

Sport and Social Capital: Perceptions of Sport for Development Organization
Leaders in Kigali, Rwanda

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Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
In
Planning, Governance, and Globalization

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July 8, 2020
Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords:
Sport for development, Social capital, Olympism, Civil society organizations, Rwanda

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations (2016) and International Olympic Committee (2015) have offered analyses highlighting sport's contributions to societal well-being. More particularly, and for their part, scholars have suggested that sport for development (SFD) initiatives can encourage the development of social capital (Kidd and Donnelly, 2007; Nicholson and Hoye, 2008; Lyras and Welty Peachy, 2011; Coalter, 2013). This dissertation investigated those researchers' claims by exploring the relationship between two SFD organization sports programs and social capital formation among their youth participants in Kigali, Rwanda. I conducted semi-structured interviews with the leaders of both SFD entities to obtain their perceptions concerning whether and how the efforts I examined were linked to social capital creation. I utilized the World Bank's Social Capital Initiative Networks View of social capital for my analysis (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). This study's participants, coaches and curriculum designers, argued that sport for development initiatives fostered such relationships in a variety of ways, including easing ethnic divisions among those participating and challenging social norms, especially as related to gender. Those interviewed for this inquiry also suggested that SFD programs encouraged the formation of simultaneous amalgams of bonding and bridging social capital among participating youth; novel and potentially powerful evidence of the efficacy of sport programming.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

The United Nations (2016) and International Olympic Committee (2015) have each highlighted the significant contributions sport has made, and can make, to societal well-being. Previous research has suggested that sport for development (SFD) initiatives encourage these results by encouraging the development of social capital (Kidd and Donnelly, 2007; Nicholson and Hoyer, 2008; Lyras and Welty Peachy, 2011; Coalter, 2013). This inquiry explored the relationship between SFD and three forms of social capital as perceived by interviewees drawn from the leaders of two such nongovernmental programs in Kigali, Rwanda. The study utilized the Networks View of social capital developed by the World Bank's Social Capital Initiative to examine whether sport for development initiatives fostered social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). According to this study's participants, such efforts did indeed promote social capital in a variety of ways, including easing ethnic divides and challenging social norms related to gender. Additionally, interviewees also suggested that SFD programs encouraged the formation of simultaneous bundles of bonding and bridging social capital among participating youth; novel and potentially powerful evidence of the efficacy of sport programming.

Dedication

To those who work for civil society organizations and devote their time and talent to the welfare of others.

“Aside from the public facilities, the nature of community relationships can be very important, as the recent literature on ‘social capital’ has tended to emphasize.”

Amartya Sen, Nobel Memorial Prize Winner in Economic Sciences

“The power of sports is far more than symbolic. You are engines of economic growth. You are a force for gender equality. You can bring youth and others in from the margins, strengthening the social fabric. You can promote communication and help heal the divisions between peoples, communities and entire nations.”

Louise Frechette, former United Nations Deputy Secretary General

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my committee chair, Max Stephenson. Little did I know when this project began that he would have such an impact on my life. I assumed, rightly, that he would shape my academic work and this project, but his influence has extended beyond this project – and for that I am grateful. I would also like to thank John Dooley, who has mentored me for years in countless ways. I am grateful for his time, energy and vision. To Jocelyn Widmer – I admired your approach to academic work from the first moment I entered your class. You were ahead of the field in thought at the time and you remain so. To David Kniola, you saw this project forming in its very infancy and I am grateful that you saw it through and stood by my side through completion. To my entire committee, early on, Max said “life happens” during the graduate degree journey. No statement could have been truer and I am grateful for your encouragement, direction, and influence.

Additionally, I would like to thank the sport for development organization employees and leaders who participated in this research. My hope is that your efforts and your influence in Rwanda will continue and deepen.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family. To my wife, Meredith White, this academic journey included many sacrifices on your part, and I am indebted to you for your support. Our lives are much different now than when this project began and, yet, there is no one else with whom I would want to walk through the highs and lows of life. To our children, Addie, Will, Amelia, and Abigail ... Dad doesn't have any more homework to do!

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List of Acronyms

CSO – Civil Society Organization
IOC – International Olympic Committee
ISA – International Sport Alliance
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals
MINISPOC – Ministry of Sport and Culture
NGO – Non-governmental Organization
SCI – Social Capital Index
SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals
SDP – Sport for Development and Peace
SDP IWG – Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
SFD – Sport for Development
SFDT – Sport for Development Theory
UN – United Nations
UNIATFSIP – United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport and International Development
UNOSDP – United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace
YSC – Youth Sport Commission

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Map of Africa Highlighting Rwanda

Figure 1



(Source: Nations Online, 2019)

Map of Rwanda

Figure 2



(Source: Nations Online, 2019)

Chapter 1

Introduction

Sports have long been credited with making positive contributions to civil society within the context of international development. For example, the 2016 edition of the *UN* (United Nations) *Chronicle*, the magazine of the world body, was devoted to sport's role in international development and its benefits to society (UN, 2016a). That *Chronicle* issue was timely for at least two reasons. First, it came on the heels of the 2016 Summer Olympic Games held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, which had just captured worldwide interest. Secondly, the title of the edition, "Sport Aims for the Goals" referenced the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), adopted in 2015. The issue described sport as "an important enabler" of international development, peace building, and social progress (UN, 2016). The volume's editors cited then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's concise summary of the United Nations and International Olympic Committee's (IOC) shared values and collaborative efforts, stating, "Olympic principles are United Nations principles" (UN, 2016). Beyond the connections the *Chronicle*'s editors drew between sport and development, the issue's publication symbolized the fact that sport today plays a significant role in international development discourse.

Representatives of major international development institutions have frequently referenced the role of sport in civil society in recent decades. As of this writing and since 1993, for example, the UN has adopted 25+ resolutions/declarations/charters directly addressing the role(s) of sport in international development and societal well-being. The world body has explicitly acknowledged a connection and mutual partnership with the IOC in many of these agreements, thereby fixing the place of sport on the international agenda.

The IOC has stressed sport's role in service to humanity and society in its Principles of Olympism. These values are credited to Pierre de Coubertin, best known as the founder of the International Olympic Committee and father of the Modern Olympic Games (Syrigos, 2009). De Coubertin sought to express the holistic value of sport through Olympism and described it, "as [in] the service of the harmonious development of humankind ... concerned with the preservation of human dignity" (IOC, 2015, p. 13). Indeed, former UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon referenced de Coubertin's statement of Olympic Games principles and argued they aligned directly with the foundational values of the United Nations (UN, 2016).

Sport for Development (SFD) organizations aspire to have a broad influence on those they serve. Participants bring the entire tableau of their lives to such programs, including their relationships, health, education, employment, and social challenges. While each SFD organization has a specific set of goals and an accompanying mission statement, the broader community of such entities strives to influence participants in the name of a wide range of possible developmental outcomes. Sport potentially offers more, therefore, than organized competitive opportunities alone. It can encourage participants to engage in genuine interactions with others involved. Barrena described this characteristic well when he noted, "sports are social creations that take many forms as they are shaped and defined by people interacting with each other" (2017. p. 117).

The Swiss Academy for Development operates the website SportandDev.org as a central resource for practitioners and researchers interested in the roles of sport in development (Sport and Dev, 2019). The platform lists more than 1,000 SFD organizations operating in nations around the globe. Even a cursory review of a share of the mission statements of those institutions

highlights SFD's emphasis on inclusive development. The aims of several well-known international sport for development organizations listed below illustrate this point:

- (a) *Grassroot Soccer*: an adolescent health organization that leverages the power of soccer to educate, inspire, and mobilize at-risk youth in developing countries to overcome their greatest health challenges, live healthier, more productive lives, and be agents for change in their communities (Grassroot Soccer, 2019).
- (b) *Shooting Touch*: An international sport-for-development organization that uses the power of sport to educate and empower at-risk youth, women and their communities to live healthier lives (Shooting Touch, 2019).
- (c) *Kids Play International*: Promote gender equity through sport and Olympic values in post-genocide countries (Kids Play International, 2019).
- (d) *Right To Play*: Protect, educate and empower children to rise above adversity using the power of play (Right To Play, 2019).

Various researchers have sought to examine how sport contributes to international development and civil society. Existing scholarship has explored the failure of current strategies and paradigms and sport's potential contributions to development and democratic possibility at the community level through its links to social capital. While I am particularly interested in the role(s) of sport for development from a human development, or human freedoms, perspective, I explore each of these sub-literatures briefly below.

First, many researchers have argued that sport has a positive impact on society (Coalter, 2006; Green, 2008; IOC, 2015; Kidd, 2008; UN 2016). These analysts have suggested that this is due to its inherent communal, participatory, and inclusive qualities (Coalter, 2006; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; SPD IWG, 2007). Additionally, scholars have credited sport with capacity to address broad development goals and to help to attain a range of outcomes related to such initiatives. For example, the UN and IOC have identified specific means by which sport was expected to contribute to realization of the Millennium Development and Sustainable Development Goals (MDGs and SDGs) (IOC, 2015; UNOSDP, 2013, 2015). The MDGs (see Appendix F) and SDGs (see Appendix G) articulated broad preferred development outcomes,

such as poverty alleviation, economic development, education, health, sustainable communities and peace, among others. Scholars have further specified those aims to include youth and leadership development, and health education (Kidd, 2008, Nicholls, 2012, Right to Play, 2014, SDP IWG, 2007). The ways in which advocates have suggested that sport may contribute to these social goals seems to grow daily, giving sport a panacea-like status among many as a mechanism through which to address perceived social ills.

Secondly, those within the field of sport for development have criticized traditional strategies as relying unduly on material well-being and vertical hierarchies that subjugate local knowledge (Coalter, 2013; Levermore, 2008; Nicholls, 2012). This criticism has extended well beyond sport to include development agencies, practitioners, economists, and scholars (SDP IWG, 2007). The failures of current approaches often stem from a fixation on material and economic factors. Critics of this dominant perspective have called for a change to a more encompassing, human freedoms view of development that acknowledges individual needs, agency, and capacities (Giugale, 2014; Moyo, 2010; Sen, 1999; Schaff, 2013). This change contextualizes *poverty* as more than a description of relative economic deprivation and includes, in addition, an individuals' overall well-being, physical security, and intellectual opportunities (Coalter, 2006; Giugale, 2014). Those who offer this argument have suggested that if international developers intend to improve the lives of the poor, they must embrace a definition of poverty that extends beyond the material (Giugale, 2014; Right to Play, 2014).

A third thread of research has emerged that has explored sport's relationship to community change through the promotion of social capital (Coalter, 2013; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008). This growing body of work has examined the relationship between sport and social capital, both theoretically and empirically (Kidd &

Donnelly, 2007; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Indeed, leading social theorists such as Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1998), and Putnam (2000) have specifically cited sport as a contributor to social capital for its communal properties and suggested these constitute keys to social integration and civic participation (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). The scholars have also contended that these attributes can allow sport to move beyond general contributions to community development to play a significant role in the creation of social capital (Coalter, 2006; Green, 2008; Nicholls, 2012; UNIATFSIP, 2003).

Nevertheless, gaps remain in existing analyses and understanding of the roles of sport in social development that merit further exploration and consideration. Although athletics may contribute positively to society at large, the specific means by which it does so have not yet been fully explored. While sport has been shown to influence social capital formation, for example, the precise values and characteristics that it influences remain unclear. More, if sport plays such roles, how exactly does it do so? Are there any negative social effects of sport for development? Additionally, sport alone is not adequate to address the complexity of international development goals and desired outcomes, nor should it be positioned as an answer to all social ills. Are those who wish to use sport as a tool for development considering its potential shortcomings or negative social outcomes? This study is designed to address these concerns and thereby to offer conceptual and empirical contributions to the field of sport for development.

Purpose of the Study

This analysis examined whether, and to what extent, those offering sport for development initiatives perceive that they foster social capital, a proposition widely argued by multilateral institution representatives, civil society organization leaders, and scholars alike. Many civil society organizations now seek to employ sport as a tool for development and the UN has

commissioned some of those to develop recommendations to national governments concerning how to maximize sport's potential positive roles in community change (Hillyer et al., 2013; Right to Play, 2014). Meanwhile, several scholars have drawn empirical linkages between sport and social capital formation (Coalter, 2013; Kidd & Donnelly, 2007; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). This study explored the relationship between social capital and sport for development, as perceived by a sample of civil society organization (CSO) leaders actively engaged in seeking to employ athletics for such purposes.

To pursue this objective, I investigated two sport for development CSOs directly involved in community programs in Kigali, Rwanda: Youth Sport Commission (YSC) and International Sport Alliance (ISA) (both titles are pseudonyms). All participants in this study were employees of one of these organizations at the time this inquiry was conducted. I explored their perceptions of the relationship between sport and social capital through in-depth, semi-structured interviews. I asked interviewees to share their views concerning whether sport contributes to specific forms of social capital, including: bonding social capital (interpersonal relationships within the same social group), bridging social capital (relationships between and among individuals that cross social divides and/or groups), and the "dark side" (negative social consequences of shared norms and beliefs) of social capital (Putnam, 2000).

I chose SFD leaders as the entrée for my research, given their accessibility and lived experience with the phenomenon. I consider this research a perceptions-based study that drew on one set of stakeholders whose perspectives offered a unique vantage point from which to consider the phenomenon in which I was interested.

Rwanda in Context

Rwanda suffered a mass genocide in 1994 that left nearly 1 million people dead during a three-month period (Kinzer, 2008). The bloodshed constituted one of the most rapid mass killings in recorded history (Colletta & Cullen, 2000) as members of the Hutu tribe murdered Tutsis. The origins of this tragedy can be traced to Belgium's rule of Rwanda from 1916-1962. Prior to Belgian colonial governance, the Hutu and Tutsi coexisted peacefully (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). However, in 1926 the Belgian government conducted a census that required Rwandans to indicate their ethnic identity as either Hutu or Tutsi (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). Differences in the groups prior to this event were primarily occupational and not based on tribal affiliation. The census and further government actions thereafter deepened divisions through a continued emphasis on ethnic identity and contrived differences. Although the genocide in 1994 recorded the most deaths, violence between the Hutu and Tutsi occurred regularly between 1926 and 1994, forcing many Rwandans, mostly Tutsi, to migrate to neighboring countries. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi rebel army, ultimately ended the 1994 killings militarily and forced the ruling Hutus to flee to refugee camps beyond Rwanda's borders. Many Rwandans who fled the country returned once order and safety was established.

Currently, this small central African nation has recovered from "civil war and genocide more fully than anyone imagined possible and is united, stable, and at peace" (Kinzer, 2008, p. 2). The World Economic Forum has highlighted the fact that Rwanda is presently experiencing rapid economic growth, poverty reduction, and improvements in life expectancy, literacy, primary school enrollment, and spending on healthcare (Hutt, 2016). Under the direction of President Paul Kagame, who also led the RPF, the nation has detailed a vision for its future in a strategic document called Rwanda 2020. That analysis embraced four aims, the first of which

was “reconstruction of the nation and social capital” (Republic of Rwanda, 2000, p. 6).

However, the country continues to face many challenges, including rapid population growth, a landlocked geography, and unresolved tensions amongst its citizens (Kinzer, 2008).

The Ministry of Sports and Culture (MINISPOC), a public agency, has positioned sport as a significant component of the social fabric in Rwanda and has adopted a Sports Development Policy that includes a key role for athletics in the country’s growth and future (Republic of Rwanda, 2012). The nation’s government is now promoting sport throughout Rwandan society without regard to gender, age, or physical capacity (Ntambara, 2014). Makuza has observed that sports play a unique role in Rwanda and are “understood as vehicles for uniting the country at all levels and promoting development” (2011, para. 1). The Rwanda National Olympic Committee and MINISPOC are also active in promoting sport across the nation. Additionally, the country’s capital city, Kigali, annually hosts sporting events designed to encourage social reconciliation and to build peace (Makuza, 2011), including an International Peace Marathon, the only such race in the world dedicated to peacebuilding. As one effort to increase the visibility of sport and to encourage the public to engage in physical exercise as well, the national government allows its employees to take every Friday afternoon off to engage in athletic activities (Ntambara, 2014). Rwanda has employed programs such as these as it has sought seriously to develop sport within society as one means to support a healthier and more peaceful population (Ntambara, 2014).

As detailed above Rwanda presents its own set of unique social challenges by which to consider social capital. Ethnic divisions, migration of citizens, and the ultimate return of refugees are all particular realities within Rwanda’s context. Sporting activities are too a cultural reality and shape a portion of society at-large in Rwanda. My inquiry exists within these realities and

will consider how, if at all, social capital formation, or the possibility of such formation, and the ways in which it can be diffused from individuals to broader collectivities.

Significance of the Study

This study builds upon a large literature that has suggested that sport can be an effective tool that civil society organizations can employ to build social capital in communities. However, that scholarship currently exhibits gaps in two areas. The first is a virtual absence of qualitative research in the field. The relative dearth of this form of inquiry has de facto complicated development progress by failing to investigate the local knowledge and lived experiences that such methodologies are particularly strong in revealing. Qualitative inquiry yields thick descriptions, rich data, and an understanding of social nuance; so not having such work widely available in this field is problematic (Creswell, 2013; Groenewald, 2004). Secondly, as noted above, few analysts have explored which particular dimensions of sport for development initiatives can promote social capital (Brown, Hoye, & Nicholson, 2014; Hoye, Nicholson, & Brown, 2015; Jarvie, 2003). This study documents SFD nongovernmental organization employees' perceptions concerning the relationship between sport and various forms of social capital.

Levermore (2011) and Coalter (2006, 2009), both leading scholars in the field of sport for development, have suggested that such study requires a qualitative approach to develop robust understanding. For his part, given the eclectic range of such initiatives, Levermore has argued that sport “is not a conducive environment to try to evaluate using standard, quantitative development data” (2011, p. 341). Linear, market-oriented models tend to produce “easy empirical generalizations” that neglect “the relatively chaotic lives” of sport program managers and participants (Coalter, 2009). Quantitative methodologies, influenced heavily by

contemporary development strategies, have neglected interpersonal relationships and failed to develop a leavened understanding of the beliefs, experiences and perceptions of those directly involved in these development programs. On the other hand, qualitative approaches can employ a human freedoms approach that seeks to capture individuals' life experiences (SDP IWG, 2007). This approach to inquiry can lead to a deeper understanding of what activities may encourage the development of social capital.

In accord with Levermore and Coalter's arguments concerning sport for development research, Creswell has reasoned that quantitative approaches do not adequately address certain social concerns, including, critically, those seeking to take into consideration the lived experiences of those studied. He has summarized when to use qualitative methods as follows:

We also use qualitative research because quantitative measures and statistical analyses simply do not fit the problem. Interactions among people, for example, are difficult to capture with existing measures, and these measures may not be sensitive to issues such as gender differences, race, economic status, and individual differences. To level all individuals to a statistical mean overlooks the uniqueness of individuals in our studies. Qualitative approaches are simply a better fit for our research problem (2013, p. 48).

Qualitative methodologies incorporate local knowledge and the lived experiences of those involved in sport for development programs. Building on Levermore and Coalter's arguments, Nicholls (2012) has suggested that sport for development policy lacks meaningful contributions from those directly participating in such offerings, thereby subjugating local knowledge. She has contended that, "the failure of development professionals to recognize the privileging of Northern knowledge and the subsequent colonial subjugation of Southern knowledge creates a cycle of dominance that ignores grassroots practitioners' valuable contributions to the strengthening of development practices" (2012, p. 160). Qualitative inquiry can allow, indeed, encourage, the investigator to value the practical knowledge of grassroots, civil society practitioners and include their views in current discourse. Further, qualitative

measures create a space to challenge vertical, North-South binaries and allow “all parties to influence the sport in development process” (Nicholls, 2012, p. 2).

Many scholars have discussed sport’s ability to promote social capital at the community level. Few, however, have investigated the particular dimensions of social capital that sport undertaken at that scale may, or may not, promote. The prominent Canadian NGO Right to Play is one of the founding organizations of the sport for development movement and it remains one of the most influential actors in the field. In 2007, Right to Play published *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments* as a compilation of the findings of the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG). SDP IWG, commissioned by the UN, consisted of leading scholars, government representatives, UN agency emissaries, and CSO leaders to provide guiding principles for the field. The report positioned sport as a tool to promote social capital within a human development framework (Right to Play, 2007). The Working Group highlighted sport’s ability to promote networks, social inclusion, and community identity (Right to Play, 2007). However, its authors did not discuss how sport creates such social capital.

Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011) have provided an important contribution by developing Sport for Development Theory (SFDT). Indeed, their framework stands as one of the few specific conceptualizations within the field. The SFDT sought to describe how “sport interventions can most effectively promote social change and development” (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p. 311). The theory was designed to examine “the attributes and procedures that can increase efficiency in the initiation, management, assessment, and effectiveness of educational sport programmes” (Hancock, Lyras, & Ha, 2013, p. 2). However, SFDT referred to sport’s ability to promote social capital generally and did not outline which dimensions of social

capital athletics can influence or how. The SDP IWG and SFDT together summarized the discourse of the field well and each has been quite influential. The lack of analysis of specific characteristics of social capital and their links to sport in these works provides opportunities for further empirical and theoretical contributions to the field.

A handful of scholars have suggested that further research should occur to consider the means by which sport may promote social capital. Hoye and Nicholson, for example, have suggested that the current literature has, “focused on conceptualizing the potential linkages between social capital and sport rather than attempting to establish these links empirically” (2011, p. 461). Jarvie concluded that it is “unrealistic to expect sport to sustain a notion of social capital” without measuring its specific dimensions and correlation to those factors (2003). Brown et al. have considered whether sport influences trust levels within a community and reasoned that it was, “important for both theoretical and policy debates to begin to specify the relationships between sport participation and social capital measures more exactly” (2014, p.438). Lastly, Hoye et al. have provided evidence that sport influences social connectedness, yet they also questioned exactly what it is about sport that promotes those ties (2015, p. 17).

I designed this project to address these gaps in the literature and to consider whether and how those employing it for development believe sport may promote certain dimensions of social capital. Specifically, I was interested in investigating whether sport deepened relationships within existing networks (bonding social capital), promoted boundary spanning relationships (bridging social capital), and to what extent, if any, negative outcomes resulted from the use of sport at the community level. As I discuss further below, I relied on the World Bank’s Social Capital Initiative (SCI) for the definition of social capital I employed (Woolcock & Narayn, 2000).

Dissertation Outline

This study comprises six chapters as well as relevant appendices. Chapter 1 outlines the purpose and significance of the study. Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature related to my inquiry. Chapter 3 describes this effort's research design, including relevant research concepts, the sample, and strategies used to increase validity, reliability, and generalizability. The chapter also details the methods employed in the inquiry. In addition, Chapter 3 discusses data collection methods and management strategies, and researcher positionality. Chapter 4 provides interview findings concerning my research questions and highlights the major themes that arose from the inquiry. I illustrated my findings with quotations from study participants. Chapter 5 provides a detailed analysis of this study's themes, including an exploration of the forms of social capital presented within the research and how this study addressed current gaps in the relevant literature. Chapter 6 summarizes the dissertation's results and outlines their theoretical and practical implications. It also provides recommendations for future research. The appendices include the IRB-approved consent and recruitment forms for the study, the interview protocol, and relevant documents related to the dissertation's animating purposes.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Sport as a Tool for Development

Former UN Deputy Secretary General Louise Frechette has neatly summarized the case for employing sport within international development discourse and practice:

The power of sports is far more than symbolic. You are engines of economic growth. You are a force for gender equality. You can bring youth and others in from the margins, strengthening the social fabric. You can promote communication and help heal the divisions between peoples, communities and entire nations. You can set an example of fair play. Last but not least, you can advocate a strong and effective United Nations (Louise Frechette, former UN Deputy Secretary General, as quoted in Coalter, 2006, p. 1)

In recent years, the field of sport for development has gained salience with practitioners, nongovernmental and international organizations, and scholars (Hillyer, S. et al., 2013; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). The United Nations has adopted more than twenty-five General Assembly Resolutions promoting the use of sport in development efforts and positioning such initiatives within UN agencies (United Nations, 2016). These have recognized sport as a “simple, low-cost, and effective means of achieving development goals” (SDP IWG, 2007, p. 3). In a criticism of former aid paradigms Levermore has noted a failure of “traditional, orthodox development strategies” in effectively raising living standards and alleviating poverty (2008, p. 56). He proposed sport as a tool, or “alternative engine,” to occupy a perceived gap in development strategies to drive development (Levermore, 2008, p. 56). Top UN officials, working with a broad range of international leaders, have noticed this opportunity as well: “what was missing, however, was a systematic approach to an important sector in civil society: sport” (Coalter, 2006, p. 1). In 2002, Kofi Annan, then-Secretary General of the UN, in agreement with Deputy Secretary General Frechette quoted above, argued:

Sport can play a role in improving the lives of individuals, not only individuals, I might add, but whole communities. I am convinced that the time is right to build on that understanding, to encourage governments, development agencies and communities to think how sport can be included more systematically in the plans to help children, particularly those living in the midst of poverty, disease and conflict (cited in Coalter, 2006, p. 1).

This view credits sport with the ability to address an abundance of development objectives. The UN has suggested that sport is “by its very nature about participation,” and by means of inclusion “brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides” (UNIATFSDP, 2003, p. v). Sport has been associated with the reduction of disease and viewed as an effective tool to encourage social mobilization to support health education. It has also been credited with a “convening power” that provides “healthy alternatives to harmful actions” (UNIATFSDP, 2003, p. v). Kidd has recognized sport as a means to “enhance the education, health and well-being of participants” (2008, p. 376). Levermore has summarized the benefits of sport for its capacities, among other attributes: to promote conflict resolution, encourage cultural understanding, help to develop physical and social infrastructures, raise educational awareness (such as the dangers of HIV/AIDS), conduce to the empowerment of individuals (often concerning how sport can encourage agential expression by girls and women), stimulate participation in healthful activities and contribute to economic development (2008, p. 56). Barrena (2017) has also offered a summary of sports’ role in development work, which is captured below in Table 1.

Table 1

Potential of Sport for International Development

Potential of Sport in International Development
1. Sport as a provider of human rights
2. Sport as an instrument for peacebuilding
3. Sport as a preventive tool in the reduction of citizen vulnerabilities
4. Sport as a curative method: psychosocial sport programs
5. Sport as a fundraising awareness and advocacy vehicle

Source: adapted from Barrena, 2017, p. 116

Sport has many historical connections to development and peace. Pierre de Coubertin's vision for the Modern Olympic Games, Olympism, and making sport available for all, not just elite athletes, provides a significant framework for the purposes of this study (Culpan & Wigmore, 2009). In addition to de Coubertin's vision, and as Kidd (2008) has highlighted, additional seminal international agreements have placed sport in the broader discourse of international development, including:

1. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
2. UNESCO's International Charter on Physical Education and Sport (1978)
3. The International Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990)
4. The International Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006).

Sport has also found its way onto the 21st century international development agenda, primarily marked, as noted above, by aspirations set by United Nations member states, including the Millennium Development and Sustainable Development Goals (UNOSDP, 2015, IOC, 2015).

Olympism as a Framework for Development

The first Olympic Games were held in 776 BC in Olympia, Greece. From its inception, this iconic athletic event has had a direct connection to international relations and peace, a commitment formalized in the Olympic Truce (Syrigos, 2009). The games were initially created in order to “bring a temporary halt to the fighting between ancient Greece’s warring city-states (Syrigos, 2009, p. 21). The Olympic Truce and corresponding games allowed for safe passage to and from Olympia for athletes, officials, and spectators (Syrigos, 2009). The games were initially designed not only with peace in mind, but also with that goal as central to their very existence. The Frenchmen Pierre de Coubertin led the [re]birth of the modern Olympic Games beginning in 1896 (Binder, 2001; Culpin & Wigmore, 2010; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011; Syrigos, 2009) and he did so on the basis of their original philosophy and with their foundational moral aims (Lyras & Peachy, 2011).

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has articulated the Fundamental Principles of Olympism (2015) in the Olympic Charter and these reflect de Coubertin’s original vision. The Charter highlights seven key values, of which three were directly germane to this research:

1. Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. 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 universal fundamental ethical principles.
2. The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.

3. The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play (IOC, 2015, p. 13).

Amongst other goals for sport, de Coubertin sought to establish athletics within community settings outside the Olympic Games that would instill values and moral strength (Binder, 2001; Culpan & Wigmore, 2010). In this way, as noted by Lyras and Welty Peachey, “the values and principles of Olympism serve as a framework for the development of both traditional and non-traditional sports and physical activity offerings” (2011, p. 322). Olympism provides ideals for sport for development initiatives (IOC, 2015). With Olympism in mind, and as noted above, Lyras and Welty Peachey developed the Sport for Development Theory, that sought to “showcase how sport interventions can most effectively promote social change and development” (2011, p. 311). Their complex conceptualization consisted of five components and involved a multidisciplinary approach to sport for development. Of specific relevance to this inquiry, the SFDT called on researchers to “utilize Olympism as a framework of inclusion, inspiration and engagement” (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p. 314). Moreover, Lyras and Welty Peachey drew a direct connection between Olympism and social capital in their SFDT.

This study utilized the values and principles of Olympism as an overarching structure that guides sport for development initiatives, as suggested by the SFDT (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). The second principle of Olympism particularly, concerning peace and human dignity, served as an important frame for my interest in exploring how Rwandan sport for development organization leaders described the relationship between sport and social capital. I say more about this below.

Social Capital and the World Bank

The development literature has increasingly focused on the importance of social capital in recent decades. The World Bank launched its Social Capital Initiative (SCI) in 1996 to “help advance the theoretical understanding and the practical relevance” of social capital and its contributions to development (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001, p. xi). The SCI produced 12 studies and a series of 24 working papers assessing the impact of social capital, exploring the processes of its formation and establishing means to monitor and measure it (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001, p. xi). Those analyses augmented social capital theory and practice within the development literature and resulted in a number of critical publications within sport for development scholarship (Coalter, 2013; Nicholson & Hoyer, 2008; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Taken together, the World Bank initiative “provided strong evidence that social capital is a pervasive ingredient and determinant of progress” in a variety of development projects (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001, p. xi). SCI analysts argued that their emphasis on social capital and civil society reflected a realization that previous perspectives concerning development had been too strictly focused on its economic dimensions.

While arguing that social capital plays a critical role in social cohesion and trust, Colletta and Cullen (2000) have observed that operationalizing the phenomenon and demonstrating its outcomes and impacts remains a chief concern and significant challenge for development agencies. This task is complicated by the many dimensions of social capital discussed in the relevant literature, including:

- social cohesion and norms
- interpersonal relationships
- trust

- networks.

In their SCI work for the World Bank, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) outlined four perspectives of the phenomenon that have emerged in the social capital and development literature; the Communitarian, Networks, Institutional and Synergy views. Each perspective had important implications for development research (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

The Networks View of Social Capital

The Networks View emphasizes both intra-(bonding social capital) and inter-personal (bridging social capital) ties and therefore fit the purposes of my research neatly. Such ties include horizontal and vertical relationships, concepts critical to a more holistic view of development that considers both the “upside” and “downside,” or dark side, of social capital (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7; Putnam, 2000). Combined, bonding and bridging social capital and the dark side of social capital exhibit “a range of outcomes that can be attributed” to the phenomenon and provide a more nuanced perspective than the other frames outlined by World Bank analyses (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). The Network View allows for consideration of the “tension between social capital’s virtues and vices” in an effort to depict accurately its role in development projects (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7).

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

Woolcock and Narayan have suggested that, as a logical conclusion, “there must be two basic dimensions of social capital at the community level,” specifically bonding and bridging social capital (2000, p. 8). Putnam has argued that bonding and bridging social capital constitute separate dimensions and both forms have since become salient concepts within the literature (Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1993; Schulenkorf, 2013; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The Network View operationalizes these concepts in a way that provides researchers opportunities to explore

both their positive and negative impacts for development projects. Bonding social capital emphasizes intra-community “connections or social networks between homogeneous groups of people” (Schulenkorf, 2013, p. 26). Intra-community ties can be important in reinforcing a sense of identity and existing relationships, but they can also exclude those outside such networks. Bridging social capital, however, broadens the reach of external ties that quite often cross divides, including those created by religion, class, ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). While bridging social capital provides opportunities to create more diverse and inclusive networks, it often results in weaker relationships than those typical of bonding social capital. Table 2 presents the defining features of bonding and bridging social capital.

Table 2

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital Distinctions

	Community ties	Strength of ties	Emphasis of ties	Direction of ties	Network ties
Bonding	Intra-community	Strong	Sense of identity	Horizontal	Internal
Bridging	Inter-community	Weak	Cross social divides	Vertical	External

Its bonding and bridging forms must be given equal consideration at the community level to understand better the range of social capital’s outcomes (Coalter, 2013; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). As noted above, Colletta and Cullen (2000) have expressed concern regarding the operationalization of social capital. Yet the construct’s bonding and bridging valences provide not only a response to those trepidations, but also a means by which analysts can measure its outcomes. However, once the dimensions of social capital have been operationalized, the

challenge remains to identify the conditions in which positive and negative bonding and bridging social capital occurs (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

The Dark Side of Social Capital

What Woolcock and Narayan (2000) refer to as the “downside” of social capital is also referenced as its “dark side” throughout the literature (Coalter, 2013; Putnam, 2000). Social capital’s potential for unequal distribution is equally relevant in sport for development as “... the relationship between sport and social capital has an equal chance of being either positive or negative” (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008, p. 12). The dark side argument recognizes social capital distribution may be unequal or stratified and therefore may function in such cases as a source of exclusion (Coalter, 2013). In this view, finite resources exist within a community and “those who are not members of social networks are disadvantaged by not having access to the privilege(s) that come with membership” (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008, p. 4). Essentially, individuals not engaged with networks are denied the benefits they can confer (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Woolcock and Narayan have contended that exclusion from social networks and institutions is in fact a “defining feature” of being poor (2000, p. 3). The Network View of SC recognizes this concern and sensitizes the analyst to the potential positive and negative outcomes of social capital.

The Junction of Sport and Social Capital

As noted above, within the relatively young field of sport for development, a share of scholarly discourse has explored whether a linkage exists between athletics and social capital. Skinner et al., for example, have proposed that of the “various social elements within a community, sport is widely recognized as a way to build positive social capital” (Skinner et al., 2008, p. 260). Nicholson and Hoye have pointed out that, “politicians, academics, sport

administrators, policymakers, journalists, athletes and commentators” often assume that sport may create, develop and maintain social capital on the basis of that argument’s intuitive appeal (2008, p. 2). Yet empirical knowledge concerning exactly how sport accomplishes these tasks remains limited and undeveloped (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

Many sport for development proponents have argued that a connection between sport and social capital does indeed exist. As I have argued above, Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011), for example, have explicitly connected sport and social capital in their Sport for Development Theory. Brown, Hoye, and Nicholson (2014), have found that sport, as a means of community participation, is positively associated with social capital and more specifically, generalized trust. Kidd and Donnelly have suggested, “that there is a link between sport volunteerism and social capital” (2007, p. 219). He has contended that sport provides opportunities for interpersonal exchanges and that “social capital is a resource that ... is mostly developed and accumulated through investments and exchanges made by social actors” (2007, p. 219). Coalter (2013) drew on Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam’s work on social capital to situate the phenomenon as a relevant component within the sport for development discourse. Nevertheless, he concluded that questions remained concerning how scholars understand the relationship between sport and social capital and “the extent to which such relationships can exist” (2013, p. 172).

Social Capital Theorists and Sport

Leading social capital theorists Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam have each separately pointed to connections between sport and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1998; Hoye & Nicholson, 2011; Putnam, 2000; Coalter, 2013). Portes has observed that both Bourdieu and Coleman stressed the “intangible character” of social capital as well as its ability, unlike other forms of capital, to shape the internal nature and structure of relationships (Portes, 1998, p. 7).

Putnam highlighted the relational aspect of social capital as well and drew attention to a link between sport and social capital (Nicholson & Hoyer, 2008). Nicholson and Hoyer have argued that, “the prevalence of the social capital concept within public policy generally and sport policy more specifically makes it imperative to critically assess” the relationship between sport and social capital (2008, p. 8).

Among leading theorists, Putnam’s connection of social capital to sport is most obvious, given the title of his most popular work, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000). In that analysis, the Harvard University scholar chronicled the sharp decline of participation in American bowling leagues, arguing that participants were now opting to participate in that sport alone, forgoing the community that organized competition provides. Other athletic and social organizations have experienced this same trend and Putnam drew attention to a shift in “the quest for fitness” from team sports to individual activities, such as jogging (Skinner, 2008, p. 8). Even more pointedly, Putnam, when referencing the transcending significance of bridging social capital in connecting with others, contended, “this is why team sports provide good venues for social capital creation” (Putnam, 2000, p. 411).

Coleman’s recognized that youth have options when choosing among the activities in which they engage and their selections can have either positive or negative outcomes on the character of the norms that arise therefrom. As he has explained,

Even prescriptive norms that reward certain actions, like the norm in a community that says that a boy who is a good athlete should go out for football, are in effect directing energy away from other activities (Coleman, 1988, p. 105).

Coleman has emphasized the creative and restrictive character of social capital and, in so doing, has provided a more holistic perspective on how social capital works within communities, suggesting that it may facilitate desired outcomes or constrain risky behaviors (1988).

Lastly, Bourdieu's (1986, 1998) insistence on the economic as the foundation for all other forms of social capital can be seen in sport's trend toward commercialization. Bourdieu described sport as a sort of "Trojan Horse" that allows entry to a country's commercial enterprise and access to potential participants (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 16). The Olympics, he asserted, have become more about the promotion of nationalism through televised marketing than about the originating ideals of the games (Bourdieu, 1998). Nevertheless, Bourdieu also suggested that democratic values could be preserved through sport by affording the possibility of upward mobility to children of lower social classes through their involvement in grass roots and amateur sport clubs and activities (Bourdieu, 1998). Additionally, Bourdieu believed sport embodied values that can be crucial to self-governance including, engagement to attain non-commercial ends and fair play (Bourdieu, 1988). Although Bourdieu critiqued sport's direct ties to economic interests, he supported its capacity to promote democratic values and provide opportunities to disadvantaged youth. These theorists' contentions and those outlined above by other analysts suggest there is an opportunity for additional research into the character of the relationship between sport and social capital.

Challenges Facing Sport for Development

Of the many challenges facing sport for development, one of the most salient is the lack of a solid theoretical foundation. Indeed, in an overview of the sport for development field, Hillyer et al. (2013) credited Lyras and Welty Peachey for their vital (and still singular) theoretical contribution to the field. Lyras and Welty Peachey published the SFDT in 2011 and as important as their contribution has been, their framework does not alone address the overall lack of theory-building concerning sport for development.

As I noted above, practitioners and scholars describe the benefits of sport as seemingly without number. This is understandable, given the general popularity of athletics worldwide, but many scholars have called for more methodical inquiry into sport's role in development (Coalter, 2006; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008). Hillyer et al. have posited that while sport may be more than a "hook" used to involve youth and others in social agendas, it is surely less than a cure for all social ills (2013, p. 51).

Indeed, the idea of sport as a panacea is only one challenge it faces as a field of inquiry and practice. Many have cited sport's tendencies toward corruption, violence, drug abuse and hooliganism (Beutler, 2008; Levermore, 2008; UNIATFSDP, 2003). However, the field for sport for development has grown and is positively "effecting personal and societal change across the globe" (Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011, p. 311). While sport may encompass some of the worst human characteristics, there is clear agreement among scholars that the potential for negative possibilities do not *a priori* outweigh sport's overall potential positive contributions to development (Beutler, 2008; Levermore, 2008; UNIATFSDP, 2003).

Human Freedoms and Development

Moyo has strongly critiqued the aid industry (2010). Amongst other negative repercussions of international aid, she has suggested that current aid practices, "thwart(s) accountability mechanisms, encourage(s) rent-seeking behavior, siphon(s) off scarce talent from the employment pool, and remove(s) pressures to reform inefficient policies and institutions" (2010, p. 59). In outlining an effort to bolster development programs to address these concerns, Moyo highlighted social capital and trust as important factors for consideration (2010). She cited "increasing acknowledgement" amongst scholars and development practitioners, that "soft

factors” such as social capital, “play a critical role in achieving economic prosperity and putting countries on a strong development path” (Moyo, 2010, p. 58).

This growing consensus among development practitioners can be attributed to a more holistic view of development, encompassing and accounting for basic human needs, capacities, participation and overall wellbeing (Schaaf, 2013). This view, or shift in the aid paradigm among many researchers, recognizes that “material aspects should not override consideration of other non-material aspects including relationships, security, self-esteem, skills, and aspirations” (Schaaf, 2013, p. 14). Coalter, Portes and Landolt (2000) have acknowledged criticism of the dominant aid paradigm as well, and argued that new conceptualizations represent an, “attempt to repair the damage done by previous policies, with their emphasis on market forces, increasing income disparities, atomization and the erosion of communal normative controls” (Coalter, 2013, p. 153). The neoliberal aid paradigm, underpinned by belief in the superiority of market forces, represented too narrow a view of development. In particular, it dismissed “various aspects of traditional social relations and networks” (Coalter, 2013, p. 153). In this spirit, Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen has argued that development is the “process of expanding real freedoms (or the removal of unfreedoms) that people enjoy” (Sen, 1999, p. 3). He has contended that a focus on human freedoms, and the expansion of reasoned choice and agency, “contrasts with narrower views of development” (Sen, 1999, p. 3).

Sen’s framework represented a move away from crude, “standard economic measurements” toward a development approach that takes into account “how human beings in each society live and what substantive freedoms they enjoy” (2010, p. vi). Both Moyo (2005) and Sen (1999) have recognized the growth of GNP as critical to the development process, yet both also have argued that a fixation on that measure and similar indicators alone is an

inadequate means truly to capture either the dynamics of the development process or how individuals experience society.

Following Sen, Coalter (2013) has suggested that the expansion of individual choice is critical to development. Sport can be employed as an opportunity through which individuals may choose to participate in an endeavor beyond themselves. In this way, athletics can be linked to social capital and to the shift among many analysts toward human freedoms and the “softer factors” of development, the expansion of choices, and an embracing of social relations and networks (Coalter, 2013; Moyo, 2010).

Nonetheless, Nicholls has observed that past sport policy and programming has too often lacked “meaningful contributions from young people” (2012, p. 157). She has demonstrated how such subjugation of local knowledge constituted a “key ingredient” of colonial, vertical development policies, which forced community members and “local knowledge into the margins” (2012, p. 161). Nicholls has also highlighted the broader concern that sport for development initiatives “tend to be dominated by a vertical hierarchy, which affects donor-recipient and North-South relationships” (Nicholls, 2012, p. 158).

Nicholls has likewise suggested that local knowledge and lived experiences should be incorporated into sport for development interventions. Such action could create a horizontal relation that appropriately includes a diverse array of stakeholders. She has argued there is significant opportunity to shift research practices based on changing the aid paradigm and has called on the field of sport for development to “build local capacity” to “harness the power of sport to foster community-based change” (2012, p. 157). With this in mind, Nicholls has contended that, “shifting the focus from valuing grand policy narratives to grassroots

contributions, makes it possible to re-envisage the sport in development agenda” in a meaningful way (2012, p. 163).

Those who wish to bring about such change should distinguish between technical and lived knowledge, or, in the latter case, the sort of understanding one gains from experience in a specific location. Technical knowledge can too easily fit a hierarchical aid paradigm in which information flows from the top to the bottom with little input from locals. Indeed, this is the classic neoliberal frame. Residents will not necessarily share their lived knowledge automatically. Instead, those wishing to understand and perhaps employ it for change must provide opportunities to citizens to realize its significance and to disclose it. Nonetheless, if development is to secure change, increasing possibilities and substantive freedoms for those it targets, the inclusion and provision of opportunities for those individuals to exercise agency represents what Chambers has termed “good change” (Schaaf, 2013, p. 14).

In summary, although a human-centered approach to development is by no means fully accepted in practice, policy and the academy, it nevertheless represents a shift from the neoliberal fixation on material, industrial and economic indicators alone to a view that acknowledges non-material factors, including human dignity, local knowledge and a suite of substantive freedoms that all people should enjoy by right. It is appropriate to delve a bit more deeply into how sport for development might reflect this conceptual turn.

As noted above, sport can be, and has been, criticized for its dualistic character. On the one hand, violence, cheating and hooliganism abound amongst gangs and thugs who often too feverishly follow their favored athletic teams (Foer, 2010). On the other hand, as described previously, the world’s leading development agencies have highlighted sport’s potential positive valences—service to humankind, as a vehicle for peace and an activity that manifests and

preserves human dignity (IOC, 2015). I have contended above that the IOC, U.N., sport for development practitioners and several important social capital theorists have all have argued that sport has a positive role to play in society. Given these claims and a changing development firmament, how can sport be made consonant with the concept of human dignity and the companion call that all people deserve freedom? Additionally, how can professionals create conditions conducive to the positive potentials sport may offer?

This study addresses these challenges by means of a context-specific, phenomenological qualitative study. My intention was to recognize the shift that appears slowly to be occurring in the aid paradigm among many scholars, if not aid agencies, and to use an analytic approach informed by Sen's definition of development. Through semi-structured interviews, I asked SFD organization representatives to share their perceptions of the phenomena of sport and development. I did so in part to honor the local knowledge those individuals possess. I also did so to understand more thoroughly the relationship of sport and social capital through their experiences. By incorporating the perspectives of Moyo, Sen, and Chambers, I sought also in my research design to respond to Giles and Lynch's concern that "for sport for development to grow, it is crucial for sport for development leaders to learn from development literature outside of the sport setting to avoid now well-known pitfalls" (2012, p. 99).

Civil Society Organizations

As I have argued, this study drew on international development and social capital theory. Accordingly, I have adopted the World Bank's definition of civil society organizations, which incorporates SFD organizations:

The wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community

groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations (World Bank, 2013).

This definition is widely used in the sport for development literature and was also employed by the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG). Specifically, the SDP IWG classified entities outside of government and governmental agencies as “civil society organizations,” a category in which SFD organizations are situated (Right to Play, 2008, p. viii).

For his part, Coalter has cited the World Bank’s rationale for why CSOs should play an important role in sport for development. Of the six reasons, the Bank outlined, the three listed below are especially relevant to my research:

1. Give voice to stakeholders, particularly poor and marginalized populations, and help to ensure that their views are factored into policy and programmed decisions.
4. Bring innovative ideas and solutions, as well as participatory approaches to solve local problems.
5. Strengthen and leverage development programs by providing local knowledge, targeting assistance, and generating social capital at the community level (Coalter, 2013, p. 154).

These rationales stress civil society organizations’ roles at the local and community level, their ability to generate and strengthen social capital and their capacity to encourage participatory approaches. These characteristics fit this research well as I sought to use qualitative methods to understand SFD leaders’ perceptions of the ties between sport for development efforts and social capital.

Chapter 3

Research Design & Methods

Research Design

Purpose Statement

This study sought to describe the relationships perceived between sport for development and social capital among a sample of SFD/CSO leaders in Kigali, Rwanda to provide insights to the sport for development field in a number of ways. As noted above, Giles and Lynch have concluded that in order, “for sport for development to grow, it is crucial for sport for development leaders to learn from development literature outside of the sport setting to avoid now well-known pitfalls” (2012, p. 99). This inquiry was designed in part to do precisely that. This study also sought to provide insights from the social capital literature to sport for development, as few scholars have yet sought to describe how SFD programs encourage and manifest specific dimensions of social capital.

Strategy of Inquiry: Phenomenology as an Emergent Design

I employed phenomenology as the strategy of inquiry for this study. Phenomenology fits the interpretive paradigm as it seeks to find common meaning among individuals of a lived experience or phenomenon. I asked participants to describe the relationship between sport for development and social capital based on their experience in leading such programs. In phenomenological inquiry, participant voices serve as the primary source of data. The approach allows meaning to emerge as information is collected.

Groenewald has described phenomenology as a process of “capturing rich descriptions of phenomena and their settings” (2004, p. 11). Creswell has noted that such researchers “seek to understand” the complex world in which participants “live and work” (2013, p. 24). Denzin and

Lincoln have stressed that phenomenological analysts attempt “to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (2003, p. 5). In this way, those adopting this approach seek to describe common experiences that several individuals share and distill those descriptions to their “universal essence” (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). The German mathematician Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), originally outlined phenomenological research as a “science of pure phenomena,” with the aim of “returning to the concrete” (Creswell, 2007; Groenewald, 2004, p. 4). Phenomenologists are “concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of the people involved,” accurately describing experiences and events and remaining true to the facts (Groenewald, 2004, p. 5).

An emphasis on natural settings is a common theme amongst analysts utilizing a phenomenological approach and gives this analytic strategy an emergent quality (Creswell, 2013; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Groenewald, 2004). That is, in this form of inquiry, the researcher’s plan, along with data and perspectives, unfold as a study progresses.

This means that the initial plan for research cannot be tightly prescribed, and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the investigator begins to collect data. For example, the questions may change, the forms of data collection may be altered and the individuals studied and the sites visited may be modified during the process of conducting a phenomenological study. The key idea animating this form of inquiry is to learn about the problem or issue from participants and employ relevant methods to obtain that information (Creswell 2013, p. 47).

When discussing phenomenology, I have found identifying its features as Denzin and Lincoln and Creswell (2013) have sketched them helpful. Phenomenology studies are naturalistic, examining occurrences in the settings and places in which they take place.

Researchers' primary means of gathering data are also naturalistic and should occur in the field. As mentioned above, these analyses are inductive in character, taking smaller pieces of data from participants and building them into larger themes. This form of investigation emphasizes the voice and lived experiences of participants. Data emerges throughout the study and the researcher weaves that information into a broader, coherent narrative. Lastly, researcher positionality is incorporated into phenomenological studies to limit and to reveal potential biases. This involves the analyst clearly stating any predisposition, experience or component of their background that might influence their study.

Philosophical Assumptions of Qualitative Research

Creswell (2013) has noted that researchers employ qualitative strategies when quantitative strategies do not fit the problem at hand. As Bailey has argued, "qualitative researchers work within paradigms, use theories, conduct research consistent with traditions of inquiry, design the methodological structures of their research, employ methods to collect data, perform data analysis, and write final manuscripts" (2007, p. 49).

Paradigms act as a "basic set of beliefs that guide action" and "provide crucial guides to the research process" (Bailey, 2007, p. 50). Each such framework carries with it four interrelated philosophical foundations: ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology (Bailey, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). These assumptions are "folded into interpretative frameworks" used by qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2013, p. 25). This unique blend of philosophy and theory make qualitative research rich and complex.

Most scholars of qualitative research have argued that there are a growing number of frames for analysts to consider as they design their investigations (Bailey, Creswell, Denzin & Lincoln). Those include: positivism, interpretive, social justice, critical race theory, queer theory

and disability theory. I used the interpretive paradigm for my inquiry, as it incorporates emergent and inductive qualities that fit well with my research interest. The voice of study participants is particularly important in this perspective, which creates an emergent, ground-up model from data collection to final analysis.

In contrasting quantitative research to qualitative inquiry, Creswell has remarked that, “interactions among people ... are difficult to capture with existing measures,” rendering quantitative research ill-suited to fit that topic of study (2013, p. 48). Further elaborating on the process of qualitative research, Creswell has observed:

The procedures of qualitative research, or its methodology, are characterized as inductive, emerging, and shaped by the researcher’s experience in collecting and analyzing the data. The logic that the qualitative researcher follows is inductive, from the ground up, rather than handed down entirely from a theory or from the perspectives of the inquirer (Creswell, 2013, p. 22).

Creswell has rightly noted that the “human experience can be consciously expressed” by those who live and experience a phenomenon deeply (2013, p. 73).

Researcher Positionality

One of the central tenets of qualitative research is investigator positionality. Creswell has highlighted its importance, stating: “researchers recognize that their own background shapes their interpretation, and they position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical experiences” (2013, p. 25). Bailey has noted that analysts cannot “totally leave behind their understanding of the world” and must therefore position themselves through self-reflection and explicitly state their values in their manuscripts (Bailey, 2007, p. 54).

Accounting for personal values presents a challenge to qualitative inquiry as the researcher may either impart significance or devalue events beyond what a participant intends.

Additionally, investigators may remain blind to issues that they do not fully understand or have not personally experienced. I engaged in a thorough process of reflexivity and I sought to make my own values known throughout my study and reporting. I briefly summarize those values next.

My research participants were directly engaged in sport for development projects at the community level. I fully support a grassroots approach to development, which values, honors and includes local knowledge, lived experiences, and human agency. Theoretically at least, sport for development fits this perspective well. Furthermore, I have participated in sport programs and benefited from the physical and social benefits of sport from a young age. As a child, I participated in many sports and ultimately focused on swimming, in which I continued to participate as a Division I college student-athlete. As a professional, I work as an administrator within the varsity athletic program of a Tier I research university. Lastly, I believe that social capital, including intra-and interpersonal relationships, is critical to the success of development projects.

For these reasons, I was aware that I would likely filter my findings through my own personal experiences and values. As a result, I self-consciously took steps to limit my bias as much as possible. I triangulated my data sources to increase their relative accuracy and to ensure reliability to the extent I could do so. I recorded and used field notes to inform and refresh my thinking concerning my research. My field notes prevented me from embellishing data collected and encouraged me to reflect on the specific information provided by my study participants.

Research Concepts

Given the purposes of this study, I aimed to address the question: How would a sample of SFD leaders in Kigali, Rwanda describe the relationship between sport for development and

social capital? This research question was in turn informed and shaped by the following concepts.

Sport for Development

Of the terms most frequently used in the field, sport for development and peace, sport in development and sport for development are the most prominent. Levermore (2008) has suggested that the more commonly used identifier now is sport for development, which is ultimately a part of the broader idea of sport for development and peace. Kidd (2008) has contended that the addition of the word “peace” within the terminology makes for too broad a field of research, even as it brings into play the theory and practice of peace building. I have employed the term sport for development (SFD) because, along with other research concepts I emphasize, it captures the intent of the organizations I investigated.

It is important to note that “sport,” as I shall employ it, does not refer to professional or elite status. The UN has defined sport broadly:

Incorporated into the definition of sport are all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include play; recreation; organized, casual or competitive sport; and indigenous sports or games (United Nations, 2013, p. v).

Practitioners and interested scholars alike have adopted this definition, which positions athletics as a means to an end and an activity that provides meaningful freedoms for people to enjoy.

Hereafter I refer to SFD programming interchangeably as sport or athletics.

Olympism

As I sketched above, my research is broadly framed by Olympism and the ideals it embraces, specifically upholding human dignity and placing sport in service to humankind (IOC, 2015). The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has defined Olympism as follows (see Appendix E):

a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will, and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles (IOC, 2016).

The Olympic Charter has outlined the Fundamental Principles of Olympism (Olympic Charter, 2014). Principle 1, discussed above, defines Olympism while other tenets point to its role within the field of sport for development:

Principle 2: The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.

Principle 4: The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play (Olympic Charter, 2014, p. 11).

Olympism connects the Olympic Movement to sport for development. Feizabadi et al. have made this point well, citing the vital connection of athletics to community and nation building (2015, p. 186). Additionally, these analysts have argued that, “ideas, politics, culture, and sport” have significant “influence (on) international relations” (2015, p. 186). The former United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) similarly suggested that “a natural affinity exists between Olympic Values and the objectives of the UN” (UNOSDP, 2013, p. 6). The current UN Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace, Wilfred Lemke, has cited the 18th session of the Human Rights Council, which urged “all UN Member States to abide by the Olympic Truce and to recognize the potential of sport in promoting respect, diversity, tolerance, and fairness” (UNOSDP, 2013, p. 6). Olympism espouses the ideas of inclusion, engagement and participation. The forms of social capital embody these characteristics, which are also an important component of a holistic view of international development that seeks to address human needs, capacities, and overall well-being.

Social Capital

Social capital highlights the notion that involvement and participation in groups can have positive outcomes for individuals and communities (Portes, 1998). As I sketched above, the World Bank's Social Capital Initiative (SCI) defined social capital as "the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively" (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 2). Within international development and sport for development contexts, Moyo (2010) Sen (1999), Coalter (2013), Nicholson & Hoye (2008), and Lyras & Welty Peachey (2011) have commented on and explored the possibilities of social capital. Yet, operationalizing social capital and demonstrating its impact on development outcomes remains a chief concern for many analysts (Colletta & Cullen, 2000). To that end, as I noted above, the World Bank's SCI has sought to "help advance the theoretical understanding and the practical relevance" of social capital and its contributions to development (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001, p. xi).

Sampling

Purposeful sampling is commonly used in qualitative research and is considered a preferred method for non-probability study design (Groenwald, 2004, p.8). In this form of sampling, "the inquirer selects individuals and sites for study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomena in the study" (2013, p. 156). Rubin and Rubin (2012) have recommended choosing organizations that are relevant to the research question and that will allow the analyst access. Creswell has identified three considerations required for purposeful sampling: specific sampling strategy, participant selection, and sample size (Creswell, 2013). He has further suggested that for phenomenological studies, sampling criteria be based on individuals who have experienced the concern under examination; in this case sport for development.

I employed purposeful sampling to identify a sample of sport for development CSOs and a group of study participants working for those entities. I selected these organizations based on my judgment and their overall fit with the aims of this inquiry. An important consideration when undertaking purposeful sampling is how to gain access to targeted institutions and their employees. I sought to gain access to the SFD organizations I identified by contacting colleagues who live and/or work in Rwanda, with whom I have worked in the past and who have collaborated with a variety of development organizations there. Once I had identified the two organizations based on my judgment and their fit with study criteria, I asked my colleagues if they could connect me directly with the leaders of each SFD CSO. They were able to do so and I shared the Informed Consent Form (Appendix A), Interview Protocol (Appendix B), and Email Invitation to Participate in the Study (Appendix C) with each leader. A total of ten employees of these two SFD organizations consented to an interview for this inquiry.

I encountered a few difficulties with my sampling approach. First, as discussed below, given that my study involved significant international travel, lining up my availability to conduct interviews with the busy work schedules of participants was difficult. Additionally, the total number of staff members within each organization that fit my criteria were limited—making it extremely important that I find ways to meet with those individuals. Lastly, time and funding resources limited the length of time I could stay in Rwanda to conduct this work.

Selection of Location and CSOs

As noted above, I chose Rwanda as a site for this study because it is a developing nation whose government has actively promoted sport as a strategy for social change (Ntambara, 2014). The overall growth of Rwanda in recent years as well as its government's continuing support of sport (as I outlined above) have provided fertile ground for a number of international and

domestic sport for development CSOs in the country; many of which are located in Kigali, the nation's capital. Accordingly, Rwanda's largest city, with approximately 1 million residents, served as the primary setting for my study (Kigali, 2020). Many of the country's sport for development organizations offer programs at the community level that align well with the nation's 2020 vision, which emphasizes "reconstruction of the nation and its social capital" (Republic of Rwanda, 2000, p. 6). I focused on the Rwanda-based entities of two well-respected international SFD CSOs, International Sports Alliance and Youth Sport Commission (as noted above, these titles are pseudonyms). The criteria I employed to select these organizations follow:

1. Each CSO was directly involved in using sport at the community level in efforts to promote social change.
2. These organizations create and implement their own offerings and do not rely on other institutions for program curricula.
3. Each CSO was founded by former Olympians and, as a result, each was influenced by the ideals of Olympism and the broader Olympic Movement.
4. Lastly, as a matter of convenience, these organizations were located in Kigali, Rwanda, or their key personnel make frequent visits to Kigali, which made it easier for me to gain access to them.

Their location in the same city allowed me to conduct in-person interviews with leaders and staff of these NGOs economically. Given the growth of sport for development in Rwanda, and Kigali more specifically, these CSOs offered an excellent opportunity to investigate my research questions.

Participant Selection

Since it was essential that interviewees be familiar with SFD, I selected individuals from my target organizations with that fact foremost in mind. In addition, I sought to ensure that participants for this study worked directly for one of the CSOs I had chosen. Creswell has suggested analysts, “explor[e] [a] phenomenon with a group of individuals who have all experienced the phenomenon. Thus, a heterogeneous group is identified that may vary in size from 3 to 4 individuals to 10 to 15” (2013, p. 78). I intended initially to interview 6 to 7 individuals from 2 sport for development CSOs in Kigali for a total of 12 to 14 study participants. Given the limited staff size of each organization I ultimately interviewed 10 SFD leaders from the two entities. Additionally, I interviewed participants that shared similar professional/programmatic responsibilities at each organization. Table 3 (below) details this organization of SFD CSOs and study participants. Additional selection criteria included:

1. Individuals who lead SFD programs in one or more communities.
2. Individuals who serve as coaches for community level programs and report to program leaders.
3. Individuals who design SFD program curricula.
4. Individuals who were responsible for the overall leadership of their SFD organization.

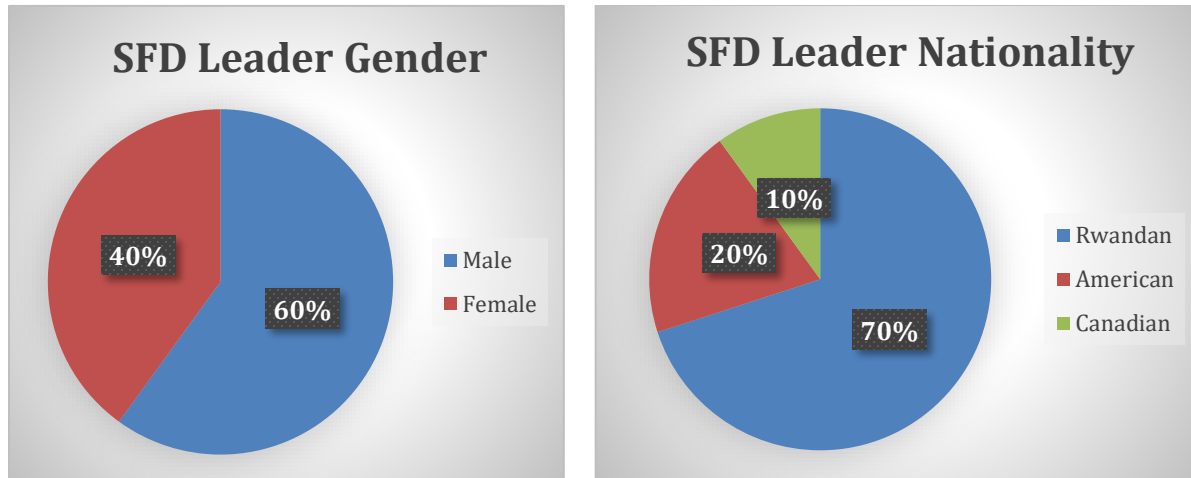
Table 3*CSOs and Interviewees*

SFD Organization	Organizational Role	Pseudonym	Gender	SFD years of experience
International Sport Alliance	Community Coach	Andy	Male	5+ yrs
	Program Leader	Anthony	Male	5+ yrs
	Program Leader	Paul	Male	1-5 yrs
	Curriculum Design	Joe	Male	1-5 yrs
	Organization Leader	Vincent	Male	5+ yrs
Youth Sport Commission	Community Coach	Adriana	Female	1-5 yrs
	Community Coach	Ethan	Male	1-5 yrs
	Program Leader	Jessica	Female	1-5 yrs
	Program Leader	Melissa	Female	1-5 yrs
	Organization Leader	Tricia	Female	5+ yrs

Four respondents were female and six were male. The nationality of those involved in my study were primarily Rwandan as seven of ten who participated were native to Rwanda. Of the remaining three participants, two were from the United States and one hailed from Canada. The SFD leader demographic information appears in Figure 3.

Figure 3

SFD Leader Demographic Information



Setting

Denzin and Lincoln have suggested that qualitative researchers should study “people doing things together in the places where these things are done” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 16). I spoke with participants at their places of work in Kigali, Rwanda. I did so hoping that visiting their offices would put them more at ease than otherwise might be the case, which I found to be so. Since my research involved international travel, coordinating my schedule with the availability of interviewees proved difficult. I was able to meet with nine of ten participants in their offices or program sites in Rwanda. One individual was unable to meet in-person and we therefore conducted the interview via a telephone call scheduled at a time they could be available.

Validity

Creswell has argued that validation represents “an attempt to assess the accuracy of the findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants” (2013, p. 250). He has also suggested that validation constitutes a, “distinct strength of qualitative research” in that the

“account made through extensive time spent in the field, the detailed thick description and the closeness of the researcher to participants in the study all add value or accuracy to a study” (2013, p. 250). Creswell has also outlined a variety of strategies to check the accuracy of findings, including: triangulation, member checking, thick description, negative case analysis, prolonged time in the field, peer debriefing and the use of external audits (2003, 2013). I employed a variety of these approaches, including triangulation, thick description and member checking. To triangulate my data, I interviewed multiple participants, reviewed relevant SFD/CSO documents, and kept field notes during the research process (Creswell, 2003). In employing thick description, I provide abundant and interconnected details concerning the participants, settings, and my observations throughout Chapters 4, 5 and 6. (Creswell, 2013). Lastly, I employed member checking as a validation strategy; that is, I shared a copy of their interview transcript with each participant to ensure its accuracy.

Reliability

Reliability in qualitative research depends on the “stability of responses” revealed (in this case) by interviewee observations (Creswell, 2013, p. 253). Creswell has suggested three processes to strengthen the likelihood that interviews will evidence stable responses: detailed field notes and the use of good quality taping devices and proper transcribing techniques (2013). I followed each of Creswell’s recommendations as I conducted my interviews and in the analysis that followed. Each of these actions, in additions to regular communication with my committee chair, quality in the coding process.

Generalizability

Creswell has stressed that particularity is the hallmark of good qualitative research, rather than statistical generalizability (Creswell, 2003). However, qualitative researchers can hope their

findings, although not directly transferable to all settings, can provide context-specific insights that may inform other studies. Yin has referred to this attribute of qualitative research as analytic generalizability (2012, p. 18). Analytic generalization, “uses a study’s theoretical framework to establish a logic that might be applicable to other situations” (Yin, 2012, p. 18). First, the researcher makes claims concerning particular relationships among certain concepts and theoretical constructs (Yin, 2012). Then, the analyst may apply those propositions to other situations in which the concepts and theoretical frame fit accordingly (Yin, 2012). Below I share findings from this study that could be applied to sport for development organizations seeking to promote bonding and/or bridging social capital. Additionally, this analysis provides general observations regarding sport for development dynamics that may inform existing understanding and theory.

Research Ethics

Creswell (2013) has outlined a number of ethical issues to consider when conducting qualitative research. Although I found all of Creswell’s suggestions helpful, a number of the concerns he highlighted proved particularly salient to this study. A primary matter was clearly disclosing the purpose of the research to those with whom I interacted concerning it. To address this imperative, I ensured that the purpose of this inquiry was clearly outlined in my consent form, which appears in Appendix A. I also sought to remain as reflexive as possible to address any personal bias when discussing the aims of this study. In doing so, I made an effort to share the focus of this analysis directly from the informed consent form so that I would not indirectly influence participants. I also sought to acknowledge power imbalances between myself and participants and I worked to ensure that potential interviewees did not feel pressure to be involved in this study or, once engaged, concerning any response they might wish to provide.

Although the SFD organizations with which I worked have relatively few employees, each individual I contacted agreed to participate in this analysis. As noted by Creswell (2013), researchers typically maintain confidentiality and also work to avoid disclosing only positive results in their findings. Lastly, and discussed next, university-based researchers must seek approval for their studies through their relevant Institutional Review Board.

Institutional Review Board (IRB) Approval

This research required the approval of the Virginia Tech IRB as my inquiry dealt directly with human subjects. First, I submitted my proposal to my committee chair for assistance and approval before seeking IRB review. I previously completed the Training in Human Subjects Protection certification exam provided by Virginia Tech's IRB, which allowed me to submit a protocol for this research. The use of an informed consent form helped to ensure my inquiry was undertaken ethically. I relied primarily on Bailey's suggested informed consent guidance, which involves 11 pieces of information the researcher must share with participants (Bailey, 2013). I explained the informed consent form to each potential research participant to ensure the transparency of the inquiry generally and the interview process more particularly. I shared the consent form with each organization's leader well before in-person meetings so that they could share it with potential interviewees and ensure that each had ample time to consider their participation. This process provided an open and transparent understanding of the aims of my inquiry. As Groenewald has observed, "honesty coupled with confidentiality reduces suspicion and promotes sincere responses (2004, p. 10).

Research Methods

Data Collection

I utilized semi-structured interviews, field notes and documents specific to the SFD CSOs of my study as my principal information sources for this inquiry. I discuss each form of data in further detail below.

Interviews

Groenewald has argued that “interviews are the primary unit of analysis” for qualitative research (2004, p. 9). Questions should be directed towards participant’s lived experiences with the phenomenon or phenomena in question. Researchers ask questions “for the purpose of seeking information directly to observe” (Bailey, 2013, p. 95). Questions developed for this form of interviewing should be “broad and general,” allowing interlocutors space to share the meaning of their lived experiences (Creswell, 2013, p. 25).

Analysts frequently describe interviews as a process (Bailey, 2013; Creswell, 2013; Groenewald, 2004; Rubin 2012). Such conversations are a conscious attempt by the researcher to learn about a specific phenomenon (Creswell, 2013; Groenewald, 2004) and are “reciprocal” in character; a process in which the investigator and the interviewee are “engage[d] in a dialogue” (Groenewald, 2004, p. 13). Rubin and Rubin have suggested that analysts use three types of interview questions: main questions, probes and follow-ups (Rubin, 2012). This interactive process, with the researcher listening intently and querying when needed, allows the essence of interviewee insights and reflections to emerge.

Most research scholars have described three types of qualitative interviews: unstructured, semi-structured and structured (Bailey, 2013; Creswell, 2003, 2013). I used semi-structured interviews for this analysis. This flexible and fluid method allowed the nuances of interviewee

reflections on sport for development and social capital to emerge within our conversations. Additionally, semi-structured interviews fit well with the interpretive paradigm of this study (Bailey, 2013).

Maxwell (2010) has contrasted quantitative and qualitative data and the conflict that has often characterized the use of these approaches. Included in this contrast, is the idea of “hard” data gained from quantitative research versus information gathered through qualitative methods characterized by thick descriptions and textured observations (Maxwell, 2010). The number of participants to include in a qualitative study has been debated as a part of a broader scholarly conversation concerning the legitimacy of alternate approaches to research. To state a priori exactly how many participants to include in all qualitative studies would de facto impose a quantitative standard of inquiry (Maxwell, 2010). Instead, qualitative scholars have suggested that researchers conduct a range of interviews to obtain thick descriptions and rich data concerning their study aims. Creswell, for example, has urged, “the exploration of [a] phenomenon with a group of individuals who have all experienced the phenomenon. Thus, a heterogeneous group is identified that may vary in size from 3 to 4 individuals to 10 to 15” (2013, p. 78). He has also noted that, “Polkinghorne recommends that researchers interview from 5 to 25 individuals who have all experienced the phenomenon” (2013, p. 81). Groenewald (2004) has argued, that depending on topical focus, 2 to 10 participants is sufficient to reach saturation. In an effort to gather both rich data and ensure sufficient coverage, I interviewed 10 individuals, selected on the basis of the criteria outlined above. My interview protocol appears as Appendix B.

Field Notes

I recorded observations specific to the context of my interviews in my field notes. For example, I took note of participants' physical space/office, any emphasis (or lack of emphasis) they accorded certain topics as well as any additional resources or concerns they raised germane to my research. Both Bailey (2007) and Groenewald (2004) have stressed the important role field notes play in qualitative inquiry. Groenewald (2004) has suggested that these observations and reflections provide a critical step in data analysis and Bailey (2007) has contended, bluntly, that if a researcher is not taking such notes, they simply are not conducting field research. I found the use of a template helpful to organize my notes and provide a consistent outline for my observations. That guide appears as Appendix D.

Documents Review

Additionally, I reviewed online documents published by the sport for development organizations participating in my study. The usefulness of those records, which were readily available in English, depended upon their depth of content and specific references to concepts of interest to me for this study. I also accepted documents from interviewees when they were offered to me. These consisted principally of brochures and pamphlets with limited information about the CSOs beyond their mission statement and the general role of sport in their programs. I found it helpful that those with whom I spoke provided me with these resources and yet I found no new information within these pieces of literature to add to my inquiry. I found the lack of fresh insights within these documents to be reinforcing and affirming of the overall direction of my research. Transcripts of the interviews I conducted as well as my field notes and documents provided a means to triangulate emerging perceptions and understandings and allowed me to gain a more holistic perspective of the issues I set out to consider.

Data Management

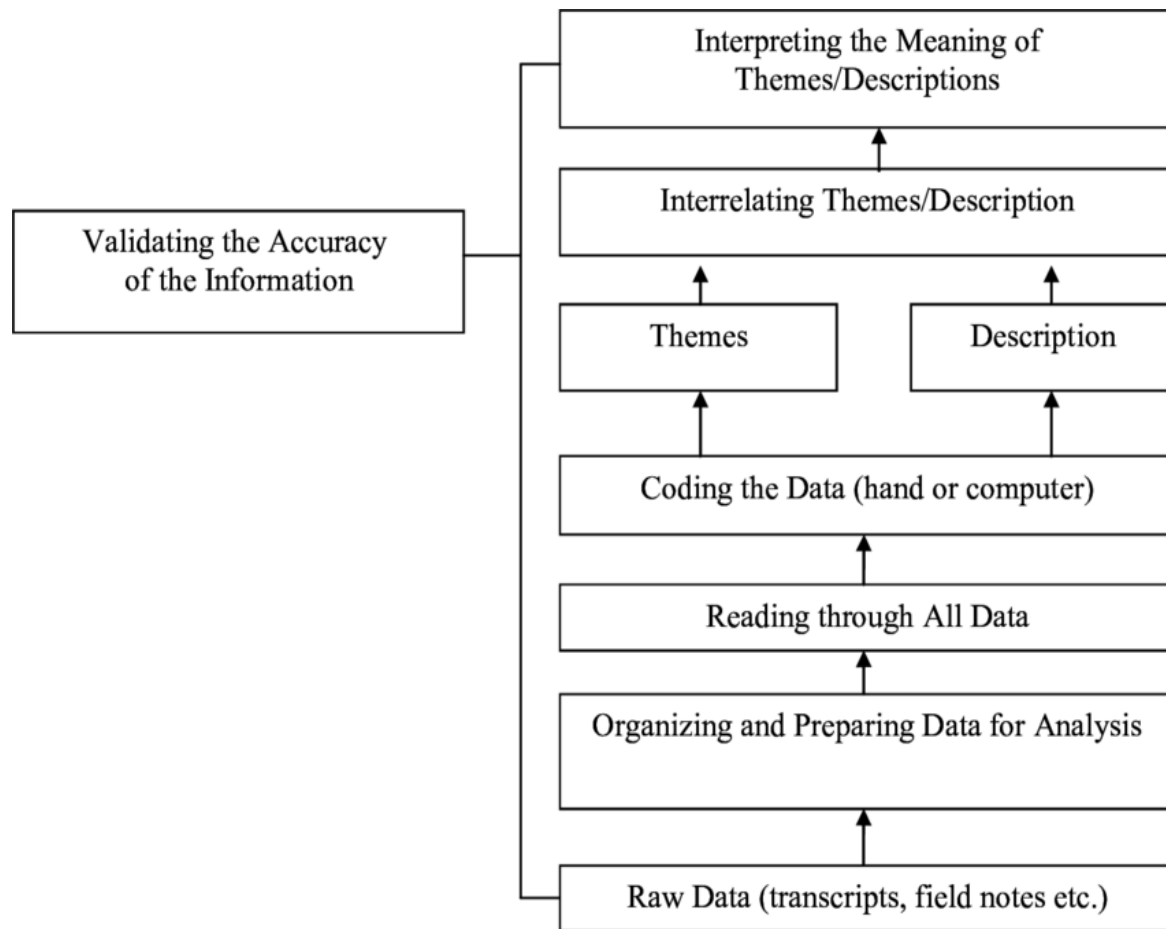
I used a systematic approach to manage the information I collected during my field research. I also sought to protect the identities of those I interviewed. To do so, I first acquired permission to audio record my interviews with them by means of a written consent form. Secondly, I stored the resulting audio files on a password-protected computer. Additionally, I assigned pseudonyms to each individual with whom I spoke. I kept a separate document on a password-protected external hard drive that connected participants' real names to their assigned pseudonym. That key was available only to me and to my committee chair.

Analysis

Creswell has defined qualitative data analysis as “preparing and organizing the data ... then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion” (2013, p. 180). Bailey has characterized analysis as a “multipronged process” that requires the researcher to “make sense of the data: break it down, study its components, investigate its importance, and interpret its meanings” (2007, p. 125). In general, according to these scholars, when analyzing their data, researchers should familiarize themselves with it, classify and code it, organize it into themes and then present those topics as larger units of meaning for final presentation. I found Creswell's overview of the data analysis process captured in Figure 4 to be helpful (Creswell, 2009, p. 197).

Figure 4

Data Analysis in Qualitative Research



Creswell drew heavily upon Moustakas (1994) to create a “specific, structured” method of analysis for phenomenological researchers (2013, p. 193). In this process, according to Creswell, such scholars progress through the following steps:

1. [Provide] a full description of their own experience with the phenomenon.
2. Develop and draw out significant statements from the data pertaining to how individuals experienced the phenomenon.

3. Group those significant statements into larger units, ‘called meaning units or themes.’
4. Write a ‘textual description’ of ‘what the participants in the study experienced.’
5. Write a ‘structural description’ [addressing] ‘the setting and context in which the phenomenon was experienced.’
6. Write the final aspect of a phenomenological study, which includes a ‘composite description of the textual and structural descriptions’ (Creswell, 2013, p. 194).

Creswell has also suggested that, “coding is the heart of qualitative data analysis” as it allows the researcher to move from large amounts of raw data to thematic presentation of that information (Creswell, 2013, p. 184). I employed a two-step coding process: that of initial or open coding, followed by focused or axial coding (Creswell, 2007). The initial coding phase finds the researcher reading the information and “coding as much of the data as possible” (Bailey, 2007, p. 129). Then, once that step has been completed, the analyst moves to focused coding, which reduces “the data by identifying and combining the initial coded data into larger categories that subsume multiple codes” (Bailey, 2007, p. 129). I found Creswell’s detailed description of coding helpful when following his data analysis process:

1. Get a sense of the whole. Read all the [interview] transcriptions carefully. Perhaps jot down some ideas as they come to mind.
2. Pick one document (i.e., one interview)—the most interesting one, the shortest, the one on top of the pile. Go through it, asking yourself, ‘What is this about?’ Do not think through the substance of the information, but its underlying meaning. Write thoughts in the margin.

3. When you have completed this task for several participants, make a list of all topics. Cluster together similar topics. Form these topics into columns, perhaps arrayed as major topics, unique topics, and leftovers.
4. Now take this list and go back to your data. Abbreviate the topics as codes and write the codes next to the appropriate segments of the text. Try this preliminary organizing scheme to see if new categories and codes emerge.
5. Find the most descriptive wording for your topics and turn them into categories. Look for ways of reducing your total list of categories by grouping topics that relate to each other. Perhaps draw lines between your categories to show interrelationships.
6. Make a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetize codes.
7. Assemble the data material belonging to each category in one place and perform a preliminary analysis.
8. If necessary, recode your existing data (Creswell 2003, p. 192).

I utilized the qualitative data analysis software NVivo to examine my interview transcripts. NVivo allowed me to organize the transcribed data by interviewee category (Program, Community, etc.) and then to sort that information into codes. As discussed, I read through each transcription multiple times and then coded the data initially. I then returned to the interview transcripts data to categorize broader recurring themes. I initially identified 18 codes and then began to place those into larger groups. Several broad themes began to emerge after my focused coding. The most prominent of those are discussed in Chapter 4 alongside illustrative quotations. I sorted those topics in turn into either bonding or bridging social capital groupings.

Groenewald (2004) and Hycner (1985) do not recommend using the phrase “data analysis” in qualitative research (Groenewald, 2004, p. 17). Both prefer the term data explication

to data analysis, as the latter terminology, in their view, connotes breaking the information into parts and thereby risks losing a sense of the whole phenomenon (Groenewald, 2004, Hycner, 1985). I sought to keep Groenewald and Hycner's argument firmly in mind as I proceeded. Overall, Hycner has commented that the qualitative researcher is "engaged in something which cannot be precisely delineated, for here he is involved in that ineffable thing known as creative insight" (1985, p. 288). I found that observation to be true as I considered my interviews and SFD organizations' mediating role in creating social capital.

Methodological Congruence

Creswell (2013) has employed the term methodological congruence, which he characterized as the fit between research purpose and question, methods and data sources/types and analysis. I found it helpful as I developed my research design. As mentioned above, qualitative researchers rely on paradigms or frameworks as guides. These account for all facets of their projects, from data collection to final analysis. I asked participants to address a specific phenomenon: the relationship between sport for development programs and social capital. I employed an emergent design that sought to allow participants' voices to serve as the most important source of information for the study. This approach accorded with an interpretive framework, building data from the ground up, and with a phenomenological perspective as well. I sought to discover common experiences among the individuals I interviewed. In these ways, the research design I employed sought to secure methodological congruence via a qualitative data collection strategy, an interpretive framework and phenomenology as a stance. I gathered data from the ground up through interviews, document review, and field notes.

Research Limitations

Theoretically, I sought in this study to situate the positive valance of sport within Olympism and the ongoing reappraisal and shift of premises within international development studies and scholarship. While Lyras and Welty Peachey's Sport for Development Theory (2011) provided a foundation for addressing these aims, the process of analysis was nonetheless challenging. This limitation was so mostly as a result of the fact that I am a novice analyst and lack significant experience in the field. Another possible weakness of this analysis arose from the fact that I believe in a holistic form of international development that seeks to expand human capacity and agency. Nevertheless, as I have discussed, I have attempted to account for my views through honest reflection, acknowledging my positionality and triangulating my findings whenever possible.

Qualitative research carries with it inherent limitations. One such is the time and effort required to analyze large amounts of data. As Bailey (2007) and Creswell (2013) have noted, qualitative interviews produce a great deal of information. I indeed found the volume of data I gathered difficult to parse quickly.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

Social Capital Dimensions and Themes

This study explored how a sample of SFD organization leaders in Kigali, Rwanda, described the relationship between sport for development and social capital. I employed the World Bank's definition of that phenomenon as incorporated into that institution's Social Capital Initiative. That is, I used the World Bank's conception of social capital to operationalize my inquiry. That view accounts for both bonding (intra-community ties) and bridging (inter-community ties) social capital and therefore provides a holistic means by which to consider its role in development projects.

The SCI "provided strong evidence that social capital is a pervasive ingredient and determinant of progress" in a variety of development projects (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001, p. xi). Seeking to understand social capital's role in development represents a significant departure from a linear neoliberal framework. This research sought to understand this phenomenon better and, in particular, how the SFD leaders I interviewed perceived the roles and influence of intra- and interpersonal relationships that underlie social networks linked to sport (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001).

Woolcock and Narayan's (2000) work with the World Bank provided a fresh perspective from which to view social capital. As discussed in Chapter One, the networks view emphasized both bonding and bridging social capital and constituted, therefore, a broad-gauged approach to the phenomenon (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7; Putnam, 2000). Combined, bonding and bridging social capital demonstrate "a range of outcomes that can be attributed" to these

phenomena and offered a more nuanced perspective than earlier frames and analysis (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7).

Bonding and bridging social capital respectively highlight different values within relationships. Bonding social capital suggests that strong ties “are needed to give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). On the other hand, bridging social capital highlights the significance of weaker connections, or those relationships that span various social divides, such as “religion, class, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). When operationalizing social capital, the analyst must address the distinct and specific dimensions of bonding social capital’s close relationships and bridging social capital’s ability to span cultural divides.

The following themes, presented in Table 4, emerged from my interviews concerning the dimensions of bonding and bridging social capital in the SFD programs I studied.

Table 4

Interview Themes

Bonding Social Capital Themes
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Deepened relationships among peers, teammates• Deepened relationships among family members, including siblings and parent-child ties• Strong connections and partnerships formed between community organizations, local school leaders and teachers and participating NGOs

Bridging Social Capital Themes

- Ethnic divides that continue to exist within Rwanda
- Tensions among geographical regions and communities and those of differing educational status
- Gender inequality and rigid social norms for women

These valences of social capital are not mutually exclusive, nor are they presented as such in the literature. Nonetheless, the scholarship on social capital presents the two forms as analytically separable components. For example, a scenario in which a family grows stronger together is typically discussed and rightly categorized as bonding social capital. The same can be said for bridging social capital. For example, members from separate communities can engage in activities that, regardless of ethnicity, gender, or religion, draw them closer together. I suggest below a phenomenon that my interviewees emphasized: at times, social capital functions as a completely interconnected and fluid phenomenon simultaneously involving both its bonding and bridging valences. This reality contrasted with conceptions of social capital depicting it as sharply compartmentalized.

My interviews provided clear and specific examples of both bonding and bridging social capital. Additionally, and quite unexpectedly, 80% of my interviewees presented scenarios in which bonding and bridging social capital acted in tandem and coexisted as a bundle. In those descriptions, interviewees suggested that the forms of social capital they saw at play were intertwined and extended beyond particular components of individuals' lives. Those with whom I spoke argued that bonding and bridging social capital can be completely interwoven and, yet, simultaneously remain individually identifiable. CSO leaders spoke of sport's impact in terms of

bundles of social capital; that is that activities typically defined as either bonding or bridging in character often occur as an interconnected phenomena that include both valences. Indeed, the CSO leaders I interviewed contended that social capital exists in complex aggregations that extend beyond single dimensions of life, community, gender or relationships. Table 3 from Chapter 2 and shown below lists the position that each interviewee occupied within either the International Sport Alliance or the Youth Sport Commission CSOs.

Table 3

CSOs and Interviewees

SFD Organization	Organizational Role	Pseudonym	Gender	SFD years of experience
International Sport Alliance	Community Coach	Andy	Male	5+ yrs
	Program Leader	Anthony	Male	5+ yrs
	Program Leader	Paul	Male	1-5 yrs
	Curriculum Design	Joe	Male	1-5 yrs
	Organization Leader	Vincent	Male	5+ yrs
Youth Sport Commission	Community Coach	Adriana	Female	1-5 yrs
	Community Coach	Ethan	Male	1-5 yrs
	Program Leader	Jessica	Female	1-5 yrs
	Program Leader	Melissa	Female	1-5 yrs
	Organization Leader	Tricia	Female	5+ yrs

Bonding Social Capital: Community Companionship

Bonding social capital, or intra-community ties, “are needed to give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). I sought to understand better my interviewee’s perceptions of whether and how sport can encourage individuals to cross social divides and promote intra-community connections. Those I interviewed from both ISA and YSC stressed the deepening of relationships through sport among teammates, peers, a variety of organizations and families that shared common athletic experiences.

Deepening Companionship Among Teammates

Youth participants in SFD programs tend to spend significant amounts of time together at CSO locations. Three interviewees commented on how this time together, often daily, shaped the relationships of the youth involved. As Ethan, a community coach with YSC, observed:

being together a lot of time, many times every day ... we’ll get to know each other and bring (youth) together. We have (a lot of) conversations, so it allows people to (get to) know each other and to help each other and also be friends as well (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018).

Paul was a program leader with ISA. He commented on how much time young people spend with one another when involved in SFD activities, noting that they are “always together at the playground” (personal interview, January, 2018). This shared experience often acts to deepen their relationships and they end up “working together” as teammates in other settings, including classrooms, homes and in other community activities (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018). Additionally, Melissa, with YSC, noted that due to their recurring time together, youth face common challenges; such as, for example, “having a hard time with the coach” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). This common experience and the development of shared

concerns on that basis often strengthens their relationships and bonds. Those are then evidenced by their empathy and deepened respect for each other.

Empathy

SFD leaders noticed a level of empathy that formed among youth who participated in their programs. As one interviewee explained, “And you have this deep care for one another, regardless of your political beliefs, (or) your values at times” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). This sense of care seemed to bond participants well beyond their involvement with an SFD program. Jessica, who works with the YSC, described the idea of mutual caring and how it strengthened teammates’ relationships:

[Y]ou’re getting into a deeper level of communication than just, ‘Hey man, pass the ball.’ But you actually start talking about feelings and what we talk about a lot is their home life, life at school and everything. You actually, you get to know everyone on a much deeper level, and I think the kids are getting to understand each other on a much deeper level. Then that is helping them become close, because maybe if you know that someone doesn’t have electricity at home, maybe you won’t tease them at school the next day when they don’t have their homework done, because maybe now you understand a little bit more about them (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Melissa also highlighted the fact that SFD program participants began to care for each other beyond the confines of that set of ties:

Often times, if they are neighbors then they attend the same school as well. And then that means that they’ll walk together from school in little groups. And I think in terms of sustaining relationships, I think just in a personal experience or what I’ve seen in general, is that it creates another space in someone’s life to share and experience (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

A community coach also with YSC, Adriana, offered similar observations about participants who walked home together at the conclusion of each day’s program. She noticed that participants formed friendships in which they shared details about their home lives with one another. SFD program participants became advocates for each other and involved SFD Community Coaches when issues arose with which they thought they could assist:

They become friends. For example, when they are new in our program, when it is time to go home, some of them who are starting, they want to go alone. And the others, they encourage them to go together and like to know their names. And even when they have a problem, they try to know why this one is upset, and they go home to ask information. Then when they come to [the] program, they come ready to report to us, ‘this one is upset because of this and this.’ And you ask them how did you know that? Then they told us that we went to see them and ... we try to know what is going on (with) our teammate. How they are, if they are sick, even when they are at school, they try to know information [about] their teammate (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018).

In short, the time SFD program youths spent together often led to a growing care for one another.

As Jessica, Melissa and Adriana noted in their interviews, that bond typically extended beyond their participation in athletic teams and came to embody empathy and consideration for their teammates in multiple facets of their lives.

Identity

One evidence of participants’ deepening relational ties was the extent to which they identified with each other as peers/teammates. Jessica, a YSC program leader, observed:

I will say that YSC definitely strengthens their community identity. I mean, if you talk to any of these kids, they are always talking about YSC. When you hear other people in the community, they’re always talking about YSC and what YSC is doing. It’s funny, but like on all of these peoples’ Facebook pages, ... everything they do or say on Facebook is about YSC. I think they really strongly identify with it. But just kind of the way that they go out and are so proud to be of YSC, that’s kind of like their identity (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Jessica highlighted the strength of this affinity when compared to other youth from communities without SFD programs:

So, when we do community games every Sunday, we invite anyone to come to the fields and kind of play with us. It’s really interesting. What I will say is that you see a huge difference in the closeness between the YSC community and the rest of the community who (are not YSC participants). The YSC kids are so much more comfortable with each other, laughing, goofing off, talking; not to say that the other members of the community aren’t, but there’s just not the same level of closeness, I think. Our particular sport program brings children together in a way that normal life does not (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Sport for development organization leaders recognized this identity formation as a significant component of their efforts and participants' experience of them. Identity formation provides an example of intra-community bonding that the two SFD programs I studied appear purposefully to encourage.

Respect

SFD leaders spoke of building mutual respect among program youth in a number of ways as they discussed their perceptions of intra-community ties and bonding social capital. They cited multiple examples of teammates evidencing regard for each other, the rules of the game and their coaches. Andy, an SFD Program Leader with ISA, recalled how mutual esteem can promote teamwork and support:

It is similar in development, to [attain] sustainable development, requires [to] respect[ing] procedures. To your colleagues, to your peers, to your neighbors, to your coach. Build your chance to acquire a better result and build a team, teamwork. Not be obstacles or a challenge for other people and [despite individuals'] weaknesses, you have other people to support you. Morally, mentally, materially ... you have a chance. Because you are on a team, you feel that you have friends, you are not isolated. And you have hope for the future, because you have support from your colleagues, your peers or your leaders or your coach (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018).

Interviewees also noted that youth participation in SFD programs fostered a certain amount of respect among those so engaged. Paul, a leader from ISA, noticed a correlation between time spent playing together and an increase in respect for their peers/teammates: "...because we have seen that play can increase the confidence, the respect, the team spirit among the peers" (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018). Paul suggested that this considerate attitude also increased among families in the community with SFD participating youths, "So, it can increase their teamwork. It can increase the friendship among families" (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

Deepening Companionship Among Family Members

SFD leaders pointed to program's capacity to bring parents and siblings together, resulting in bonding social capital. Interestingly, Tricia (organization leader) and Paul (program leader), representing different SFD organizations, referenced specific programs their organizations offered that intentionally included parents. When discussing how his NGO's programs affected relationships among siblings, Paul noted, "So, that friendship is from one, two children, four children, six children, they also want their sisters to be involved in the play" (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

SFD leaders discussed additional impacts their programs had on parents' perspectives of their child's ability to participate in sports, particularly as that concern related to fathers' views of their daughters' abilities. Tricia provided one example of how one dad's view of his daughter was broadened by her participation in sport:

You know it's them understanding, the parents understanding, 'wow, I can just kick a ball back and forth or pass a ball back and forth or throw a ball back and forth with my daughter.' And it's just being able to have this father see his daughter's ability to throw a ball, kick a ball, whatever it was. It changes their perception and it is that shift in a relationship that can really start a snowball effect (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Paul noticed that SFD programs opened up communication between children and their parents:

So, you see it was from children or youth to their families. And we also have what we call youth and parent family. We had a program on health where children who are in football or other clubs, they helped educate parents, because they knew that what they learned from school, their parent does not know what information is there. So, from their ideas, they have to go and start teaching their parents or open a communication, a communication center between youth and their parents, so they could have one day in a week, in a weekend, where they could sit with their parents to discuss with them the impact of sport on their learning on sexual reproductive health. So, they could develop an open discussion between youth and parents (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

Deepening Companionship Among Organizations

The vast majority of those I interviewed spoke of the bonding social capital that developed among a variety of stakeholders involved in sport for development activities. These included professional organization representatives and SFD program participant family members. Collaborating organizations included local schools, government agencies, other nonprofits, and development consultant agencies.

Local Schools

SFD organization leaders referred directly and regularly to their interactions with local school leaders and teachers and to the importance of those ties to the success of their programs. When discussing the number of youths participating in their initiatives, interviewees often referred to those engaged by their respective schools. As Melissa observed, “So, we operate with 150 youths. All of them come from the same community. They come from three local schools” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Identifying students in this way aided SFD leaders when communicating with teachers and also built a measure of rapport with those educators. As their connection grew, some school leaders invited NGO program managers to conduct teacher-training workshops on how to use play-based learning in their school’s classrooms (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). As SFD leaders deepened their relationships with teachers and school administrators, they were able to assist the schools in creating a variety of “academic and leadership clubs, etc.” that reinforced the positive relationships built through their sport programs (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018). Ethan, a community coach, observed that although the schools are geographically distant from each other, SFD programs have helped unite the children attending them:

So, YSC is working with three partner schools. So, our players are the students in the three different schools. They know each other, but by YSC, by sport here at YSC, they

are together, they (are) always (together) every day ... (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018).

Six SFD leaders across both CSOs noted that their organization's ability to connect and attract students from a number of schools gave their programs credibility throughout the surrounding communities. Their ability to work with teachers concerning curricula and club development only strengthened their social legitimacy in their view and, thereby, their relative effectiveness in their own programming.

NGOs, Government Organizations and Program Creation

SFD leaders also strengthened ties amongst themselves as they conducted their programs. Vincent, an Organization Leader with ISA, recalled a period when multiple SFD NGOs worked collectively with local government agencies to "initiate a new tool to help people come together. Togetherness was one of the factors that we found from Sport for Development in the context of Rwanda" (personal interview, January, 2018). Many times, these partners formed strategic alliances that included a variety of types of organizations (governmental, non-profit, and/or for-profits). Vincent continued to describe his involvement in such an alliance:

I've been involved at the different stages, one being, at the planning stage, planning Sport for Development activity, arranging events with communit(ies), with children, with local community-based organizations, civil society organization(s), and their government counterparts (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

He mentioned that as these relationships strengthened, the leaders and staffers of allied organizations previously unfamiliar with SFD began to understand the role such efforts could play within their communities. He cited his own organization's partnership with a government agency, previously not broadly accepted, to highlight the fact that SFD could now be used in educational curricula at the national-level as an example:

There was now a big acceptance of Sport for Development in schools and communities and in 2015, the government recognized our approach, that it could even be used in the

new (national) [school] curriculum. So (now) when we work with the government, we have often shift(ed) from the Ministry of Sport and Culture to the Ministry of Education (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Interviewees also spoke to sport's ability to connect with organizations to advance economic development. For example, Andy, an SFD leader involved in community level programs with ISA, worked with an international sports federation on a number of economic development projects and recalled that group's "efforts to support poor countries to acquire a better level of (financial) infrastructure" (personal interview, January, 2018). Similarly, an interviewee involved in SFD curriculum design discussed individuals' efforts to create microfinance groups. Joe recalled:

To the extent of, you know, from play, (people are) forming associations, forming groups, cooperatives (are) forming. You know, small unions where even they (are) joining their finances, (providing) little sources ... to boost income, but it also has to do with play, having a team, playing together, bringing sports together ... and ... money that, you know, to improve their livelihood (Joe, personal interview, January, 2018).

Often, these organizations would serve as co-sponsors of a program and provide additional feedback, input or guidance during its planning and implementation stages. In turn, the institutions that provided such support improved the SFD opportunities available to communities. One program leader, Jessica, recalled a program in which her NGO partnered with a larger SFD organization, traveled to multiple program sites, and ultimately strengthened a relationship that had existed previously, although not in a robust way. Tricia commented thankfully on the level of expertise involved in her exchanges with a variety of NGO and governmental agencies, stating there are "a lot of incredible people that really know a lot more than I do. I've been fortunate to be able to find and network with some wonderful people" (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018). Every leader from both YSC and ISA I interviewed

embraced the role of collaborating with and learning from the partnerships they formed with representatives of other organizations.

Bridging Social Capital: Spanning Social Divides

The network view of social capital also stresses the importance of inter-community ties, or bridging social capital, and those relationships that span various social differences, such as “religion, class, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). I sought to understand my interviewee’s perceptions of how sport could cross social divides and create new relationships among participants. Sport has often been credited with the ability to bring individuals together who would otherwise not establish a relationship. It is “a powerful tool to build (relationships), to connect people to people” (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018). In addition, and as Vincent observed, it is an accessible, friendly and “cost effective approach” to development initiatives (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018). The SFD leaders with whom I spoke noted frequently how sport for development programs can increase bridging social capital in a number of specific ways. Tricia, one organization leader, highlighted, for example, sport’s capacity to span a variety of interpersonal divides:

I think that one of the best things about sport is that it just brings people together in a very peaceful way. You know, sport transcends so many barriers, whether it’s gender, social, racial, ethnic, whatever it is and it just provides a platform for boys and girls to play and learn (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Joe, who focuses on SFD curriculum design in ISA, also commented on sport’s ability to bridge social differences. In his experience, the exposure of working together through sport imbued participants with a vision for collaboration that could be transferred to other settings:

it has been tested to be a tool to, you know, bring A and B together, who never believed A and B could be together. They end up saying, ‘If we can spend the one hour or thirty minutes playing, then we can really spend a lifetime together. We can be together.’ It is very important to note that sport has really helped in social cohesion, in reuniting communities, in [bringing] people together (Joe, personal interview, January, 2018).

Nearly all of my interviewees referenced two social divides that exist in Rwanda, both of which have limited social cohesion and therefore possibilities for shared projects for economic and political change. I turn now to a discussion of my interviewee's perceptions of sport's role in encouraging bridging social capital across those two divides: Ethnic tensions post-genocide and gender inequality.

Sports' Role in Rwanda's Post-Conflict Setting

The 1994 genocide emerged as a key theme in this inquiry and particularly when those I interviewed discussed the dynamics of bonding social capital. My interviewees frequently referenced social divisions spurred by race and ethnicity as well as tensions among regions within Rwanda. Interviewees typically addressed this topic within a broader discussion of the ethnic tensions in Rwanda and the role of sport in peacebuilding efforts. Every level of SFD program staff I interviewed, including coaches, program leaders, those who work in curriculum design and organization leaders, commented on the genocide specifically or indirectly through references to peacebuilding. As I noted above, of those I interviewed, 70% were native Rwandans and all but one interviewee was old enough personally to recall the 1994 genocide and to articulate its devastating impacts. In addition to their current employment with an SFD organization in Rwanda, many of my interviewees had previously worked for other such entities or NGOs indirectly involved in such programs.

Vincent, a SFD organization leader, spoke frankly about the role of such initiatives following the genocide. He recalled a time when his organization considered how sport could be used in the nation's healing process:

Especially after the genocide, (a) new approach (was) sparked, one being Sport for Development. We said, 'How can we use sport and play activities to unite people who have been divided for (so) long and to help victims of the genocide against the Tutsi to be reintegrated in the community? How can we use sport and play activity to help the people

who have returned from exile (after) almost 10 years?’ (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Vincent suggested that he was convinced that such initiatives served as an important tool to help “to unite our community” (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018). He argued that SFD programs have been able to bring individuals together during a very difficult time in the nation:

Togetherness was one of the factors that we found from Sport for Development in the context of Rwanda. And this was paramount. Why? Because after (the) genocide, our society was extremely divided. There was a sense, you know, you could feel the fear among people. One felt fear every hour, because it was a very sensitive period and some genocidaires were (still) around. So, there was this kind of fear and a huge repatriation [was occurring too, as] many refugees were returning from the Congo (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Andy is a native Rwandan whose long experience in the field of SFD lent a special depth and insight to his comments. He contended that sport had played a role in repatriation and that SFD programs provided an “opportunity to advocate for vulnerable people ... to help them have access to better health services or education” (personal interview, January, 2018). He also discussed times when he observed that SFD program participants would “forget their region, they [would] forget their ethnic(ity)” and come together to play a simple game of football (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018). He spoke of continuing ethnic tensions in the country generally, yet also specifically mentioned the genocide and sport’s capacity to assist in rebuilding relationships broken by that horrific event:

...when we organize sport competitions and meet, [we are able to] help people from different backgrounds, different economic statuses, meet and build connections, build friendships, and build reconciliation. ... And the right example is in Rwanda where we have had tragedy, genocide, and hatred, but we used sport to rebuild, we help[ed] people to reunite, to meet again, and build a new society, a new understanding. It is a good example, in the case of Rwanda (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018).

Adriana also referenced the genocide and, like Andy, spoke specifically to the role SFD programs had played and were continuing to play in building a stronger society. In her judgment,

working with youth via sport had laid a foundation for a new generation of Rwandans that would move beyond the ethnic hatred of the past:

And also working with small kids, it's like creating a better generation, because our, all our country suffered a lot from the beginning. ... But now our kids, they know that ... they are equal, they have equal rights. And when the time comes, they will try to build a better family because of the lessons they get from our program (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018).

Other interviewees also pointed to the ongoing discord brought about by abiding ethnic tensions in the country. Ethan, for example, spoke generally of continuing discrimination, yet also referenced Rwanda as an example of how sport can bridge differences:

Even our country, you have north, south, and sometimes people tend to discriminate (against) others based on their region or their religion or their ethnic groups. But sport goes beyond all those differences to help people not to rely on the differences, but their commonality (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018).

Ethan did not comment further on religious discrimination but did add that the north/south and regional difference seemed to be more profound. In his view these divides were spawned mostly from people fleeing Rwanda to different neighboring countries, then resettling in different regions upon their return.

Anthony, a program leader with ISA, discussed how sport had aided his current efforts in peacebuilding and, in his view, just how inseparable the two phenomena were: "Sport for development and peace building, they are like two things which are very tight, they can't be separated" (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018). Andy observed that in his work with community level sport programs, "you can get the two opponents meeting, and they work together" (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018). Joe, who developed SFD program curricula for the CSO for which he worked, also saw the value and direct connection sport has to peacebuilding:

[S]port is a very important instrument if we are to build a sustainable community, you know, involvement and social cohesion. It is sport that really has helped us bridge the gap and, you know, remove barriers of different societies against the others. Sending out the message practically, it is sport. For especially developing countries or countries that have been in conflict, if we talk of bringing about peace and reconciliation, you know, living together, then sport is the best approach to use to do this. It kills two birds with one stone (Joe, personal interview, January, 2018).

In his reflections on sport's role in peacebuilding in Rwanda following the genocide, Vincent spoke warmly of the progress the nation had attained in addressing its past divides stating, "we are celebrating all the strides that Rwanda has [made]. For instance, [we are now] a stable country, now it's safe, you may cross the street [anytime] night to morning" (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018). The strides Rwanda has made as a nation in addressing its social tensions and conflicts have had an impact on surrounding countries as well. Vincent argued that Rwanda was once divided by tribal hatred, but that the nation now served as a place of safety and opportunity for others: "We may receive many refugees in Rwanda. Rwanda is becoming like a host country in the region. Stable, strong, with a democracy, with leadership, strong leadership" (personal interview, January, 2018). He ended his interview with humility, however, noting that stability and peace can be very fragile, "But we never know, this (stability) can break in one day. You know?" (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Sport's Role in Addressing Gender Equality

Overall, this study's interviewees suggested that sport acted as a mediating agent that encouraged and enabled individuals to reach across existing social differences and tensions, including those concerning gender equality. In describing the current social structures in Rwanda, many interlocutors spoke to the often narrow and unequal roles allowed for women. These social expectations involved work (tasks that women are/are not allowed to do), leisure (how women can spend their time), dress (what type of clothing women can wear to various

occasions) and also included their interaction with sport. For her part, Melissa added that family structures can further complicate these already norm-laden expectations by the way they allocate responsibilities to girls and boys at home: “At home the family dynamic is very functional, typically. So, kids have responsibilities. Boys have responsibilities. Girls have tasks. Mothers have particular roles. Fathers have particular roles” (personal interview, January, 2018). Melissa argued that these gender expectations often create barriers and limitations concerning whether and when girls may participate in SFD initiatives, “especially in the rural areas” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Joe echoed Melissa’s contention and observed, “At a certain point you find some people are left out, not because they can’t (physically) participate, but because the community believes that such sports (are) not for ladies” (personal interview, January, 2018). On this same theme, Paul mentioned, rather matter-of-factly, that women are expected to dress in a certain way, stating, “A Rwandan girl is supposed to wear clothing that covers her” (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018). These social constraints and beliefs often prevent young women from wearing comfortable sporting attire, making it onerous for them to participate in sports and, more broadly, to engage in any activity that might challenge long established social norms.

Interviewee comments concerning gender raised two specific themes related to SFD and efforts to build bridging social capital through such efforts. First, sport for development programs envisage a positive and equal role for women in society, and secondly, that such efforts play a specific and practical role in bringing about that vision. These comments highlight the fact that social norms can require that those involved with sport programs cannot simply assume such conditions, but must work simultaneously to create them, even as they seek to implement sport-related curricula predicated on those values.

SFD Programs Creating Opportunities for Women and Girls

Interviewees discussed this tension or challenge, especially as it related to SFD programs promoting a vision for equality between boys and girls. Anthony noted candidly, however, that “some communities have not yet understood the participation of girls in sports and play activities” (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018). Despite this fact, interviewees from both YSC and ISA suggested that girls involved in SFD programs are actually able to experience a sense of equality quite unlike the structures imposed by established social norms. Before Tricia became an SFD organizational leader, she spent time in Rwanda working with other short-term sport programs. Her experience with those entities allowed her to develop the framework on which she established the SFD organization she now leads. She reflected on how SFD programs can spark helpful conversations concerning equality:

It was really this little boy at the end of the two-week volunteer trip that said to me, ‘I can see girls can play.’ I couldn’t believe this little 10-year-old boy was able to, in less than two weeks, shift his ideas or his attitudes around the capabilities of a girl through sport (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Adriana “became inspired” to join an SFD organization as a community coach due to her sense that such efforts seek to address issues of gender inequality. She observed the positive way these initiatives appeared to address equality, noting that they “were mixing boys and girls” and that SFD organizations employed “female coaches,” a practice that other community-based entities had not adopted (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). Adriana suggested how struck she had been as a coach as youth involved in the SFD programs with which she was engaged began to change their beliefs concerning gender equality:

when we recruit the new players, there are some boys ... and ... girls, who are not understanding how a girl and a boy can play together. But as the time goes, they try to understand. I have one player on my team. He was very quiet and he couldn’t even play (with) or try to pass to a girl. But now he is free. He cannot differentiate boys and girls when he’s playing (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018).

Finally, Adriana observed the impacts on the perceptions of many individuals in immediate and surrounding communities as those residents became aware of sport organizations that provided employment opportunities to women and that intentionally mixed groups of boys and girls through sport. She noted that, “even people from outside, they have a curiosity of knowing what [our SFD organization] is doing” (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). This interest arose in no small measure from the placement of females in leadership roles in SFD efforts, such as community coaches. Adriana reported that intrigued individuals would approach her and “ask us how we do our things, how we do coaching, as a female” (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). She reported that these discussions and interactions provided a fresh vision of gender equality that was attractive to many of those who contacted her. She suggested that because of her CSO’s emphasis on gender equality and the positive changes in participant behavior that its programs appeared to elicit, that “many people wish to have the opportunity to join (sport for development organizations)” (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018).

SFD Programs and the Gender Divide

The majority of my interviewees strongly suggested that their SFD organizations and programs directly address current socially acceptable gender inequalities in Rwanda. Indeed, these interviewees reported that their organizations aim in part to use sport to teach participants about the importance of gender equality. However, when youth first become involved in these offerings, as Jessica noted, they often bring with them “backward ideas of more rigid gender roles” (personal interview, February, 2018). Jessica’s organization, YSC, frequently employs what it has dubbed “Community Days” to invite local youth to participate in SFD programming for a day. During those events in particular, Jessica commented on how local youngsters new to

the SFD program mixed with already involved youth who had accepted equal roles for boys and girls:

Boys from the community will come in and try and push the girls who are playing football out of the way and you can kind of see those girls try and fight back. And to also see the YSC boys say, 'No! It's okay, (girls) can play' (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Interviewees reported that episodes such as this one happen often and highlight the role of traditional conceptions of gender, if those are not actively challenged. Most interviewees, however, were very comfortable using SFD to address these assumptions and, in fact, considered their programming a significant opportunity to introduce youth to new ways of thinking and alternative behaviors concerning gender. As Melissa asked, "How and why and what can we do to transform the rigid gender expectations so many youth now hold" (personal interview, January, 2018)? She summarized the role of SFD programs in addressing cultural assumptions regarding gender by suggesting that they seek:

to create a space in which it is normal to be either a boy or a girl, to be friends with a boy or girl, and to respect each other as entities, as persons. And then also to acknowledge how that doesn't happen in daily life (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

Anthony, Adriana, and Melissa suggested SFD programs could play a particular role and provide space to promote teamwork among girls and boys. Both Anthony and Adriana detailed specific instances in which they had observed a boy and/or girl's behaviors' change towards gender roles and specifically how their expectations concerning how they should interact had shifted. Anthony (program leader) recalled changes in one youth's behavior over time and how his previously held rigid view of unequal gender roles had slowly evolved into a conception that saw girls and boys as equals:

I remember a young boy of 12 years whose name I will not share. He gave a good testimony of the way he used to consider it a curse. For him, a girl was like a useless person. Whenever, wherever he used to see a girl, he bit her or he slapped her and said,

‘Get out of my way, you girl. You can’t say anything before me, I’m a boy. I can even beat you.’ So, for him, a girl was like, it was like, how can I say, someone who has no value. But through different activities of play, we used to practice with them, to show them what a boy can do, a girl can do the same. It created something of equality and he now understands that girls have the same role to build the community as boys (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

Adriana also recalled the evolution of a young girl’s perspective and behavior towards boys. Prevailing social norms shaped the youngster’s initial stance concerning how to interact with boys. However, her involvement in the SFD program influenced her thoughts and behaviors and provided opportunities for very different and ultimately, quite positive, interactions with boys:

[At first] she was not able to play with boys, but now she’s playing with them. And even when you asked her, she told you that before they were told boys, they have to play alone, and the girls they have to play alone. She didn’t know that boys and girls they can work together (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018).

Melissa highlighted behavioral changes when working with youth in her SFD programs as well. In our discussions, she was also thoughtful about how present-day changes in behaviors towards gender equality might evolve as the young SFD program participants age. She hoped that her current work would lay a foundation that would extend beyond sport:

So, it’s an ongoing process as the players grow, but definitely, like this group of younger players now, the ones I’ve been around for the last couple of years, I look at them now, age 10, and how they are. Once they hit puberty and they start to become teenagers, they continue with us, I think we’ll see some really amazing transformations in the way they connect to each other and their expectations of relationships. And if it’s not even just within sport, but what they understand about the opposite gender and how they can then relate to that opposite gender outside of the program as well (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

Lastly, Jessica, Paul, and Ethan, representing both ISA and YSC, spoke to ways in which SFD programs promoted teamwork among participating youngsters. Jessica, who has spent extensive time leading sport programs, observed, “I mean boys and girls, it really works. I’ve seen it firsthand. Boys and girls work together, they talk together, there’s no ‘girls can’t play this

sport because of this.’ You know, they work really well together” (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018). Paul detailed ways in which boys and girls worked together as a team when in settings outside of their shared SFD program. His perception was that their ability to include each other was influenced by lessons they had learned in their sports program:

There is also the split of gender, because we thought people were thinking (that) only boys can play football. But they have (since) started involving their sisters ... they want their sisters to be involved in the (sport) also. So, it can increase their teamwork. It can also promote [changes in] gender perspective (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

Ethan works for YSC, the same as that which employs Jessica, and spoke often of the “Community Days” in which youth from the area can join in programs (personal interview, January, 2018). Ethan leads a “community conversation” at the end of each such day’s SFD activities engaging all participants and YSC leaders (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018). These dialogues seem to help address the obvious divides girls and boys bring to these events:

So, for the question, as I said at the beginning, it was, we used a lot of strength to encourage girls to play with the boys. It was something strange to them. So, (the girls) have their own ball (because) they want to play alone, away from boys. ... The boys wouldn’t welcome them. But after we had a community conversation ... they feel like they are people together. They can work together. They can make a strong activity together, the boys and the girls (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018).

Eight of ten SFD staffers and leaders I interviewed saw many of the rigid gender roles and expected norms they encountered among the youth with whom they interacted as a significant societal problem. They believed the nation’s culture had placed artificial limitations on girls related to their ability to play sports and their broader roles and contributions to society. Paul shared this view and argued that youth and community members’ perspectives often changed as they participated in SFD programs, “But after seeing the impact of sports, after seeing that, you know, it is not culture (norms) that should live someone down, so people started believing in sports” (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

Sport's Role in Helping Participants Cross Social Divides

Every SFD leader I interviewed reflected on sport's ability to cross social divides and draw individuals from different regions, schools, communities and backgrounds together to form new relationships, i.e., to generate bridging social capital. These relationships would not likely have formed without sport for development programming. Melissa stated that children from different areas and schools "would not necessarily know each other if they were not coming (to YSC)" (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Joe, a curriculum design leader, discussed the ways sport bridged gaps among people and communities:

I've seen it happen here, people play with people who they never believed they could have played with and at the end of the day they tend to remove that barrier, because (they) enjoyed to play and they feel now together. So, it's really something that has been, you know, I've seen proved. That sport for development can reunite different communities, bring back together different communities and bridge the gap (Joe, personal interview, January, 2018).

Jessica recalled an event that she helped organize to which youth from different schools across Rwanda were invited. The gathering, known as Olympic Day, focused on connecting young people through the Olympic Values of respect, excellence and friendship. The participating youth were "pretty easily integrated" in her view and the day provided the opportunity to compete in games and to meet young people from different communities (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018). The event's organizers sorted youngsters into random groups. Jessica commented on how comfortable and close the children became with each other as the games progressed:

We had a list of people and we split them up into groups and then we had our own individual YSC program. And that was like completely intermixed with different kids in different communities. I can definitely say on that level, I watched all day, these kids from all over Rwanda, playing a game of football together and it was total, it was like, not like they knew each other their whole life, but it was definitely bringing kids together. And you could see them laughing and talking on the sides and kids from (rural areas) wanted to know what life in Kigali was like. You know, they're so amazed by the big

cities and you know, stuff like that. It was definitely really cool to see kids from all over Rwanda, completely different lives and stuff like that kind of come together (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Jessica described the role SFD coaches played in integrating youth from different communities, schools and backgrounds. In her view, these leaders played a very significant role in creating an inviting and comfortable atmosphere that allowed children space simply to be themselves:

[The coaches] never made anyone feel excluded. They were always trying to bring people into the game that they were playing, whether it be like in the five minutes before a program starts when we have free time, they're always bringing people in (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Jessica specifically mentioned an activity called Opening Circle that provided coaches time to connect participants as the program began. Prior to Opening Circle, most children were scattered throughout the field, playing a number of unorganized, smaller games with each other, awaiting the beginning of scheduled activities. With Opening Circle, the unorganized games ceased and the children came together, held hands, and formed a large circle. Coaches moved in and out of the circle and either ask informal ice-breaker type questions or made statements to encourage the children: 'How is your day? What game were you two playing together? Hey Steve, I'm so glad you are here today!' Jessica suggested that these informal yet intentional interactions set a tone of inclusivity for all participants for the upcoming activities

Lastly, Andy, a community coach with YSC, argued that sport provided an opportunity for individuals to share their values with others:

And when you won't have a difference to know, to get to know which is different from other people, these are values, this is something you can acquire by being with other people. If you are isolated, you cannot, you are like in darkness (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018).

The Dark Side of Social Capital

The Networks View of social capital gives equal consideration to the negative impacts, or dark side, of social capital. The existence of the dark side of social capital is well-known and has been examined by scholars and practitioners alike (Foer, 2010; Putnam, 2000; Stephenson, et al., 2013; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Violence, cheating, illicit drug use, and hooliganism more often than not summarize the typical dark sides of sport.

I employed questions in the interviews directed towards the dark side of social capital (Appendix A). More precisely, I asked each participant to share their perspectives on any negative impacts of sport and of those they believe are excluded from such activities. I found it interesting that only two interviewees spoke directly to this valence of sport and of those, only one referenced SFD programs specifically. Andy was the most candid in his responses yet the instances he shared were related to a previous job with professional sports and not his current role as an SFD leader. In his previous occupation with a professional sports organization, Andy had directly observed hooliganism, drug use, and bribes. He referenced hooliganism as “a negative side” and had observed fans, “who are eager to win,” fighting after a competition had finished (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018).

Anthony, a program leader with ISA, was the only interviewee who spoke directly to the dark side of social capital within SFD programs. From his perspective such offerings offered opportunities to “society in general,” but naturally excluded others:

Because, mainly for children with disability, they don't have enough access to play, to sports and play activities. And then some communities, even more, they have not yet understood the participation of girls in sports and play activities. So that kind of exclusion is there (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

Andy also referenced examples of coaches playing favorites, or “selecting the best children,” as he put it (personal interview, January, 2018). These concerns are important to the field of SFD and accompanying community-based efforts. Although Anthony was the only interviewee who referenced the dark side of social capital present in SFD programs, I suggest that this concern be a topic for additional research in Chapter 6.

Social Capital Bundles: An Interconnected View

The majority of my interviewees provided a number of examples of the co-existence of bonding and bridging social capital that these SFD leaders referred to as occurring simultaneously and seamlessly. Eighty percent of those I interviewed contended that bonding and bridging social capital were, at times, combined into a single bundle or phenomenon. The SFD leaders with whom I spoke often described separate dimensions of bonding or bridging social capital and how those reinforced one another and were interconnected. Interviewees suggested that they often saw evidence of the bonding roles played by family and community members reinforce positive behavioral change combined with bridging social capital dimensions, including greater acceptance of gender equality, diminution of ethnic tensions, and encouragement of more positive ties among long divided communities.

These SFD-program related social capital bundles addressed the most significant issues facing Rwanda as understood by these CSO leaders. The vast majority argued that this result of their efforts helped to address the pervasive inequality otherwise omnipresent in Rwandan society, arising in part from rigid gender roles. The genocide was also a constant reference among interviewees, who detailed the widespread pain, suffering and mistrust that still exists within Rwandan culture as a result of that event. All of those I interviewed suggested that the

inclusive nature of SFD programs provided opportunities to build trust among participants and surrounding communities to help to address these lingering pervasive social issues.

Melissa and Paul each provided specific examples of how SFD programs can encourage the intertwining of bonding and bridging social capital. Melissa described the experience of a female youth involved in her program and the growth of her social ties as she participated in SFD activities:

And she said, you know, ‘When I started as a girl in the classroom, I would never ask any questions. And then after playing soccer with boys, and scoring against them, I gained the confidence to ask questions in the classroom’ (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

As Melissa continued her description, she detailed how that participant had transferred the behavior and lessons she had learned through SFD programs to interactions at home and with peers at her school. There can be powerful effects when participants make these connections:

So, that transfers and we always connect it to daily life. That's really important. So, how can you apply these skills back in your daily life? So, they name it at school, at home, when they meet a challenge. So, every lesson they get from the game, from the discussion, [is] connected back to their daily lives. How can you use this? Where would you be able to use this? So, that allows them to seek opportunities to have this empowerment and this feeling of self-confidence and self-trust and self-efficacy, outside [of the program] (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

Melissa’s comments incorporated components of both bonding (strong ties at school or home) and bridging social capital (social divides related to gender) existing concurrently. Her example displays the blending of bonding and bridging social capital as an amalgam. She further detailed how the student she described transferred behaviors learned in the program to other relationships and interactions in her life. While participating in SFD initiatives does not guarantee that participants will absorb the lessons provided and shift those norms and behaviors to home and school, Melissa’s examples provide one instance in which a student did so.

Paul, who serves as an SFD organization leader, also suggested that gender inequality was often overcome, to varying degrees, as sport program participants took the lessons they had learned from the playing field “home” with them and interacted with their friends and siblings off the field on the basis of those norms. As they did so, the values and behaviors now guiding their interactions with family members and friends (bonding social capital) helped to redefine their gender related relationships (bridging social capital):

There is also the split of gender, because we thought people were thinking of it, only boys can play football. But they have started involving their sisters. So, that friendship is from one, two children, four children, six children, they want also their sisters to be involved in the play. So, it can increase their teamwork. It can increase the friendship between families (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

A more detailed analysis of this blending of SC encouraged by SFD programming and how interviewees described both its genesis and perceived effects follows.

Gender Inequality and Social Capital Bundles

With the exception of one interviewee, all SFD leaders frequently referenced gender inequality and SFD program efforts to address Rwandan social norms that maintain an inferior status for women. Interviewees described the formation of equal relationships among girls and boys (bonding social capital) in their sport programs and how those ties had often encouraged girls (and some boys as well) to challenge existing norms related to gender embraced by their parents and other community members (bridging social capital). SFD leaders viewed their programs as opportunities for boys and girls to understand each other and “consider (one) another as someone having a role in development of the community” (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018). They seek to strengthen ties among girls and boys formed through their participation in SFD programs. However, when actively involving parents in the programs, CSO leaders moved seamlessly between dimensions of bonding and bridging social capital—

namely the friendships formed amongst participants and notions of gender inequality held by their parents. Tricia, a CSO organization leader, noted that she is actually “seeing a shift in ... established cultural, social, gender norms” as a result of SFD programs (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Both Melissa and Tricia provided an example of this potential. Their CSO created a parent/child soccer game that allowed mothers/sons and fathers/daughters to pair up and play together. The youths involved in this SFD program had already formed friendships with other participants who were either, respectively, girls or boys. The introduction of their parents to the program often challenged those new norms regarding gender equality. The game involving parents in essence created a “new space” that parents and children had not previously been afforded to recreate and openly discuss social norms (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Melissa observed that this space created a “very unique kind of dynamic and I'm pretty sure, I would go as far as saying we're maybe the only one in the country who does something like that” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Tricia agreed that the program created new openings for dialogue and for children to illustrate the power of alternate norms for their parents:

And I kind of feel like that's actually a transition into the new relationship, is that you're trying to shift what an existing relationship looks like and the harmful aspects of it that suppress women and girls especially and then be able to create this new dynamic relationship between boys and girls, men and women (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Tricia detailed how these newly formed ties created a space among parents and children that illustrated the power of gender equality. Commenting specifically on one father's growth in understanding of his daughter's abilities through the SFD program, Tricia noted:

You know it's them understanding, the parents understanding, 'wow, I can just kick a ball back and forth or pass a ball back and forth or throw a ball back and forth with my daughter.' And it, just being able to have this father see the daughter's ability to throw a ball, kick a ball, whatever it was. It changes the parent's perception and ... it is that shift in a relationship that can really start a snowball effect on being able to shift [their norms concerning] what a girl's capabilities are and for boys to be able to see that too (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

CSO leaders note that the youth involved in their programs play a significant role in their communities in redefining gender norms. They described this effect as involving both forms of social capital evidenced in cross-gender friendships and relationships among youth in SFD programs and between those young people and their parents and others as they discussed and sometimes rethought rigid gender roles and inequality. Adriana noted that she and her fellow CSO leaders "learn many things from (youth participants). How they live in their society, how their families understand gender, etc." (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). Children are afforded a "safe space to try on what we call new behaviors and to create new attitudes and have new conversations within our program" related to gender (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Youth participating in SFD are involved in breaking down existing barriers and norms among themselves linked to gender and then challenging the traditional views they had abandoned, but still often held by their parents and other community residents as they interacted with those groups. Nevertheless, the tandem of bonding social capital and bridging social capital encourages diffusion of change, but does not guarantee it:

For example, when we talk to them, they become open to express their feelings and how they see their mom, their dad (and) the situation of their family. Some of them, they try to tell us, for example, when we talked about a conflict based on gender and you ask them what they can do, they go home and try to convince their parents and after doing so they give us their feedback. In that case, we see, it's like an image of our society (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018).

Tricia observed the same and noted that boys and girls who came to view each other as equals through SFD programs shared their newly developed thoughts and perspectives in a variety of settings:

And then when they're comfortable, they are slowly sharing, you know, what they've learned outside the program, in school, in the community, at home. And that's where you're seeing those new relationships actually, you know, happening and forming. And it's really been pretty cool (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

Both Tricia and Adriana described their work with youth as critically important to social change and growth in Rwanda. Their SFD programs aim first to strengthen relationships among youth and encourage the adoption of new norms of equality and thereafter also to motivate participating youngsters to challenge social divides and work to realize gender equality in their homes and communities. Bonding and bridging social capital were interconnected in these two leaders' discussions of the development of trusting friendships and an awareness of the possibility and "rightness" of gender equality within SFD programs and the encouragement of their transfer thereafter via the youth who had adopted them to other groups.

Adriana captured the work of her SFD program with youth and the message of freshly considered values and gender equality they shared and embodied beyond the SFD program as, "...really a great thing. It's like creating a foundation or starting building the house. ... Because they are our future" (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). Tricia suggested that she believes their work with youth can "shift a generational way of thinking, so that it is something that [will] carry on" into Rwanda's future (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018).

The Impacts of Genocide: Social Capital Bundles and Societal Norms

Vincent has created SFD programs for orphans born out of the sexual violence that occurred during the genocide. He noticed these youngsters had formed unique bonds with each other, yet felt distant from society at-large, separated largely by ethnic tensions. Vincent's

experiences working with this population have included efforts to employ SFD to address ethnic tensions (bridging social capital) and to strengthen friendships (bonding capital) among youth in this group:

The children ... were born by the mothers who had been raped ... in (the) genocide. And those children, most of them, they don't [live for a purpose]. They don't, they are just children without knowing their parents. It was a huge identity problem in this country, so ... we offer an opportunity for children to talk out, to speak out. Through play, come and play, have time to reflect on your problems and have time to connect what you are suffering in your heart with the real life that you are living. And now, have a time to share your concerns, your trauma, your problems, your critical problem with peers who are suffering the same issues (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

The bundling of social capital is captured in Vincent's references to his efforts to encourage strong friendships among these youth (bonding SC) coupled with assisting them to develop the wherewithal to understand, and hopefully, to help to address the continuing ethnic divisions within the broader society (bridging SC).

The genocide has also affected Paul's work in the community as a program leader for ISA. He observed specifically in his interview that "girls are not involved in sports [in part] because of [Rwanda's genocide] history" (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018). For this leader, that fact has provided SFD programs a unique opportunity to encourage social and bridging social capital simultaneously:

It means that sports can attract youth and the community, so that you can deliver your message. Previously, a girl, an African girl, especially a Rwandan girl, could not put on (athletic clothing) and go to the playground. That perception has changed. Because (girls) can see their brothers playing, now we have a combination match, girls and boys. Then that has impacted our youth (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

SFD programs attempt to strengthen relationships among youth participants (bonding social capital), yet the replication and diffusion of those ties can be hindered by prevailing social values concerning appropriate gender roles and inter-group (ethnic) communication. The following examples shared by SFD leaders include dimensions of both bonding and bridging

social capital. In one specific instance, a child told a community coach that, “no, no, no, no, no, I cannot collaborate with that other child. Because my parents told me not to talk to that one” (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018). In his interview, Anthony argued that SFD programs can help to address this social (and discriminatory) challenge. As he noted in a re-created conversation:

‘But you played together and he’s the one who supported you to kick a goal. So, how can’t you collaborate with him? There’s no hate between you and him. Just as you played, it’s the same way you can work together in the class or in other activities’ (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

In this way, SFD programs use sport to encourage “strong relationships between children who participate” (bonding SC) and begin to address the continuing ethnic tensions of the genocide (bridging SC) by doing so across existing social categories (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

Vincent provided another example of social capital as a bundle in his interview. He argued that participating youth strengthened their relationships and friendships through SFD programming—dimensions of bonding social capital. However, those same youngsters were simultaneously confronting pressures from their parents regarding the “unacceptable” character of their SFD program friends, imposed by values arising from the continuing ethnic tensions in Rwanda—a dimension typically examined by studies of bridging social capital. This simmering strain has continued to shape Rwanda since the genocide:

Because it happened that when children have been playing, their parents said, ‘Don’t play with that girl, that child, because (he/she) is from the family that killed our relatives. Please, don’t play.’ So, we said we need now to have (a) parent program, because they’re the ones who are influencing the children. They have to be sensitized. They have to change their mindset, but it will take time (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Paul also referenced interactions between SFD participants/peers and their parents. He suggested that friendships between youth involved in sport for development programs had positive impacts on parents previously separated by ethnic tensions:

a few years ago, you might find that parents were not friendly with other parents, whether [or not] they are neighbors, but their children could be like, could [be friends]. Because when they are at school they are playing together. When they are in the community, there is a playground. They connect there, their local play box, they can play together. Then those friendship(s) between children can also migrate to that friendship between families. ... So, before you know it, [parents] can come to be friends and that spirit from children can also affect the family (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

Chapter 5

Analysis of Findings and Social Capital Operationalized

Addressing Gaps in the Literature

This chapter provides an analysis of this study's findings related to a sample of leaders' perceptions of the role of SFD programs in encouraging social capital formation. I sought to address two gaps in the current literature: a relative absence of qualitative research in the field of SFD and limited past exploration of the social capital that such programs promote and how they do so. To investigate these concerns, this inquiry relied on the knowledge and experience of a sample of SFD leaders and staff offering sport and development programs in Kigali, Rwanda. The findings outlined here do not support existing assumptions of development as a linear process. The results do, however, point to sport's contribution at the community level to social capital development and the diffusion of values and behaviors.

Gaps remain in the existing qualitative analyses of sport for development and particularly in conceptual and empirical understanding of sport's role in such efforts at the societal level. Sport has long been discussed as a strategy to address an array of international development challenges (Kidd, 2008, Nicholls, 2012, Right to Play, 2014, SDP IWG, 2007). In my review of the literature, I identified two salient gaps. I highlight and discuss each briefly again below.

Gap One: Phenomenology as an analytic strategy allows for local knowledge to emerge through SFD leaders' lived experiences. This approach is underrepresented in the SFD literature; particularly as it pertains to incorporating the perceptions of grassroots practitioners.

Gap Two: Limited empirical exploration of particular social capital dimensions and their specific relationship to SFD programs.

Gap One: The Absence of Qualitative Research in the Field of SFD

The current development literature relies heavily on linear quantitative models that neglect individual relationships and over emphasize material well-being (Coalter, 2009). This approach has negatively affected the field of SFD by creating a virtual void of qualitative inquiries that investigate local knowledge. Qualitative methods are well-suited to reveal the lived experiences of SFD practitioners and participants (Coalter, 2009). Table 5 outlines the characteristics of the qualitative method I utilized, phenomenology, and the associated data I explored related to study participants' lived experiences. Qualitative inquiry can reveal professionals' expertise, lived experience and the nuances of the lives of, in this case, SFD participants (Creswell, 2013; Groenewald, 2004). As both Levermore and Coalter have suggested, standard quantitative development data is not conducive to SFD as such models often disregard "the relatively chaotic lives" of such practitioners and their program participants (Coalter, 2009, Levermore, 2011). As Creswell has observed:

We also use qualitative research because quantitative measures and statistical analyses simply do not fit the problem. To level all individuals to a statistical mean overlooks the uniqueness of individuals in our studies. Qualitative approaches are simply a better fit for our research problem (Creswell, 2013, p. 48).

Qualitative inquiry "yields thick description, rich data, and the understanding of nuance" that currently dominant development models often fail to capture (Creswell, 2013, Groenewald, 2004).

Table 5*Characteristics of Phenomenology*

	<i>Characteristics of Phenomenology; a Qualitative Approach</i>
<i>Focus</i>	Understanding the essence of the experience
Type of Problem Best Suited for Design	Needing to describe the essence of a lived phenomenon
Discipline Background	Drawing from philosophy, psychology and education
Unit Analysis	Studying several individuals who have shared the experience
Data Collection Forms	Using primarily interviews with individuals, although documents, observations, and art may also be considered
Data Analysis Strategies	Analyzing data for significant statements, meaning units, textual and structural description and description of the “essence”
Written Report	Describing the “essence” of the experience

(Creswell, 2013, p. 104)

Further, the lack of qualitative inquiries of SFD efforts has been compounded by the exclusion of participants and professionals directly involved in SFD. Nicholls (2012) has contended that the exclusion of the contributions of program participants and professionals subjugates local knowledge, thereby allowing grand narratives to dominate the development literature. Nicholls has also argued that, “the failure of development professionals to recognize the privileging of Northern knowledge and the subsequent colonial subjugation of Southern knowledge creates a cycle of dominance that ignores grassroots practitioners’ valuable contributions to the strengthening of development practices” (2012, p. 160). In contrast, qualitative inquiry allows the analyst to investigate the efforts and influence of those professionals and participants directly and daily involved in SFD programs. Qualitative exploration encourages investigators to value the practical and local knowledge of grassroots civil society leaders and to include their views in analyses. As previously noted, Nicholls has contended that, “shifting the focus from valuing grand policy narratives to grassroots contributions, makes it possible to re-envisage the sport in development agenda” in a meaningful

way (2012, p. 163). Gathering emergent data through interviews with CSO leaders shifts the analytical focus in the direction that Nicholls advocated.

Those I interviewed offered specific insights and concerns, contextualized within Rwanda, of the social effects of the SFD programs with which they were engaged. I included general questions related to sport-related initiatives and social capital to offer my interviewees an opportunity to share insights and concerns I otherwise might not have anticipated. Gender equality and the nation's 1994 genocide emerged as continuing and abiding anxieties for participants in this study. Far from embracing a view of their work as a social panacea, interviewees highlighted two specific themes of significance:

1. SFD's role in spurring efforts to secure greater gender equality in Rwanda
2. SFD's role in generating social capital for social change in post-genocide Rwanda

Representatives of every level of CSO staff role (Community Level Programs, Curriculum Design, Organizational Leader and Community Coach) referenced the 1994 Rwanda Genocide during their interviews. As noted above, all but one of my interviewees was old enough to recall the 1994 genocide. Their comments addressed the ethnic tensions that continue to exist in Rwanda today and the ways they perceived that SFD programs could help to address them. Vincent, for example, commented on the emphasis on sport programs post-genocide and asked:

How can we use sport ... to unite people who have been divided for so long and to help victims of the genocide against the Tutsi to be reintegrated in the community? How can we use sport and play activity to help the people who have returned from exile [after] almost 10 years? (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Vincent also observed that, "after the genocide, our society was extremely divided. ... You could feel the fear among people" (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Other interviewees spoke of continuing ethnic/tribal tensions in their nation and the need to rebuild trust among residents. They expressed a desire for reconciliation among members of different groups and to end discrimination based on region(s). The ethnic and/or regional divisions that exist among SFD participants were strongly evident as interviewees Andy, Vincent, Ethan, Anthony and Adriana all referenced those concerns directly. However, the same interlocutors also argued that sport could play a meaningful role in helping their fellow citizens address those divisions. Ethan suggested that SFD programs “helped people not to rely on their differences, but their commonality” (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018). Andy saw these initiatives as opportunities to “advocate for vulnerable people” and those marginalized by ethnic discrimination and division (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018). Anthony commented on SFD programs’ overall role in reconciliation, stating that such efforts and peacebuilding initiatives naturally align and their causes “can’t be separated” (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

Gap Two: Limited Explorations of Social Capital Dimensions

An additional gap in the SFD literature is the limited attention thus far devoted to how sport may help to produce the social capital necessary for peace and sustainable development. The sport program leaders I interviewed often described social capital as a multilayered phenomenon that melded elements of both bonding and bridging social capital. Indeed, their experiences led them to describe these particular dimensions as self-reinforcing. The two forms of social capital present themselves as separate in principle, yet with the exception of two interviewees, all of those with whom I spoke described them as joined in practice. I briefly reflect here on what my findings suggest concerning the role that sport may play in society by

means of its links to social capital formation and diffusion. I also discuss the social capital dimensions that my interviewees highlighted.

The Networks View: Operationalizing Social Capital

I operationalized social capital using the World Bank’s SCI networks conceptualization that includes both bonding and bridging social capital. Table 2 from Chapter 1, presented again below, explores distinctions associated with both forms of social capital. I reviewed my interviewees responses concerning intrapersonal relationships (bonding SC) and interpersonal relationships (bridging SC) affected by SDP programs with that framework as a referent. I found (8 of 10 interviewees’ so contended) that bonding and bridging social capital often appear as a collective amalgam of characteristics. In other words, the SFD leaders I interviewed did not view these two dimensions as separate phenomena, but instead discussed them in tandem.

Table 2

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital Distinctions

	Community ties	Strength of ties	Emphasis of ties	Direction of ties	Network ties
Bonding	Intra-community	Strong	Sense of identity	Horizontal	Internal
Bridging	Inter-community	Weak	Cross social divides	Vertical	External

Overall, this work provides a better understanding of how specific dimensions of social capital are operationalized as well as the multiple factors at play in sport’s role in social capital formation. A layered reality arose in interviewee comments that challenged overgeneralized assumptions concerning sport’s linkage to social capital. In what follows, I analyze interviewees’ perceptions of bonding and bridging social capital and the specific means by which they sought

to operationalize those forms of the phenomenon. That is, this analysis provides empirical evidence, based on the perceptions of program leaders, concerning how SFD program leaders operationalize social capital.

Bonding Social Capital and Intrapersonal Relationships

Bonding social capital emphasizes intra-community ties within an existing network. These horizontal connections among groups build a sense of shared identity across differences. Those I interviewed, suggested that SFD operates to encourage such bonds by means of several specific mechanisms. Rather than suggesting broad conceptual ways in which social capital exists or is strengthened by their sport programs, my interviewees focused on the experiences of participants in their initiatives. In this way, they operationalized bonding social capital as connections characterized by empathy and mutual respect among teammates, family members, peers and organizations.

Several interviewees, including Ethan, Paul, Melissa, Adriana and Jessica, emphasized that participating youth spend considerable time together and that those shared experiences encouraged companionship and increased empathy among those so engaged. Ethan noted that participants are “together a lot of the time,” which provides ample opportunity for frequent conversations. Through time together and the interactions and experiences arising from it, participants came to know each other at a much deeper level, and thus had multiple opportunities to form stronger friendships (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018). Those ties allowed the youth engaged to develop a “deep care for one another, regardless of political beliefs, (or) your values at times...” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Jessica noted that SFD program participants actually “get to know everyone on a much deeper level and I think the kids are getting to understand each other on a much deeper level (personal interview, January, 2018).

According to this study's interviewees, the empathy developed during sport programs manifests itself beyond those confines as well. Adriana, for example, shared multiple examples of youth investing in the lives of their friends by seeking them out at their homes outside of sport.

Participants did this especially if they perceived their friend was distraught or facing a difficult life circumstance. Adriana summarized those interactions in this way:

Then when they come to the program [thereafter], they come ready to report to us, 'this one is upset because of this and this.' And you ask them how did you know that? Then they told us that we went to see them and ... we try to know what is going on (with) our teammate(s) (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018).

Andy and Paul suggested that participants developed a new sense of respect for one another through the teamwork that their involvement in sport demanded. Andy suggested these relationships extended to colleagues, peers, neighbors and coaches (personal interview, January, 2018). In his view, these relationships built a "chance to acquire a better result" in life by encouraging strong relationships with friends and professionals (personal interview, January, 2018). Paul noted that these ties "increase the confidence, the respect, the team spirit among the peers" (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

Tricia and Paul both commented on the depths of the ties formed among family members through SFD program participation. Tricia, in particular, noted that family members' perceptions of each other changed when they engaged in sport together (Tricia, personal interview, January, 2018). In particular, Tricia discussed how such changes could "shift" an overall relationship and cause a positive "snowball effect" in the family's assumptions concerning gender (Tricia, personal interview, January, 2018). These examples highlight the specific means by which program leaders perceived that SFD programs encouraged the development of bonding social capital. Although I could not gauge the extent to which the changes reported were sustained, this study's interviewees uniformly suggested that family members, peers and teammates frequently

formed a deepened sense of empathy and mutual respect for one another through participation in SFD opportunities.

Bridging Social Capital and Interpersonal Relationships

Bridging social capital emphasizes social barriers and divides, including “religion, class, ethnicity, gender, and socio-economic status” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 7). This form of social capital is defined by its weak social ties among groups. I sought to understand better how CSO leaders perceived the role of sport as a vehicle that could encourage participants and those with whom they routinely interacted to cross social barriers and divides. Each interviewee described how their sport-related efforts have stimulated bridging social capital. Ethan, for example, noted that sports are “a powerful tool to build (relationships), to connect people to people” (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018). Overall, this study’s interviewees argued that sport has played a material role in helping their nation address continuing ethnic divides and gender inequality especially. I next share SFD leaders’ perceptions of how their programs help to promote bridging social capital.

Ethnic Divides Related to the Genocide

The sport for development leaders I interviewed reported that their programs sought to bring participants together who were otherwise separated based on ethnic or regional divides by encouraging the development of bridging social capital. Interviewees from both organizations I sampled contended that sport played an active role in uniting and reintegrating Rwandans after the genocide. As Vincent commented:

especially after the genocide, (a) new approach (was) sparked, one being Sport for Development. We said, ‘How can we use sport and play activities to unite people who have been divided for (so) long and to help victims of the genocide against the Tutsi to be reintegrated in the community?’ (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

The genocide caused many to flee Rwanda for safety in neighboring countries. Upon return, many of those who had fled settled in different regions of their home country. This reality has caused ethnic and regional divides as the nation has worked to heal. Vincent and Andy both argued that SFD was playing an active role in encouraging the return and reintegration of exiles. Vincent noted that SFD program leaders began to consider how “sport and play activity” can “help the people who have returned from exile” after the genocide (personal interview, January, 2018). Andy added that sport can assist in the equitable repatriation of exiles by providing an “opportunity to advocate for vulnerable people ... to help them have access to better health services or education” (Andy, personal interview, January, 2018). Ethan commented specifically on discrimination based on individuals’ region or ethnic group affiliation (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018). He added, however, that “sport goes beyond all those differences to help people not to rely on the differences, but their commonality” (Ethan, personal interview, January, 2018).

In Tricia’s view, sport transcended the nation’s geographic and ethnic divides and offered the potential to build a more inclusive community: “I think that one of the best things about sport is that it just brings people together in a very peaceful way. You know, sport transcends so many barriers, whether it’s gender, social, racial, ethnic, whatever it is” (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018). Joe added that sport could bring individuals together who had not previously believed they could coexist, stating that “sport has really helped in social cohesion, in reuniting communities, in reuniting people together” (Joe, personal interview, January, 2018). Vincent summarized bridging social capital’s role in Rwanda’s post-genocide setting as one of “togetherness” and contended that SFD programs were “one of the factors” that played a specific conflict ameliorating role (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Gender Inequality and Social Norms

The vast majority of my interviewees, 8 of 10, discussed the challenging gender divide that exists in Rwanda. Most commented on the strict and narrow roles into which women are placed by rigid social norms. These constraints include expectations related to work, family, leisure, dress and participation in sport. As I discussed bridging social capital with SFD leaders, it became clear that traditional gender norms and inequality are constant challenges in delivering their programs.

Interviewees described gender-related expectations as a significant impediment to including women and girls in their sport programs. Joe, from ISA, observed that “some people are left out, not because they can’t (physically) participate, but because the community believes that sports (are) not for ladies” (Joe, personal interview, January, 2018). In Anthony’s view, many community members were unable to grasp that girls could participate in sport and SFD programs (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018). In his view, that lack of comprehension arose from a belief that young women should not participate in sports. It was reinforced by a prevailing bias that sports were exclusively for boys in any case. Adriana confronted that assumption by actively recruiting local girls to participate in her NGO’s sports programs. She noted that, “when we recruit the new players, there are some boys ... who are not understanding how a girl and a boy can play together” (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). She then stated that program leaders are able to discuss notions of gender equality openly with participants through what her organization refers to as “community conversations” (personal interview, January, 2018). She indicated that she routinely contends that sports are not exclusive to one gender and that boys and girls can play, compete and participate in sports together.

Melissa, Paul and Ethan collectively represent both CSOs and all referred to SFD programs as a space in which boys and girls could interact, build relationships and recognize their respective strengths and abilities, regardless of gender. Melissa, for example, described SFD programs as a space in which “it is normal to be either a boy or a girl, to be friends with a boy or girl and to respect each other as entities, as persons” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Paul and Ethan each observed that participants gained respect for each other and one another’s abilities through extended amounts of time spent together in SFD programs (Paul and Ethan, personal interviews, January, 2018). Gender inequality and bias had previously prevented these opportunities and this “new space” from forming: “So, (SFD programs) are creating new spaces in which (youth are) interacting in ways that are not afforded typically” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

Those I interviewed uniformly argued that they used their programs to challenge established social norms related to gender inequality. Specifically, they had challenged the notions that sports were exclusively for boys and that girls could not participate in sports or SFD programs as equals. Both Tricia and Jessica commented on SFD programs’ effectiveness in this regard. Tricia suggested that sport programs provide a powerful “platform for boys and girls to play and learn” together (Tricia, personal interview, February, 2018). Jessica summarized what most of those interviewed for this study articulated regarding the efficacy of SFD programs to combat gender inequality:

I mean boys and girls, it really works. I’ve seen it firsthand. Boys and girls work together, they talk together, there’s no ‘girls can’t play this sport. ...’ You know, they work really well together (Jessica, personal interview, February, 2018).

Melissa, Paul, Ethan, Tricia and Jessica each specifically suggested that their programs actively prompted participants to rethink dominant social norms related to gender equality. Their SFD

initiatives ultimately challenged prevailing beliefs concerning women and girls' involvement in sports and provided a tangible space and platform for not simply calling for their equality, but also demonstrating it.

Social Capital Bundles: Co-Production of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

As I have argued, interviewees shared a number of instances that included both bonding and bridging social capital occurring simultaneously. I refer to these events as social capital bundles or amalgams, given that my interviewees described them as concurrent phenomena. As has been discussed, SFD organization leaders and staffers are persistently aware that participants bring their full range of life experiences and social frailties to their programs. This spectrum includes both inter-and-intra-personal relationships. Describing social capital in this way began to make sense intuitively given that qualitative research aims at capturing the lived experience of those involved. Rwanda's ongoing social condition of gender inequality and ethnic tensions clearly involves both dimensions of social capital and include intrapersonal (bonding) and interpersonal (bridging) relationships. SFD leaders described their programs as one setting, or lived experience, in which these forms of social capital could be encouraged. Youth SFD participants also faced these twin social challenges in other settings as well; including within their communities and neighborhoods, in their schools and classrooms and with daily interactions with their family members. The World Bank's SCI networks view operationalized social capital as evidencing two distinct dimensions and yet SFD leaders across both CSOs I interviewed suggested that both of those often developed and were evidenced concurrently in their programs, given the intersection of both intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships present in their program offerings.

SFD participants naturally develop both intrapersonal (strong ties) and interpersonal (weak ties) with other program peers. Intrapersonal relationships included participants' connections with their parents, friends and peers. Interpersonal ties included those with individuals from different ethnic backgrounds, of different genders and hailing from different communities/regions of Rwanda. SFD leaders, in turn, are constantly exposed to the full range of participants' relationships in their programs, including those exhibiting either strong and/or weak ties. The full range of participants connections occur in a variety of settings outside of their SFD involvement and, as CSO leaders suggested, result in a variety of outcomes. The following section highlights the range and character of these "bundles" and what interviewees suggested concerning their outcomes.

Social Capital Bundles Involve a Range of Relationships

SFD participants are influenced by relationships that span all facets of their lives. This study's interviewees mentioned connections that included, but were not limited to, classmates, teammates, parent/child, siblings, friends/peers and acquaintances. Those ties, of course, crossed multiple settings, yet participating youth discussed them with program leaders frequently. I focus here on examples of social capital amalgams that interviewees shared that involved parent/child relationships. They discussed interactions at specifically designed parent/child SFD activities, including times when fathers and daughters interacted on a common playing field and conversations that children reported having had with their parents at home. These examples display the seamless character of these evocations of bridging and bonding social capital.

Melissa and Tricia, from YSC, created SFD programs in which mothers/sons and fathers/daughters were paired. These opportunities attracted parents from throughout the surrounding communities, many of whom had never met previously, nor participated in any

activities together. This activity combined the strong intrapersonal (bonding) relationships of family members along with the weak interpersonal (bridging) relationships of individuals who had never met each other. SFD leaders described the program as a “new space” creating a “unique kind of dynamic” among those involved (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Tricia pointed to the “new dynamic relationship” created among boys and girls, men and women (Tricia, personal interview, January, 2018) by these efforts.

Parents and children had the opportunity to strengthen their relationships during these activities by observing each other’s capabilities related to sport, i.e., throwing a ball, learning a new skill, etc. Simultaneously, all participating parents and children observed mothers/sons and fathers/daughters drawing closer together. In essence, the strengthening of interpersonal relationships influenced the intrapersonal ties of all of those participating. Tricia captured this well when she mentioned that a father at one of these events had the opportunity to see his “daughter’s ability to throw a ball,” which caused him to reconsider his assumptions concerning both the character and range of her abilities (Tricia, personal interview, January, 2018). In turn, Tricia also observed that a father’s change in perception can create a “snowball effect” not only within his family, but also beyond in the community as well. To the extent such occurs, it can encourage or contribute to a larger shift in how Rwandan men view women’s capabilities more generally (Tricia, personal interview, January, 2018). Adriana observed in her interview that these types of programs directly challenge the gender norms held by adults in the community (personal interview, January, 2018). The children’s friendships embody bonding social capital while the adults’ engendered consciousness of their gender norms display characteristics of bridging social capital.

Those I interviewed also discussed ways in which ethnic divides shaped parent-child community relationships. Vincent, Anthony and Paul all from ISA, detailed instances in which parents of youth in their programs had asked their children not to participate or play with children from different ethnic backgrounds. As I noted above, Vincent recalled a time in which a parent told their child, “Don’t play with that girl, that child, because she is from the family that killed our relatives” (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018). One youth involved in Anthony’s program informed him that “I cannot collaborate with the other child because my parents told me not to talk” to him/her (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018). Paul, too, shared instances in which children involved in his NOO’s programs took up friendships with other youngsters while their parents continued to insist that those bonds were not possible (personal interview, January, 2018). In terms of social capital bundles, this study’s interviewees suggested that children spend time together and become friends through SFD programs (bonding SC) and yet their parents often sought to end or hinder those friendships due to ethnic tensions (a lack of bridging SC). The bonding social capital that develops among SFD program participants eases ethnic tensions. Nonetheless, unless attitudes toward other groups also change at home (bridging social capital), an unsettled environment will remain. Put differently, SFD programs can serve as a catalyst and component of social change, but they cannot alone guarantee it.

Lastly, Melissa shared a story in her interview about a young female SFD participant, Katie, that captures well the simultaneous lived experience of intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships. Katie lacked confidence in school as she felt constrained due to her gender. She hesitated to ask questions or speak up in class out of fear a male adult or classmate might respond negatively to her (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). Katie attended Melissa’s SFD program with her friends. She began to gain confidence by competing with, and often

defeating, boys in soccer games. Her confidence in her capacities grew, specifically, through learning new skills and techniques associated with playing soccer. As Katie's assurance grew, she not only began to challenge the gender norms of her classmates, but also those held by her parents. Katie's growing awareness of her capabilities empowered her to seek social and behavioral change as she balanced both intrapersonal (friends and family members) and interpersonal relationships (those with rigid gender norms) that simultaneously existed in her life.

Social Capital Bundles and Outcomes Observed

Interviewees often shared behavioral changes they observed in children, parents and community members associated with their programs. What they observed most frequently was participants choosing to press for a shift in social norms. Tricia, Melissa, Adriana, Paul and Vincent all reported young people challenging accepted values either with their peers, family members, or in other settings throughout the community, including their classrooms. From these interviewees point-of-view, youth were challenging community social norms related to gender, whether they were always personally fully aware of that fact or not (Adriana, personal interview, January, 2018). The beliefs that girls should not compete/play with boys, participate in athletics or dress in sport clothing were clearly challenged often and directly by these programs and those I interviewed reported observing noticeable shifts over time in family and community attitudes regarding these concerns as a result (Adriana, Paul, Tricia, Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018).

Tricia, Anthony, Vincent and Melissa also noted that SFD programs created a "new space" that allowed males and females to interact (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018). This change resulted in a fresh dynamic in those relationships and allowed participants to

connect in a way they had not before (Tricia, personal interview, January, 2018). Vincent saw this space as an opportunity for children to “speak out” and reflect on their lived experience (Vincent, personal interview, January, 2018). Anthony believed SFD programs created the possibility for boys and girls to work together in a new way and connect what they learned in the programs to other activities in their lives (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

CSO leaders also noticed that SFD participants grew more confident, gained understanding and were strongly encouraged by the lessons they were learning. Many interviewees commented that youth involved in their programs were reconsidering the gender roles they had learned in their families and communities. The SFD leaders I interviewed also observed boys and girls begin to work together as teams and appreciate their teammates of the opposite gender for the first time (Paul, personal interview, January, 2018).

These amalgams of social capital exhibit the natural intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships that SFD participants developed. These connections exist simultaneously and the interviewees for this study suggested that, as a result, they become privy to the full spectrum of their program participants' relationships, including those with peers and family and other community members. They also included the weaker social ties associated with bridging social capital; those of gender, ethnicity, community/regional differences, etc. Perhaps not surprisingly, social capital bundles addressed the challenge of strongly unequal gender norms along with continuing ethnic tensions.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Future Research

This study examined whether CSO leaders offering sport for development initiatives in Kigali, Rwanda, perceived that their programs fostered social capital. Those interviewed, managing two different nongovernmental organizations, argued that they have sought to position SFD as a mediating agent to contest existing social frames and assumptions. Sport has been recognized and widely touted as an “alternative engine” to drive development goals related to a variety of social challenges (Levermore, 2008, p. 56). International agreements, charters and resolutions have situated sport within a broader discourse concerning development. Additionally, multilateral institution representatives and civil society organization leaders have recognized and emphasized sport’s communal properties and have sought to incorporate athletics within their development initiatives accordingly (Hillyer et al., 2013; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011).

I used a qualitative approach to pursue this research. Development strategies have long relied on a linear neoliberal logic underpinned by a belief in the primacy of market forces and economic claims. This approach often dismisses “various aspects of traditional social relations and networks” (Coalter, 2013, p. 153). Just as frequently, this stance subjugates or ignores local knowledge. Hence, these efforts have often failed and their failures have just as often been criticized by development economists and SFD scholars (Sen, 1999; Levermore, 2008; Moyo, 2010; Nicholls, 2012; Coalter, 2013). The constraints placed on development initiatives by prioritizing market indicators and efficiency and dismissing local knowledge have often restricted the expression of individual choice critical to development (Sen, 1999; Coalter, 2013). Phenomenology allows investigators to include the knowledge and understanding of grassroots professionals and civil society practitioners in their research. Nicholls has rightly suggested that,

for SFD particularly, such qualitative measures allow “all parties,” including grassroots professionals, “to influence the sport in development process” constructively (2012, p. 2). SFD initiatives offer participants opportunities to choose programs and activities that they find beneficial and engaging. The expansion of choices for participants both reflects and emphasizes existing social relations and networks (Sen, 1999; Moyo, 2010; Coalter, 2013). Accordingly, this study interviewed grassroots SFD professionals, a group that has often been overlooked in the scholarly literature in the past (Nicholls, 2012).

With these considerations in mind, I sought to address the following two gaps in the SFD literature in this analysis:

Gap One: Phenomenology is underrepresented in the SFD literature; particularly as it pertains to incorporating the perceptions of grassroots practitioners. This qualitative research strategy allows for local knowledge to emerge by collecting and highlighting participants’ lived experiences.

Gap Two: Limited empirical exploration of particular social capital dimensions and their specific relationship to SFD programs.

I sought to address these concerns by investigating how a sample of SFD civil society organization leaders in Kigali, Rwanda described the connection between sport for development and social capital. The World Bank has provided a rationale for why CSOs should be included in development research and projects. As discussed above, Coalter (2013), among others, has articulated sport’s catalytic role in development initiatives. Of the reasons why SFDs should be included in development initiatives as outlined by the World Bank, those outlined below apply equally well to such organizations operating at the local level (especially the last listed):

1. Give voice to stakeholders, particularly poor and marginalized populations, and help to ensure that their views are factored into policy and program decisions.

4. Bring innovative ideas and solutions, as well as participatory approaches to efforts to address local problems.
5. Strengthen and leverage development programs by providing local knowledge, targeting assistance and generating social capital at the community level (Coalter, 2013, p. 154).

I set out in this analysis to capture the perceptions of one set of SFD stakeholders. Their understanding provided a starting place to explore sport for development programs and their roles in encouraging the formation and diffusion of social capital. Their perspectives provided a foundational vantage point from which to identify fruitful avenues for additional inquiry. I suggest examples of such possibilities in the section addressing future research directions below. These areas represent a small yet strategic subset of concerns that could be considered in the exploration of SFD and social capital.

This analysis offered a new understanding of the multiple factors at play in sport for development's role in social capital formation. The CSO leaders I interviewed in Kigali, Rwanda suggested that they view their efforts as a means to address specific targeted challenges, as opposed to a panacea-like mechanism to address all major social concerns. The interviews analyzed here revealed the specific means by which these SFD leaders sought to encourage and/or witnessed bonding and bridging social capital formation in their programs, given the social and political realities that now characterize Rwanda. Indeed these realities that exist as social and cultural dynamics unique to Rwanda mediated the formation of social capital, and its possibility, in contextualized ways. Additionally, the diffusion of social capital from individuals to broader groups was also mediated by the social context of Rwanda.

Those I interviewed indicated that sport-related initiatives made positive contributions to society due to their inherent participatory and inclusive qualities. These have been outlined previously by Coalter (2006), the SDP IWG (2007), and Lyras & Welty Peachey (2011). More

specifically, those interviewed for this analysis illuminated the extent to which forms of social capital were positively encouraged or stimulated by SFD programs (Skinner, Zakus, Cowell, 2008; Lyras & Welty Peachy, 2011; Coalter, 2013).

The strongest argument levied against sport for development is that the field's practitioners and scholars have too often presented its benefits as seemingly boundless. Sport's general popularity worldwide can lead to such assertions, yet it is irresponsible to offer such sweeping claims. What is missing in such a perspective concerning sport's societal contributions are measurable linkages between sport and social capital (Coalter, 2006; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008).

This effort arose in part to begin to address this critique by offering an empirical analysis of sport and social capital from the perspective of a sample of SFD leaders in a specific location; Kigali, Rwanda. I intentionally chose a research design and method that allowed for grassroots professionals to contribute in an inductive and emergent manner. The program leaders I interviewed were daily and directly involved in SFD programming. In consequence, they were positioned well to provide insights into the possibility of sport as generator of social capital. I drew on their observations and reflections with Creswell's admonition in mind: "As a phenomenologist, I assume that human experience makes sense to those who live it and that human experience can be consciously expressed" (2013, p. 273). Indeed, in keeping with this orientation, those interviewed for this study articulated realities that highlighted sport's relative ability to address specific, contextual social challenges rather than broad, open-ended societal ills.

Sport for Development and Social Capital

Both sport for development scholars and social capital theorists have discussed linkages between sport and social capital. Coalter has drawn on the works of social capital theorists Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam and their suggestions concerning sport's relevance within the social capital discourse (2013). Like Coalter, this study found a connection between sport and social capital production. More specifically, my interviewees argued that sport can help to strengthen certain dimensions associated with bonding and bridging social capital is consistent with earlier studies by Kidd and Donnelly (2007), Skinner (2008) and Brown et al. (2014).

Bonding Social Capital and Intrapersonal Relationships

All of the SFD leaders with whom I spoke perceived that sport promoted specific components of bonding social capital. Woolcock and Narayan have argued that bonding social capital is “needed to give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose” (2000, p. 7). My interviewees provided examples of program participants strengthening friendships and developing new levels of empathy and increased companionship through their engagement in sport. That is, the empathy developed among youth engaged in sport extended beyond those initiatives. Participants began to invest in the lives of friends who were facing difficult life circumstances. Their newly developed sense of empathy led to participants altering their behavior, inquiring into each other's home lives and walking to/from SFD programs together.

Those with whom I spoke for this study also argued that sport-based initiatives strengthened existing friendships and ties among participants. Interviewees suggested that the amount of time youth spent engaged in SFD programs and the shared experiences within them created new friendships and strengthened already existing bonds. The time together increased the

frequency and depth of interactions among peers, which ultimately deepened their comity. One interviewee, Melissa captured this valence nicely, arguing that SFD programs allowed participants to “develop a deep care for one another, regardless of...political beliefs (or) values at times...” (Melissa, personal interview, January, 2018).

Bridging Social Capital and Interpersonal Relationships

This study found that SFD programs influenced the development of bridging social capital in two primary ways. First, as a means to ease continuing ethnic tensions that arose from the 1994 genocide and secondly, to promote gender equality. SFD program leaders detailed how sport-related initiatives stimulated bridging social capital behaviors among participants that thereafter addressed these two behavioral domains.

Ethnic and Regional Divides Related to the Genocide

The SFD leaders I interviewed suggested that bridging social capital played a role in building more inclusive communities in Rwanda’s post-genocide setting. The leaders saw their programs as a factor that aided in transcending ethnic divides and barriers and thereby helped to build greater community social cohesion. Specifically, they viewed their offerings as a venue to bring individuals who had been separated on the basis of ethnic or regional divides together to participate in shared activities.

Many Rwandans fled the nation to neighboring countries in search of safety after the genocide ended in 1994. Nevertheless, tensions between the Tutsi and Hutu continued and Rwanda has remained unsettled in such terms. Refugees who initially fled Rwanda and then returned became targets of additional prejudice, adding another layer of discrimination. An area of discussion in my interviews was the roles that SFD programs play in reintegrating refugees into Rwandan communities. Those I interviewed argued that sport helped to allay, and even to

break down, ethnic and regional differences and encouraged Rwandans to focus on their commonality and not their differences.

Gender Inequality and Social Norms

This study's interviewees detailed the gender-related expectations that existed in Rwanda and how those norms posed significant challenges to including women and girls in SFD programs. These cultural constraints related not only to participation in sport, but also to work, family leisure and dress. Women and girls typically had not been permitted to participate in the past and had therefore been left out of sporting competitions and events in Rwanda. This analysis found that SFD programs challenged these gender-related norms and the narrow views of women's capabilities that underpinned them. The leaders with whom I spoke argued that SFD programs expanded participants' views of girls' capacities by providing spaces in which girls and boys could compete, play and participate in sports together. These then demonstrated that girls could participate and compete on an equal level. SFD programs also challenged gender norms by encouraging young women to dress in athletic clothing, learn new skills related to sports and compete directly with boys. In this way, members of both genders gained respect for one another's abilities. SFD programs provided a visible and tangible platform for increased equality among the youth participating in them and thereby, if less directly, in community more generally.

Social Capital Bundles

Eighty percent of those I interviewed shared examples of scenarios when bonding and bridging social capital appeared to develop simultaneously via youth engagement in sport. That is, this study's interviewees overwhelmingly suggested that the two forms of social capital developed concurrently in their sports programs. Effective responses to Rwanda's social

challenges clearly involve both intrapersonal (bonding SC) and interpersonal (bridging SC) relationships. This study's interviewees perceived their program participants as developing and acting on both forms of social capital simultaneously. Those I interviewed argued that SFD participants develop and maintain a range of relationships that reflect bonding and bridging social capital. The leaders with whom I spoke suggested that these SFD-created ties were reflected thereafter in a variety of settings, including sport programs, schools and in participating youth's broader communities. Interviewees described participants' intrapersonal relationships with their family members and friends as occurring concurrently alongside their interpersonal ties influenced by different genders and ethnicities. Although social capital dimensions are typically discussed as separate occurrences and phenomena, the CSO leaders interviewed for this analysis shared examples in which they perceived both bonding and bridging social capital to be present and operating in a multi-layered fashion among the youth with whom they worked. This both resulted from and reflected the breadth and depth of relationships SFD program participants had developed while involved in such programming.

Future Research

This study's findings suggest several possibilities for future research. Comparative studies could be undertaken giving further consideration to youth participants in SFD programs. Additionally, empirical studies related to Olympism and the impact of the Olympic Movement on the formation of SFD initiatives would be a welcome addition to existing literature. I also suggest fresh empirical explorations of the phenomenon of social capital bundles arising from SFD programs by obtaining insights from youth themselves and other stakeholders with knowledge of participating youth, including, parents, siblings, church leaders, teachers and so on. And finally, the negative impacts, or dark side, of social capital evident in SFD programs should

be explored in-depth with program leaders and participants. I comment in greater detail on each of these possibilities below.

SFD Initiatives and the Voices of Youth Participants

This study was limited to grassroots professionals' perspectives on SFD programs and social capital. Further research could be undertaken to interview and include the voices and perspectives of youth participants involved in these initiatives. Research that engages youth participants' regarding programs and the specific dimensions of social capital they encourage would provide valuable information to enrich our collective understanding of the role of sport in society as well as of the relationships between sport and social capital.

Nicholls has contended that the failure of linear, market-based development paradigms “creates a cycle of dominance that ignores grassroots practitioners' valuable contributions to the strengthening of development practices” (2012, p. 160). She has also argued that past sport policy and programming has too often lacked “meaningful contributions from young people” (2012, p. 157). Local knowledge and the lived experience of youth participants should be incorporated into sport for development interventions with these concerns in mind. Such could help to ensure that the voices of youth, the primary target of SFD efforts, can be heard and employed to improve such programs. Nicholls has suggested that such a shift in focus will make it “possible to re-envisage the sport in development agenda” in a meaningful way (2012, p. 163). This study has provided findings that could help to guide the development of such analyses.

SFD and the Olympic Movement

Future studies could also explore the ways in which Olympism and the Olympic Movement have shaped SFD organizations. As discussed, I chose SFD CSOs that were founded by former Olympians and influenced by the ideals of Olympism and the broader Olympic

Movement. It would be fascinating to pursue research beyond Rwanda regarding SFD entities founded on the ideals of Olympism and the Olympic Movement. The connections between the Olympic Movement and SFD seem evident and draw support from both scholars and practitioners alike. As Lyras and Welty Peachey have suggested, “the values and principles of Olympism serve as a framework for the development of both traditional and non-traditional sports and physical activity offerings” (2011, p. 322). The United Nations has recognized that a “natural affinity exists between Olympic Values and the objectives of the UN” (UNOSDP, 2013, p. 6). Opportunities exist to draw further empirical connections between the field of SFD and the Olympic Movement and thereby add to the collective understanding of the ways in which sport can help to encourage and maintain social ties.

Social Capital as Bundles

Additionally, further research could be conducted regarding my findings related to social capital amalgams to determine whether other analyses identify the same phenomenon and whether its character can be confirmed (or revised) by direct participant (youth) experience as well. Social capital is most often given consideration in the SFD literature in light of either its bridging or bonding forms. Bonding social capital emphasizes strong “connections or social networks between homogeneous groups of people” and reinforces identities within existing relationships (Schulenkorf, 2013, p. 26). Bridging social capital, on the other hand, emphasizes weak external connections and distant relationships created by cultural divides such as religion, ethnicity, gender, etc. This study’s interviewees suggested that they often encounter participants’ relationships and networks that evidence both strong and weak connections. Based on my interviewees’ perceptions, there is space and opportunity to consider whether and how program participants experience these dimensions seamlessly. Indeed, if the prevailing development

approach has been too narrow, as suggested by Woolcock and Narayan (2000), an exploration of the intersection between social capital dimensions may inform development practices in fresh ways.

The Dark Side of Social Capital

Anthony was the only interviewee to reference the dark side of social capital evident in the SFD programs in which he worked (Anthony, personal interview, January, 2018).

Nonetheless I found his comments and observations powerful and I suggest those be given weight and merit in future qualitative analyses of SFD leaders and participants. The negative impacts of social capital exist and raise legitimate concerns within SFD (Foer, 2010; Putnam, 2000; Stephenson, et al., 2013; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). It is not my place to question or speculate why other participants did not share more related to this topic during our interviews. However, I do suggest and am convinced that negative impacts and exclusion should be better understood if SFD programs are truly to play a role in bringing about social change.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Possible Government Initiatives

The Rwandan government could work within its agencies to offer grant programs to SFD CSOs in support of their programs related to both gender equality and racial reconciliation. The government has developed a strategic plan for growth related to a range of sectors within society and business that references social capital directly (Republic of Rwanda, 2000, p. 6). The government has formally recognized sport as an important contributor to social change and has charged the Ministry of Sport and Culture with employing and supporting relevant programs aimed at those purposes (Republic of Rwanda, 2012). Overall, the government has highlighted the significance of social capital and sport and its leaders now have an opportunity to aid such

efforts directly. These programs could be offered in a variety of settings, both urban and rural, and across the nation to provide an ongoing platform of programming aimed at easing existing regional divides.

Curriculum Design

SFD organizations could utilize this study's findings and interview protocol as aids in designing a variety of program curriculum components. SFD curriculum designers could develop a variety of activities within their programs aimed at increasing both bonding and bridging social capital. Program leaders could use the specific means by which interviewees for this inquiry suggested they had sought to encourage social capital as a guide. For bonding social capital, program designers could focus on ways to promote:

- companionship amongst teammates and
- family members as well as ties among
- local organizations

Program designers could focus specifically on employing sport to foster new attitudes concerning gender and ethnicity. Such efforts could be informed by this study's findings, including:

- providing sport opportunities women and girls
- outlining practical ways to challenge gender norms
- expanding perceptions of women and girls capabilities among all youth
- encouraging inclusive communities
- challenging barriers related to repatriation and reintegration
- providing activities focused on shared similarities.

This study's could be employed to help shape on-boarding and/or "welcoming" efforts of new SFD participants and to offer one means by which program designers could become familiar with how participating youth perceive the challenges confronting them.

Sustained Behavioral Change

SFD organizations could use this study's interview protocol, or a modified version of it, in at least two ways related to encouraging youth reflexivity and values introspection: 1) to gauge how to provide such opportunities as an integral part of sport programming in order to promote self-awareness and the possibility of sustained behavioral change and 2) to provide timely evidence of shifting youth social perceptions of ethnicity, regional differences and gender. SFD leaders could conduct interviews at intervals that fit their organizational programming needs. For example, such efforts could occur every four months or perhaps every six months within two years, or simply at the beginning and end of each school year for a delimited number of years. Such interviews with youth could provide valuable real-time feedback concerning social conditions and attitudes into SFD organizations thinking about program design and evaluation.

SFD Staff Education/Training

This study's findings could be used by Rwandan SFD organization leaders and their staffs to consider adapting their program designs and practices to specific social and geographic variety settings. More broadly, they could consider a grassroots approach to programmatic and curriculum design rather than a top-down approach and discuss meaningful ways to commit both theoretically and in-practice to employing such knowledge. In this way, SFD organizations could fully enjoy the benefits of their coaches awareness of specific local conditions for curriculum design and staff training and development efforts. Additionally, SFD organizations could

commit to such a grassroots approach by redoubling their efforts to ensure democratic and egalitarian staff recruitment and programming.

Analytic Generalizations

This study's findings could also be referenced or used as a resource for SFD programs working specifically in contexts of ethnic tension and/or gender inequality. While Rwanda provided a setting in which both of these challenges coexisted, global SFD organizations work in contexts in which one or the other is primary or most salient for a variety of historical and contextual reasons. SFD organizations could also use these findings if they are more generally interested in encouraging social capital formation via sport as a component of local development (shared purpose) and/or peacebuilding (shared purpose and conflict amelioration) efforts. In this way, this research could provide a basis for understanding that could provide analytic generalizations to relevant theory and therefore potentially to other case scenarios (Yin, 2012).

Concluding Thoughts

This research has suggested that sport for development can have an impact, although a limited one, on both bonding and bridging social capital in the lives of program participants. Interviewees expressed these impacts in uniquely contextual social dynamics that are present within Rwanda. It is also clear that the leaders directly involved in SFD initiatives, who possess and are able to act on deep local knowledge, are positioned well to articulate exactly what those impacts may be.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Appendix C: Email Invitation to Participate in Study

Appendix D: Field Notes template

Appendix E: “What is Olympism?”

Appendix F: Sport and the Millennium Development Goals

Appendix G: Sport and the Sustainable Development Goals

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Title of Project: Sport for Development and Social Capital: How do a sample of SFD civil society organization leaders in Kigali, Rwanda, describe the relationship between sport for development and social capital?

Investigators:

Dr. Max O. Stephenson Jr, Primary Investigator
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PhD Student, Planning, Governance, and Globalization
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You are invited to participate in a research study that seeks to understand whether and to what extent sport for development promotes social capital. The following information is provided in order to help you make an informed decision concerning whether you wish to participate in this study. You can decide not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You are invited to participate in this study because of your involvement in a civil society organization that uses sport as a tool for development in Rwanda. Professor Max O. Stephenson Jr. of Virginia Tech, School of Public and International Affairs, is supervising this inquiry.

I. Purpose of this Research Project

Project: To explore the relationship between sport in development and Social Capital: How do a sample of civil society organization leaders in Kigali, Rwanda, describe the relationship between sport for development and social capital in their programs?

Purpose of the Project: This study will investigate the extent, if any, and how, sport for development promotes social capital.

II. Procedures: You will be asked to participate in an interview with the student investigator regarding your perceptions whether sport for development projects promote social capital. The conversation will take approximately one hour of your time and will be audio-recorded and will occur in person, by Skype, or by telephone. The student researcher will ask you a series of questions during this interview concerning your professional work with sport as a development tool.

III. Risks and/or Discomforts: There are no or minimal anticipated risks or discomforts associated with this interview; certainly none larger than those already present in your daily activities.

IV. Benefits: The information gained from this study may help the investigator to understand better civil society leaders' perceptions of sport for development and whether/how sport can

promote social capital. We cannot offer or guarantee you any benefits to participate. We hope it will be useful for you to reflect on your activities in this way.

V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality: The student investigator will assign a pseudonym to each interviewee to protect his/her identity. You will never be identified personally either in interview documents or the student's completed dissertation. The audio recording will be assigned your pseudonym during the interview. Once the interview is transcribed, the digital recordings, interview transcripts, and any copies of documents you provide will be kept for 3 years following the student's successful completion of his doctoral degree in a password protected file by him. The information obtained during this study may be prepared for submission to academic journals or presentations at scholarly meetings. In such cases assigned pseudonyms will be used and the data will be shared in aggregated form.

The Virginia Tech (VT) Institutional Review Board (IRB) may view the study's data for auditing purposes. The IRB is responsible for the oversight of the protection of human subjects involved in research and should its audit this effort, it will be to ensure that aim was achieved.

VI. Compensation: We are unable to compensate you for participating in this study.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw: It is important for you to know that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. You are free not to answer any questions that you choose or respond to what is being asked of you without penalty.

Please note that there may be circumstances under which the investigators may determine that a subject should not continue as a subject.

VIII. Questions or Concerns: Should you have any questions about this study, you may contact one of the research investigators whose contact information is included at the beginning of this document.

Should you have any questions or concerns about the study's conduct or your rights as a research subject, or need to report a research-related injury or event, you may contact the VT IRB Chair, Dr. David M. Moore at moored@vt.edu or (540) 231-4991.

IX. Subject's Consent: I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent to participate in an interview for this research:

Subject signature

Date

Subject printed name

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Date:

Location:

Pseudonym:

Purpose Statement: The purpose of this study is to describe the relationship between sport for development and social capital for a sample of representatives of civil society organizations in Kigali, Rwanda.

Research Question: How do a sample of SFD civil society organization leaders in Kigali, Rwanda, describe the relationship between sport for development and social capital?

Introduction:

- Introduce myself
- Discuss the purpose of the study
- Provide informed consent form and discuss the opportunity to participate. Obtain signatures of consent form if not already done.
- Provide structure of the interview (audio recording, taking notes, and commitment to confidentiality).
- Ask if they have any questions and ensure I have their signed form.
- Test audio-recording device.

Introduction:

1. Please tell me about yourself. Where are you from? What civil society organization do you work for? What is your role in the organization? How long have you worked with [CSO]? How did you become involved in the organization?

2. Does your organization use sport in your programming with local communities? If so, how? What is your perception of sport programs impact on the community? What specific reasons do you have for your view?

3. In your view, does participation in sport programs connect participants at a deeper level or bring them closer together? If yes, why do you believe this is so? Can you provide examples of how this occurs and how it is manifest? Are there examples where sport programs lead to either conflict or participants being disconnected?

Questions regarding bonding social capital:

1. In your view, do sport for development programs strengthen current/existing relationships among those participating in the programs? If so, why is that, in your view, and what conditions appear necessary to ensure such program results?

2. Do sport for development programs increase cooperation among existing members of a community/network? Does the propensity for cooperation increase or is there evidence of cooperation actually improving? If so, in what ways? If not, why not? Do you have specific examples that illustrate your response?

3. In your view, do sport for development programs encourage and/or reinforce any sense of community identity? If so, what conditions do you believe lead to encouragement/reinforcement? Are these the same or different factors for each category? Do you have specific examples that illustrate your response?

4. Do sport for development programs exclude any participants? If so, who is excluded? Why do you believe they are excluded? What are the consequences, if any, of that exclusion in your view?

Questions regarding bridging social capital:

1. Do sport for development programs connect members from different communities/networks together? If so, what conditions within SFD programs are necessary do you believe help create this environment? Why?

2. Do sport for development programs introduce participants to individuals from different groups or communities? If so, in what ways? If not, why not?

3. Do sport for development programs connect groups from different communities, or cross social divides in any way? If so, how and in what ways? If so, what conditions do you believe help make those connections?

4. Do sport for development programs spur/encourage any new relationships/friendships among participants? If so, what conditions make these new friendships possible? Can you provide specific examples of how this occurs in your experience?

Questions regarding the negative aspects of social capital:

1. Have you observed any negative impacts of sport for development programs? If so, could you share example(s)? What conditions do you think caused this negative result?

2. Do some sport for development programs exclude specific individuals? If so, why are those individuals left out of the programs in your view and what are the impacts of that fact for those people?

3. Do sport for development programs create, or reinforce, any social divides? If so, can you share how you have seen this occur and why you think it occurs?

4. Have you observed social divisions between and among participants during your programs? If so, can you comment on those differences and what, if any, impact they had on the program?

Concluding Question:

1. Is there anything else you would like to add or share about this topic that you feel is important for me to know?

Concluding Statement:

1. Thank them for their participation

2. Ask them if they would be willing to review the interview transcript for accuracy
3. Ask them if they would like to see a copy of the completed dissertation.
4. Record any observations, thoughts, feelings and/or reactions about the interview immediately following its completion, if possible.

Appendix C: Email Invitation to Participate in Study

Dear XXX,

My name is Danny White. I am a doctoral student in Planning, Governance, and Globalization at Virginia Tech (<http://www.vt.edu>). I write to invite you to participate in a study on sport for development and social capital. Professor Max O. Stephenson Jr. of Virginia Tech is supervising this inquiry.

The UN (2016) and IOC (2015) have each offered historical and contemporary claims of sports' contributions to societal well-being and service to humanity. This study builds upon the large body of literature that suggests sport is an effective tool by which civil society organizations can build social capital in developing communities. However, that discourse is currently lacking in two areas of understanding. The first is an absence of qualitative research in the field and specifically among those who engage in sport for development programs at the community level. Secondly, as it relates to social capital, few have argued which particular dimensions of social capital can be promoted through sport for development programs (Brown, Hoye, & Nicholson, 2014, Hoye, Nicholson, & Brown, 2015, Jarvie, 2003). This study will record civil society organization employee perceptions concerning the relationship between sport for development and social capital through specific dimensions of social capital (Putnam, 2000).

You are receiving this invitation because you work for a civil society organization actively engaged in a sport for development program in Kigali. The interview will take approximately 60minutes and will be recorded. Your responses to questions will be kept confidential, as explained in the attached informed consent form. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary.

I will be in Kigali from (insert timeframe) and would like to arrange a personal interview with you then if at all possible. If not, I could also arrange an interview on Skype or via telephone outside this timeframe.

If you are willing to participate please return the attached consent form via email to me at your earliest convenience and retain a copy for your records. Note that you do not have to complete the form, but may simply respond to this e-mail as follows: "I agree to the attached terms for participation in the study: "Sport for development and social capital in Rwanda." You may sign the form at the time we meet and after I address any questions you may have concerning the study.

Thank you for your consideration,

Danny White

Appendix D: Field Notes Template

Field Notes Template

I. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITY: A verbal snapshot, not analysis.

Impressions

Who (actors):

What (act, activity, event, silences, feelings):

When (time):

Where (spaces, physical objects):

Why (goals, objective):

How (process):

II. REFLECTIONS: How may I have influenced the events? Include my feelings, what went wrong and what could be done differently.

III. EMERGING QUESTIONS/ANALYSES: Emerging thoughts/ideas, lines of inquiry, theories.

IV. FUTURE ACTION: To-do list of actions, resources to consider, etc.

Appendix E: “What is Olympism?”

What is Olympism?



Olympism is a philosophy of life, which places sport at the service of humankind.



As approved by IOC Members in Kuala Lumpur, July 2015

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Appendix F: Sport and the Millennium Development Goals

CONTRIBUTION OF SPORT TO THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

The **Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)** were established at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000. The eight MDGs aim to eradicate or reduce poverty, hunger, child mortality and disease, and to promote education, maternal health, gender equality, environmental sustainability and global partnerships. The target date for achieving the MDGs is 2015.

Sport has been recognised as a viable and practical tool to assist in the achievement of the MDGs. While sport does not have the capacity to tackle solely the MDGs, it can be very effective when part of a broad, holistic approach to addressing the MDGs.

ERADICATE EXTREME POVERTY AND HUNGER



- Participants, volunteers and coaches acquire transferable life skills which increase their employability
- Vulnerable individuals are connected to community services and supports through sport-based outreach programs
- Sport programs and sport equipment production provide jobs and skills development
- Sport can help prevent diseases that impede people from working and impose health care costs on individuals and communities
- Sport can help reduce stigma and increase self-esteem, self-confidence and social skills, leading to increased employability

ACHIEVE UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION



- School sport programs motivate children to enroll in and attend school and can help improve academic achievement
- Sport-based community education programs provide alternative education opportunities for children who cannot attend school
- Sport can help erode stigma preventing children with disabilities from attending school

PROMOTE GENDER EQUALITY AND EMPOWER WOMEN



- Sport helps improve female physical and mental health and offers opportunities for social interaction and friendship
- Sport participation leads to increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and enhanced sense of control over one's body
- Girls and women access leadership opportunities and experience
- Sport can cause positive shifts in gender norms that afford girls and women greater safety and control over their lives
- Women and girls with disabilities are empowered by sport-based opportunities to acquire health information, skills, social networks, and leadership experience

REDUCE CHILD MORTALITY



- Sport can be used to educate and deliver health information to young mothers, resulting in healthier children
- Increased physical fitness improves children's resistance to some diseases
- Sport can help reduce the rate of higher-risk adolescent pregnancies
- Sport-based vaccination and prevention campaigns help reduce child deaths and disability from measles, malaria and polio
- Inclusive sport programs help lower the likelihood of infanticide by promoting greater acceptance of children with disabilities

United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace - February 2010

- 1 -



For more information:
www.un.org/sport
www.un.org/millenniumgoals

IMPROVE MATERNAL HEALTH

- Sport for health programs offer girls and women greater access to reproductive health information and services
- Increased fitness levels help speed post-natal recovery



COMBAT HIV AND AIDS, MALARIA, AND OTHER DISEASES

- Sport programs can be used to reduce stigma and increase social and economic integration of people living with HIV and AIDS
- Sport programs are associated with lower rates of health risk behaviour that contributes to HIV infection
- Programs providing HIV prevention education and empowerment can further reduce HIV infection rates
- Sport can be used to increase measles, polio and other vaccination rates
- Involvement of celebrity athletes and use of mass sport events can increase reach and impact of malaria, tuberculosis and other education and prevention campaigns



ENSURE ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

- Sport-based public education campaigns can raise awareness of importance of environmental protection and sustainability
- Sport-based social mobilization initiatives can enhance participation in community action to improve local environment



DEVELOP A GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT

- Sport for Development and Peace efforts catalyze global partnerships and increase networking among governments, donors, NGOs and sport organizations worldwide



Appendix G: Sport and the Sustainable Development Goals



SPORT AND THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS

An overview outlining the contribution of sport to the SDGs





The United Nations have long recognized, advocated for and supported the important contributions of sport to development and peace, with a significant record of General Assembly and Human Rights Council resolutions, UN treaties, Secretary-General's reports and other guiding documents highlighting the unique potential of sport.

The processes and milestones which led to the historic adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 were followed by the Sport for Development and Peace community with strong interest and a commitment to continue using sport as a unique tool to support this new global plan of action. As a result of joint efforts, particularly including UN Member States' support to recognize the contribution of sport to the SDGs, Heads of State and Government and High Representatives declared in the Political Declaration for the new Agenda:

Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives (2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development A/RES/70/1, paragraph 37).

This unprecedented recognition offers a compelling incentive and an unmissable opportunity for further joint efforts and action in the field Sport for Development and Peace. With the aspiration of leaving no one behind and maximizing the contribution of sport for a better and peaceful world, sport will continue advancing development as a powerful enabler of the SDGs, as it did for the preceding MDGs. Sport's potential should therefore be revisited in view of the new framework for sustainable development in order to promote synergy, coherence and harmonization of programmes for the implementation of the SDGs. Overall, the global reach and appeal of sport is an extraordinary tool at our disposal for promoting a global outlook on sport at the service of advancing the achievement the SDGs.

The contributions of sport to the SDGs outlined in this overview reflect the expertise, experiences and welcome input of various SDP players, including UN entities and sport and development organizations, which have used sport and recognized its value as a flexible tool for enabling development and peace outcomes.

Drawing from that experience, this overview addresses sport's role and potential in relation to all 17 SDGs, being mindful of the importance of each goal. While doing so, it however discerns between the SDGs where greater evidence and practice with regard to the contributions of sport were identified – marked with the SDG wheel symbol - and those SDGs where sport has a more limited or indirect potential.

Ultimately, the present overview aims at informing, inspiring, encouraging and supporting sport's contributions to the SDGs by relevant stakeholders including States, entities of the United Nations system, sport-related organizations, sport federations and associations, foundations, non-governmental organizations, athletes, the media, civil society, academia and the private sector.



Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere **(In particular targets: 1.1, 1.2, 1.a)**

- Sport values such as fairness and respect can serve as examples for an economic system that builds on fair competition and supports an equal sharing of resources. Reinforcing competencies and values such as teamwork, cooperation, fair-play and goal-setting, sport can teach and practice transferable employment skills which can support employment readiness, productivity and income-generating activities.
- Sport can be used as a platform to speak out for the realization of human rights, including the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to social security and the equal rights of women in economic life, which have direct impacts on the goal to end poverty. Sport can also be used as a platform to campaign for socio-economic progress and raise funds to alleviate poverty.
- Sport initiatives can raise and generate funds for poverty programmes, as well as assist in raising awareness and facilitating the mobilization of needed resources to alleviate poverty through partnerships with local and international bodies.
- Sport can promote personal well-being and encourage social inclusion which may lead to larger economic participation. It can help educate empower individuals with social and life skills for a self-reliant and sustainable life.
- Sport programmes in refugee camps can help young people understand the need for cooperation as well as self-reliance. Involvement in sport programmes can provide stability and a safe environment for homeless individuals.
- Sport is itself a productive industry with the ability to lift people out of poverty through employment and contributing to local economies. Sport and sustainable sport tourism can promote livelihoods, including in host communities of sport events.



Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture (In particular targets: 2.1, 2.3)

- Sport-based initiatives can mobilize resources, both financial and in-kind, for assisting vulnerable communities in the field or for awareness raising activities that can mobilize the public towards ending hunger.
- The right to adequate food is required for participation in sport. Sport can promote balanced diets, educate individuals with regard to sustainable food production, and encourage improved nutrition that discards industrially processed food items and replaces them by natural and healthy food.
- Sport-based activities are a viable platform to disseminate information and messages on nutrition, issues that affect food security around the world, and the global zero hunger target. Support gathered through sport-based initiatives is fundamental to building the Zero Hunger Generation; to achieve Zero Hunger by 2030, it is necessary to engage the public and encourage them to drive political, business and societal decisions that can effect world change.
- Sport can raise awareness on food waste and create educational initiatives to change behaviors towards a sustainable future. Organizations can set an example by sourcing food from sustainable and responsible producers. Sport can be an enabler to build capacities and best practices for food waste management in order to tackle food waste in sport, as well as to put systems in place to reduce food waste impact especially at sport events.



Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages (In particular targets: 3.1-3.5, 3.7, 3.9)



The right to health serves as the basis for achieving healthy lives through physical activity and sport.

Physical inactivity has been identified as the fourth leading risk factor for global mortality by the World Health Organization. Regular sport is a countermeasure available to nearly everyone, which can also address the economic impact of physical inactivity.

Sport and physical activity reduce the risk of contracting non-communicable diseases by strengthening cardiovascular health in particular. Participation in sport can contribute to tackling and preventing obesity.

Sport encourages individuals, including the elderly, to adopt active lifestyles. It has a positive impact on child and healthy adolescent development and well-being.

Sport can help reduce infant, child and maternal mortality and improve post-natal recovery by increasing personal fitness of mothers and contributing to the prevention of play-related deaths. By implementing child safeguarding measures, sport programmes can ensure the safety and well-being of children and cause change in other sectors by setting a good example.

Sport-based education programmes are a viable platform for health education, including for hard-to-reach groups, particularly to disseminate information on sexual and reproductive health, alcohol and substance abuse, as well as communicable diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS.

Sport-based social programmes promote mental well-being for at-risk communities through trauma counselling and inclusion efforts. Sport can enhance mental health by delivering social, psychological and physiological benefits.

Sport programmes in refugee camps which are run as organized projects on a continual basis can deliver social, psychological and physiological benefits.

Sport can promote sustainable lifestyles and encourage demand for sustainable consumption of goods and services. Sport can raise awareness about the need for sustainable consumption and production for healthy life and healthy people.

Sport can promote the importance of clean air for health and can provide sustainable solutions.



Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all (In particular targets: 4.1, 4.3-4.5, 4.7, 4.a-4.c)



The right to education and equal rights of women and girls in the field of education form the basis of this goal. Inclusive sport activities have long been used to foster education and have therefore been identified as a tool to advance those rights. Sport can encourage inclusion and the equal participation of women and girls, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable or underrepresented groups and individuals.

Stakeholders in sport and education can cooperate to promote tolerance, diversity and non-discrimination in school programmes.

Joint programmes with schools offer additional and alternative physical education and physical activities to support the full learning process and deliver holistic education.

Sport can improve learning outcomes by fostering academic performance and achievement, leadership abilities, and concentration and focus capabilities.

Sport-based programmes offer education opportunities and life skills to be used beyond school including the workplace.

Sport, physical education, physical activity and play can motivate children and youth to attend school and engage with formal and informal education. Sport programmes for girls, including in refugee camps, can be used as an incentive to stay in school.

Sport can raise awareness about sustainability through designing sustainable educational curriculums and greening schools and universities.



Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls (In particular targets: 5.1, 5.2, 5.5, 5.c)



🌈 Sport can be a powerful platform for advocacy and awareness raising for gender equality. It can contribute to abolish all forms of discrimination against women and girls; human rights based rules of a sport can help to replace culturally discriminative norms that exclude women and girls from sport.

🌈 While women and girls' rights to participate in sport as athletes or spectators are not respected in many countries, sport can help to foster gender equality in countries and regions where women are discriminated.

🌈 Addressing current gender inequalities across participation, performance and leadership in sport can make a valuable contribution to this Goal. Sport can be used to address constricting gender norms and to promote equal participation of girls and women in sport.

🌈 Sport and sport-based community programmes in particular can, if designed inclusively, cause positive shifts in gender norms and promote gender equality.

🌈 Sport can foster increased self-esteem and confidence of women and girls, empower them and develop skills needed to become equal participants and leaders in their communities. Through sport-based programmes, women and girls can be equipped with knowledge and skills on health, on how to live a healthy and active lifestyle, on how to act in case they experience violence, on employability, and with leadership skills needed to progress in society.

🌈 Sport can provide safe and fair environments for women and girls. A safe playing area for girls is especially essential, for instance in refugee camps.

🌈 Sport can raise awareness and address abuse and gender-based violence within sport.

🌈 Men and boys can be engaged in achieving gender equality in and through sport. Sport can promote better gender relations and cooperation.



Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all (In particular targets: 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6a)

- Sport can be an effective educational platform for disseminating messages on water sanitation requirements and management. Educational messages regarding sanitation and hygiene can be transmitted through sport programmes.
- Sport and sport facilities can contribute to targets on water and sanitation by respecting standards and recommendations.
- Access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all can be enhanced through sport settings such as sport facilities adequately equipped to this end. Water-use efficiency can be increased in the sport sector, particularly in sport facilities.
- Improvements in water quality by reducing pollution, dumping and wastewater can be promoted and realized in sport contexts such as aquatic and other sport events.
- Sport can raise awareness on the importance to limit or ban single-use plastic and micro-beads and develop campaigns and initiatives to educate and change the behaviours of spectators and consumers.



Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all (In particular targets: 7.2, 7.3, 7a)

- Sport programmes and activities can support initiatives aiming at developing energy provision systems and ensuring access to energy.
- Sport can be a forum for discussion and promotion of energy efficiency. It can promote energy efficiency and clean energy through joint work by relevant stakeholders.
- Sport facilities and sport events can contribute to targets concerning renewable energy, energy efficiency and access to clean energy by respecting standards and recommendations in these regards.
- Sport infrastructures can promote organization models that adopt clean and sustainable energy use.














8 DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH



Goal 8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (In particular targets: 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.5-8.7, 8.9)



-  The growing scale of the sport industry, and its links with other sectors, offer opportunities for economic growth and decent employment.
-  Stakeholders in sport that base their activity on the respect of human rights can spur to positively impact local and regional business when organizing sport events.
-  Sport goods and equipment should be produced in line with labour standards and in particular free from forced and child labour and discriminations of all forms.
-  Sport programmes can foster increased employability for women, people with disabilities and other vulnerable groups, thus contributing to inclusive economic growth.
-  Sport-based educational programmes provide skills for employability and opportunities to enter the labour market for youth.
-  Sport-based employment and entrepreneurship can contribute to create decent jobs for all by complying with labour standards throughout their value chain and in line with businesses policies and practices.
-  Sport can generate enhanced overall community involvement, and it can motivate mobilization of the wider community and growth of economic activities associated with sport.
-  Sport events can have long lasting effects on the population if they involve the population for their legacy, to be in line with human rights and labour standards, and to be sustainable.
-  Sport organizations and sport events, if they adopt adequate policies and procedures, can be an opportunity for capacity building, creating jobs, and for economic, social and environmental sustainable development in general.
-  Sport tourism, including tourism involving sport events, can create jobs and promote local culture and products.
-  Sport can promote the effective and responsible management of volunteers, helping to promote their participation in society and community engagement.



Goal 9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation (In particular targets: 9.1, 9.2, 9.c)

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- Stakeholders in sport that base their activity on the respect of human rights can spur to positively impact local and regional business when organizing sport events.
- Sport goods and equipment should be produced in line with labour standards and in particular free from forced and child labour and discriminations of all forms.
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- Sport-based educational programmes provide skills for employability and opportunities to enter the labour market for youth.
- Sport-based employment and entrepreneurship can contribute to create decent jobs for all by complying with labour standards throughout their value chain and in line with businesses policies and practices.
- Sport can generate enhanced overall community involvement, and it can motivate mobilization of the wider community and growth of economic activities associated with sport.
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- Sport organizations and sport events, if they adopt adequate policies and procedures, can be an opportunity for capacity building, creating jobs, and for economic, social and environmental sustainable development in general.
- Sport tourism, including tourism involving sport events, can create jobs and promote local culture and products.
- Sport can promote the effective and responsible management of volunteers, helping to promote their participation in society and community engagement.



Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries (In particular targets: 10.2, 10.3)

- The right to equality and non-discrimination is a cornerstone of international law. Sport can promote equality and can serve as a platform to promote the value of diversity. Stakeholders in sport can amplify the message of equality and respect for diversity.
- Sport, including sport events, can be used to celebrate and value diversity. Stakeholders in sport can promote mutual understanding and address discriminatory practices and various forms of discrimination. Sport stadia that serve as stages for human behaviour can become platforms for human rights based inclusiveness and respect for diversity.
- Sport is recognized as a contributor to the empowerment of individuals, such as women and young people, and communities. Participation in sport offers opportunities for the empowerment of people with disabilities; it showcases ability, not disability, thus raising awareness and promoting respect. Sport can therefore be effectively used for the inclusion of all irrespective of age, sex, race, ethnicity, origin, sexual orientation, gender identity, religion or economic or other status.
- Equal opportunities can be achieved in and through sport by raising awareness towards existent inequalities and establishing sport-related policies and programmes aimed at reducing them.
- The popularity of, and positive attitude towards sport make it a suitable tool for tackling inequality in areas and populations that are difficult to reach. It can also tackle prejudice and intolerance by promoting tolerance and pro-social behaviour instead.



11 SUSTAINABLE CITIES AND COMMUNITIES



Goal 11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (In particular targets: 11.3, 11.7, 11.c)



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Sport, including sport events, can be used to celebrate and value diversity. Stakeholders in sport can promote mutual understanding and address discriminatory practices and various forms of discrimination. Sport stadia that serve as stages for human behaviour can become platforms for human rights based inclusiveness and respect for diversity.

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Equal opportunities can be achieved in and through sport by raising awareness towards existent inequalities and establishing sport-related policies and programmes aimed at reducing them.

The popularity of, and positive attitude towards sport make it a suitable tool for tackling inequality in areas and populations that are difficult to reach. It can also tackle prejudice and intolerance by promoting tolerance and pro-social behaviour instead.



**Goal 12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
(In particular targets: 12.2, 12.3, 12.5, 12.6, 12.8, 12.b)**

- Sport can advocate for and contribute to provide inclusive, safe, green and cohesive settlements which are usable for sport and other physical activities. Affordable and accessible sport infrastructures, facilities and related services can contribute to creating inclusive, safe and healthy communities.
- Sport can promote the use of public spaces where diverse populations and marginalized community members can interact and create friendly relations. Sport can reduce anti-social behaviour through the provision of facilities and opportunities in areas affected by poverty, disengagement and low social development.
- Sport can be used to integrate refugees and migrants into communities. Refugee camps, Internally Displaced People locations, and urban locations can include people of all ages, ethnicities and origins.
- Sport can raise awareness with regard to equal rights and inclusive settlements for people with disabilities, the elderly, women and girls, and other vulnerable groups and individuals.
- Sport can help eliminate obstacles and barriers in the environment, transportation, public facilities and services to ensure that people facing those barriers such as persons with disabilities can access sport and physical activities.
- Sport can enhance the sustainable development of cities by building facilities with the most enhanced resource and energy efficiency, and by assessing policies and procedures with procurement standards labelling.



Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
(In particular targets: 13.1, 13.3)

- Sport can promote sustainable consumption and production through education and awareness raising campaigns. The popularity and outreach of sport offer opportunities for awareness raising and information sharing, including sustainable development and nature-friendly lifestyles. Messages and awareness raising campaigns concerning sustainable consumption and production can be disseminated through sport products, services and events.
- The incorporation of sustainability standards in the production and provision of sport products can contribute to sustainable consumption and production patterns, also involving other industries.
- With regard to natural resources, their sustainable management and efficient use can be enhanced in sport contexts. Sport-based activities involving natural resources, such as outdoor sport, can be platforms to promote the responsible use of natural resources.
- Sport can encourage sustainable tourism and lifestyles as well as sustainable tourism products and services for instance in host cities of sport events. Sport can educate tourists on ways to minimize their travel footprint and promote eco-mobility for example when attending sport events. It can build capacities in tourism and engage relevant stakeholders in sustainable practices which report their impacts on the environment.



Goal 14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development (In particular targets: 14.2, 14.c)

- Sport-based education programmes can teach children and youth about environmental sustainability and climate change.
- Sport-based public awareness campaigns can promote awareness towards climate protection and can stimulate enhanced community response for local environment preservation. Sport, including sport events and stakeholders involved, can transmit messages regarding climate change and encourage policy developments in this context.
- Sport can help disaster recovery efforts through psychosocial support to affected individuals, especially children, by giving back a sense of normality, identity and belonging. Equally, sport-based projects can support the relief of communities and reconstruction of facilities affected by natural disasters.
- Sport can promote clean air in sport events through awareness raising campaigns, installation of air-pollution detectors and communication of results to the general public.
- Sport, through collaboration among a variety of involved stakeholders, can make significant contributions to combat climate change.














Goal 15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss (In particular targets: 15.1, 15.4, 15.9)

- Sport offers a platform for education and promotion regarding the preservation of terrestrial ecosystems.
- Sport can promote awareness raising campaigns on biodiversity, including the dangers of the illegal trade in wildlife. It can contribute to preserve biodiversity through responsible lifestyle choices.
- Sport, through educational initiatives, can provide well-researched insights into the interactions between biodiversity and the lifestyle choices by explaining the interrelatedness of food, consumption, culture and biodiversity conservation.
- Sport in natural terrestrial settings can play an important role in ensuring the conservation and sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems. Sport, especially outdoor sport, can incorporate safeguards, activities and messages promoting the sustainable and environmentally respectful use of terrestrial resources.
- Sport is associated to important values and proved to be an effective platform for values advocacy and education. It can therefore be used as a tool for the integration of ecosystem and biodiversity related values into development processes.
- The environmentally friendly organization of sport events, including the construction of sport facilities and infrastructure, can serve as a best practise model and provide sustainability assessment and recommendations on best practices to protect the ecosystem, e.g. prior to the construction of sport facilities for sport events. This comes with innovative solutions and the most resource efficient and clean energy initiatives.



Goal 16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (In particular targets: 16.1, 16.2, 16.3, 16.5, 16.10)



-  Sport can help to rebuild post-conflict societies and uplift affected communities and individuals by fostering the respect, protection and implementation of human rights. Sport can amplify important human rights messages, such as the value of inclusion, respect for diversity and non-discrimination.
-  Sport provides a powerful communication platform that can be used to disseminate solidarity and reconciliation messages and to promote a culture of peace. Sport events can provide opportunities for advocating and realizing peace, as notably the Olympic Truce has allowed since ancient history.
-  Sport and sport events can promote national unity and identity in a peaceful way, respecting others.
-  Role models in sport can promote peace and human rights and foster dialogue and social cohesion.
-  Sport activities can help to address war-related trauma and promote healing by providing safe spaces for activities that enable victims of war to regain a sense of security and normalcy.
-  Sport can serve as a tool for supporting demobilization and disarmament efforts as well as supporting the reintegration of ex-combatants, particularly former child soldiers, into their communities.
-  Sport can support the rapprochement and integration of divided communities and cultures through friendly games. The universal popularity of sport offers an important means of engaging communities that are hard to reach and socially excluded groups, for example via sport programmes for refugees or indigenous peoples.
-  Sport provides a useful vehicle to train a number of important social and life skills and to address important risk factors for crime and violence, especially amongst youth. For instance, sport can raise awareness and be a platform to share information on sexual and gender-based violence, including in conflict situations. Ending abuse, violence and exploitation in sport can significantly contribute to achieving peaceful societies.
-  Respect, equality and fair-play, some of the core values in sport are also fundamental principles for peaceful and inclusive societies, thus sport programmes that emphasize these values can contribute to the realization of such societies.
-  Upholding sport ideals such as respect for the opponent and the rules of the game and maintaining dignity in victory as well as defeat, can foster democratic processes and institutions. Reforming sport institutions can help to ensure that they are effective, accountable and inclusive by basing their policies and actions on human rights including principles of justice and good governance, and to promote a culture of ethics, integrity, and lawfulness.
-  The promotion and maintenance of clean sport is fundamental to underpin fairness in society.



17 PARTNERSHIPS
FOR THE GOALS



Goal 17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development (In particular, targets:17.9, 17.13, 17.16, 17.17,17.19)



- The global reach, unmatched popularity, wide appeal, universal character and value-based foundation of sport, as well as its particular association with youth, make it a versatile means of implementation.
- Sport can catalyze, build and strengthen multi-stakeholder networks and partnerships for sustainable development and peace goals, involving and bringing together governments, donors, NGOs, sport organizations, the private sector, academia and the media.
- The presence and diversity of sport and sport organizations on local, national, regional and international levels can provide effective networks for partnerships and implementation of programmes.
- Sport can serve as a link between different sectors which can address a wide variety of topics, pool resources and create synergies.
- The sport, development and peace communities can contribute to collaboratively measuring progress of sustainable development by assessing and reporting on the contributions of sport to the SDGs.