a newcomer to the SSC who only spoke English, and Margaret only spoke English. Margaret would leave shortly before the following encounter, however, when teaching, a noticeable change occurred due to the language being used:

Next up was the module that Jabulani had to teach. He began the PowerPoint in English, however, he was pausing a lot and would read something slowly off the slide. After about one slide and a few minutes, I went up and told him he can speak in siSwati if it is easier. He started to explain the module in siSwati, which appeared to make him much more comfortable, and he was explaining each slide much longer than the first one (from what I could tell he was talking more and spending more time on each slide). He was also not pausing as much and having a louder, more confident voice than when speaking in English. The atmosphere in the room changed – people started asking questions and leaned forward, listening more intently as he spoke. (Fieldnote, June 2016)

The module that Dalton taught was the English LVP module ‘Teaching and Learning’ – additionally, the PowerPoint slideshow on the projector was made in English (by me) for the purposes of the training session. The dominance of English in the documents and PowerPoint, as well as my own involvement in the training session (acting somewhat as a ‘lead’ due to me teaching modules) may have (un)consciously influenced Jabulani’s selection of language. Furthermore, each session of SFD prior to my arrival was taught in English,<sup>48</sup> making the use of the language the dominant approach when teaching.

However, Jabulani’s switch to the native language of siSwati immediately resulted in a more interested, seemingly attentive audience. All of the participants in the room (all Indigenous Black Swazis) appeared more comfortable in engaging in conversation with Jabulani upon the use of the native language. No questions were asked while Margaret and I taught modules before Jabulani – once siSwati was being spoken, various individuals began to ask questions in siSwati to Jabulani and the audience was more engaged. The use of the native language may have made those in the room more comfortable – additionally, a local community member, Jabulani, teaching the modules may have increased a sense of familiarity with the audience. Rather than Margaret, an English-speaking white South African, or me, a white English-speaking Canadian teaching the SFD modules, having a Black Indigenous Swazi use the native language to educate changed the dynamic of the delivery of the modules. Furthermore, the change in language by Jabulani during the teaching of a module also disrupted the expected use of English while teaching SFD – by using siSwati to teach, Jabulani brought the ‘local’ back

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<sup>48</sup> This information was based on the experiences of SSC employees, volunteers, and members who had been involved in SFD training sessions or programmes. Margaret also told me that she teaches a large portion of modules at the sessions, in English.

into the practices of SFD while resisting the use of a language embedded by historical colonial practices.

Thus, the use of the English language in the LVP and LIT manuals, as well as the use of the language in past SFD training sessions, displays how the local language of Others involved in the SSC has been ignored in favour of English. Furthermore, the creation of the programmes were heavily influenced by Margaret and Canadian interns who only spoke English, which, in turn, led to the dominance of the language in the work of SFD. Thabani spoke about how the TRRFCC values, an important element of SFD at the SSC, were taught when they were first implemented:

Margaret also taught them [the TRRFCC values] to everyone and now they teach them to others. When he and the volunteers teach them, they have to translate them from English to siSwati. Not all kids are good at English, “especially the younger ones,” and so they try to teach some in siSwati. When teaching them in siSwati, they are more impactful. “I like it better.” (Fieldnote, July 2016)

Due to Margaret being a white South African who speaks English, the TRRFCC values were taught to those at the SSC in English when they were first implemented in 2011.

Margaret, being the head of the SMGSA and SSC, taught the values to SSC volunteers, employees, and members, to then educate others in the community and at the centre.

Thabani pointed out how the ‘younger ones’ at schools or at the SSC are more familiar with the use of siSwati when speaking, and how he also feels more comfortable using his native language. While in the field, all three SFD training sessions in which I was involved featured the use of English when teaching modules – Margaret and I would teach the modules in a classroom setting. Thabani and Jabulani would not be involved in

teaching the modules following the first session – however, they would teach and discuss other aspects during the training sessions such as sport training, sport festival, rules, and technical skills.

Even when visiting schools as part of the ‘Sport and Education’ project, values education, when it would occasionally occur, was done using the English language. The few times Thabani taught groups about the TRRFCC values, he would speak in English rather than siSwati, displaying how the use of the English language in documents and the organization infiltrated the practices of those local individuals at the SSC involved in SFD work. During one particular school trip with the SSC, I asked Jabulani whether students at the school we were about to teach would understand English – I inquired about this because I would need to know when working a sport station. Dalton responded, “Here? Ahhhh...no.” Piquing my interest, I asked, “Why are the values and song in English?” Jabulani’s response displayed how the use of language was an issue: “That’s the problem” (Fieldnote, July 2016). In these instances, the colonial history of Swaziland under British rule became apparent in the management practices of the local SSC and the work of SFD.

As stated in Chapter 3, Swaziland was formerly a British empire colony and protectorate during the British Empire reign (Debly, 2014). Many in Swaziland knew this, as evidenced by a man who gave me a ride to work one day who explained that, “we [Swaziland] used to be a British protectorate so siSwati is mixed with some English words” (Fieldnote, May 2016). The use of the English language in Swaziland dates back to when white settlers overtook land in the 1950s and 1960s before Swazi independence – thus, the use of the English language in the country is related to the (neo)colonial traits of

development and the ‘civilizing project’ (Debly, 2014; Śliwa, 2008). Indigenous Swazis working at the SSC have (un)consciously adopted the use of English in their work (such as teaching the TRRFCC values) further embedding aspects of cultural imperialism within the organization and local workplace (Śliwa, 2008). The use of the language signifies how postcolonialism is an “ongoing significance of the colonial encounter for people’s lives both in the West and non-West” (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008, p. 5). The ongoing use of English in the practices of SFD by Indigenous Swazis, Margaret, and Canadian interns further entrenches the historical power structures that development has (re)produced, and thus, the work of SFD at the SSC contributes to furthering unequal power dynamics involved in development traditionally (Eyben, 2014; Sen, 1996). As with other forms of SFD, the work in which people are engaged at the SSC for the purposes of SFD may have served to only further marginalize those Others who are targeted by many SFD organizations and programmes (Darnell, 2012; Levermore, 2010).

The complex social relations (especially race and class) involved in the teachings and work of SFD at the SSC influence how individuals act in the workplace – most especially, the teaching of the TRRFCC values, as discussed in the previous chapter, was a broad theme of development that was highlighted in documents, discussed by people during interviews, and witnessed in organizational practices. The values, like the SFD modules, have been incorporated into the SSC in an English version by way of Margaret, Canadian interns, and the SMGSA. Thus, power dynamics are infused in the work that goes into the teaching of the values – and opportunities arise that allow for possible disruptions to the dominant organizational status quo that is expected of those at the SSC. These opportunities may seem irrelevant in the practices of the organization; however,

they also display how people and their actions at the SSC are not just merely ‘cultural dopes’ (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2008), but organizational actors who shape the ongoing work of SFD. Thomas (SSC volunteer) highlighted how SSC workers (un)knowingly disrupt the continuation of SFD through their actions, and possibly, displayed how individuals from the SSC resist the teaching of values:

MM: Do you always teach the values?

Thomas: I am not sure, “like today”, they are gone [SSC workers to school], I am not sure if they are teaching them at the schools. “When Margaret is around, we always teach them, but when she is not, they do not teach them, which isn’t good.”

The teaching of the TRRFCC values was regularly conducted when Margaret was around SSC workers and volunteers, displaying how actions of workers were influenced by the presence of their superior. Margaret’s role in the organization ensured that SFD programmes were incorporated into the work of the centre – additionally, her authority would persuade SSC workers to teach the TRRFCC values, as Thomas mentioned above. Mir et al. (2008) argued, “the function of managerial practice is to exert control over the actions of the organizational subjects through the exercise of sanctioned power and dominance” (p. 218). In the case of the SSC, Margaret’s role as the SMGSA’s CEO and employer exerted pressure to conduct SFD teachings involving values – thus, SSC workers’ actions, in Margaret’s presence, were directed towards work around the TRRFCC values.

Resistance to structures of management is possible by those subordinates who are ‘controlled,’ such as those locally at the SSC. These forms of resistance however, can be

seen by passive, subtle, acts of ‘disengagement,’<sup>49</sup> or by feigning incompetence to specific work activities (Mir et al., 2008; Prasad & Prasad, 2002). On the one hand, the SSC workers and volunteers may have ‘disengaged’ from teaching about values when Margaret was not present simply due to no pressure from management; furthermore, their decision to not teach the values may have been based on other current interests, such as teaching a sport rather than the TRRFCC values. On the other hand, these acts of disengagement may signify how SSC workers disagree with the use of the values for SFD, or resist the hierarchal and authoritative management style of Margaret and the SMGSA by their own acts in the workplace. Regardless of the motive behind such ‘disengagement.’ various times in the field I witnessed (or rather, not witnessed) SSC workers teaching about values – whether during school visits, daily activities, or sport training. In this way, the work of organizational actors at the SSC responsible for carrying out practices related to SFD was infused with various power dynamics allowing for both domination and resistance.

The class and racial politics involved in the practices of the SSC, including the use of the English language, the management hierarchy of a white employer directing local, Black employees, and the dependence on Western views of SFD (i.e., TRRFCC values and SFD programming creation) contribute to an unequal power dynamic that results in white, Westernized knowledge views being privileged over local voices. Overall, the neocolonial traits of development at the SSC contributed to issues of class and race in the practices of SFD and the work of organizational actors – specifically,

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<sup>49</sup> Similar to the ‘disengagement’ of my co-workers mentioned in the previous section, that involved limited action to complete the tasks that were relayed through me by Margaret to them.

these issues influenced a form of institutional work in the SSC: the teaching of TRRFCC values.

### **6.3 The Institutional Work of the SSC: Teaching the TRRFCC Values**

In Chapter 5, I discussed how teaching values was a broad theme of development included in the SFD focus of the SSC and SMGSA; in the above section, I highlighted how the practices and work around SFD (and specifically the TRRFCC values) were underlined by social relations and postcolonial traits that influenced acts of engagement and disengagement with teaching of values. Based on the constant interactions around the teaching of values, as well as the emphasis of the TRRFCC values in both documents and conversations with individuals from the SSC and SMGSA, the values were associated with SFD by people at the local SSC. Organizational actors at the SSC, such as Thabani, Jabulani, Thembile, and volunteers, as well as Margaret, were often engaged in actions that contributed to maintaining the institutional work of the TRRFCC values, and, by extension, SFD. In this way, organizational actors contributed to shaping, and were shaped by, the institutional work of SFD in the SSC – specifically, newcomers to the SSC were expected to learn the values upon being recruited or involved with the organization.

Each member, volunteer, and participant involved with the SSC – for example, people participating in daily sport activities, SSC tournaments, or LVP or LIT training sessions – would be educated on the TRRFCC values. Contractual agreements that each new member, volunteer, or participant at the SSC must sign upon becoming a part of the local sport centre were made necessary, as addressed in Chapter 5. On each ‘contract,’ the individual agrees to be taught the TRRFCC values, abide by these values while at the centre (and in their life), as well as teach the values to others at the centre or new



members – which relates to recruitment practices involved in ‘maintaining’ institutions through organizational work (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). This is most especially true for those individuals signing up to become a volunteer, member, or coach at the SSC – they are expected to advocate for the use of the values to others who become a part of the SSC – in particular, those athletes or youth they train through their work. Additionally, the TRRFCC values were initially taught to all the volunteers at the SSC. Although these values would not have been taught until 2011 or in recent years upon Margaret’s return to the SMGSA/SSC in 2011 (she had left from 2003-2011 to work in South Africa), they have been integrated into the organization’s documents, practices, and educational purposes in a manner that ensures actors within the organization adopt and utilize the values in their work. Subsequently, due to the increased role of the values and their perceived benefits in the organization, they have become an important aspect of the daily practices of the SSC – a form of ‘SFD’ that occurs regularly. It appears that based on the TRRFCC values, the six traits of trust, respect, responsibility, fairplay, caring, and community are taken up by many within the organization as they relay them to newcomers to the SSC and exhibit the values in their practices.

The SSC works to continue the education of the values in various ways, whether by educating new SSC members, traveling to schools to teach the values as well as sport, or holding SFD training sessions that involve modules related to values education. Through this ongoing educational process, the work of the people within the SSC ensures the maintenance of the TRRFCC values within the day-to-day routines and organizational practices of the SSC, “through stabilizing influence of embedded routines and repetitive practices such as training, education, hiring, and certification routines and ceremonies of

celebration”<sup>50</sup> (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006, p. 233). Once again, it is important to emphasize that the work of the people in the SSC contribute to *maintaining* the institution of *SFD*, through their everyday practices – or work - involving the TRRFCC values. Lastly, regulative mechanisms of the institution of *SFD* – or the work involved at the SSC – aids in the ongoing practices to maintain the use of TRRFCC values. Values are taught occasionally – however, many times, these values are taught under the supervisory role of Margaret, the SMGSA’s CEO, as spoken to by Thomas. As the centralized, authoritative figure, she ensures that the values are taught when in the vicinity of the SSC, *SFD* workshops, and sport events involving SSC workers. Furthermore, her role in the organization monitors the use of these values by others and has contributed to the uptake of the values by those various individuals in the SSC.

Yet, as seen in the previous section, disruption to the institutional work of *SFD* occurs by the actions of SSC organizational members. Specifically, acts of disengagement from teaching the TRRFCC values contribute to resistance to this element of *SFD* in the organization. These opportunities for resistance are underlined by the social relations and power dynamics involved in the greater organizational structure of the SSC and SMGSA. Furthermore, it displays how not only resistance to the *SFD* work of the SSC occurs, but also has inclinations of defiance to the neocolonial tendencies of the ideas and practices involved in the TRRFCC values. Although these small nuances in the work of the TRRFCC values may not necessarily lead to an elimination of *SFD* ideas or practices in the SSC and SMGSA, it denotes how these small acts of disengagement at

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<sup>50</sup> Once again, it is important to emphasize that the work of the people in the SSC contributes to *maintaining* the institution of *SFD*, through their everyday practices involving the TRRFCC values.

the SSC are actively involved in the maintenance and disruption of different forms of institutional work.

Thus, the TRRFCC values are a form of institutional work within the SSC that, through their practices and actions, aid in maintaining the institutionalized field of SFD. Specifically, the local work of those within the SSC utilizing and advocating for the values ensures that some form of SFD (based on the Westernized ‘six pillars of character’) is carried out in the organization and workplace – submitting those at the SSC to an array of social relations that are involved in a complex, cross-cultural, translocal forms of knowing. The social relations involved with such a process however, has influenced the institutional work of the SSC. Volunteers, although readily discuss how they engage in teaching the values and integrate them into their practices – also show resistance and disengagement in instances infused with power dynamics due to issues of class, race, and a neocolonialist management approach. Yet, although it appeared that various issues were involved in the ideas, organizational interactions, and SFD programming at the SSC, the organization remained to many staff. Volunteers and participants as a site of safety and psychological security. In the next section, I discuss how the SSC acted as an inclusive ‘home’, while also excluded particular groups of people based on the ongoing actions of those working in the SSC on a daily basis.

#### **6.4 “It means home to me”: The Organization (SSC) as a Safe Place**

As described in Chapter 2, SFD is utilized in various ways to contribute to the furthering of social advancement and resolution of specific social issues in particular countries, nations, and communities (Coalter, 2013a; Kidd, 2008). Recently, scholars have highlighted how other forms of societal advancement may be possible via SFD

events and projects in less-obvious ways – one specific example being how these events and projects may cultivate safe spaces (Spaaij & Schulenkorf, 2014). Although this research project was not intended to explore the importance of space and place within SFD, the importance of the SSC as both a place of work and as a space of security and safety became a repeating pattern. The organization was not just a workplace to those who were involved in the practices, activities, and daily life of the SSC – it was an important element of their life that meant more to them than simply a ‘job location.’ Many individuals would spend most hours of their day at the SSC. Thabani, Thembile, and Jabulani, the three employees/interns of the SSC, would work from 9AM to 6PM or later on a daily basis, including weekends.<sup>51</sup> Volunteers, especially 5 or 6 particular individuals, would drop by the SSC continuously for various reasons, including a simple greeting, to run a training or coaching session (or attend school visits), to play cards, or to simply talk and spend the day at the SSC. Volunteers were not required to be at the SSC as much as they were – however, due to the location of the organization to many, it was a site where many individuals spent their time. Additionally, the involvement of volunteers and the SSC for many years makes it a space where certain individuals feel at ‘home’ or secure, such as in the case of Thabani.

Thabani (who has been involved in the SSC since 2000 in some capacity) spoke about how the SSC was much more than a place where he worked: “It means home to me. It is my second home – wait – I can say it is my first home. It seems like I was born here” (Fieldnote, July 2016). He also explained that, “Most of the time I spend my time

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<sup>51</sup> Notable exceptions to their daily presence at the SSC included Jabulani’s off-day (Tuesdays), Thembile and Thabani attending school (usually one day per week), and other external commitments (such as a family or religious event).

here...so here it's like my home" (Fieldnote, June 2016). Thabani would eat lunch and dinner at the SSC; play cards and converse with friends and (as seen in the following section) young women; leave food and other personal items in the office; and generally do much more at the SSC while also completing organizational tasks and duties.

Following his initial mentions of the SSC as a home and his actions, I inquired with Thabani in an interview about his feelings of the SSC as 'home:'

MM: How does it [SSC] mean home to you?

Thabani: Ehh...it means home to me, when - when I come here...I feel more accepted. I feel like, ahh, it's my - another home. A place where there is nooo discrimination, all of us come together, and play.

MM: Yeah, okay. And when you speak of no discrimination, how does that - how does that kind of happen, how do you see that in action?

Thabani: It's when ehhh...when I say no discrimination, even if you are in a wheelchair, you participate in our sports. But we - we make it to become comfortable for you.

Thabani feels welcomed to the SSC and comfortable at a place where there is no discrimination of an individual – 'even if you are in a wheelchair,' you are able to participate in the activities and sports at the SSC. SSC activities, tournaments, and events would include individuals of all social identities – regardless of age, sex, ability, race, or other social characteristics, the events of the SSC displayed how various individuals from Swaziland were involved with sport. Not only did the SSC act as a space of inclusion to many and a 'home', but also, according to Thembile, it was a space that provided safety:

I've been here for 5 years. "My friends – some are pregnant but I'm still here. It protects me when I'm here than outside. I'm safe when I'm here." Every time I am here, you play sport. "You don't think to go somewhere and drink, we enjoy ourselves." (Fieldnote, July 2016)

Thembile, despite being the only female worker in the SSC and often the only female at the SSC (other than school female sport tournaments), also had a feeling of being 'safe' at the SSC – specifically, she feels that by being at the SSC, she is able to stay away from issues such as teenage pregnancy or drinking because she remains involved at the organization on a daily basis. Even prior to being hired as an intern at the SSC (in June of fieldwork), Thembile would often be at the organization on a daily basis, talking with other volunteers or teaching sport to youth, similarly to Thabani. Her feeling of safety, especially as a female within a gendered organizational structure (the SSC) and country (Debly, 2014) displays how, like Thabani and Thembile, she felt comfortable at the SSC and attributed its role in her life to contributing to limiting problems in her life.

Thembile acted comfortably at the SSC in numerous ways. Although very shy in many cases, Thembile was well-known at the SSC and would converse with almost all volunteers and workers. This behavior differed from her attitude towards strangers (who would visit the SSC) and even myself, when I first arrived at the SSC. Additionally, Thembile would often teach the sport of tennis and netball to youth, a sport at which she is exceptional and has been teaching and playing for many years. Most importantly however, Thembile appeared comfortable by the way she communicated with Thabani, Jabulani, and the other volunteers at the SSC. She would be involved in discussions, telling jokes, and laughing as they all spoke in siSwati or (occasionally around me)

English. Thembile was well-respected by those at the SSC which provided her with a space of safety from everyday issues in Swaziland:

MM: And so, last time when we spoke, you also said the SSC, it's like a safe place for you. So how is it like a safe place?

Thembile: Mmmm. Because I...I came here and....play. I don't think to go outside the - to do bad things, or to go to boys or....to do drugs...or....somewhere else...yeah. When I'm here I behave with the time and...go back home - straight home.

MM: Mmm okay, okay. And how does that make you feel, like being here in a safe place?

Thembile: Ehhhh, I feel happy because...they welcome me...I take them [co-workers and volunteers] as my brothers. And they take me as a sister...so I feel happy because....when I feel bad day I tell them and they...show me respect and I show them respect.

Thembile's feeling of safety and her respected role in the organization from co-workers and volunteers (whom she says are her brothers) display how the SSC, as Thabani mentioned, appears to be a site of no discrimination where all can feel secure in their social identity. Although the SSC as a site of inclusion would become questionable throughout fieldwork (see the following section), it is important to recognize how Thembile, as a female, feels that she is 'safe' and kept away from 'bad things' while at the SSC.

Other people at the SSC also identified how the SSC as a space provided an avenue to stay away from negative events or problems. Thabani noted that:

It [sport and the SSC] can help in life, well, like for us, the youth...we can leave our homestead that side, where there are a lot of bad things going on...like teenage pregnancy, drugs abuse, alcohol abuse (bug flying around)...you can come to the centre, to stay away from bad things.

Thomas discussed how the SSC assists teenagers in avoiding problems such as drugs, alcohol abuse, and crime, and stated, “It’s [the SSC] a place people can come and stay away from crime, doing other stuff, smoking, stuff like that” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Thus, individuals at the SSC have a sense of belonging when they are at the centre and, for some, a feeling of safety at the SSC where they may come to in order to avoid becoming involved with other ‘bad things’ that may be occurring outside of the SSC boundaries. In this way, and particularly to the individuals above, the SSC is more than just a physical location, it includes psychological/affective and sociocultural dimensions of place and space that Spaaij and Schulenkorf (2014) discussed in their scholarly work, where there is “protection from emotional harm,” and “where all can feel at home and supported regardless of their social locations” (p. 634). Thabani feels safe from discrimination at the centre and at ‘home,’ Thembile feels respected and secure from problems regardless of her gender, and Thomas also stresses that the SSC, as a place, supports individuals in staying away from everyday issues such as drugs and alcohol. Thus, the SSC as a *space* and *place* may be in and of itself a form of ‘development’ or SFD – its meaningfulness to those above is more than just a work location and promotes a secure space for those locally (see Chapter 7 for more).

Although some people have experienced this sense of security and a feeling of ‘being home’ at the SSC, it is important to gain insight from those who have felt



excluded or isolated from the SSC. As Sibley (1995) argued, “to get beyond myths which secure capitalist hegemony, to expose oppressive practices, it is necessary to examine assumptions about inclusion and exclusion which are implicit in the design of spaces and places” (p. x). Therefore, although those above have spoken to how the SSC is a space of safety, as well as contributes to the avoidance of negative social issues, questions such as, “Who are places for? Whom do they exclude?” (Sibley, 1995, p. x) must be asked for the purposes of exploring these spaces (and places), in this case, is the SSC.

During fieldwork at the SSC, it also appeared that specific individuals, as with many organizations (Mills et al., 2010), felt excluded within the SSC and its space. In particular, it seemed as though SSC workers (i.e., Thabani and Jabulani) exhibited favouritism to certain volunteers – for example, for TFCF school visits on Wednesdays, only certain volunteers would participate in the trips and teaching sport, while others would not be invited. Additionally, there appeared to be ‘cliques’ of individuals at the SSC – one made up of the daily SSC workers and specific volunteers, and other smaller groups of individuals who were closely associated. Although these individuals in the different ‘cliques’ would interact, see each other, and achieve many tasks together (e.g., SSC events), they would be separated by feelings of inclusion and exclusion at the SSC. For example, Thomas explained that, “I used to say the SSC was my second home – now it is my fifth or whatever home. They are not treating me like others. Something has changed” (Fieldnote, August 2016). Like Thabani, Thomas used to associate the SSC as a ‘home’, and also, by his comment above, signified that in many cases, the SSC assisted in preventing ‘bad things.’ Yet, Thomas voiced his feelings of exclusion from the SSC and how ‘something has changed.’ Although Thomas was one of the volunteers who would

regularly be at the SSC, he would not interact with Thabani and Jabulani as much as the other volunteers.<sup>52</sup> Instead, he preferred to interact with other members of the SSC, such as Lucas (SSC volunteer), Thembile, or myself. Thomas and Lucas both felt excluded based on how they were being treated by new SSC workers, specifically Jabulani and Thabani, and voiced how their treatment had been the result of a ‘change’ to the SSC:

MM: What was the value of the SSC before ‘the change’?

Lucas: I completed school in 2012. I would come to the centre and leave home about 8 or 6 in the morning. I would enjoy myself all day – I wouldn’t even get hungry because I enjoyed myself so much.

MM: How about now – what does it mean to you?

Thomas: “The SSC is like an enemy”.

Lucas: 20 minutes is like 3 hours here. I come to the SSC, I say hi and then go, When I’m here, sometimes I’m asked, why are you here?

Thomas’ and Lucas’ feelings of inclusiveness at the SSC changed over time to a feeling of being excluded and isolated from the space of the centre. Their feelings of exclusion from the SSC contradicts the statements made by others above that the organization is a place of no discrimination that welcomes all participate in sport and the activities at the SSC. Recognizing that these feelings of exclusion may also be based off of dislike between individuals of the SSC, which appears in many organizations (i.e., worker relationships), Thomas’ and Lucas’ feelings of exclusion were similar to a much more noticeable issue in the workplace of the SSC.

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<sup>52</sup> This may be due to a change in management to which Thomas referred, when Jabulani was promoted from assistant SSC manager to SSC manager in early 2015 and in the following months, Thabani was hired as an intern (after his many years of volunteering and being a participant).

Specifically, based on my own involvement with the SSC over a period of four months, and as discussed in the following section, the SSC as a space of security and safety came into question after observing the everyday actualities and interactions of people within the organization. In particular, young women appeared to be excluded from the SSC due to an unequal gender structure within the SSC and the greater country of Swaziland – most especially, acts of ‘fishing’ at the local SSC further perpetuated the exclusion and objectification of females in the organization and community.

#### 6.4.1 ‘Let’s Go Fishing’ – SSC as Home to Whom?

*I go back to my desk and sit. After a few minutes, Thabani walks in with a high school student, a young woman. Coming up to my desk while holding her arm lightly, he says, “Here is a fish,” and introduces the girl to me. He says to the young woman, “What is your number?” She responds and he tells me to take out my phone. I say I am working and do not pull out my phone. He stands smiling as I do not say anything else, feeling uncomfortable. The high school student is also standing beside Thabani when he says, “You [Mitch] need to fish.” He then pulls up a chair and makes her sit down beside me, which she does, while he walks to the door. I say again that I have work to do and say to the young woman that I will talk to her later, to which she says OK, stands up and walks back outside.*  
(Fieldnote, June 2016)

‘Fishing’ at the SSC, as I would find out in one of the first few weeks of my fieldwork, was an act where males would engage in conversation with females to ‘fish’ them – with intended outcomes such as receiving a phone number, engaging in sexual activity, or dating them. My initial encounter to ‘fishing’ was when Thabani asked me (after talking to a young woman selling avocados) if I would like to go fishing. I accepted, however questioned where we would go, as there was not much water around. This first mention of ‘fishing’ caught me off-guard. It was clear that Thabani knew I would not understand and found it humorous that I did not initially comprehend what he was asking. He briefly explained that ‘fishing’ was generally ‘talking to a girl,’ with the

explicit purpose of what is referred to as ‘hooking up’ in Westernized society. After this initial introduction to such acts however, it became apparent that ‘fishing’ was a common occurrence at the SSC, and in actuality, within the workplace. Whether it was a high school tournament, a trip to a school or a visitor to the SSC – if the person was a woman, particular individuals of the SSC would attempt to ‘fish.’<sup>53</sup>

Thabani (who was one of the younger workers at the SSC) was especially keen on talking about – and with – young women. Thabani, in addition to attempting to engage me in ‘fishing,’ would constantly be talking with young women while they were at the SSC. Additionally, he would commonly mention that he is “going fishing” before interacting with females who were at the centre for school tournaments or other reasons (e.g., a meeting or event). Thabani suggested that he never ‘fished’ participants, such as those youth or individuals involved in specific SSC sport training or activities (Fieldnote, July 2016,) however, it appeared as though this did not also include any other females who were at the SSC for other purposes (e.g., such as high school students participating or watching a sport tournament).

Other volunteers, such as Sam, Thomas, or Lucas, would also explicitly state that they were ‘fishing;’ Sam, for example, commented, “that is a good fish” (Fieldnote, July 2016) after talking to a young woman outside the SSC offices. Jabulani spoke of the traditional cultural reed dance held in the country every year (which I would miss due to my departure date) and stated, “You will miss all the fish at the reed dance, that is too bad. You must change the day you go home so you can see all the fish” (Fieldnote,

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<sup>53</sup> Not all male volunteers or workers at the SSC attempted to ‘fish’ or discussed ‘fishing’. In particular, Jabulani (who is married) did not ‘fish’ but would sometimes comment on the actions of others or jokingly discuss the act. Additionally, ‘fishing’ would occur regularly at the SSC – however, on other days, there would be no mention of it.

August 2016). Jabulani did not discuss how staying for this annual event would be important to learn about Swazi culture – instead, he related this event to the amount of ‘fish’ who would be at the event. Over the course of fieldwork, most especially once becoming a partial insider in the organization, ‘fishing’ was observed on an ongoing basis at the SSC. Within the organizational workplace, it was common for some organizational actors in the SSC to engage in ‘fishing,’ making it a regular (and normal) occurrence in the everyday workplace. Being a male<sup>54</sup>, they also expected me to engage in this activity, as evident by their attempts to have me ‘fish.’ These attempts, as well as their own acts of ‘fishing,’ were extremely overt, and displayed how males would commonly objectify females within the space and place of the SSC as well as beyond (such as at school training sessions or events outside the SSC). Furthermore, the act of ‘fishing’ did not only contradict the SSC as a place of inclusiveness and sport for all – in addition, ‘fishing’ contradicted the ideas of SFD at the SSC, and more specifically, those TRRFCC values that many workers and volunteers strived to exemplify through their work and actions.

The six values included in the TRRFCC are trust, respect, responsibility, fairplay, caring and community – immediately, ‘fishing’ appeared to contradict three particular values in distinct ways: respect, caring, and community.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, asking the SSC employees about ‘fishing’ and how it impinged on their work and delivery of SFD and

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<sup>54</sup> As a white, Canadian *male* intern, I was treated differently than those previous Canadian *female* interns. When I asked Thabani what previous interns thought of ‘fishing’, he said: “I do not fish the girls from Canada, I know it is different there [Canada]” (Fieldnote, July 2016). Thabani, recognizing (based on his own assumption) that Canada has a more equal gendered structure, felt that it would not be right to ‘fish’ around them. Yet, as a *male* Canadian intern, my gender overrode my race and cultural background – being male in Swaziland deemed it acceptable to engage in ‘fishing’ around me, even though I am a white Canadian intern.

<sup>55</sup> These are the three distinct values that ‘fishing’ contradicts – however, that is not to say that ‘fishing’ does not contradict all six of the values. I highlight these three as clearly opposed to such acts.

TRRFCC values displayed how ‘fishing’ went directly against the values they taught.<sup>56</sup> Jabulani commented on how ‘fishing’ challenged the importance of values at the SSC: “For me, I don’t fish anymore. For me, it doesn’t go with the values...fishing happens a lot, I won’t lie about that. It’s not okay to fish” (Fieldnote, July 2016). The taken-for-granted way Jabulani freely discusses ‘fishing’ (i.e., ‘for me, I don’t ‘fish’ anymore’) displays how the unequal gendered structure of Swaziland and the SSC workplace has influenced the way Jabulani speaks nonchalantly about ‘fish’ and using such a word to describe women. Furthermore, Jabulani clearly identified that ‘fishing’ goes against the TRRFCC values and it is not okay to act in this way. Being the manager of the SSC as well as an elder within the workplace, Jabulani recognized that ‘fishing’ did not parallel the SFD work of the SSC. As mentioned, Jabulani did not ‘fish’ but only would comment about it – thus, his perspective on how it impacts the work of the SSC may have been different from someone such as Thabani, who commonly engaged in the activity.

Yet, Thabani’s response to how ‘fishing’ corresponded to the values was similar to Jabulani’s comment, even though he would often engage in ‘fishing’ at the workplace and during work practices. When asked about fishing and how it is ‘in line’ with the values, Thabani smiled and said, “It’s not...sometimes it is.” When further questioned about how sometimes it is, Thabani seemed to withdraw and grin, and ended the conversation on such a matter by stating “I don’t know” (Fieldnote, July 2016).

Thabani’s admittance of the activity of ‘fishing’ contradicting the values was very quick

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<sup>56</sup> I did not inquire about ‘fishing’ directly until rapport was built with research participants, due to the many tensions of doing so (see Chapter 4). It was not until mid-August that I asked certain people in the SSC (Jabulani, Thabani, and Thembile) about ‘fishing’ – and at this stage of the research process, all three had commonly discussed ‘fishing’ with me in daily conversations or workplace settings. Therefore, after discussion and reflexive thinking, I inquired about fishing very tentatively and in a manner that did not directly indicate ‘this is wrong.’ For example, I would ask about ‘fishing’ generally, and then ask about ‘values.’

and brief – however, it displays that ‘fishing’ was recognized by those at the SSC as an activity that opposed the work of SFD and values education, and disrespected young women in various ways.

Although Thabani’s and Jabulani’s insights and actions displayed how males engaged in ‘fishing’ during work which went against the purpose of SFD, both of their perspectives are influenced by being male, as well as my own. Discussing ‘fishing’ with Thembile was important in order to gain an understanding of the practice of ‘fishing’ and its impact from a female perspective:

MM: “What is fishing?”

Thembile: “Some people they fish. It is our culture. They [males] fish for girls to marry, some others just fish. They get with girl – girl get pregnant.” That person say no it is not my child and then they do what they did with other girls. “Child doesn’t have father and child becomes orphan.”

MM: “What about fishing at work and its impact?”

Thembile: “I don’t know.”

MM: “What is your opinion about fishing?”

Thembile: “It’s fine to have one girl, than many. Because if pregnant you know it’s yours.”

MM: What are the positives and negatives of fishing?

Thembile: “It is fine at a party or event that day. If it is everyday it is not good.”

MM: What are your feelings about fishing?

Thembile: It’s not good when you fish for fun. “I want that girl – but you are not serious, it’s not good.”

Themobile discussed how there are seemingly both negatives and positives to ‘fishing.’ On the one hand, she suggested that males who seriously attempt to meet a female and marry her or who have ‘one girl’ are positive elements of ‘fishing.’ On the other hand, she identified how ‘fishing’ may negatively lead to teenage pregnancy and orphaned children. Importantly, Themobile also mentioned how fishing is a part of Swazi culture – it is a taken-for-granted activity that people at the SSC, in communities, and within the country engage in for different purposes. When ‘fishing’ occurred at the SSC or at other workplace sites (such as schools), Themobile would typically continue in her work and ignore the actions of those ‘fishing,’ or she would acknowledge their actions. For example, Themobile would tell me ‘he [Thabani] is fishing’, or speak to other volunteers and workers about them ‘fishing’ (Fieldnote, July 2016). Themobile’s own acknowledgement of ‘fishing’ displays how her behaviour has been influenced by the hegemonic culture, and traditionally patriarchal, society of Swaziland. Although a part of Swazi culture and ongoing in the SSC workplace, ‘fishing’ has become a normalized part of the SSC and its organizational actors that is underlined by the social relations involved in the broader cultural context of Swaziland. The historical gendered structure in the country (Debly, 2014) although seemingly progressing (Swaziland Country Report, 2015), is seen in overt, aggressive acts of ‘fishing’ in the SSC that further perpetuates gender inequality through the objectification and sexualization of young women.

Although in the previous section I discussed how the people at the SSC felt a space of security, the ongoing acts of ‘fishing’ in which male workers and volunteers engaged within the workplace, served to exclude and objectify young women within the SSC. Male volunteers and workers would openly identify females as ‘fish,’ and



aggressively interact with them while they ‘worked’ at the SSC. In contrast to a place without discrimination as mentioned by individuals such as Thabani, the unequal gendered structure visible due to acts and discussion around ‘fish’ and ‘fishing’ showcased how the SSC was, in reality, both a space of inclusion and exclusion. The relations involved in such a space may have influenced the lack of female workers and volunteers at the SSC (Themobile being the only employee and one of two female volunteers) while also providing opportunities for resistance to the gendered structure of the SSC. In particular, Themobile’s role as the only female worker in the SSC and its gendered environment was essential to challenging the gendered space of the SSC and gendered norms of sport in Swaziland.

### **6.5 “We Can Do That”: Disrupting Gender Norms and the Role of Themobile in the SSC**

Although the country of Swaziland has been historically known to be a male-dominated society and culture (Debly, 2014), the hierarchal structure of the SMGSA was populated by females – in fact, only two male employees (excluding myself) worked at the SMGSA, while four female employees and Margaret (as the head of both SMGSA and SSC) were employed. This however, does not apply to the SSC – as mentioned throughout the previous chapters and above, the only female employee/intern at the SSC was Themobile (at least during my time in the field). The organizational structure and workplace of the SSC, including ‘fishing,’ reflected the gendered structure of Swaziland in many ways, and, over time, it became salient how Themobile’s role in the SSC was more than just the position of an intern/employee. Indeed, Themobile’s role in the SSC was much more – through her work at the SSC involving both SFD and sport

development, Thembile contributed to progressing gender equality in the organization, and through her actions, provided a role model to female youth and young women at the SSC, at schools we visited for sport training, and at other events such as the Olympic Day Run.

Thembile's work at the SSC, such as teaching sport to boys and girls at schools, challenged stereotypes emphasizing specific gender norms about sport in Swaziland. Thembile addressed how, although she was the only female teaching sport, she provided other young women with the confidence to try a sport typically associated with males:

MM: How does it feel to be the only female worker at the SSC? Worker, not volunteer.

Thembile: Hmmm. Sometimes it's bad because they...when they talk...the guys mm -...by themselves...by being alone...don't know what to say to them. And sometimes it's good.....when they - they...they do some stuff. Yup. The most...it's bad.

MM: Okay, can you tell me more about that?

Thembile: Hmmm, I can that a.....when you go maybe, like when you go to school...the schools...I be the only one...the girl...and, eh, most of them are boys. Sometimes I feel....scared...that I'm alone. I tr - I trust them. Sometimes if I - it is good because, like...when you play, like skipping rope, and football.....some girls they know that skipping rope is for boys, and football is for boys...but when they see me playing, they think, oh - there is a girl playing, and we can play that thing...yeah, that's why it is good sometime.

Thembile's own recognition of her status as a symbolic leader to female youth represents how she is aware of her role in impacting young women in communities and at the SSC. She realizes that through her actions and leadership in sport development and training enables and empowers other females to engage in male-dominated sports. In this way, Thembile and the girls who try these sports are disrupting gender stereotypes in Swaziland and sport by way of resisting the status quo around 'male' and 'female' sports. Furthermore, a form of SFD through Thembile's work in the SSC may be taking place, including resisting stereotypes through sport, similar to what Hayhurst, Giles, and Radforth (2015) discussed in their examination of young urban Aboriginal women participating in a sport, gender, and development programmes. Thembile's actions and position as a leader assists in challenging gender norms in Swaziland and shifts assumptions of what sports are played by females at the SSC and other sites of sport.

Through her work and position, Thembile plays an active role in shaping and being shaped by the institutionalized status quo of the SSC. As Clegg (2010) noted, "in contemporary everyday interaction, social activists are always confronted with the dilemma of structuring, thus legitimating, the existing order of things or of deconstructing, thus, hopefully, trying to change the order of things" (p. 6). Within the SSC as an organization, Thembile's actions and interactions were involved in a complex set of social relations and power that allowed her to resist stereotypes around young women in sport and the male-dominated environment of the SSC. Once becoming hired as an intern for the SSC, she immediately interrupted the ongoing status of the SSC as an organization made up of only male management (i.e., Thabani and Jabulani). Margaret's own words underscored how Thembile disrupted the gendered structure of the SSC, and

explained (in relation to paying Thembile as an intern), “she has never had a girl” (Fieldnote, June 2016). Thus, Thembile’s hiring and role in the organization, simply by her role as an intern, has, in a small way, enabled change within the SSC that moves [very] slowly towards an equal gender structure of management and workplace members.

Through her work of training youth (including females and males) at schools about sport, her own social identity as a woman disrupted the taken-for-granted status that certain sports are only meant for males (e.g., soccer and tennis). Thembile was also recognized at the SSC by other co-workers and volunteers – for example, she would be responsible for leading sport stations at school, completing tasks that the males would commonly complete at the SSC (such as setup for netball) and be asked to participate in sport activities or games with other young men. She was well-respected, and her relationship with other young women and youth was observed many times, as young women would ask specifically for Thembile when I was in the office (Fieldnote, July 2016). In this way, Thembile (through her work to be hired as an intern and organizational position) has demonstrated that young women can be involved in sport and challenged the structure of the SSC, while also being respected by males at the SSC and providing a role model to young women. Thembile’s own recognition that she is a leader and may provide opportunities for females to challenge stereotypes demonstrates how she is well aware of her role in resisting gender norms of Swaziland that permeate assumptions around females and sport. Thus, overall, the institutional work in which Thembile is involved at the SSC (and beyond) contributes to a form of SFD disrupting not only the organizational status quo of the SSC, but also gender norms and stereotypes in Swaziland.

Unlike the work of organizational actors to maintain (and disrupt) organizational practices involved in educating about TRRFCC values (and by extension SFD) mentioned previously in this chapter, the institutional work of Thembile is more closely related to the institutionalized stereotypes and social relations involved in the SSC as well as sport and gender in Swaziland. Although these small disruptions may play out at the local level of communities in Swaziland (i.e., at schools and the SSC), the symbolic role that Thembile plays and the impact she has on young women in Swaziland who have been traditionally marginalized and objectified allows for opportunities to challenge gender norms within the cultural context in which she lives. Through her actions and interactions, Thembile engages in SFD and works toward challenging the gendered structure of the SSC and Swaziland.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

As presented in this chapter, the SSC as an organization is deeply embedded in social relations of class, gender, and race that influence the ongoing organizational work of actors. Issues of class and race permeate the practices and interactions of individuals in the SSC, which in turn influences the actualities and work of those at the local level involved in SFD. Most especially, the ongoing engagement of SSC workers in the teaching of TRRFCC values contributes to shaping the institutional work of SFD at the SSC – which is both maintained and disrupted by organizational actions. Additionally, the SSC as a space is highly contested. Although there are people who feel as though the SSC is a safe, secure space for SFD and sport, organizational actions and the broader cultural context in which the SSC is located constitute an unequal gendered structure. Through her position and work at the SSC, Thembile acts as an active ingredient in

disrupting gender norms of Swaziland while also engaging in a form of SFD institutional work within the SSC.

Overall, the SSC is a complex, value-laden organization involved in both SFD and sport development. Although both forms of programming, as seen in the previous chapter, may provide opportunity for beneficial outcomes, the political environment of international development and the power-infused space of the SSC acts to impede SFD through organizational actors and the broader way that SFD has been implemented by the SMGSA into the SSC. In order to provide a clear summary of the previous two chapters and the overall study, in the next chapter I provide conclusions and recommendations based on these findings.

## Chapter 7: Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

*It is a difficult task to avoid reinforcing established social institutions and dominant interests, at least if one concerns oneself with socially important issues. Researchers are themselves prisoners of their own society and its taken-for-granted concepts, thus helping to reproduce the status quo. (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 127)*

Throughout this study and my own entry into the world of academic research, the totality of conducting a study and writing up what one uncovered through their research often dwelled on my mind. As the ethnographer, ‘entering the field’ and being involved in the workplace of the SSC and SMGSA brought forth with it my own insertion into the complex political nature of these settings and the work conducted in them. Additionally, my exploration of the SSC and SMGSA while adopting a critical, postcolonial perspective, led to insights about the neocolonial nature of the organization and issues of gender, class, and race. Thus, the SSC (and by extension, the SMGSA) cannot be described as simply a location where SFD and sport development take place; rather, the organization is a multifaceted, intricate environment involving the everyday practices and institutional work of organizational actors who are influenced by social relations, power dynamics, and unequal Global North/Global South structures. In the following section, I provide an overview of the SSC and how it is a part of the broader field of sport and international development – specifically, I emphasize how the SSC, in a larger context, replicates various critiques of traditional international development and SFD. I then provide an overview of my overall ‘findings’ of the study that were discussed in the two preceding chapters, providing brief summaries of the major themes uncovered during this critical institutional ethnographic case study, including: ‘spray-on’<sup>57</sup> or ‘decoupling’ SFD

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<sup>57</sup> This term was used by Bryson and Mowbray (1981) as they explore the contradiction in how ‘community’ is articulated in documents and how it works in the practice of programmes with respect to distribution of power and resources.

involving differentiation between international development policies and ‘on-the-ground’ practices; neocolonial management and ‘ruling relations;’ the institutional work of the SSC; and sport development as a form of SFD. While highlighting these major themes, I also signify how other patterns (i.e., benefits of SFD/sport development, gender inequality, and work practices) were evident in the case of the SSC.

Furthermore, I discuss the scholarly implications and key contributions of this study, including how it adds to the contemporary field of SFD, organizational and management studies, and provides insights into qualitative inquiry. Additionally, I identify the challenges and limitations involved in this study, and suggest future research ideas. Finally, and most importantly, I provide recommendations to the organization (both the SSC and SMGSA) based on my research and its findings, as well as offer suggestions relative to methodological inquiry in the field of SFD and international development.

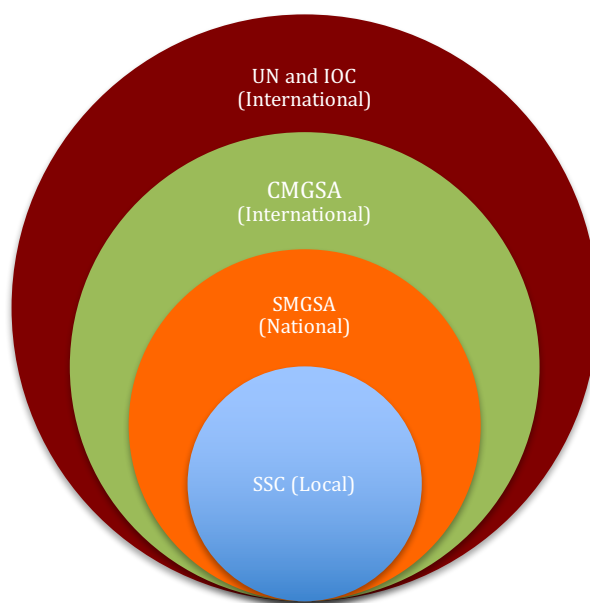
### **7.1 Placing the SSC in the International Context**

The purpose of this study was to explore the institutional work of SFD programming at the local SSC site in a community of Swaziland. Although I discussed various components of the local site, including organizational relationships and interactions, management structure, and the complex of social relations involved in the work of the SSC, I also identified in Chapter 3 that the SSC is a part of a broader context of international development and sport. The SSC is the local organization involved in a much larger network of organizations, which includes: the SMGSA, the SSC’s parent-organization; the CMGSA, which provides Canadian interns to the SMGSA/SSC; and other NGOs and international development agencies, such as the UN and the



International Olympic Committee (both providing funding to the SMGSA/SSC). Thus, although an exploration of this larger context of the SSC is beyond the scope of this study,<sup>58</sup> I briefly emphasize how the broader context of international development and sport influenced the local SSC organization. The following figure represents the relationship and organizations involved in the broader context of the SSC.

**Figure 1 – SSC in the Global Context<sup>59</sup>**



As outlined in Chapter 2, international development has historically been permeated by ‘development’ being subjugated to the Global South by Global North NGOs, interorganizational relationships (IORs), and corporations based on Westernized ideologies and beliefs (Papp, 1994; Sen, 1999). Within the context of SFD, traits of

<sup>58</sup> I recognize that throughout this study I focused on the local SSC – however, due to the relationship between the SSC and SMGSA, the SMGSA also played a prominent role in the operations, policies, and ideas of the SSC and its organizational elements. Hence, although other organizations (i.e., the CMGSA, the IOC or the UN) were not discussed explicitly in the study, this is due to their limited role in the everyday work and interactions of the local SSC. The SMGSA, on the other hand, was actively involved in the SSC.

<sup>59</sup> Although this figure may appear to display a hierarchical relationship between organizations, each circle and organization overlap onto one another due to the relations involved in such a global context. The larger the circles, the larger the involvement of the organization on a global scale.

contemporary international development such as neoliberalism, neocolonialism, and unequal Global North/Global South relations have been emphasized by scholars (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016; Levermore, 2010) due to international partnerships, reliance on funders, and SFD expectations (i.e., positive outcomes and monitoring and evaluation) (Coalter, 2013a; Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010). In the case of the SMGSA and SSC, the IOC provided funding to the SMGSA – this also included the funds for the SSC through an IOC foundation. Additionally, the UN, and specifically the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations International Children’s Fund (UNICEF), supplied resources, including funding, to the SMGSA for the purposes of SFD. Reports were written by the SMGSA and sent to the IOC and the UN based on programming that the SSC and SMGSA implemented – this included reports on the LVP and LIT programmes. Thus, various components of these programmes, such as HIV/AIDS education, values education, and leadership development are related to the common focus of sport and international development initiatives which include social goals around health and neoliberal development of individuals (Banda, 2010; Darnell, 2012). The component of health education programming in the initiatives is also based on a much wider health epidemic that has deeply affected Africa for many years: the HIV/AIDS epidemic<sup>60</sup>. Such an epidemic led to many NGOs becoming involved in health education and programming in Sub-Saharan Africa (including Swaziland<sup>61</sup>) including larger

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<sup>60</sup> The global HIV/AIDS epidemic itself is a failure of ‘development’. Although such an issue is beyond the scope of this paper, the association of the epidemic to Africa has been perpetuated by ideologies about Others in the Global South (most especially Sub-Saharan Africa) and contributed to the increase of NGOs in the Global South focused on health (Banda, 2010).

<sup>61</sup> Ranked first in the world in HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in 2014 (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017)

organizations such as Médecins Sans Frontières/Doctors Without Borders and sport NGOs such as Kicking AIDS Out (DeChaine, 2005; Kicking AIDS Out, 2014).

As with these larger organizations, the SMGSA ‘legitimized’ itself by focusing on the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Swaziland and received funding from the UN and the IOC for SFD programming (i.e., LIT and LVP programmes). The focus of the SMGSA SFD programmes paralleled the UN Millennium Development Goals and the goals set out by the UNDSP that promoted sport for the use of social health objectives, such as HIV/AIDS education (United Nations, 2003). Therefore, the broader international goals of organizations such as the UN were reconstituted through the SMGSA to the local level of the SSC due to sport and international development policies, funding, and broad social goals (i.e., decreasing the prevalence of HIV/AIDS). Thus, as with traditional development, policies, programmes, and ‘development’ purposes in the Global South have been constituted by larger NGOs and IGOs that shape ideas and assumptions around development and by extension, SFD.

The CMGSA, although not as large as organizations such as the IOC or the UN, plays a significant role in the SMGSA, SSC, and local SFD programming due to its ongoing provision of Canadian interns to the SMGSA/SSC. As outlined in Chapter 3, the CMGSA has a long history (since the 1990s) of being involved in various international and sport projects, including providing resources to sport organizations in the Global South and other areas of the world. Although they may not directly involve themselves with SFD policy and programming at the local level in Swaziland, the interns they provide become a part of the social relations, power dynamics, and Global North/South inequalities involved in global SFD and sport development (Darnell, 2007). As detailed

earlier, my own experience in the SSC reflects the view that interns are perceived to come to the organization with “expertise” as educated in the global north and able to provide insights and knowledge to assist the organization. As such, interns from the Global North may be tasked with organizational duties and involved in interactions that further marginalize Others and local knowledge while perpetuating unequal racial, class, and gendered relations. Thus, as Darnell (2007; 2012) highlighted, SFD interns and volunteers working in Global South contexts are often embedded in the complex relations of international development. In the case of the CMGSA, SMGSA, and SSC, the CMGSA is (un)consciously involved in shaping broader ideological assumptions around Global North/Global South relations (i.e., Westernized knowledge for development).

Multiple issues of international development underlined the work, practices, and ideas involved in SFD and sport development at the local SSC. This was due to many forms of neocolonial development and management, including the reliance on interns from the Global North and Margaret (a white middle class female from South Africa) for SFD programming that activated forms of ‘ruling relations’ through the SMGSA and the SSC. Many of the issues highlighted in the previous chapters parallel the historical hegemonic nature of international development and challenges of global relations. For example, the role Margaret holds as the supervisor/leader of both the SMGSA and SSC (both from 2011-present and 1994-2003) and the reliance on Canadian interns for ‘managing’ and leading projects at the SSC raises the question of how local capacity is being developed. As discussed in Chapter 2, the capabilities approach to international development is premised on the idea that:

It holds that the key question to ask, when comparing societies and assessing them for their basic decency or justice, is, “What is each person able to do and to be?”

In other words, the approach takes *each person as an end*, asking not just about the total or average well-being but the opportunities available to each person.

(Nussbaum, 2011, p. 18)

Thus, as evidenced by the opportunities available to each person at the SSC, it appears that limited opportunity to lead projects or manage the SSC as a whole has been offered to those involved in its work and thus, delimits ‘development’. The international partnerships involved in the broader context of the SMGSA and SSC and its SFD programmes displays how larger, global organizations (such as the UN) constitute specific goals or objectives of SFD (i.e., HIV/AIDS education). Although the focus of this study was not on the impact of internships, nor an autoethnography of my internship experience in the local context of the SSC, it is important to mention here the important role and impact of interns and internships. The CMGSA, through its involvement in SFD and its supply of Canadian interns, allows for transnational relationships to form between organizations and provides resources for the SMGSA (e.g., a Canadian intern for the creation of the LIT programme). The resources provided via international development relationships (i.e., Canadian interns) inhibit opportunities for local individuals to become leaders in the SSC and its projects. Thus, although in many ways the interns from the CMGSA benefit the SMGSA and SSC (through their actions, work, and resources), they

are (un)knowingly involved in processes that limits or hinders the development of local individuals.<sup>62</sup>

Although the broader context of the SMGSA and SSC is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to recognize that the local SFD (and sport development) programming, ideas, and initiatives have been influenced by multiple entities involved in sport and international development, specifically the UN, IOC, and CMGSA. The result of such an environment underlines the SFD work and other elements of the local SSC that appear to exemplify critiques of international development and sport, including issues such as opportunities to individuals in ‘development’ (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999); top-down development in SFD (Levermore, 2010); and unequal postcolonial relations between Global North/Global South (Darnell, 2012; Eyben, 2014).

## **7.2 What Does it All Mean?**

In Chapter 1, I identified my research question(s)<sup>63</sup> that guided my empirical inquiry into the SSC and SFD, which included:

3. How is sport-for-development understood and implemented at the local level?
  - 1a. What role do the organization’s executives, members, volunteers, and programme participants have in creating, shaping, and influencing SFD and sport development programme policy and activity?

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<sup>62</sup> Although not as related to international development as the Canadian interns are in the SSC, Margaret’s own role as CEO also raises questions about where the local leaders of the SMGSA are. Although Margaret may be succeeding in her role, why is a local, Indigenous Swazi not the head of the organization?

<sup>63</sup> Based on my ethnographic research approach, my research questions guided me while in the field but were also based on the emergent nature of research. Thus, some of my research questions have been slightly edited to accommodate for important, emergent elements of this study.

4. How does the institutional work of organizational actors and agency create, maintain, or disrupt the institutionalized ideas associated with SFD and the cultural context in which the programme is located?

2a. How does race and gender shape underlying power relations of institutional work?

These questions, in multiple ways, were answered through Chapters 5 and 6; however, in order to summarize the major findings of my study and identify how the above questions were explored and answered, I summarize the major themes that emerged through my involvement with the SSC and SMGSA as a critical institutional ethnographer.

### *7.2.1 The Institutional Work of the SSC and SFD*

Returning to the purpose of this study, I set out to explore the institutional work of the SSC and the SFD programming implemented at the local level (see Chapters 2 and 6). Here I turn to two specific forms of institutional work as exemplars of how power and social relations inform institutional work of SFD and this particular case study. First, I discuss the ongoing education and teaching of TRRFCC values and how they involved processes of recruitment, routinization, and acts of disengagement from SSC workers. Second, I discuss the work of a particular organizational member, Thembile, who challenged gendered stereotypes about women in sport and Swaziland contesting the unequal gendered structure of the SSC and the broader cultural context in which it is located. It is important to remember that the analysis of institutional work is focused on the actions of organizational actors who contribute to creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions within organizations (a set of activities) rather than the creation, maintenance, and disruption of institutions (a set of accomplishments) (Lawrence &

Suddaby, 2006). Through their practices and actions, the people at the SSC exhibited how they both shape and were shaped by institutional factors that were self-reproducing yet manipulated by their own work in a continuous and complex process (Dowling & Smith, 2016; Lawrence et al., 2009).

Through processes of recruitment and socialization, the TRRFCC values were integrated into the workplace of the SSC by the SMGSA in 2011. These processes involved teaching all SSC workers the values; having new members to the SSC sign formal agreements to learn and instill the values personally; and incorporating the values into documents and policies of the SSC, as well as emphasizing values education in their SFD programming and practices. Values education was identified as one of the main themes of ‘development’ in SFD and sport development practices of the SSC, and specific practices involved in teaching the TRRFCC values occurred in the workplace. In this way, organizational actors engaged in forms of work, specifically values education, which may contribute to maintaining the institutionalized field of SFD and the practices (such as leadership or life skills development) associated with it. Yet, the recursive relationship between institutions and organizational actors allowed for opportunities for people in the SSC (such as volunteers or workers) to disengage from the work of values education that contributes to maintaining appearances of SFD in the SSC and SMGSA.

Thus, while involved in a complex of social relations and relational power dynamics, the institutional work of those at the SSC was influential in shaping the practices and processes of SFD in the organization and, in a micro-way, contributed to maintaining the institutionalized nature of the field of SFD. This form of institutional work relates to Lok and de Rond’s (2013) argument that institutions display certain



flexibility, by the ongoing processes involved at the local SSC (i.e., engaging and disengaging from work), as well as demonstrates that multiple actors were influential in contributing “to the production and reproduction of the institutional order” (Woolf et al., 2016).

The second form of institutional work at the SSC differed from the education of TRRFCC values; rather than contribute to maintaining the institution of SFD, Thembile’s actions in the SSC (and beyond), in a micro-way, contributed to disrupting gender norms in Swaziland and broader cultural expectations of women and sport in the country. Thembile’s work in sport development (e.g., teaching female youth soccer) and her role as a leader to young women challenges the traditional gendered structure of Swaziland. In addition, her recent new position as a paid intern in the SSC is a necessary step forward in disrupting the unequal gender relations within the organization. Although Thembile’s work is focused on sport development, through this work she is actively engaged in purposeful activity to disrupt the gendered norms of sport in Swaziland and the SSC – thus, her institutional work may be a form of SFD itself. In a micro-way, her work was responsible for disrupting assumptions and practices of women and sport. That is, through her own awareness and actions to challenges notions of sport stereotypes, Thembile is engaged in ‘for-development’ by her work in the SSC and the communities she visits. Although there were no specific sport, gender, and development (SGD) initiatives outlined at the SSC (see Recommendations section), Thembile’s role in the organization and her work is similar to scholarly investigations of the purpose of SGD programming (Hayhurst et al., 2015; Nicholls, 2009). Specifically, Nicholls (2009) suggested that:

In directly confronting the puzzle around females and what is perceived as ‘normal’ in sport around the world, female involvement in sport has the power to upend what is seen/presented as ‘normal’ and become a major force for social change beyond sport by challenging gender norms. (p. 127)

In this way, Thembile’s institutional work in the SSC can be considered as more than just challenging the unequal gender relations in the organization – additionally, her involvement in sports that are ‘normal’ for male participation upends the societal and cultural stereotypes about women and sport in Swaziland, displaying how she is actively involved in resisting the institutionalized gendered structure of the environment in which she lives. Recognizing that social change is extremely difficult to measure through sport (Coalter, 2009) as well as conceding that scholars, as Hayhurst (2015a) suggested, must remain cautious of how girls are framed in development, the work of Thembile in the SSC and the micro-way she disrupts gender norms and provides a form of SFD to other young women could not go unrecognized.

In both forms of institutional work summarized above and discussed in the previous chapters, the issue of power and social relations within the institutional work of actors has been identified. By doing so, the:

Processes of institutionalization account for how patterns of domination and oppression – for example, racism or sexism but also more subtle, normalized forms of subjugation such as bullying and pressurizing at work – become naturalized in workplaces and elsewhere yet, in principle, are open to transformation. (Cooper et al., 2008, p. 674)

The institutional work of SFD at the SSC is influenced by patterns of domination and the historical oppression of Others in international development – thus, racialized ideologies have led to the reliance on Westernized knowledge and white people that further perpetuates (and influences) the practices and processes of SFD at the local level (specifically values education). Additionally, the work of Thembile in disrupting the institutionalized order of the SSC and broader assumptions of women in sport has been shaped by the historical unequal gender structure of Swaziland (Debly, 2014). Thus, sports in the SSC and in communities of Swaziland face sexist categories of ‘male’ sports such as soccer or netball for ‘males.’ Although this gendered structure has been taken for granted and naturalized within the SSC (i.e., fishing) and sport in the country, Thembile’s (seemingly SFD) work is actively engaged in shaping and being shaped by the institutional environment of the SSC, sport, and the broader culture of Swaziland.

Overall, the two forms of institutional work above display how institutions are not stable entities that objectively influence the work of organizational actors (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2008; Woolf et al., 2016). Rather, the work of actors is involved in complex processes and practices influenced by social relations, forms of domination open to reconfiguration, and relations of power dynamics that are inherently infused in institutions (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 2015). The postcolonial environment of the SSC and its neocolonial management style adds another layer of complexity to these forms of institutional work which is discussed below.

### *7.2.2 Neocolonial Management and Knowledge: Activating the Ruling Relations*

Although SSC employees, interns, and volunteers, as noted above, played an active role in the institutional work of the SSC and SFD, the role of organizational

members of both the SMGSA and SSC differed in their level of involvement in creating, shaping, and influencing programme policy and activity. The neocolonial management issues underlined specifically in Chapter 6 (issues of class and race due to assumptions around Westernized versus local knowledge) and the use of Global North text-mediated documents ensured that local members of the SSC, who are also those Others being targeted by the LVP, LIT, and TRRFCC programmes had limited involvement in the planning, policies, and creation of SFD programmes in the SSC. Rather, white, Canadian interns and Margaret were responsible for many aspects of the SSC, including not only SFD, but based on my experience, also including ‘managing’ and leading projects related to sport development at the SSC. Overall, the limited contribution of local knowledge further perpetuates structural inequalities such as Global North/Global South development and entrenches neocolonial traits of postcolonial environments.

Although in many ways, the SFD and sport development programming occurring at the SSC on a daily basis may lead to positive outcomes identified within programme documents and by individuals from the SSC and SMGSA (e.g., HIV/AIDS education, developing elite athletes, ‘getting out of the country’), actual ‘development’ is hindered by the ongoing management structure, style, and issues of class and race that have traditionally plagued international development. These findings may be similar to many studies in sport and international development that identify how programming, policies, and partnerships in SFD are hindered by unequal global relations and traits of neocolonialism (Black, 2010; Calkin, 2015a, 2015b), but differ in a small way from this research. Rather than focus on specific partnerships (Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Sanders et al., 2012), particular SFD programmes (Coalter, 2009, 2013a; Darnell, 2007), or policies

and documents related to SFD programming (Coalter, 2010; Forde, 2015), the broader (local) organization was explored with a focus on the SFD work. In this way, the findings of this study demonstrate how it is not only specific SFD components (e.g., partnerships, policies and policy makers, participant viewpoints) that are involved in the complex process of initiating SFD programmes or organizations. Rather, the organizations, whether specific ‘SFD’ organizations (e.g., Right to Play) or organizations involved primarily in sport development (SMGSA/SSC) that implement SFD programmes are involved in a much larger environment infused with power dynamics, social relations, and contemporary traits of (neo)colonialism. Although SFD may be a central component to the SSC, and as outlined in Chapter 5 has many potential benefits and positive themes, both the SSC and SMGSA had to be considered when exploring SFD due to the multitude of issues in relation to the organization as a whole.

### *7.2.3 ‘Decoupling’ SFD: International Development Ideas Versus On-the-Ground Practices*

Ideas of SFD, as highlighted throughout previous chapters, have been incorporated into SFD programmes and initiatives at the SSC by the SMGSA based on Westernized knowledge. These ideas revolve around health education (HIV/AIDS), life values (TRRFCC values), and other forms of social and sport development (leadership and coaching). In a broad sense, these ideas of SFD highlighted by the leaders of SMGSA and employees, interns, and volunteers of the SSC contrasted with actions, interactions, and the management structure of the SSC – in essence, each theme of development was met with challenges to implementation due to on-the-ground practices at the local level. For instance, HIV/AIDS education was met with resistance due to its

‘taboo’ nature; TRRFCC education was resisted by workers who overtly opposed the values based on their unwillingness to teach them as well as based on their actions of ‘fishing’ in the workplace; and leadership development was inhibited by the role of white superiors or managers within the operations of the SSC.

Due to these contradictions, there appeared to be a disconnect of SFD ideas, policies, and purposes from the *actual* work and actions of people in the SSC and SMGSA. Although in some instances, the institutional work of these actors was beneficial and could positively lead to forms of ‘SFD’ (e.g., progression towards gender equality), the ongoing relations and interactions of those within the SSC only served to maintain the very issues that ‘SFD’ has been proposed to alleviate. Additionally, the daily activities and work of the people within the SSC was commonly focused on sport development and improving athletes or participants’ sport-specific skills rather than ‘SFD’ programming<sup>64</sup> (at least during my fieldwork). These discrepancies between policy (such as SFD manuals or agreements of SSC workers) and practices relates to what Meyer and Rowan (1977) called “ceremonial myths”, “organizational homogenization” and “decoupling.” Specifically, they argued in response to institutional environments that organizations conform to particular procedures, policies, or structures that would then be separated or disengaged (i.e., decoupled) from the actual practices of the organization for the purpose of appearing legitimate (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Although the SMGSA, based on funding from larger development organizations (such as the UN), has built policies and programmes involving specific SFD objectives in order to be legitimate, the SSC and the people working at the local level disengage (in many instances) from the

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<sup>64</sup> While recognizing that, based on forms of sport development (e.g., becoming an elite athlete and traveling) may be a form of SFD to those at the local level of the SSC.

work of ‘SFD.’ Whether it is due to their focus on sport development related interests (such as developing athletes) or their actions in the workplace (such as ‘fishing’) that go against the work of ‘development’ at the SSC, SFD procedures and practices were separated from the actualities of the SSC in many ways.

#### *7.2.4 Sport Development as SFD? Traditional Sport Development Goals as ‘SFD’*

In Chapter 5, I highlighted how the SSC as an organization was not just involved in SFD programming – indeed, as a ‘sport centre’ and organization under the umbrella of the SMGSA, the SSC was heavily involved in sport development programming, projects, and events while I was in the field.<sup>65</sup> Although organizational actors emphasized the importance and purposes of the LVP and LIT programmes by highlighting the core elements of ‘development’ including HIV/AIDS education, leadership development, and values education, they also discussed various beneficial aspects of sport development (or to many people in the SSC, ‘SFD’). For example, by developing an athlete via sport development, that athlete may be able to ‘get out of the country’ and travel to sport competitions, a component of sport many people emphasized when asked about benefits of SFD. Although elite athlete development is primarily defined as a form of ‘sport development’ (Houlihan & Green, 2010), to the people at the SSC, these outcomes were associated with the idea of ‘SFD.’ Therefore, as Darnell and Huish (2015) addressed at the national level, it is important to highlight how the tensions, blended approaches, and nuances of the fields of sport development and SFD within organizations (and in their

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<sup>65</sup> I also recognize that organizational priorities in both the SMGSA and SSC may differ on the time of year. For example, during my fieldwork, the SMGSA was preparing for the upcoming 2016 Rio Olympic Games in August, which may have influenced the limited observations of ‘SFD.’

article, countries) are still intertwined not only by the purposes of programmes, but also by perceived beneficial outcomes of both.

Although many have spoken to the dichotomy (and continuum) of SFD and sport development (Coalter, 2013a; Kidd, 2008; Houlihan & White, 2002), the field of SFD has grown to become very much interested in specific social development goals (those of education, health, and so on) that may limit other notions of ‘for-development’ identified by different people in various local contexts, such as in the case of individuals at the SSC. Although these forms of ‘development’ (such as elite athlete development or international sport competition) may be categorized under ‘sport development,’ understandings of SFD from local perspectives provide insight into how, rather than specific ‘SFD’ objectives outlined by international policy makers and organizations striving to legitimize their ‘SFD’ programmes, local organizations and people (like the SSC) may be more inclined to the beneficial aspects of sport traditionally associated with sport development. In essence, SFD may be occurring in ways that have become commonly reified in aspects of ‘sport development’ – and the focus on specific SFD goals has glossed over those elements of sport development/SFD that many within the local level of the SSC (and perhaps other Global South local communities) consider as being most important by way of their actions, their viewpoints, and their goals of ‘SFD’.

### **7.3 Scholarly Implications and Key Contributions**

In this section, I discuss the overall contributions of this study, including its theoretical contributions, methodological contributions, and contributions based on the research findings and discussion. I outline the theoretical implications that this study has,



as well as distinguish how the methodological approach I used may add to the field of organizational studies, sport management, and the field of SFD.

### *7.3.1 The Field of SFD*

This study sought to add to the field of SFD in many ways. First, the study aimed to add to the field of SFD by providing an in-depth, empirical analysis of a specific organization implementing SFD. A lack of empirical inquiry into the many organizations involved in SFD has been mentioned by various scholars (Coalter, 2007, 2013; Darnell, 2007, 2012, 2013; Hayhurst, 2009, 2013, 2014) and therefore, this research, although only focused on one organization as a specific case (the SSC and by extension the SMGSA), provides additional empirical research to the field. Second, the adoption of a critical lens throughout this study answers the call by many researchers (Calkin, 2015a; Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2009, 2013, 2014) for a consideration of the power relations at play in specific SFD circumstances. Adopting a critical lens for the purposes of this study allowed for insights into the complex social relations involved in the organizational work of SFD at the SSC, as well as aided in exploring the power dynamics inherently involved in organizations at the local level implementing SFD and sport development simultaneously. Many insights into the SSC (and SMGSA) and its related components of SFD and sport development paralleled scholarly work within the contemporary field including: unequal Global North/South relations ('ruling relations' of SFD in the SSC) (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016; Levermore, 2010); traits of neocolonialism and issues of postcolonial environments (Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2014); and organizational social relations of gender, class, and race (Darnell, 2007; Waldman & Wilson, 2015). Additionally, components of SFD commonly highlighted by scholars, practitioners, and

NGOs and IGOs, such as HIV/AIDS education, leadership development, and broader social development (i.e., values education) were identified as prominent themes in the SMGSA/SSC SFD programmes and work. Finally, I suggested that the SSC is an organization involved in both plus-sport, sport-plus, and traditional sport development based on the daily practices and work of the local organization – relating to literature regarding the continuum of SFD (Coalter, 2009, 2013a).

Unique insights from this study also provide relevant information to scholars, practitioners, and organizations in the field of SFD, including: (1) how the daily work and practices of organizational actors are influenced by complex social relations and power dynamics that impede ‘on-the-ground’ SFD (e.g., ‘fishing’ at the site of SFD); how local organizations like the SMGSA and SSC may be implementing SFD yet, due to organizational structures, relations, and knowledge, actually perpetuating broader issues of class, race, and gender inequality; and, finally, how the institutional work of actors in organizations contribute to maintaining SFD while also utilizing sport for broader societal purposes. This last insight into the SSC and its SFD is particularly important. Although institutional theory and more recently institutional work are well established theoretical and conceptual frameworks in organization theory, they have not received the same level of attention by scholars in sport management (Washington & Patterson, 2011), and after conducting a comprehensive literature search, there appears to be no current literature that seeks to provide an explanation for the institutional work involved in local examples of SFD (in the Global North or Global South). Although many researchers have mentioned the increasing institutionalization of sport and international development (Darnell, 2012; Coalter, 2013, Hayhurst, 2009), there has yet to be a study that

specifically analyzes how individual agency influences the institutional nature of SFD and the corresponding environments in which it is implemented. Additionally, organizational or management theories are limited in the current field of SFD (Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016) such that using institutional theory further builds on a new approach to the investigation of SFD and how it is accomplished in certain contexts. Overall, these insights add to the contemporary empirical evidence available in the field of SFD and broader international and sport sector.

### *7.3.2 Institutional Work of Organizations: Power-Infused Practices and Processes*

As noted by organizational researchers (cf. Clegg, 2010; Cooper et al., 2008; Hirsch and Lounsbury, 2015; Munir, 2015) and sport management researchers more specifically (cf. Frisby, 2005; Kane & Maxwell, 2011; Kitchen & Howe, 2013; Slack, 1996) the call for a critical research lens such as the one this study adopted in its analysis of an SFD organization responds to the call for this type of research. Thus, this study adds to the contemporary literature in the disciplines of organizational analysis and sport management by providing an investigation involving the analysis of power relations underlying institutions and institutional work. By examining the social relations as well as the power dynamics inherent within the SSC, an in-depth understanding of how power is involved in the institutional work of organizational actors was highlighted.

The actions of organizational actors in the SSC are intertwined within a complex dynamic of social relations that underline various components of the workplace – specifically, the institutional SFD work of actors was influenced by issues of class, gender, and race. In somewhat of a paradox, these values that acted to maintain the institution of SFD were diffused to the SSC through an intricate process of international

development and unequal Global North/South relations. As Clegg (2010) stated, “in contemporary everyday interaction, social activists are always confronted with the dilemma of structuring, thus legitimating, the existing order of things or of destructuring, thus, hopefully, trying to change the order of things” (p. 6). Although not explicitly ‘social activists,’ the everyday actions and practices of various people within the SSC exemplify how they play an important role in contributing to the work that allows for processes of institutionalization (in SFD, organizations, and broader cultural contexts). Whether it is the work of those volunteers (not) teaching the TRRFCC values, the work of Margaret and Canadian interns to create SFD programmes related to Westernized knowledge and institutionalized ideas of SFD, or whether it is Thembile disrupting the institutional order of the local SSC and the cultural environment of Swaziland, it is evident through this study that how ideas and practices of SFD shape and are shaped by the institutional work of actors and their actions play an important role in the ongoing processes of institutionalization.

### *7.3.3 Using Institutional Ethnography to Explore Institutional Work*

My critical worldview and adoption of a postcolonial perspective in this study aided in the ability to ensure an investigation of the power dynamics, social relations, and subjectivity involved in any cross-cultural, international development study. By adopting components of institutional ethnography in my methodological approach throughout this study, I argued that the use of institutional ethnography is well suited for an exploration of institutional work, most especially when a researcher is interested in the social relations and power dynamics involved in organizations and institutions. The use of institutional ethnography, a methodology that is historically related to feminist studies

with an emphasis on the social relations and institutional processes leading to domination, subjugation, and ‘ruling relations’ of different forms of text, is a method of inquiry<sup>66</sup> that was seen as appropriate to explore institutional work in order to understand complex processes of organizational action in creating, maintaining, or disrupting institutions.

Furthermore, the application of institutional ethnography to a study concerned with institutional work allows for power to be brought back into the field of institutional theory (Hirsch & Lounsbury, 2015; Lawrence et al., 2008) and acknowledges the relational relationship between institutional practices and organizational actors. Within this study, elements of institutional ethnography in my research methodology contributed to an exploration of not only the SSC as an organization, but the institutional work that shaped and is shaped by organizational actors. Thus, institutional ethnography appears as a methodology well-suited to assist scholars, practitioners, and researchers in explorations and investigations of institutional theory, offering a new, and radical, way of compensating for the power dynamics and social relations inherent in acts of institutionalization so as to provide an in-depth, critical, understanding of how institutional work and institutions are not merely objectified, ‘external’ facts, but rather processes of social life that are reproduced and contested by the actions of people in their daily life.

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<sup>66</sup> Institutional ethnography, although used as a method of inquiry and as part of my own methodology for this study, is a form of sociological knowledge that was created by Dorothy Smith (2005) and thus, although only certain elements of this form of ontology was integrated for the purposes of this research, it must be remembered that institutional ethnography has its own ontological, epistemological, and foundations of knowledge that are related to its theory in a much more in-depth form.

#### *7.3.4 A Postcolonial Lens as an Insider/Outsider: The Reflexive Researcher*

A postcolonial lens was adopted in this study based on the call by various researchers (Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2015) for a critical perspective when conducting studies related to SFD. Importantly, as the postcolonial researcher (as well as institutional ethnographer and researcher-as-bricoleur), my positionality within this study was important to highlight, investigate, and reflect on during the research process. This was especially important due to my role as an intern within the organization as I conducted research – which further complicated my positionality as an insider, outsider, and in between, or what Finlay (2002) called ‘negotiating the swamp.’ Thus, reflexivity was an important aspect of the entirety of this study due to the various tenets of my critical worldview (and postcolonial lens), my methodology, and my role at the research site.

Reflexive ethnography has been relatively limited within the field of sport management, mostly due to the emphasis on other methods of inquiry, such as interviews, case studies, and other forms of qualitative research (Hoerber & Shaw, 2016). Although there are reflexive elements intertwined with some of these methods of inquiry, the use of reflexivity within studies concerning sport and international development is of utmost importance due to the cross-cultural nature of research in these fields as well as the history of international development (Eyben, 2015). Through my own reflexive process, which was discussed in-depth in Chapters 3 and 4, I was cognizant of my own reflexive screens (e.g., class, gender, and race) while acting as a researcher/intern in the field. Thus, although there have been autoethnographic studies conducted within the field of SFD (Chawansky, 2015; Forde, 2011) as well as arguments for methodological

approaches ensuring reflexivity (Collison, Giulianotti, Howe, & Darnell, 2016; Hayhurst, 2015) there are limited examples of the reflexive practices of a researcher while simultaneously adopting different roles (i.e., insider-outsider, research-intern).

The reflexive component throughout this study answers the urgent request of scholars within international development arguing for a heavy emphasis on the use of reflexivity within research that is politically infused with social relations and power dynamics. Based on my own reflexive practices and insights, I believe that this study provides an example of how a researcher's biases, experiences in the field, and role in the research setting and production of knowledge inherently underlie the process of empirical investigation. Hence, I believe that this research project contributes to contemporary insights into methodological inquiry in the field of SFD, as well as provides an example to researchers in the field of sport management of how to engage in reflexive practice. Overall, although I believe that this study has various contributions to the academic literature, there were also multiple challenges and limitations involved in this study, which I identify below.

#### **7.4 Challenges and Limitations**

Research studies, although aiming to encompass various elements of theory, conceptual frameworks, and methodological approaches, are also affected by certain challenges and limitations faced by the researcher while in the field (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Throughout this study, there were various challenges that I confronted as I

carried out my research and interned within the organization. In the following, I outline these challenges before addressing the limitations of this study.<sup>67</sup>

Two specific challenges I experienced within the field included: (1) alternating between my roles as researcher and intern and (2) gatekeeper challenges. First, as discussed in my reflexive chapter, negotiating my roles as researcher and intern in various instances provided both opportunity and challenges throughout fieldwork. Although there were specific examples where I would be holding one role or the other (e.g., conducting in-depth interviews as the ‘researcher’), throughout fieldwork I was simultaneously holding both roles at the same time. In this way, various tensions emerged that challenged my own beliefs and personal values – as discussed in Chapter 4, these tensions arose in instances of ‘fishing’ and some conversations with Margaret. Thus, while acting as both a researcher and intern was, in many ways, beneficial to this study, it also proved (especially for a novice researcher) to be a careful act of balancing my own positionality, understanding, and actions in the workplace so as to negotiate my roles and identity.

The second significant challenge I faced throughout this research process was my relationship with my research gatekeeper and intern supervisor, Margaret. Upon setting out to conduct research, I believed that Margaret would be my cultural informant in matters relative to the organization and local environment within which I would be living, researching, and working. Although in some instances she was able to provide insights

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<sup>67</sup> Of course, these challenges and limitations are based on my own subjectivity and personal experience throughout the research process – other limitations I have not listed here may also be evident due to the political and in some ways, ambiguous nature of research. Additionally, these are the challenges I faced as a researcher and an intern – thus, these challenges may differ from challenges where researchers do not have an intern role.



into Swazi culture and the SSC (e.g., ‘Swazis do not tell others what to do’), it became apparent Margaret would not be able to serve as a *cultural informant* due to her status as a white, South African. Rather, Margaret became a *key informant* in this study due to her knowledge (and domination) of organizational policies, programmes, and practices. In many instances, Margaret engaged in social actions and interactions that reflected notions of neocolonialism, with racist connotations, and other forms of subjugation within the workplace. Thus, as with ‘fishing,’ there would be moments where Margaret’s actions went directly against my own personal beliefs, values, and researcher lens. As a researcher, I was placed in a relationship where learning from Margaret about her own viewpoint, perspective, and actions aided in understanding the institutional work and social relations involved with the local SSC. Thus, harming this relationship may have posed problems not only to the research being conducted (i.e., the research must stop) but may also have stopped Margaret from making such (in some instances) derogatory comments to me about others. As evident in Chapter 4, it may also have harmed my position as an intern. Therefore, although these encounters shed light on Margaret’s perspective towards Others and people within the SMGSA/SSC, it also questioned my own ethical stances and position. Should I have addressed, with her, my concern that often her behaviour and/or language had racist connotations and made me feel uncomfortable—not to mention what impact it had on my Black Indigenous co-workers? Do I jeopardize my relationship with my intern supervisor/gatekeeper and thus potentially cease research and potentially get fired from my internship? I strived to understand other people’s experiences and perspectives, yet, since this acted against my

own values, was it my place to say anything? These questions and many others arose throughout the research process.<sup>68</sup>

In relation to these two challenges, I had to navigate communicating my findings to the leaders of the organizations (the SMGSA, CMGSA, and SSC) who granted me access and who wanted to know the findings of my research. This also relates to the larger issue of how critical researchers navigate the terrain of organizational research when they are uncovering power structures that marginalize others and when they start to question the status quo. As I am responsible to submit reports to the leaders of three organizations who granted me permission to conduct research (see Chapter 3), and given that I have uncovered some elements of the SSC/SMGSA that do not shed a positive light on the organization and some of its organizational members, I must be aware that these reports are read by those in the organizations. Traditionally, research into organizations or management (as discussed in Chapter 2) are conducted from a functionalist perspective, that seeks to inform organizations on how to ‘do things’ more proficiently, effectively, or productively. The SMGSA, CMGSA, and SSC may be expecting a report that relays such information to them, yet, in reality, includes the themes and elements of this study that have been outlined in previous chapters. Communicating my findings to all three organizations involves being reflexive and cautious about what is included and how it is framed in the report – for example, perhaps rather than directly ‘calling out’ what I understood to have racist connotations, a discussion related to the need to understand the racialized context and elements inherent in SFD in African nations is necessary to ensure

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<sup>68</sup> On several occasions I held Skype conversations with thesis committee members during my fieldwork to seek advice on how to navigate these tensions which enabled me to reflect upon, and reconcile, these situations so that I could continue my internship and my research from a position of a critical and reflexive researcher.

local leadership opportunities are developed and organizational work climates are inclusive.

There were also other difficulties in relation to my own personal experience carrying out research, including methodological challenges (e.g., carrying out critical institutional ethnography and writing fieldnotes), personal challenges (e.g., recognizing my own biases towards Others), and various conceptual questions (e.g., where is ‘institutional work’?) as I journeyed through the complex process of conducting scholarly work. In addition to these challenges, there were particular limitations of the study that I believe to have influenced this research.

The first limitation of this study is that I, a white, 23 year old male who has grown up in a Western, Global North society and was born in Canada, was the individual carrying out research at the local level of the SSC. I have very rarely been excluded based on my race, gender, social class, or any other socio-economic factors, and have a very limited and narrow view of being marginalized or discriminated against. Furthermore, I had never traveled outside of North America. Although I became a partial insider within the organization due to my daily roles as intern and researcher, I would never be considered as a complete insider, either within the organization or within the environment in which I lived for four months. Thus, my position as a white, male, outsider, who was given access to conduct research, may have (in)directly influenced how people interacted and acted around me. I felt a transition from complete outside to partial insider as I became immersed in the field. In the early stages of research, I felt that some individuals were wary of talking to me,<sup>69</sup> most especially because I had just arrived and was a

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<sup>69</sup> My roles as intern and researcher were disclosed to all employees, interns, and volunteers in the SSGGC and SSC.

complete outsider. However, as I became more involved in the workplace and the daily work of the SSC, people within the organization began to ‘open up’ and interact with me increasingly. However, due to my own reflexive screens, such as gender, class, and most especially race, my role as researcher may have limited the extent of the knowledge I was able to gather while in the field. Although these reflexive screens may have influenced my data and findings, it is also important to remember that these screens add another layered element to the study – the researcher as the research instrument and how researchers are inherently involved in the production of knowledge.

The second limitation I believe influenced the outcome and conduction of this research is related to my methodological procedure. Although I answered the call for a critical lens and a postcolonial lens for the purposes of SFD research (Darnell, 2012; Hayhurst, 2015), I did not carry out a participatory action research (PAR) methodology – which has been suggested by scholars in SFD for the purposes of collaborating with those local in the Global South so as to ensure that the research process is not dominated by the researcher (Hayhurst, 2015). As this was a master’s thesis, a PAR approach would have been challenging to complete due to both time restrictions and my own limited experience in carrying out research – thus, a PAR methodology, although would have assisted in equalizing the power dynamics involved in research, would have been difficult to carry out. In order to combat this limitation, I strived to integrate participatory components of research into my own methodology, including a decolonizing praxis, the use of elements of both critical and institutional ethnography, and reflexive practices to acknowledge my own position in the study. Despite these methodological choices, I was aware that an unequal status of researcher-researched may still underlie this research due

to my status as a Global North, middle-class, white researcher and my involvement in the research process (i.e., writing up research, leaving the field to conduct data analysis/interpretation). In the future, I may adopt a PAR approach or other collaborative methodologies to combat this limitation – however, overall, I believe I was able to integrate components in my methodology to ‘delimit’ this limitation.

The third limitation of this study is the use of a case study approach and the ability to transfer the findings of my research to other SFD studies, scholars, and practitioners. Flyvberg (2006) stated case studies have often been challenged in their ability to provide knowledge, information, and findings that may be transferred or generalized. Although ‘generalizability’ was not a goal or an outcome of this study, the findings of this research and its specific context may inform the field of SFD, institutional theory, and sport management, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter. This research and its specific context may be applicable to other researchers and practitioners investigating and working within local organizations implementing SFD. Thus, despite the focus on a local SFD organization, the findings of this study are relevant to academic literature in various ways due to its wider empirical contribution – additionally, this study also provided research ideas to pursue in the future.

### **7.5 Future Research Ideas**

Due to the emergent process of ethnographic research, various findings of this study arose as I acted as a participant-observer in the field and conducted data analysis and interpretation. These findings were not a particular focus of this study – however, their importance within the SSC and its related SFD work was necessary to highlight in the previous chapters. Based on the findings of the overall study, three particular future

research ideas emerged: (1) the institutional logics of SFD; (2) the space and place of SFD organizations and programmes; and (3) multi-games sport organizations implementing local SFD.

#### *7.5.1 The Institutional Logics of SFD: Tensions of SFD and Sport Development*

At my thesis proposal prior to commencing fieldwork, I posed the following research question, “What is the institutional logic(s) that shapes the SFD field and more specifically a local SFD programme in Swaziland?” As may be apparent from the previous chapters, this question became less important as I navigated through an exploration of the SSC – rather, the institutional work of actors and the local SSC became prominent. Although specific ideas and themes of ‘SFD’ and sport development were highlighted (e.g., leadership development, elite athlete development) that were related to institutionalized assumptions of SFD and sport development, these ideas were based on the SMGSA and local SSC ‘focus’ of development. Furthermore, these ideas were in a constant process of being reproduced or challenged by the institutional work of employees, interns, and volunteers at the SSC – thus, the actual practices and processes involved in institutions became the focus of study, rather than how those ideas of SFD at the SMGSA became taken-for-granted logics. In a way, this study investigated the local work that led to those institutional logics of SFD – however, it does not suggest how those logics have come to be in the broader field of international development and sport.

As such, a more in-depth and comprehensive study of the institutional logics within the field of SFD would be a beneficial future area of research. As with many institutional logics studies, long term engagement in a research setting and historical examination of organizational policies and practices would be needed to identify

dominant logics within the field. An exploration of such ideas and assumptions around what constitutes ‘SFD’ in the field would provide insights into how certain logics (such as the need to focus on health, education, or other specific outcomes) become institutionalized. Additionally, I believe that exploring the institutional logics of SFD would contribute to the academic literature in the field by providing an in-depth investigation of the possible tensions, nuances, and blended approach of SFD that is intertwined with sport development. Scholars, such as Coalter (2013a) and Kidd (2008), have provided definitions of SFD, while literature about the broader role of SFD *in* sport development has become recognized (Sherry, Schulenkorf, & Phillips, 2016). Therefore, coming to terms with the specific logics of policy makers, practitioners, scholars, and those within the field of SFD would allow for a deep exploration of how SFD is becoming institutionalized, while also questioning the ongoing nuances of SFD and sport development. Is it sport-for-development, or is it sport development – or both? SFD and sport development have been recognized as being on a continuum, but at what point does sport development become sport-for-development, or vice versa? What are the outcomes of each and how do they differ – are they both forms of SFD? Do ‘beneficiaries’ and organizations at the local level wish to implement SFD or sport development? These are relevant questions for scholars, practitioners, and organizational leaders involved in SFD due to the effect it has on policy making, ideas around SFD, sport development, and sport programming.

### *7.5.2 The Importance of Place and Space in SFD*

In Chapter 6, I discussed how the SSC was, for many people, a space of security, safety, and in some cases, ‘home.’ In addition, I discussed how, due to the social relations

and inherent power dynamics of the SSC and the cultural context in which it is located, it was also a site of ‘exclusion,’ most especially for young women who were ‘fished’ by males at the SSC. The section pertaining to the space of the SSC and its related social relations displays how it is not only SFD programmes that need to be created and implemented using collaborative approaches to include the local community and those marginalized. Additionally, the organizations, and places/spaces of SFD programming must be investigated to understand how sites that appear stable and secure to many are also landscapes of social inequalities and power (Sibley, 1995; van Ingen, 2004).

Therefore, I suggest that research in the field of SFD focused on particular places/spaces of SFD and the related components of such ‘therapeutic landscapes’ would add insights into how participants, practitioners, and others involved in SFD understand sites of ‘development.’ In their work on ‘cultivating safe spaces’ for SFD projects and events, Spaaij and Schlenker (2014) suggested how a safe space is a key ingredient of successful SFD. Research aligned with their work in the field of SFD would be beneficial to understanding how SFD programmes can provide secure and safe spaces/places for local communities targeted by ‘development’ – while also straying from traditional critiques or cautious optimism surrounding specific SFD programmes.

### *7.5.3 MGSAs Implementing SFD: Different Countries, Different Responsibilities*

An important (underlying) aspect of this research relates to the parent organization of the SSC – the SMGSA. The SMGSA, as described in Chapter 3, is responsible for providing service to multiple sport organizations in the country and developing (and selecting) elite athletes to represent Swaziland in international competition. Therefore, the primary responsibilities of the SMGSA relates significantly



to sport development in the country and its organizational mandates to grow and represent sport in Swaziland, which influences the operation of the SSC as both a site of sport development and SFD. Thus, the role of the SMGSA in Swaziland differs from the role of, for example, the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC). Although in some forms, the COC delivers SFD, the focus of the organization is to primarily represent Canada in international competition and develop elite athletes. Even though some forms of their organizational procedures may focus on providing SFD, it is not often that they are responsible for implementing SFD programming within Canada at the local level, due to their role as the country's national representative for Olympic and related international competitions.

In the case of Swaziland however, the SMGSA is not only responsible for the improvement of elite athletes and representing the country in international sport competitions, but has also been involved in integrating SFD into its organizational operations for reasons unknown and beyond this study. For example, the SMGSA may have felt that SFD programming was needed in the country to combat issues of health, leadership, and education; or they may have become involved due to additional funding available from the IOC and the UN. Regardless of the organization's motives to become involved in SFD, the SMGSA appears to play a much bigger role at the local level within Swaziland than an organization such as the COC. This is perhaps due to the less-recognized role of sport in Swaziland (using SFD to grow sport) or the need of NGOs to become involved in issues traditionally placed on the government (relating to neoliberal development). These differences in multi-sport organizations, such as the SMGSA and the COC, and their related SFD and sport development approaches, need to be

investigated to understand why larger sport development organizations become involved in SFD.

Additionally, an investigation of how larger parent-organizations (such as the SMGSA) influence local entities (such as the SSC) and their focus on SFD and sport development would be beneficial to highlight tensions in organizational relationships and objectives. Hayhurst and Frisby (2010) as well as Waldman and Wilson (2015) investigated these relationships and identified how tensions and contradictions occurred between organizations implementing SFD that were also responsible for sport development. Further research into the role of sport development organizations in SFD and their relationships with SFD programmes would provide insight into how nuances in organizational mandates, objectives, and partnerships influence organizational focuses of SFD and sport development.

### **7.6 Recommendations for the SSC and Other SFD Organizations**

Institutional ethnography is a methodology that is employed by researchers not only to explore the social relations within systems of institutionalization, but also in order to provide practitioners, organizations, and Others at the local level insights into how ‘change from within’ can occur and transformation may be possible in order to contribute to a more equal, collaborative, form of institutional processes (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Smith, 2005). Therefore, one of the most important parts of any institutional ethnography is to express how the actualities, practices, and experiences of those studied may lead to suggestions to the organization involved in research. This is also important when adopting a critical, postcolonial lens that emphasizes the application of research to those within organizations. In addition, institutional work is focused on organizations and the

everyday lives of actors. As such, my theoretical orientations and methodology demand, that the carrying out of research leads to suggestions (and possibly change) to the organizational structures, processes, and practices in ways that may benefit individuals within – most especially those who have been marginalized within the organization or society. Thus, the following recommendations are those main points I wish to provide to the leaders of the organization on a practical level. Based upon this study, I believe these changes may potentially benefit the overall SSC and SMGSA in ways that allow for those at the local site to become more involved in the organizational policy, structure, and planning of SFD and sport development.

- Define ‘development’ by hearing the voice of those in the local community. Rather than having programmes created by the SMGSA that relate to funding opportunities, interns from Canada, or Westernized ideas of SFD, involve community members to speak to what ‘development’ is to them and assess their needs based on their own perspectives, viewpoints, and experiences. This may indicate what members of the local SSC believe should be the focus of ‘development.’ Would they emphasize sport development, as evident in certain forms of this study, or suggest those traditional forms of ‘SFD’ that have already been implemented in SFD programming? Or will they outline other issues? Local community members must be included to provide clear definitions of what ‘development’ they seek (if any) and its objectives.
- Include the SSC and local community members in the creation, development, and implementation of SFD programming, planning, and policy. Allowing for those local members to have a voice in the process of building an SFD programme will

assist in building a collaborative model to development. The ‘for-development’ of SFD would be based on community and local needs, as well as include their knowledge in how to implement and achieve developmental purposes. This also empowers local members of the SSC and the community by being involved in processes in which they have not been included. Furthermore, basing programmes on local knowledge and information potentially negates the unequal Global North/South relations currently involved in SFD in the SSC.

- Allow for leadership at the SSC to act autonomously. There are moments of partnership, collaboration, and involvement of the SMGSA in the actions and programmes of the SSC due to funding and the relationship between the two sites. Having the SSC implement their own programmes, policies, and activities however, allows for the development of the leaders at the site and acknowledge their important role in SFD and sport development. Although Canadian interns and the SMGSA might be key partners in assisting elements of the SSC, they should not be regarded as superiors or ‘managers’ who lead all aspects of programming. Rather, they should be involved in a collaborative process of working with those at the SSC to succeed in development and sustainability – to the point where Canadian interns are no longer ‘needed’ and local capacity is developed and sustained. In this way, white ‘experts’ are not deemed necessary for ‘development,’ and local, Indigenous Swazis have opportunities to grow through work that is usually entrusted to Canadian interns.
- The SSC, if it is to work autonomously, needs to have a plan to successfully prepare the centre for year-round programming, events, and activities. The SSC

may benefit by building a trust (which is already in its early stages) or board of directors that would guide the activities and operations of the SSC and to whom leaders and managers would report. This would ensure that the work of the SSC is achieving its mandate, while also allowing for SSC employees, interns, and volunteers to work autonomously from the SMGSA and build their own organizational structure. This recommendation is based on Jabulani's view that a trust would assist in the reporting structure of the SMGSA/SSC and contribute to the voice of SSC's employees, interns, and volunteers being heard.

- The SSC, if it wishes to become the 'sport-for-all' centre it purports to be, must engage in new ways to involve and respect young women in its operations and structure. 'Fishing' by employees, interns, and volunteers at the SSC must cease in order for opportunities for women to work in an environment that respects both genders. The issue of "fishing" requires a more concerted effort at translating appropriate values of respect in the workplace. As was remarked to me during my fieldwork by Margaret, an SFD programme focused on 'girls and development' may be implemented by the SMGSA/SSC in the future if funding is secured. Building such a programme may contribute to promoting gender equality in the SSC and its social relations. Rather than place the responsibility on 'girls' for development (Hayhurst, 2015), I suggest that the SMGSA/SSC work towards a community approach to development, most especially when seeking an equal gendered structure. In this way, men and other community members are responsible for contributing to 'development' and changing perceptions surrounding women and sport in Swaziland. A collaborative effort must be made

between all at the SSC (and most especially those ‘fishing’) and the community in order for such structural issues to be acknowledged and, and ideally, changed.

### **7.7 “You Used to Come Here and Hide the Fact”: Concluding Remarks**

The title of this section relates to Jabulani’s quotation about his workplace supervisor, Margaret, saying, “Because some of you guys [meaning interns], you, you used to come here and you hide the fact that, ehh, my boss is that kind of a person” referring to how Margaret is an authoritative, demanding figure in the workplace. I do not go into detail about this relationship, as I have explored it in previous chapters and sections. However, this quotation stands out for me as I conclude this dissertation. Jabulani recognized that I understood his position with respect to his and others’ relationship with Margaret and the tensions it created. And he felt this understanding would be “reported” in my research. Indeed, upon returning to Canada, I received a phone message from Jabulani that stated the newest Canadian intern was, ‘like another Margaret’, and that, ‘he was not like me.’ My different approach as an intern within the SSC (i.e., working with locals and ‘not telling’ them what to do) and my understanding of the marginalization of local voices was recognized by Jabulani and acknowledged.

As I have traveled through the process of preparing for, conducting, and writing about SFD in Swaziland, the utilization of a critical lens in my research, especially one concerned with SFD and international development, has become increasingly salient throughout my own growth in the scholarly world. Although I am a critical researcher, I wish to end this study by urging those within international development and SFD not to tread lightly when it comes to experiencing ‘SFD’ at the local level. I have questioned various times before entering the field how a critical lens would guide me throughout this

study. Upon entering the field, it became extremely evident how the remnants of colonialism, of the production and integration of Westernized knowledge in the Global South, and the integration of neocolonialist traits have been incorporated and routinized into local sites of Swaziland. As I progressed through my four months of fieldwork, the social relations and (un)conscious power dynamics that are manifested in the local SSC were overwhelming – navigating through such a political environment was a constant process of discovery, understanding, and reflection.

I believe that unlike ‘some of you guys,’ like Jabulani explained, I was able to uncover unequal tendencies in the structure of the SSC and its organizational work. I learned a great deal from those involved in the SSC – not only about their culture, their lives, and their work, but also about myself and how I view the world and Others. Coming to understand different ways of knowing allowed me to develop not only as a researcher, but also as a person, and most of all, underscored how in contemporary society, progress may have been made, but there is still much more work to be done to alleviate structural problems of neocolonialism in the Global South, as well as the social structures involved in all areas of the world.

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## **Appendix A - Letter of Information to CMGSA and SMGSA for Permission to Conduct Fieldwork and Participant-Observation**

**Research Project Title:** Exploring a sport-for-development organization: Understanding sport-for-development participants in Swaziland.

**Investigator:** Mitchell McSweeney, MA Candidate (Faculty of Applied Health Science, Brock University); [mm10rj@brocku.ca](mailto:mm10rj@brocku.ca), 289-880-7744

**Supervisor:** Dr. Lisa M. Kikulis

### **Background Information and Purpose of the Study**

The use of sport for development purposes has increased in recent years. Sport-for development (SFD) plays a crucial role in underprivileged individual's lives and the organization that runs the programme shapes the potential benefits the participant may receive. I am a graduate student within the Department of Sport Management at Brock University who is interested in understanding how SFD programming plays a role in participant's understanding of the world, HIV/AIDS, and social development. The research has two goals: (1) come to understand how an SFD organization influences SFD participants and plays a role in their lives; (2) explore how sport-for-development is understood, implemented, and impacts participants.

I am asking your permission to be a participant observer for four months at the SFD programme located in Swaziland this upcoming May, and will also dedicate myself to working to achieve success for the organization by completing an internship. I will write about the experience, and I may take notes discretely and audio recordings (in interviews) of people and the daily activities at the programme site. Conducting observation will not intrude upon the operations of the programme.

Specific individuals may be asked to participate in interviews. Interviews typically take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. The purpose of the interview will be explained to each person either through a letter or verbally, and they will be asked to give permission. The information collected may be published as a paper and presented at conferences. A final report of the research will be sent to your organization.

Some of the questions that will guide my research include:

How does an SFD programme influence the lives of marginalized groups or individuals of society?

How is SFD understood, utilized, and implemented by an organization seeking to achieve social development?

How do SFD participants act in the everyday operations and activities of an SFD organization?

Participation in this research project is strictly voluntary and any participant, as well as the organization, can withdraw at any point during the project without penalty of any sort. Stopping the research will not effect the internship I complete with your organization. Storing all information in a locked room to which only I will have access will ensure confidentiality if wished by the organization or any research participant. If you have any questions or concerns about this research, please feel free to contact me at any time at 289-880-7744 or [mm10rj@brocku.ca](mailto:mm10rj@brocku.ca) and I will be happy to provide any information needed. You may also contact Dr. Lisa Kikulis 905-688-5550 ext. 5004 at Brock University. The research study will be reviewed and either accepted or denied by the Brock University Research Ethics Board in the near future. Upon ethical clearance, I will update your organization.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and I look forward to the opportunity to conduct research within your organization.

Mitchell McSweeney

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix B – Letter of Information to the SMGSA and SSC About Research**

Mbabane/ 27<sup>th</sup> May 2015

**Swaziland Multi-Games Sport Association, Sport Success Centre, National Sport Associations, and Employees, Volunteers, and Board Members**

Dear Colleagues,

One of our Canadian Queen Elizabeth Scholar's interns, Mitchell McSweeney, will be conducting research on sport-for-development (SFD) within the Swaziland Multi-Games Sport Association (SMGSA) and the Sport Success Centre (SSC) as part of his Master's thesis from June to August 2016.

As part of his research, he will be contacting individuals and organizational members of SMGSA, its members, and the SSC to request to talk with people or conduct interviews with people involved in SFD in Swaziland. We are seeking the support of various organizations and individuals for him to collaborate with to conduct his research, including access to staff and members of SMGSA. If you are able to make the time to talk with Mitchell or take part in an interview with him, it would be greatly appreciated, and he will be sending out emails and telephoning individuals to seek out opportunities to conduct his research.

The SMGSA has supported and approved this research project. Upon completion of the research (approximately March or April 2017), the findings will be made available to the SMGSA, its members, the SSC, and the Ministry of Sport to use for the purposes of their organization. The research findings will be shared with all organizations involved with SMGSA and the Ministry of Sport for beneficial purposes.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding the research, please contact Mitchell McSweeney at [mm10rj@brocku.ca](mailto:mm10rj@brocku.ca). Please read the following attached letter that provides details about the research purpose, how the research will be conducted, and the benefits of the research. We thank you in advance for your assistance and Mitchell will be in contact with many of you soon.

Yours Sincerely,

Margaret H.  
SMGSA Secretary General/Chief Executive Officer

## Appendix B – Letter of Information to the SMGSA and SSC About Research

Cont'd.

### MITCHELL MCSWEENEY RESEARCH WITHIN SMGSA AND THE SSC INFORMATION LETTER

Principal Student Investigator: Mitchell McSweeney, MA Candidate (Faculty of Applied Health Sciences, Brock University), [mm10rj@brocku.ca](mailto:mm10rj@brocku.ca)

Principal Investigator/Advisor: Dr. Lisa Kikulis, Brock University, Sport Management, [lkikulis@brocku.ca](mailto:lkikulis@brocku.ca)

Research purpose, goal and question:

To understand the work and ideas involved in sport-for-development (SFD) in Swaziland and how the SMGSA, its members, and the SSC is run and activities implemented by exploring various perspectives of individuals.

To explore the SMGSA, its members, and the SSC to identify issues and concerns of the organization's.

What is the work that is carried out by SMGSA, its members, and the SSC to implement those ideas the organization has about SFD?

How the research will be done:

An ethnography will be conducted whereby the researcher will be an insider participant-observer due to his intern role within the organization. The research will be a process of discovery and learning from the local organization and people.

The ethnography will include observations on the interactions, work and operations of the SMGSA, its members, and the SSC. Notes will be focused on people's interactions, ideas, activity, and work in the SMGSA, its members, and the SSC.

The researcher may engage in conversation with you about the work going on and what you do.

Notes will be taken on what is observed. Interviews (with consent) may take place when convenient for individuals to clarify observations about operations and what people do.

Document analysis of some documents given to the researcher will be completed.

Photographs may be taken of the offices, but no individuals unless granted permission.

Benefits of Research for SMGSA and SSC:

Highlight the strengths of local SFD programming and its benefits – which in turn, may help garner support from partners of SSC and SMGSA as well as its members.

Enhance understanding of how SFD is understood and implemented in Swaziland.

Provide recommendations and guidance for how SSC or the SMGSA and its members may be improved to operate more effectively and achieve social development.

Work with SMGSA, its members and the SSC to understand what is preventing their work from being successful and their ideas from being implemented (issues and concerns).

*Thank you for taking part in this research and I hope to learn from various individuals in the SMGSA, its member organizations, the Ministry of Sport, and the SSC! I look forward to meeting many of you throughout the research process and having the opportunity to learn about sport-for-development in Swaziland!*

## Appendix C - Verbal Script for Fieldwork

### **Participant-Observation Verbal Script for Conversation and Unstructured Interviewing when everyday conversations merge into opportunities for focused conversations about ideas and work being conducted in the organization.**

For example,

*“Thank you for sharing those ideas, I’m particularly interested in your thoughts about your experiences in the organization as I am conducting research for my Master’s thesis while I am here as an intern, would it be okay to ask you some further questions?”*

Note: if the conversation highlights the need for a more formal interview, the participant will be invited for a formal interview and at that stage written consent will be obtained prior to the semi-structured interview.

## Appendix D - Letter of Invitation to SMSSO and SSS Volunteers/Leaders

### (Interviews)

Title of Study: Exploring a sport-for-development organization: Understanding the institutional logics and work underlying SFD programming.

Principal Investigator: Dr. Lisa M. Kikulis, Chair/Associate Professor, Department of Sport Management, Brock University

Student Principal Investigator: Mitchell McSweeney, Master of Arts candidate, Department of Sport Management, Brock University

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

We (Dr. Lisa Kikulis and Mitchell McSweeney) invite you to participate in a research project being conducted within the Faculty of Applied Health Sciences at Brock University in Ontario, Canada. The purpose of the study is to come to understand how sport-for-development (SFD) influences individuals involved in SFD programmes and plays a role in their lives, and also seeks to explore how SFD is understood, implemented, and carried out in Swaziland.

Should you choose to participate, you will be asked to be involved in an in-depth interview, which typically lasts 60-90 minutes and are focused on your everyday activity and involvement with the SFD programme. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and at any point during the research process or during the interview you may withdraw with no negative consequences. Any data provided by you will be destroyed. You may decline to answer any questions you find inappropriate. Interviews will take place where and when it is convenient for you. Your identity will be kept confidential throughout the research process as well as in any documents or presentations upon the completion of the study.

During the interview, you will be asked to be recorded on tape for later research analysis, however it is optional and up to you if you wish to be recorded or not. Only the investigators named on this letter will be able to access the research files and documents, which will be stored in a password, protected computer and locked safe, in order to ensure confidentiality. The expected duration of the study will be 4 months.

This research may benefit the individuals of the SFD programme as well as the multi-sport organizations who run the programme, by providing suggestions for future policy and practice based on a deep understanding of the complex relations involved in the programme. It will also seek to advance the current understanding of SFD and build on the current knowledge associated with sport and international development. The results of this study will be made available to you if you are interested and a research report will be provided to the multi-sport organizations. If you agree to participate, please read the attached Consent form, and return one signed copy to the student principal investigator.

If you have any pertinent questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Brock University Research Ethics Officer (905 688-5550 ext 3035, [reb@brocku.ca](mailto:reb@brocku.ca)). If you have any questions, please feel free to contact either of us (see below for contact information).

Thank you,

Dr. Lisa M. Kikulis  
Chair and Associate Professor  
Department of Sport Management, Brock University  
905.688.5550 x.5004  
[lkikulis@brocku.ca](mailto:lkikulis@brocku.ca)

Mitchell McSweeney  
Master of Arts Candidate  
Faculty of Applied Health Sciences  
289.880.7744  
[mm10rj@brocku.ca](mailto:mm10rj@brocku.ca)

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through Brock University's Research Ethics Board [insert ethics file number].

**Appendix E - Informed Consent Form – SMGSA and SSC Volunteers/Leaders**  
**(Interviews)**

Project Title: Exploring a sport-for-development organization: Understanding the institutional logics and work underlying SFD programming.

Principal Investigator (PI): Dr. Lisa M. Kikulis, Associate Professor  
 Department of Sport Management  
 Brock University  
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Interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Interviewee: (please print) \_\_\_\_\_

- I have been given and have read the letter of invitation provided to me by the investigator's conducting the research.
- I understand that my participation in this study consists of participating in an interview lasting approximately 60-90 minutes. The interview focuses on your everyday activity and work related to the SFD programme, your thoughts on the programme purpose and effectiveness, and the role of sport in development.
- I understand this study will involve others who have been involved in the development and implementation of the SFD programme in separate interviews that will last approximately 60 to 90 minutes.
- I understand that the interview will be recorded, and that I may request that the recorder be turned off at any time, for any reason.
- I understand that the recording will be transcribed but they will not contain any personal identifiers and will be destroyed following transcription.
- I understand that participation in this study will have no risk or harm than that typically experienced in everyday life.
- I understand that all personal information will be kept strictly confidential and that all information will be coded so that my name will not be associated with specific responses. Recordings of interviews and other data collected will be stored with the researcher in a locked safe and secure, password protected computer in a secure location and will be kept there (audio recordings will be destroyed).
- I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason without penalty.
- I understand that if I choose to withdraw from the study, the data collected from my interview will be destroyed and not used.

- I understand that I may ask questions of the researchers at any point during the research process.
- I understand that I have no obligation to answer questions that I feel are inappropriate.
- I understand that there is no payment for participating in this research.
- I understand that only the researchers listed on this form will have access to the data.
- I understand that the findings of this study will be presented in written form to the Canadian and Swaziland multi-sport organizations that implement the SFD programme.
- I understand that the results of this study may be published in professional journals and presented at conferences.

If you have any questions about this study or require further information, please contact Mitchell McSweeney using the contact information provided above. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Research Ethics Board at Brock University [insert file #]. If you have any comments or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Research Ethics Office at (905) 688-5550 Ext. 3035, [reb@brocku.ca](mailto:reb@brocku.ca).

Thank you for your assistance in this project. Please keep a copy of this form for your records.

#### **CONSENT FORM**

I agree to participate in this study described above. I have made this decision based on the information I have read in the Information-Consent Letter. I have had the opportunity to receive any additional details I wanted about the study and understand that I may ask questions in the future. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

I have fully explained the procedures of this study to the above participant.

Researcher's signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix F - SMGSA Interview Guide

- 1) What do you do at your organization?
  - Position? How long have you worked at the SMGSA? What do you do in your everyday activities/work?
  
- 2) What is sport-for-development? How do you see SFD serving the participants of the SFD programme? How have you come to be involved in SFD?
  - Prompts: LIT programme, LVP programme, TRRFCC values
  
- 3) How are you involved in the SSC?
  - What specifically do you do? How does the SMGSA influence and play a role in the SSC (if at all)?
  
- 4) How does the SFD programme benefit individuals involved in programming?
  - What are the goals and purpose of the programmes? How does this relate to the everyday experiences of participants? How is SFD viewed in Swaziland and why is it important?
  
- 5) How has the programme been created, developed, maintained and changed?
  - When did the partnership between the CMGSA and SMGSA start? How does the CMGSA play a role in the SSC (if at all)? Are there any challenges or benefits of this partnership?
  - How is SFD programme policy and practice created and by whom? What concepts are integrated into the SSC to face social issues in Swaziland?
  
- 6) How is the SFD programme funded? How are you accountable to funders of the programme?
  
- 7) What is your view on interns and volunteers from the Global North working with the SSC? How are SSC volunteer leaders trained and selected? What guidelines do they follow and what activities do they implement?
  
- 8) How does the SSC benefits extend into the community and families of participants?
  
- 9) Is there anything I have forgotten to ask you or anything else you would like to say?

### **Appendix G - SSS Volunteers/Programme Leaders**

- 1) What do you do at the SSC?
  - Position? How long have you worked/been involved with the SSC? What do you do in your everyday activities/work? What made you want to be involved with SFD? What do you teach or seek to provide through SFD?
  - Prompts: sport development
- 2) What is sport-for-development? How do you see SFD serving the participants and people of the SSC?
- 3) How does the SSC benefit individuals involved in programming?
  - What are the goals and purpose of the programme? How does this relate to the everyday experiences of participants and your personal experiences?
  - Prompts: LIT programme, LVP programme, TRRFCC values
- 4) How are you trained and selected? What guidelines do you follow and what activities do you implement? How are these activities and guidelines shaped by and/or influenced by the SMGSA (or not)?
  - Prompts: creation of SFD, managing of SSC, relationships between workers and Margaret
- 5) How does the SSC benefits extend into the community and families of participants and you?
- 6) Is there anything I have forgotten to ask you or anything else you would like to say?
- 7) What would you like to see out of my research?

## Appendix H – Document Information Before and After Analysis Review

### Document Information Before Review

BEFORE REVIEW	BEFORE REVIEW	BEFORE REVIEW
File Folder (Category)	Total Number of Documents	Total Number of Pages (Microsoft Word)
Finance	2	4
SSC – Coaching – Coaching Association of South Africa	5	13
SSC – Coaching – SSC Coaching	8	11
SSC – Coaching – Specifically for Coaches	4	7
SSC - Culture	6	14
SSC - Forms	12	15
SSC - Futbolnet	53	136
SSC - Gymnastics	48	326
SSC – Leaders in Training	46	252
SSC – Lesson Plans and Skills	65	71
SSC – SSC Documents	10	41
SSC – SSC Handbook	5	37
SSC – SSC Reports and Schedule	29	112
SSC – SSC Rules	8	10
SSC - Other	27	52
SSC – LVP	40	220
SSC - TFCF	7	10
SSC – The New SSC and Updated SSC Documents	32	65
SSC - Volunteers	10	16
SMGSA	2	36
SMGSA – Other Documents	27	98
SMGSA – Women and Sport	3	17
No Folder (Minutes of Sport Trust Meeting)	1	3
<b>Total:</b>	<b>450</b>	<b>1566</b>

**Document Information After Review**

<b>AFTER REVIEW Category (In NVivo)</b>	<b>AFTER REVIEW Total Number of Documents</b>	<b>AFTER REVIEW Total Number of Pages</b>
SSC Documents – TRRFCC Values for Life Programme	1	39
SSC Documents – ‘How-to’s’	3	6
SSC Documents – Documents I Created	13	32
SSC Documents - Forms	12	14
SSC Documents - Futbolnet	3	3
SSC Documents – Job Descriptions	4	4
SSC Documents – Lesson Plans – Futbolnet	18	58
SSC Documents – Lesson Plans – Kids Athletics	17	33
SSC Documents – Lesson Plans – Other	9	12
SSC Documents – Lesson Plans – LVP	17	21
SSC Documents – LIT Documents – Manual Appendices	6	14
SSC Documents – LIT Documents – Manual Chapters	16	162
SSC Documents – LIT Documents – Manual for Facilitators	8	90
SSC Documents – LIT Documents – Manual Hand Outs	10	17
SSC Documents – LIT Documents – Manual Lifeskills	7	33
SSC Documents - Meetings	3	14
SSC Documents – Modules – Ministry of Sport	3	21
SSC Documents – Modules LVP Modules	12	73

SSC Documents – OAC Coaching	6	7
SSC Documents – OAC Reports	18	73
SSC Documents – Organizational Plans and Documents	5	35
SSC Documents – Other	11	24
SSC Documents – Rules and Procedures	10	13
SSC Documents – SA Gymnastics	34	221
SSC Documents – LVP	16	26
SSC Documents – Volunteer Documents	7	9
SMGSA Documents	22	99
SMGSA Documents – Coaching Documents	5	12
SMGSA Documents - PDFs	6	13
<b>Total:</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>1,178</b>

### Appendix I – NVivo Coding

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

- The SV4L is about training coaches and teaching sport education.

Reference 10 - 0.04% Coverage

- On what is being developed by these programmes: "Ok - the kids don't know sports - after this, they now know the sports." They only knew netball and soccer for sport, but the programmes teach them about new ones.

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

- On the purpose of the OAC: "It is to develop a skill to a child" and to "open opportunities". That is all he says

Reference 12 - 0.07% Coverage

- He explains as well that the OAC has workshops that he attends - "certain workshops that are special courses and they pay for me." What kind of courses? Courses on and about football, table tennis, and rope skipping. What does he learn at them? You learn the basics about the sports and about the rules of the sport. You also learn "how to dress up, what to wear for each sport."

Reference 13 - 0.06% Coverage

- On how the values help development: They help develop the image of a person and who they are. Each person who comes here, to the OAC, "I know how they are acting." It changes people. For example, if someone is short-tempered before, the values change them and easily adapt to laughing instead of crying.

Reference 14 - 0.06% Coverage

- On the outcomes or impact he hopes to make: Would like to see one of his kids competing internationally. "It's a pity I'm teaching table tennis only at the club." I want my kids to compete internationally, but the only practice they get is when they compete against each other, so it is not much.

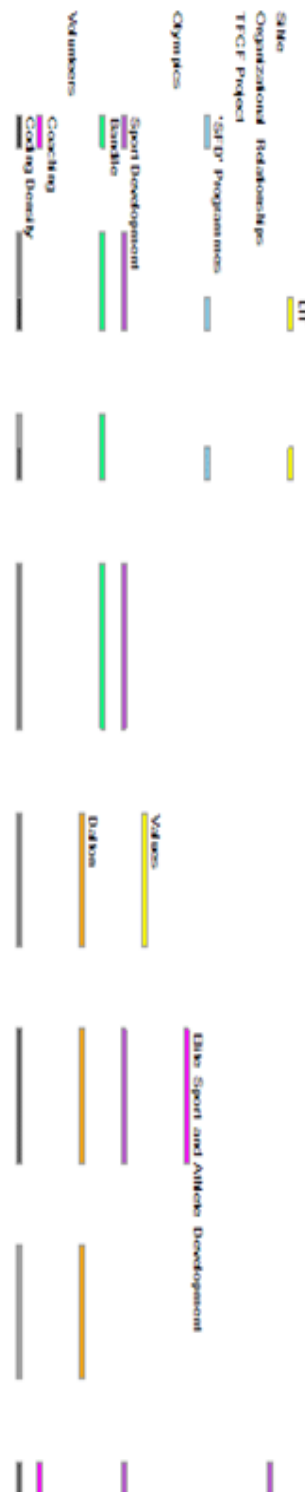
Reference 15 - 0.06% Coverage

- On what sport is doing for development: "We are shaping up." In the past, at SOCGA, we didn't qualify for anything. "Now countries near us, they know a match with a Swaziland, it is a tough game - we are known now." All the guys, they started early with the basics, good basics, "that's what we are about."

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

- coach for skipping,

References 17-18 - 0.19% Coverage



## Appendix J – Example of NVivo Theme: Leadership

**Name:** Leadership

**Description:** Leaders or leadership discussed by participants

<Internals\FieldNotes\Thesis Fieldnotes> -

Reference 1 - 0.05% Coverage

Margaret was talking to the volunteer at this point and how she has grown at the SSC: “he has grown, she is not as shy as she used to be –she’s still shy, but not as much.” The mother continued to nod and Thembile smiled shyly with her head still down, only glancing up quickly as she smiled.

Reference 2 - 0.05% Coverage

“How are you leaders?” He provides an example: Like today, “I say, you can’t use the courts because of their shoes...they ask ‘Where’s the washroom?’ I tell them where...that is how we are being leaders, we are telling them where to find stuff, what they can do, yeah.”

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

He encourages youth and kids to come to the SSC. He also encourages and tells people that there are many places to go through sport. It is not good to leave education behind however. He shows that sport can help in life

Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

What is being developed by programmes? “It opens minds and you can see the other side you are not seeing. It makes you have courage,” like coaching and speaking to others, it gives you courage.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

How does she display leadership: A long pause before she answers – “maybe you help.” You can be a leader to kids or can do things by myself, without the help of others because I know.

Reference 6 - 0.20% Coverage

On what they do at the SSC: (L) We are volunteers and we coach. (T) “We are leaders,” he says with a slight smile.

What do they do as leaders and coaches: Both add in comments after I ask. “We clean up the centre – OK, we used to clean up the centre.” Now, there is only one person who is cleaning at the centre they say. Giving me his name, they say that he is here most days cleaning. “What he told us,” is that before he started cleaning, he was told that he would be paid for doing it. He doesn’t know what happened to that (has been doing it for a long time). He was also promised to be brought to driving school and have it paid for. This was told to him inside a meeting in the SSC hall by Margaret before he started.

## Appendix K – List of Data Analysis Themes and Categories

<b>Themes and Categories</b>
<p><b>Development</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Sport Development</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Coaching</li> <li>- Elite Sport and Athlete Development               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Travel</li> <li>- Olympic Games</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>- <i>Education</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Leadership               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Confidence</li> </ul> </li> <li>- HIV/AIDS</li> <li>- Local Community</li> </ul> </li> <li>- <i>'SFD' Programmes</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- LIT</li> <li>- LVP</li> <li>- Positive Play Days</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><b>Organizational Work</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Communication</i></li> <li>- <i>Events</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ODR</li> </ul> </li> <li>- <i>Organizational Relationships</i></li> <li>- <i>Positive Play Days</i></li> <li>- <i>Sport Competitions</i></li> <li>- <i>TFCF Project</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Social Relations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Place and Space</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 'Bad things'</li> <li>- Home</li> </ul> </li> <li>- <i>Culture</i></li> <li>- <i>Gender</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 'Fishing'</li> </ul> </li> <li>- <i>Power Dynamics/Resistance</i></li> <li>- <i>Race</i></li> </ul> <p><b>Values</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Respect</i></li> <li>- <i>Volunteers/Workers</i></li> </ul>