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**CHANGING THE GAME OR DROPPING THE BALL?
SPORT AS HUMAN CAPABILITY DEVELOPMENT
FOR AT RISK YOUTH IN BARBADOS AND ST. LUCIA**

**HET SPEL VERANDEREN OF JE KANS VERSPELEN? SPORT ALS
ONTWIKKELING VAN MENSELIJK VERMOGEN VOOR
RISICIJONGEREN IN BARBADOS EN SAINT LUCIA**

Thesis

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Dedication

To my husband, Aaron, and our daughters, Adelyn Rachel and Anna Gwenth.

| LOVE ♥ TRUST ♥ PIXIEDUST |

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Acronyms

ASAP	After School Activity Programme
BB	Barbados
BVTB	Barbados Vocational Training Board (Barbados)
CAPE	Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Exam
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CCSLC	Caribbean Certificate of Secondary Level Competence
CEE	Common Entrance Exam
CHLP	Caribbean Healthy Lifestyles Project
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSE	Caribbean Secondary Exam
CYS	Child and Youth Studies
CXC	Caribbean Examination Council
DAWN	Development Alternatives for Women of a New era
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean
EFA	Education for All
ESPN	Entertaining and Sports Programming Network
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GSES	General Self Efficacy Scale
HCA	Human Capability Approach
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
LAC	Latin American & the Caribbean
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NSDC	National Skills Development Centre
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
PE	Physical Education
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policy
SDOL	Sexual Divisions of Labour
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SDPT	Sport for Development and Peace Theory
SGD	Sport, gender and development
SFL	Sport for Life (Barbados)
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SISS	Sir Ira Simmons Secondary School
SL	St. Lucia
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights
UGGC	Upton Gardens Girls Centre
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNOSDP	United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace
USE	Universal Secondary Education
UWI	University of the West Indies
VAT	Value Added Tax
WHO	World Health Organisation



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Sincerely,

Sarah



Abstract

The field of sport for development and peace (SDP) has flourished in recent decades, with development programmes around the world using sport as a mechanism to support social, economic and health-related development efforts. However, the academic literature on SDP is limited in comparison to more established development fields. This study is a critical examination of SDP, extending beyond existing research by contributing in two fundamental ways. First, it uses a gender lens that includes the perspective of both girls' and boys' attitudes on gender role attitudes, a rarity in SDP research. Secondly, the Human Capability approach of Amartya Sen is applied as a theoretical framework, perhaps for the first time in SDP research.

Furthermore, studies in the field of SDP also often overlook the complex social and economic environment in the postcolonial Eastern Caribbean. This study examines sport for development for at-risk adolescents and unemployed youth in Barbados and St. Lucia. Using quantitative and qualitative data through surveys, focus group discussions, interviews and journals.

Key findings indicate that boys tended to embrace a machismo masculinity regarding sport and domestic life. Their experience in sport, particularly sporting with girls, may in fact reinforce restrictive gender role attitudes and hetero-normative beliefs. On the other hand, girls seemed to experience a sense of empowerment through sport, despite struggling with the narrow scope of culturally ascribed and aesthetically defined ideals of the female body. Furthermore, although all participants expressed a positive relationship between sport participation and their own development of self-efficacy and social affiliation, girls focused more on social aspects while boys were more concerned with skill-building. Finally, the macro-level conversion factors of economic instability, inadequacies in education and government ineffectiveness undermine sustainable youth development efforts.

To conclude, these programmes largely function as an integrative development approach, rather than a transformative gender *and* development method. This study affirms that these SDP initiatives may be restricted by a neo-liberal framework, which relies on traditional modes of gender and hetero-normativity, as discussed in previous research (Forde and Frisby, 2015; McDonald, 2015; Chawansky, 2014; Levermore and Beacom, 2009). Role Creating a stronger presence of female role models as coaches and peer leaders may better engage at-risk girls and support the challenging of restrictive gender role norms amongst boys. Expanding the opportunities for type of sport played to include more gender-neutral or feminized sporting forms may also help transform the sport for development narrative.



Samenvatting

Het VN-programma Sport voor Ontwikkeling en Vrede (SDP) is de afgelopen jaren een vruchtbare bodem gebleken voor wereldwijde initiatieven waarin sport dient als mechanisme om ontwikkelingsprojecten op sociaal, economisch en gezondheidsgebied te ondersteunen. Er is echter relatief weinig wetenschappelijke literatuur over SDP in vergelijking met literatuur over meer gevestigde terreinen van ontwikkelingssamenwerking. Dit onderzoek is een kritische beschouwing van SDP die verder gaat dan bestaande studies en op twee manieren een fundamentele bijdrage levert. In de eerste plaats wordt SDP bekeken vanuit genderperspectief waarbij zowel bij meisjes als bij jongens wordt onderzocht hoe zij aankijken tegen genderrollen, wat zelden gebeurt in SDP-onderzoek. Ten tweede wordt de *Human Capability Approach* (benadering van het menselijk vermogen) van Amartya Sen gebruikt als theoretisch kader, wat misschien nog niet eerder is gedaan in onderzoek naar SDP.

Onderzoek op het gebied van SDP gaat ook vaak voorbij aan de complexe sociale en economische situatie in het postkoloniale Oost-Caraïbisch gebied. Dit onderzoek gaat over sport voor ontwikkeling gericht op risicojongeren en werkloze jongeren in Barbados en Saint Lucia. Met behulp van vragenlijsten, focusgroepdiscussies, interviews en dagboeken zijn kwantitatieve en kwalitatieve data verzameld.

Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat jongens vaak een stereotiep mannelijke kijk hadden op sport en het huiselijk leven. Hun ervaring met sport, en in het bijzonder met sporten met meisjes, zou beperkende genderrol-attitudes en hetero-normatieve opvattingen zelfs kunnen versterken. Aan de andere kant leek sport meisjes een gevoel van empowerment te geven, ook al worstelden ze met nauw omschreven cultureel bepaalde en esthetisch gedefinieerde ideaalbeelden van het vrouwelijk lichaam. Verder wezen alle deelnemers op een positieve relatie tussen hun deelname aan sport en hun ontwikkeling van zelfeffectiviteit en sociale affilatie, maar richtten meisjes zich meer op sociale aspecten terwijl jongens meer aandacht hadden voor het ontwikkelen van vaardigheden. Ten slotte ondermijnen factoren op macroniveau zoals een instabiele economie, ontoereikende scholing en een ineffectieve overheid pogingen om tot een duurzame ontwikkeling van de jeugd te komen.

De conclusie is dat deze programma's vooral dienen als geïntegreerde ontwikkelingsbenadering, in plaats van als transformerende methode op het gebied van gender *en* ontwikkeling. De resultaten van het onderzoek bevestigen dat deze SDP-initiatieven gehinderd kunnen worden door een neo-liberaal beleidskader dat gebaseerd is op traditionele genderrollen en hetero-normativiteit, zoals eerder onderzoek aangeeft (Forde en Frisby, 2015; McDonald, 2015; Chawansky, 2014; Levermore en Beacom, 2009). Een sterkere aanwezigheid van vrouwelijke rolmodellen als coaches en teamleiders kan de betrokkenheid van meisjes in risicogroepen vergroten en eraan bijdragen dat jongens restrictieve genderrollen ter discussie stellen. Het vergroten van de mogelijkheden om verschillende sporten te beoefenen, waaronder gender-neutrale of gefeminiseerde vormen van sport, kan ook helpen bij de transformatie van het sport-voor-ontwikkeling-narratief.



CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION¹

1.1 An illustration

We were standing on the pitch at Kensington Oval in Bridgetown, Barbados on an unusually hot Saturday afternoon in September. Kensington Oval is hallowed ground for the millions of cricket followers around the globe. This very pitch was the home of the 2007 International Cricket Council World Cup finals, the most elite cricketing event in the world. But today, the global superstars of cricket are absent. Instead, the pitch is filled with a group of nearly 30 adolescent boys and girls, ranging from 12 to 17 years old. They are here on this simmering day to take part in a programme called Sport for Life (SFL). At SFL, students spend their Saturdays studying literacy, mathematics and computer applications. But if you ask most of them, especially the boys, they are not really here for those lessons. They are here for cricket. They are here to stand on the same grounds as their sporting heroes and learn to play the game held in highest esteem in Barbados.

However, not all have the same motivation. Upon further investigation, it becomes clear that while the boys are keenly interested in sharpening their cricket skills, most of the girls, who make up a small minority of the participants, are only mildly motivated by the sport. They prefer the on site computer lab to the playing field. Their lack of enthusiasm becomes apparent during the next cricket skill session. A group of about ten players, including three girls, surround an adult male coach standing in the centre. The drill is relatively simple. They are instructed to catch the cricket ball he bats to them and toss it back to him. The goal is to get ten catches in a row. As each player catches the ball, the group counts out loud how many total catches they have made. After a few slow starts, they begin to build momentum. Then a girl drops the ball and the group starts back at zero. On the next try, it happens again. Later, it happens again and again.

I find myself standing to side, watching this unfold and silently cringing. Here I am, a white, American adult female observing and studying this group of adolescent, black Barbadians. I have never played an actual game of cricket in my life. I have very little understanding of this game, which stands as a global legacy of the British Commonwealth and a bastion of sporting masculinity. I certainly have no authority to judge anyone on cricketing skills. However, I have played a lot of sports, including similar sports such as baseball. I know how to catch a ball. But I know only because I am deeply privileged. I grew up being encouraged to join in as my brothers learned how to play baseball and other sports. I enjoyed nearly equal access to sport as my brothers. Was it different for these girls? How?

Later, in the day, I learned that these girls do not really like cricket and do not practice to the same extent as their male counterparts. They are not as encouraged to play cricket as I was to play baseball. It is no mystery why they struggle to keep up.

¹ Parts of this chapter have been published as: Zipp, S. (2016). Sport for development with 'at risk' girls in St. Lucia. *Sport in Society*, 1-15.

They are trying to play a game that has been passed down from fathers to sons for generations. Daughters are rarely invited to play. First, it came from the English colonisers until it eventually became a symbol of the ideal Eastern Caribbean man. Cricket stands for strength, speed and skill. It is a game steeped in English Commonwealth and Caribbean hegemonic masculinity (Nauright, 2014; Kidd, 2013; Sutherland, 2012; Lewis, 2003). It is an iconic symbol of global sporting culture, an institution which “serves to produce, reproduce and perpetuate male hegemony.” (Fink, 2007, p.146).

Taking into account the weighty cultural baggage of cricket, it made sense when two of the girls abandoned the drill and wandered off to the side of the cricket grounds. There, they began turning cartwheels and handsprings. They chose gymnastics and camaraderie over improving their cricket skills. It was there, on the periphery of these sacred cricket grounds that they found their space to sport. I watched as they laughed and skilfully played on their own terms.

This story touches on all of the main themes of this thesis; self-efficacy, social affiliation, gender role attitudes and body image. The participants were working on skill development, which supports *self-efficacy* formation. But not all participants experienced skill development the same way nor were they motivated by the same skill goals. These children were working together as a team toward a goal, building *social affiliation* in peer groups and with coaching mentors. However, social connections formed differently by gender, with girls drifting to the margins. During this sport session, boys and girls followed distinct roles, adhering to traditional *gender role attitudes*. Finally, the emphasis on skilled physical activity provided a platform for *body image* focused on kinetics, rather than aesthetics.

In this story, and throughout this study, the opportunity to develop these four capabilities; self-efficacy, social affiliation, positive gender role attitudes and positive body image, is mitigated by gender. Girls seemed to prefer different sport forms and contexts, rejecting the dominant sport structures informed by post-colonial male traditions and preferences. As it exists in these programmes, sport for development fits within a masculinised, neo-liberal framework. It is mired in gender *in* development, rather than gender *and* development. These sport programmes must overcome significant macro-environmental challenges; such as economic instability, unequal education systems and government inefficiencies in order to fundamentally transform the playing field in a way to support the full spectrum of capability development for all youth.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This study critically examines sport as a tool for capability development among at risk adolescents in the Eastern Caribbean islands of Barbados and St. Lucia. In doing so, this research is provides a critical perspective on the field of sport for development. While much of the existing research on SDP highlights the positive development benefits gleaned from participation in sport programmes, critical scholars describe such SDP literature as romanticising or overstating these positive effects and are now calling for more in-depth and critical research to challenge such claims (Sanders, 2016; Shehu, 2016; Zipp, 2016; McDonald, 2015; Carney and Chawansky, 2016;

Jarvie, 2013; Darnell, 2012; Coalter and Taylor, 2010; Levermore and Beacom, 2009; Kidd, 2008). According to a prominent UK Sport Study, claims that sport for development programmes reduce social and economic ills are often “vague and lack theoretical and policy coherence . . . and (are) overly romanticized,” (Coalter & Talor, 2010, p. 1374).

The research presented here attempts to answer these calls and extends beyond the bounds of existing scholarship on sport, gender and development in two distinctive ways. First, the concept of gender is examined through the eyes of both female and male participants, a rarity in this field, where most studies rely on perspectives only from female participants. In the vein of the recent United Nations (UN) He for She movement, the gender role attitudes of boys are studied in order to better understand how perspectives on masculinity and femininity amongst SDP participants may challenge or reinforce restrictive gender norms. Secondly, the human capability approach (HCA) is applied as a framework by which to examine the influence of sport within the development context. To date, I have found no other studies on SDP which employ the human capability approach (with the exception of my own article published on this data). Using the HCA framework opens the study to a broader understanding of how SDP influences capability development, rather than the more common focus on outcomes (i.e. functionings) found in SDP literature. This study also offers a new theoretical model for SDP, developed from Ingrid Robeyns’ interpretation of the HCA. Finally, I offer new ideas for how to improve research in SDP, reflecting on my own challenges during this study.

Examining gender

Conceptualising gender in sport

Gender is a complicated concept in any context, but within sport and development the formation, performance and perspectives on gender are entrenched in restrictive historical and cultural paradigms of sport, yet SDP proponents laud sport as a means to challenge such gender norms, making it extraordinarily complex to research how gender is experienced in SDP and in what ways it impacts capability development. To begin, I will define gender and explain how it is conceptualised in this thesis. Poggio defines gender as “situated social practice,” (2006, p.225 in Knoppers & Anthonissen, 2008, p.94). According to Knoppers and Anthonissen (2008, p.94), writing on managerial discourses on gender in sport organisations;

“Connell (1987, 2005) has argued that the current ways of doing gender are sustained and/or challenged by configurations of practices. Doing gender consists of engaging in actions that are part of social processes. These actions include practices of power that support or challenge domination of men and subordination of women, practices of production that reinforce and/or challenge a gendered division of labor, and practices of cathexis that sustain gendered constructions of sexual desire and emotional commitment.”

Based on these definitions and descriptions, I engage with gender as a social construct, situated in the social practices and processes described above by Knoppers and Anthonissen. Gender is fluid, relational and non-binary. I question how sexual divisions of labour in sport were/are generated and how they are practiced today in the context of the West Indies. I explore gender as something experienced, performed and interpreted, with a layer of symbolic power privileging men and subjugating

women. This dynamic is also played out in social and economic power. I also apply a gender lens across the entirety of this thesis and focusing on the specific aspects of gender role attitudes, body image and the lived body experience. By gender lens, I mean that I examine gender across the entirety of the thesis, considering how gender intersects at different levels, layers of analysis and points in the process of development.

I also examine the heteronormative framework common in sport, which assumes a binary of normative and non-normative based heterosexuality as the ideal, with traditional gender roles and sexual division of labour. Carney and Chawansky claim heteronormativity is a visible pattern in SDP literature (2016). They define heteronormativity as follows;

“In a heteronormative culture, heterosexuality is not only the expected and dominant way of living, it has the status as the norm, and is often referred to as what is ‘natural.’ In a worst case scenario, heteronormativity might breed homophobia or homonegativism and lead to violence, harassment, social stigmatizing and negative sanctions against marginalized sexualities,” (Eng, 2006, p.51 in Carney & Chawansky, 2016, p. 287).

The heteronormative frame is one way in which sport privileges traditional gender roles and norms, marginalizing those who transgress or deviate. Sport has historically been considered the domain of men; that is, sport was created by and for men, is dominated by men/boys in terms of participation numbers and leadership, and is associated with traditionally masculine qualities such as strength and aggression (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; Claringbould & Knoppers, 2013; Kidd, 2013; Hyman, 2009; Cunningham & Sagas, 2008; Breuning & Dixon, 2006; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003). As Bruce Kidd argues his *Sport in Society* article from 2013 (p.594); “rather than being an ‘innocent’ pastime, modern sports reinforce the sexual division of labour, thereby perpetuating the great inequality between the sexes and contributing to the exploitation and repression of both males and females.”

Sport competitions are typically divided by biological sex, with separate teams, events, divisions and leagues for females and males. These divisions are generally labeled by gender terms such as boys’, girls’, men’s, or women’s sports. There are a few exceptions to this general rule, such as some equestrian events, mixed doubles tennis and others. For the most part, one could travel around the world watching sport, from recreational children’s leagues to the most elite professional sports, and rarely find teams or competitions where males and females are directly competing against or with one another. In sum, sport functions on a very fundamental and all encompassing vision of gender as binary and predicated on one’s biological sex. For this reason, as in much of the research on sport, I rely on binary sex and gender terms, such as male/female, boy/girl/ woman/man and feminine/masculine. As Harroway explains, these terms are often needed for “strategic utility” in research examining gender concepts (1988, p.594).

Recently, this strict division has been highlighted in the public battles over two athletes, Caster Semenya of South Africa and Dutee Chand of India. Both are track and field athletes and were banned from competitions because of a controversial practice called “sex testing.” Sex testing, or gender verification, is a series of medical examinations, including hormone analysis, chromosome testing and invasive physical exams such as clitoris testing and ultrasound screenings to examine internal sex

organs. The exams are intended to determine whether athletes are either male, female or intersex but are not grounded in sound medical practices are often brutally humiliating for athletes who must undergo them to compete. Both Semenya and Chand tested abnormally high for androgenous hormones, such as testosterone, for females. Although neither had taken any hormonal supplements for improving performances and both had identified as female for their entire lives, they were banned from internationally sanctioned competitions. The federation overseeing international athletics, the International Athletics Association Federation (IAAF), claimed that their testosterone levels exceeded the limit they set for female competitors. Opponents cite that there is no medical standard of hormones determining biological sex and that the condition of hyperandrogony, the official diagnosis, has no bearing on one's sex or gender identity. The IAAF claimed that hyperandrogony provided an unfair performance advantage and, reportedly, sought out these athletes because of their outstanding performances and strikingly muscular (read: masculine) bodies. Public outrage over the humiliating process of gender testing was strong and both athletes filed appeals through the Court for Arbitration in Sport (CAS). Eventually, the bans were overturned in time for Semenya to compete in the 2012 Olympics and Chand in the 2016 Olympics. Still, their plights have drawn attention to the problems with strictly, often arbitrarily, defined sex and gender divisions in sport (Longman, 2016; Padawer, 2016). I believe their stories reflect the deep fears over sport as a masculinising influence on women and their bodies and I teach their cases in my sport in society classes.

These deep sex/gender divisions formulate and describe how sport is experienced and perceived. Genders, and the biological sexes they are assumed to flow from, are not to be mixed. Historically, women and girls were excluded almost entirely from organised sport. Kidd contends that this exclusion, and its legacy of subjugating and marginalising girls and women in sport, is a primary way in which sport is used to reinforce traditional ideas of masculinity, with sport as the mechanism used to socialise, train and indoctrinate boys and young men into the soldiers, business leaders and politicians of the future. Anthropologically, only warlike cultures have used combative events, such as sport, for leisure and entertainment. Sport was and still is often designed and practised in an effort to "toughen" boys, controlling their bodies and disciplining their minds toward an ideal masculinity of strength, assertiveness and aggression. In this context, sport is not only unnecessary and inappropriate for girls, but it is a dangerous threat to their femininity, which is defined by nurturing and care-giving roles. In the U.S., girls and women are literally side-lined, serving the supporting role of cheerleader, often in hyper-sexualised performances designed to appease the male gaze. Therefore, girls and women who play sport, especially contact or combat sports, transgress the prescribed social order of gender roles and threaten the privileged position of boys and men in sport and beyond (Kidd, 2013).

Such practices from girls and women are often marginalised and attacked for being deviant. Because sport is engendered in a way that promotes traditional, restrictive masculinities and femininities, it also privileges heterosexuality and homophobia. Knoppers and McDonald point to numerous scholars writing on the problem of homophobia in sport (2010). In particular, female athletes face scrutiny and expectations to perform femininity. "The real issue behind so much attention to an athlete's femininity was the fear that she might be a lesbian," (Hall, 1996, p.19 in

Knoppers and McDonald, 2010, p. 315). Carney and Chawansky (2016) expand the study on heteronormativity in sport to sport for development, claiming the experiences and voices of queer participants in SDP are largely unheard. Both papers call for a queering of research in sport and SDP, one which critically examines the heteronormative framework of sport and seeks to include queer voices.

Sport, therefore, is a social practice grounded in binary concepts of gender and sex. Such a construct goes beyond who plays with who, but also informs how people are expected to play and what sports are socially appropriate for individuals of either gender. In his book, *Until it hurts; America's obsession with youth sports and how it harms our kids*, Mark Hyman describes how such gendered practices exist in sport today and how they perpetuate rigid divisions of sex roles and define masculinity and femininity in youth sport. Explaining that the most popular sports around the world tend to construct athletic ability in favour of male bodies. For example, popular commercial sports (e.g. association football and basketball) favour skills such as strength, speed and size over other physical body types and abilities. Biologically, with an understanding of sexual dimorphism in physical anthropology, men are larger and have greater muscle mass than women. Women's bodies, however, are structured in a way that better favour sports for smaller bodies, such as gymnastics. These differences illustrate how clearly those sports which are most popularised and commercialised, in particular contact sports, were designed for male bodies (Hyman, 2009).

Watching a rugby match, a sport in which physical contact amongst players occurs nearly constantly, it is clear to see that strength and size are important aspects. Rugby is commonly considered a highly masculinised sport and may be placed at one end of a continuum of sports ranging from masculine to feminine. On the other end, sports such as figure skating and gymnastics reflect more socially acceptable forms of sport for women, representing a femininity in sport that is less threatening to the historic social order. These are non-contact sports favour those athletic abilities more aligned with the sexual dimorphism differences of human bodies. Gymnastics, in particular, is better-suited for smaller, shorter bodies. These sports also have subjective competitive elements, relying on judges who evaluate form and aesthetics of the athletes' performance. Furthermore, the smaller size of elite gymnasts (both male and female), is a popularised discussion point in sport media and is discussed critically in Joan Ryan's expose *Little girls in pretty boxes; the making and breaking of elite gymnasts and figure skaters* (1995). Hyman contends that these physical differences have been used to justify, unjustly, the subjugation and marginalisation of girls and women in sport (2009).

Knoppers and McDonald point out that the recent rise of women in sports such as rugby and bodybuilding challenge gender ideologies of sport (2010) and Kidd argues that, over time and with improved resources, women in sport are closing the performance gap between the sexes (2013). In essence, gender in sport is changing, yet still rooted in a binary paradigm based on biological sex differences. The spectrum of sports from masculine (contact, combative sports, sports representing colonial hegemony (e.g. cricket, baseball)) to feminine (non-contact, aesthetically judged sports) reflects the polarising ideology of gender roles in sport. These divisions go beyond what sports people choose or are allowed to play and deeply

inform *how* sports are played, how those who play sport in specific ways are *perceived* and how sport participants *experience* and *practice* gender.

In this thesis, I have tried to unpack gender and further the argument that utilitarian notions of gender as fixed and binary are harmful in SDP, marginalising girls, women and those who are non gender-conforming, while also constructing a restrictive ideal masculinity that privileges many boys and men, but alienating those who deviate traditional masculinity. Furthermore, this paradigm prevents boys and men from working together with girls and women to promote gender equality for all, in a *He for She* approach. “Within this oversimplified patriarchal understanding of gender, which is based on biological determinism and essentialist readings of the body, it is difficult (if not altogether impossible) to appropriate the role of men as partners or collaborators in the development programmes for women’s empowerment,” (Nyanzi, 2016, p. 544 in Harcourt, 2016).

Gender in SDP

The polarising gender binary in sport is embedded in SDP at its roots. SDP is deeply entrenched in restrictive modes of gender, constructing a binary-based, hetero-normative framework and, in the cases studied here, a Caribbean masculinity based on machismo expectations of boys and men in sport and the domestic sphere. Many researchers have recently called for more complex understandings of gender in sport for development, questioning the effect of sport as a tool for female empowerment and positing that SDP may in fact reinforce gender inequalities and is based upon static binary, hetero-normative representations of gender (Forde & Frisby, 2015; Hayhurst, et al., 2015; McDonald, 2015; Meier, 2015; Szto, 2015; Samie, et al., 2015; Carney and Chawansky, 2016; Chawansky, 2011; Saavedra, 2009; Meier, 2005; Brady, 2005). Hayhurst, MacNeill, Kidd and Knoppers argue for research that explores the “relational impact of gender” to better understand how “social relations shift and change in the face of variable and fluid gender dynamics,” (2014, p.158). In 2015, a momentous special issue on sport for development for girls was published in the journal *Sport in Society*, marking the first ever volume devoted specifically to this issue (Chawansky and Hayhurst, 2015). This special issue has coincided with and highlighted stronger calls for critical examinations of gender in sport for development research, including more complex and relational understandings of the concept of gender.

A leading scholar on the topic of sport, gender and development, Dr. Megan Chawansky, who served as the editor of the special issue noted above, describes SDP initiatives as typically hetero-normative and calls for further research that examines how SDP programmes might unintentionally reinforce gender inequalities (Chawansky and Hayhurst, 2015; Carney and Chawansky, 2016; Chawansky, 2011). In this study, the concept of gender is examined from a critical perspective, as a dynamic, relational social construct. Binary gender norms and heteronormativity are questioned throughout the study. For example, the fact that girls and boys are playing a masculinised sport such as cricket in this study is not assumed as an unencumbered challenge to gender norms. Instead, these activities are problematised and explored to better understand in which ways the programmes may challenge and/or reinforce restrictive gender norms and attitudes.

Additionally, participants were asked questions that upend hetero-normative narratives. For example, boys were asked about playing netball, a sport rigidly defined as for girls only. We discussed why they assumed a boy playing netball must be gay. In further discussions, we explored why and how girls who play, rough, contact sports have their femininity and sexuality questioned because their behaviour violates gender norms. I also examine how female role models in sport are pushed to conform to heteronormative ideals of femininity.

And, furthermore, one's relation to her body and gender (i.e. body image) is explored as something that is lived and experienced fluidly. Participants were encouraged to describe and discuss how sport, physical activity and body image intersect with gender and sexuality. Still, it was difficult to engage fully with gender as a non-binary concept in the field, as sport play and participants in sport are often categorised and ordered by traditional sex and gender. Hence, much of the discussions and materials included binary divisions and terminologies, such as boy/girl.

Similarly, Shawn Forde and Wendy Frisby contend that SDP relies on static concepts of gender, rooted in traditional and hetero-normative cultural norms (2015). While most studies in SDP rely on binary, static forms of gender, here, the concept of gender is assumed as dynamic and relational. For example, in exploring the theme of physical activity and body image, the "lived body experience" is applied in conjunction with more traditional theories on body image and gender. The lived body experience, developed by 20th century philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty and expanded on by feminist scholars Toril Moi and Iris Marion Young, rejects traditional notions of gender as a static socialised category (Young, 2005). Instead, it explores gender as a dynamic relationship between one's physical self and the surrounding environment. For example, a woman in a business suit sitting down at a meeting has a distinctly different lived body experience in that moment from when she may be wearing muddy clothing and working in her garden later that day. Another woman, who, when surrounded by women is often the tallest in the room, experiences her height in a specific and gendered way. When that same woman is in a room surrounded by men who are taller than she, she feels differently about her body and gender. In essence, a person's experience of gender is subjective to her own life-long and momentary experiences of her own body. The application of this concept is further explored in Chapter Six, where a focus group of girls explains how they navigate the narrow scope of cultural ideals for their body, explaining how strong legs are good for sport, but muscular "Tina Turner calves" are unfeminine.

Applying the Human Capability framework

In order to explore the complexities of gender as a fluid social construct in relation to sport and development, an equally complex and flexible theoretical framework is necessary. The HCA framework, drawn from amongst Amartya Sen's pivotal work (2000, 1988) and built upon by Martha Nussbaum (2001, 1999) and Ingrid Robeyns (2011, 2005, 2003), served this purpose effectively. In particular, the HCA explicitly focuses on capabilities, or possibilities, rather than functionings, or outcomes. A person's capabilities, or "real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value," are the core of this approach (Robeyns, 2011, p.1). Such a focus

allows us to better understand how the participants of these programmes experienced, or did not experience, the kind of personal development claimed by the programme proponents and SDP supporters at large. Scholars can better unpack how specific elements of each programme and its setting influence capability development through the HCA framework. For example, by focusing on capability, rather than outcome, researchers can better understand that although girls displayed less interest in sport overall than boys, this is likely an influence of adapted preference formation, as girls are not socialised into the male-oriented sports to the same degree as the boys. Without Sen's emphasis on adapted preferences (2000), an outcome-based framework might only conclude that the girls care less for sport than the boys.

The focus on process and possibilities over outcomes and outputs is a distinct departure from most SDP research, which is centred on monitoring and evaluation strategies of the practitioner organisations and/or funders. For example, sport for development and peace theory (SDPT) is rooted in the impact assessment of individual programmes, focusing on inter-group contact theory and humanistic psychology (Lyras and Peachey, 2011). Such a framework, I believe, places too much emphasis on outcomes and too little on the capability one has to achieve such an end. SDPT is designed to evaluate the development and implementation of SDP programmes. It is an adaptable framework, which calls for examination of organisational and social influences, but it does not explicitly address issues such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion or class. Other common theory-of-change models used in SDP research are also overtly focused on outcomes. Often, SDP research is theorised in the context of social affiliation, cohesion, youth development and feminist theory. These theoretical frameworks take into account many of the elements missing in SDPT, but none, in my view, construct each aspect as effectively as the HCA.

By contrast, the HCA is uniquely situated to examine the process of converting resources into opportunities, within the context of complicated social influences and personal preferences. Therefore another advantage of this approach is that it looks at specific aspects of social context; such as social institutions, social and legal norms, etc. (Robeyns, 2005). With its emphasis on macro and micro-environmental conversion factors, the HCA framework is ideal for examining the formal and informal norms of neo-liberal societies. I borrow a definition of neo-liberalism from SDP scholar Mary McDonald, who argues that SDP is often misguided by the belief that with the right kind of intervention and support, girls and women will overcome everything from poverty to gender inequality to poor health, if they are able to develop their economic abilities and cultural competencies. She defines neo-liberalism as follows:

Used here neoliberalism refers not just to economic principles which privilege free markets and privatization while eroding state expenditures related to social services for the poor and marginalized communities. Rather, neoliberalism also signifies a shifting regime of thought and action, which produces subjectivities dedicated to promoting self-reliance, personal transformation, individualism, and economic efficiency as ways to solve broader social ills (Rottenberg 2014). Increasingly Western corporations, NGO development agencies, the UN, the World Bank, and state governments position girls and women of the global South as 'entrepreneurial subjects' who have the ability to 'empower' and help themselves as well as their families and communities to achieve greater social and economic security (Hayhurst 2011; ShainKeele 2013). (McDonald, 2015, p.911).

Her definition speaks to the simplistic vision that girls and women in the Global South can overcome enormous challenges and barriers by developing their own skills and abilities. As an explicit challenge to neo-liberalism, the HCA framework supports the kind of critical research called upon to by SDP scholars criticising the neo-liberal influences on the field that often deny or overlook the systematic and structural inequalities that disadvantage and subjugate people, such as Shehu (2015), Forde & Frisby (2015), McDonald (2015), Chawansky (2014), Levermore & Beacom (2009) and more.

Finally, the HCA framework is topically relevant to SDP. The concept of human capability is focused on thematic areas aligned with the SDP movement. For example; (social) affiliation, bodily integrity (free movement) and play are amongst the essential capabilities identified by Nussbaum (1999). Overall, the approach is centred on the promotion of well-being, a common, over-arching goal within SDP. Whilst the HCA framework addresses these topics and more, it also leaves room to layer additional points of emphasis or focus within the framework. For example, I have applied aspects of youth development and feminist theory to further enhance and clarify my use of the HCA.

Research objective

The objective of this research, therefore, is to *understand how sport for development influences the capability development of at risk adolescents in Barbados and St. Lucia*. This study explores three primary themes; **(1) self-efficacy and social affiliation (2) gender role attitudes and body image/lived body experience and (3) environmental support system factors (economy, education systems, governance).** **Within all three thematic areas, the influences of gender, social relations (peer and mentor relationships) and the appeal of sport in the larger development context are closely examined.** A mixed methods approach was undertaken, gathering and analysing quantitative and qualitative data through surveys, focus group discussions, interviews and journals.

This project will contribute to the emerging body of knowledge on sport by examining these themes with an extensive and intensive examination of gender, gathering input from both female and male participants across all themes and by applying the human capability framework to the analysis in SDP research. I have already contributed one new article published in the peer-reviewed journal *Sport in Society: Cultures, commerce, media and politics* in September of 2016. The article, *Sport for development with 'at risk' girls in St. Lucia*, was based on the results with the Upton Garden Girls Centre participants.

I posit that the SDP functions largely within a constrictive, neo-liberal framework, a view supported by many researchers (Forde and Frisby, 2015; McDonald, 2015; Chawansky, 2014; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Levermore and Beacom, 2009). I extend and clarify that argument using a unique gender lens and providing an adapted model of the HCA framework by which to critically examine SDP. Such a model may serve useful to other researchers as they explore the field of SDP, particularly those researchers who encounter the oft-romanticised vision of SDP and, as I have, find it difficult and confusing to sort through the fact from the fiction.

1.3 Sport for development and peace

Many studies show that sport has the capacity to contribute to development efforts, in particular to educational and health outcomes. There is little research on sport for development in the social sciences. However, the research available through social scientists and sport sociologist/historians reveals that sport, as a powerful component of culture, can be an effective vehicle for social and economic development (Sherry, Schulenkorf, & Chalip, 2015; Darnell, 2012; Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Brady, 2005; Meier, 2005; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003). According to Milner and Elliott, sport for development projects largely function as a neo-liberal approach to international development, as it is deeply often constructed as European and North American practitioners delivering programmes to parts of the Global South, dependent on corporate and government support. In most cases, the sports played are of European or North American descent, with few indigenous sport programmes available (2002). Therefore, these initiatives may not incorporate approaches critical to neo-liberalism, such as dependency, post-colonial and critical feminist theories.

Still, exceptions exist to this method and as the field has evolved, new actors and scholars have grown increasingly critical of such neo-liberal approaches (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). This study seeks to better understand how SDP projects based on a more grassroots approach function within a larger neo-liberal, post-colonial context and serve to reject or reinforce neo-liberalist philosophies. Each programme in the study was created from local or regional perspectives and operates under the direction of local community leaders and educators. Funding for these programmes come from a mix of government and NGO sources².

Sport participation is often thought to provide positive benefits on education attainment, gender equality, self-efficacy and health in developed and developing societies. The United Nations Office of Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP), claims that sport is a “fundamental right” of all human beings (Sport for Development and Peace, 2015). The UN recognized that sport participation can have dramatic effects on young peoples’ lives and support development initiatives. In particular, many studies demonstrate that sport has a specific capacity to challenge restrictive gender roles and norms. However, sport functions largely in a masculinised and male-dominated environment that can make it difficult for girls and women to become integrated into sport systems and structures (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; Kidd, 2013; Cunningham & Sagas, 2008; Dixon & Bruening, 2006). The organisation of sport largely within the male domain often limits the effectiveness and reach of SDP initiatives (Chawansky & Hayhurst, 2015; Forde & Frisby, 2015, Hayhurst, et.al, 2015; McDonald, 2015, Chawansky, 2011; Knoppers & MacDonald, 2010; Saavedra, 2009; Brady, 2005). Despite this and other shortcomings, sport is often able to serve as a social good or tool for social and economic development

² Five of the programmes were designed and launched locally and are directed by local leaders. The sixth, A Ganar, was designed as a pan Latin American initiative through the Partnership of the Americas, but is directed by local educators in the Barbados programme. SFL was founded in Barbados, but also operates in neighbouring SIDS in the West Indies.

(Sherry, Schulenkorf, & Chalip, 2015; Darnell, 2012; Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Brady, 2005; Meier, 2005; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003). This section provides an overview of the SDP field and history and context of the future direction of SDP in the post-MGD era.

An overview of the SDP field and history

According to the 2008 report from the United Nations working group on Sport for Development and Peace, sport for development is “the intentional use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably, MDGs” (Sport and gender, 2008, p. 3). By working with a team, striving for concrete goals, engaging with mentors and community organizations, and receiving public acknowledgement, sport for development programmes can help build leadership and employment skills (Sport and gender, 2008). Sport is shown to help foster independence, perseverance, and the concept of teamwork (Hyman, 2009). Additionally, sport programmes can be used as conduits for messages such on education and health. The UNOSDP recognizes that sport can combat violence, corruption, fraud, and help build employment skills. In addition, sport can be a tool for social integration, inclusion, education (Why sport?, n.d.).

Before discussing any further, it is important to define the term “sport.” A variety of definitions and models of sport exist. Sport is physical activity closely related to the term “play.” Ideally, sport should be voluntary, joyous, and allow for “freedom of movement in a non-threatening environment,” (Brady, 2005, p.38). Some definitions of sport include a competitive element, and certainly many forms of sport include and are focused on competition. Additionally, sport is often associated with rules, regulations or customs. Finally, sport generally includes the learning and practice of specific skills or physical abilities (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). This study will use a broad, inclusive approach to defining sport. For the purposes of this study, sport may be either competitive or entirely participative (without competition elements, such as keeping score). Common sports included in this definition are association football, cricket, basketball, netball, swimming, athletics, gymnastics, etc. Here, I also include dance and fitness activities under the broad term for sport.

To be clear, SDP, also referred to as sport for development, is not concerned with the improvement of sporting capacity or organising competition. The unifying objective is the development of well-being across the various themes (education, HIV/AIDS prevention, gender equality, economic empowerment, etc.) (Kidd, 2008). Traditionally (if tradition is possible within such a short timeframe), sport for development programmes fall into two categories. “Sport Plus” models deliver sport-based programmes with an additional message relating to human capital accumulation or development. These programs vary wildly and can include messages on education (school supplementary programmes, stay in school initiative), social growth (health, integration, gender equality) as well as economic independence (job skills, career training and exploration). “Plus Sport” models are centred on a development message; HIV/AIDS awareness, education, etc., and deliver this message through the platform of sport (Levermore and Beacom, 2009). For example, Grassroots Soccer uses professional athletes and football play to teach African youth about sexual health (Mission and Vision, 2011). The programmes for this study fall within the Plus Sport

category, as they are all primarily driven by personal development goals rather than sport or talent development.

The concept of sport as essential to development has become increasingly accepted by development practitioners. Over the past 11 years, social and economic development programmes with sport themes have increased dramatically. In 2009, 255 on-going sport development projects were identified on the most comprehensive platform on sport for development projects, the International Platform on Sport and Development, a collaborative platform of various national and international NGO's and sport organisations coordinated by the Swiss Academy for Development). 93% of those programmes were formed after 2000. 51% of these programmes are focused on youth and 10% are targeted at girls and women. More than half (52%) of sport for development projects are in sub-Saharan Africa. These programmes claim a wide variety of objectives, from economic empowerment to gender equality to HIV/AIDS prevention (Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

The field of SDP emerged onto the global stage of international development around the time the MDG's were adopted by the UN in 2000. In 2005, the United Nations opened the United Nations Office for Sport Development and Peace (UNOSDP) within UNICEF in order to specifically address the need to develop sport in low-income nations. This momentous event in the history of SDP integrated local and regional programmes into the larger UN system (Hayhurst, Kay & Chawansky, 2015). Sport historian Bruce Kidd, summarises the emergence of SDP as follows.

“In recent years, national and international sports organizations, governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), universities and schools have conducted programmes in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) and the disadvantaged communities of the First World to assist sports development (e.g. Olympic Solidarity), humanitarian relief (e.g. Right to Play), post-war reconciliation (e.g. Playing for Peace), and broad social development (e.g. Kicking AIDS Out). These initiatives, linked under the banner of ‘Sport for Development and Peace’ (SDP), have been prompted by athlete activism and an idealist response to the fall of apartheid, and enabled by the openings created by the end of the Cold War, the neo-liberal emphasis upon entrepreneurship and the mass mobilizations to ‘Make Poverty History’” (Kidd, 2008, p.370).

However, the roots of SDP go back much deeper. As early as the 19th century, in two very different contexts, sport was used as a development tool to amongst urban factory workers and in the communities of far-flung colonial settings. In the Global North, particularly England, Canada, the U.S. and Europe, a modern emphasis on sport as a tool for social cohesion and control grew (Kidd, 2008). As the industrial revolution unfolded across the Western world and urbanisation took hold, large groups of working class men participated in sport and recreation in the growing factory cities. However, adequate facilities were not available and few rules governed the sports played. In England, this type of sporting was known as “mob” sport, with football as the most popular form. As distinctly different from the codified sport of the middle and upper classes, mob sport was looked down upon and viewed as a representation of working class culture as wild, unruly and corrupted. A movement known as “rational recreation” emerged in Victorian England (around 1830-1840 at its height) and upper-class supervisors began organising facilities, schedules, rules and regulations for factory workers. The movement served many purposes, but was

mainly used as a form of social control and governance over the working-class (Bailey, 1974). Rational recreation was intended as an intervention to support positive development amongst the factory workers and is an antecedent to the 21st century SDP movement.

Other movements followed for workers' and the interwar period saw further emphasis on sport as a development tool for workers and youth (Kidd, 2008). In both the U.S. and England, sport moved from just a moral code toward an explicitly religious one in a movement known as "muscular Christianity." This movement, which grew from the 1850s until the early 20th century, identified physical strength and health as an expression of goodness and morality. Sport was an important pathway to developing oneself as a good Christian (Putney, 2009). Of course, in all of its forms, 19th and 20th century sport for development was almost entirely exclusive of girls and women.

Beyond the borders of the Global North, the earliest iterations of SDP were present in the Global South through 19th and 20th century colonisation, particularly in the British Commonwealth. Here, as in the movements discussed above, sport was used as a method to organise, socialise, educate and govern groups and communities. Sport served as a tool for colonial empires to introduce Western customs, values and rituals. Often brought by missionaries, sport was aligned with a moral code and was used for "controlling political, ideological and commercial motives," (Kidd, 2008, p. 371). As these sport movements evolved in these colonial settings, sporting infrastructure was developed and efforts to engage in the international community of high performance sport grew. In this context, sport also served as a symbol of development and success in colonies and eventually post-colonial nations (Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

The version of SDP that has erupted in the 21st century is more closely related to post Cold War politics and the anti-apartheid movement of the late 1980s and 1990s (Kidd, 2008). The high profile nature of sport has carried political weight in many ways, but few more visibly than in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. The 1976 Olympic games in Montreal, Canada, is notable for the pan-African boycott, held in protest over an international rugby tour that included a match with the all white South African national team. As a matter of policy, the international sport world, led by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), began prohibiting apartheid-era South Africa from participating in major events, such as the Olympic games. Other major sporting bodies, such as the Federation de Internationale Football (FIFA) also held this policy. It can be argued that the almost complete exclusion of South African sport from the international sport scene was a point of pressure to the apartheid regime (Chapelet, 2008). Following Nelson Mandela's release from prison, the first mixed race South African team participated in the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona. Three years later, South Africa and President Mandela hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup, winning the championship with a mixed race team (although it only included one non-white player).

With apartheid dismantled and South Africa opened to the sporting world, a flood of sport coaches, athletes and managers flooded the country with the intention of building up the sporting infrastructure there and supporting the reconciliation process through sport. Sport evangelists of all kinds came to the cities and townships

to bring sport to children, youth and workers. And thus South Africa, and later sub-Saharan Africa, became the epicentre for the new movement in sport for development and peace (Kidd, 2008).

The organisation of the new SDP movement was spurred by athlete activism in the early 1990s. Norwegian speed skater, Johan Koss, began collecting prize money, donations and memorabilia to auction from amongst his fellow Olympic athletes. They gave their funds to various charities and NGOs, such as the Red Cross. He and his colleagues created their own charity called Olympic Aid and began developing sports-based programmes to deliver to children in refugee camps. Eventually, this charity evolved into a prominent SDP organisation now known as Right to Play (Kidd, 2008).

By the time the UN adopted the MDGs in the autumn of 2000, a wide range of agencies, sport organisations and NGOs were conducting SDP programmes around the world. Furthermore, corporations, such as Nike, had begun using sport as a basis for community and international development as a part of their corporate social responsibility strategies. The IOC was redistributing broadcast revenues from the Olympics to support sport development in poor countries through a programme called Olympic Solidarity. It is this varied group of professional organisations that best defines the 21st century movement in sport for development as distinctly different from previous iterations (Kidd, 2008).

Future direction of SDP

The current SDP movement was essentially birthed alongside the MDGs nearly 17 years ago and is in the midst of a revision as the world of international development shifts towards the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) launched in 2015 (Hayhurst, Kay, Chawansky, 2015). The field itself is still relatively new, an infant movement within the larger context of international development. Although there is much evidence to believe that well-designed, culturally sensitive and adequately organised SDP initiatives can support positive development, particularly in education, health and well-being, there is much more to learn. While individual programmes may garner success, the SDP movement overall is still underfunded, almost entirely unregulated, poorly coordinated and relatively isolated from the larger development field. Furthermore, the field is considered highly under-researched, with most research coming as applied impact assessment within programme and funder monitoring and evaluation (M&E) strategies. This approach leaves large gaps in knowledge about how to improve SDP efforts and understanding the broader benefits, challenges and limitations of them (Kidd, 2008). Still, it is evident that the power and influence of SDP has grown exponentially since those early days. Now integrated in the UN system with the UNOSDP and with the growth of new SDP initiatives worldwide, it is clear that the field has a “seat at the table” in international development (Hayhurst, Kay, Chawansky, 2015, p. 26).

Therefore, the future of the movement seems to hinge on three key aspects; improving the coordination, organisation and partnerships that support the overall movement; conducting in-depth, critical research that goes beyond M&E to critically examine the field; and understanding the new challenges in development, such as those identified in the SDGs. In his essay, *A New Social Movement*, Bruce Kidd outlines his vision

for the future of SDP (2008). First, he calls for better coordination and partnerships. He notes the almost “complete disregard” by the SDP movement of the fundamental need to improve government run health and education programmes. Rather than functioning outside of government systems, he encourages NGOs to engage with resources such as public schools to reach more participants, particularly those in disadvantaged, rural communities. Such an approach also provides a more thorough on the ground perspective (e.g. from teachers), with NGOs working in partnership with schools, rather than simply using them as outlets to deliver their programmes. Such partnerships foster a ground-up approach to programme design, with needs and assets at the centre, rather than donor-driven programming, which often misses the mark in terms of practical implementation. Kidd’s argument is echoed in a commentary from Ben Sanders, a long-time organiser of SDP programmes in South Africa, who contends that the field must engage with governments and institutions as an advocate for reform in sectors such as health and education (2016). Kidd envisions a revised movement, with coordination amongst governments, NGOs and sports federations to support higher standards and regulations of SDP programmes (i.e. training standards for volunteers and coaches). The emphasis would be on developing stronger South-South partnerships, rather than bringing First World practices to

Secondly, as noted above in the beginning of Section 1.2, scholars are calling for more in-depth, critical research on the broad and long-term influences of SDP. To begin, SDP research must more thoroughly explore broader socio-cultural factors that impact how sport for development is received and engaged with on the ground. For example, new research which examines relational concepts of gender and sexuality should be included as a main theme in academic scholarship on SDP. This type of research may help identify the particular effect of sport, as distinct from other types of interventions, a primary concern of SDP scholars who seek to understand the specific “sport effect” of programmes (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). Additionally, research which challenges the norms and assumptions of neo-liberal frameworks and institutions is necessary to better understand the needs and assets of those individuals and communities affected by micro and macro environmental issues (Shehu, 2015; Forde & Frisby, 2015); McDonald, 2015; Chawansky, 2014; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Kidd, 2008).

Finally, the dynamic global context for international development, and SDP in particular, presents new challenges and issues. Nearly two decades since the MDGs were introduced, much has changed in the global economic and political landscape. I contend that SDP must now grapple with new concerns, including issues such as the refugee crisis in Europe and the Middle East, economic recovery and reform since the global recession, the evolving threat of radical terrorism and more. The SDGs will serve as the guidelines for approaching these issues and integrating SDP into the larger development field. “Responding to these issues will require new ideas, approaches and delivery mechanisms, developed through new partnerships of academics, policymakers and practitioners,” (Hayhurst, Kay and Chawansky, 2015, p. 25).

1.4 The West Indies Context

Studies in the field of SDP often overlook the complex social and economic environment in the postcolonial Eastern Caribbean. This study examines sport for development for at-risk adolescents and unemployed youth in the West Indies countries of Barbados and St. Lucia. Sport as a mechanism for international development was birthed as European/North American to African interventions, as discussed above. Whilst the movement has spread across the Global South, the majority of programmes are still focused on sub-Saharan African countries (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). Likewise, empirical studies are centred on the hotbeds of SDP, namely sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East, Southeast Asia and, more recently, Latin America. Beyond programme monitoring and evaluation projects, few studies on SDP in the Caribbean exist. As one long-time practitioner of SDP in the Caribbean (an a participant in this study) claimed, the Caribbean is the “forgotten child” of the sport for development field (Alexander, 2013, p.44).

Still, as in the larger field, SDP in the Caribbean has erupted over the past 20 years. Rooted in a Caribbean-wide enthusiasm for sport in general, early efforts to use sport as a development tool began in the late 1990s. The Commonwealth Heads of Government sought to include sport in larger development initiatives to combat poverty and promote youth development. Such directives were discussed over several years at the Council for Human and Social Development in Sport and were eventually integrated into youth and health policies by the regional government, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). Whilst individual countries took their own paths, region-wide support from CARICOM, the Commonwealth Games and the Australian Sports Outreach Programme (ASOP) provided funding and guidance (Kaufman, Rosenbauer, Moore, 2013). In 2003, the Trinidad and Tobago Alliance for Sport and Physical Education partnered with ASOP to coordinate and support SDP initiatives across the Caribbean region. To date, their partnership has sponsored or organised initiatives in 13 different countries and territories. Now known as the Caribbean Sport for Development Agency (CSDA), this NGO continues to work with local, regional and international programmes using sport-based interventions toward development goals. (Case study: A successful partnership, n.d.)

Such initiatives were deeply rooted in traditional Commonwealth sports such as cricket and football. These two sports are the centrepieces of Caribbean sport culture today, although sports such as track and field, basketball, baseball, swimming, netball, surfing, golf, sailing and others have grown in popularity. Still, the modern sport landscape in the Caribbean is sculpted by colonial history. The Caribbean islands can be divided into four zones based on colonial legacy; Hispanic, French, Dutch and English. Whilst baseball is dominant in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, football is the main sport attraction in the French and Dutch Caribbean. Cricket, a quintessentially British sport, is king in the English-speaking Caribbean, with football as prince. During these periods, none of these sports were formally available or open to women and girls. Historically, cricket represents the male, white, colonial elite. Brought to the islands in the 19th century, cricket clubs for wealthy whites were the epitome of exclusivity. Relegated to playing in the streets or cane fields, black and brown-skinned (mulatto) boys and men played an adapted version that fit their

surroundings and drew upon their African sport heritage. In this context, it is clear that whilst cricket represented the colonial elite, it was also almost immediately a framework for challenging such colonial influence (Cobley, 2010).

“The desire of the coloured and black communities to play cricket their own way seemed to have grown in direct proportion to the white elite’s determination to establish it as the exclusive sport of the propertied, the educated, and the ‘well-bred’. By the mid-century, versions of the game were being played and celebrated at all levels of colonial society.” (Beckles, H., 1995, p. 35).

By the 1900s, black and “coloured” men’s clubs were forming throughout the region, first in Barbados in 1894. The black clubs represented the lower and working class and brown-skinned or mulatto clubs were restricted to the middle class. Quickly, the talent of non-white players overcame racist and classist fears. Top players were integrated into white clubs and, with the support of a white Creole official who vowed to “throw open the gates of West Indian cricket to all men of talent and social quality irrespective of their race, colour or class,” the trans-national West Indies cricket team was integrated for tours to England in 1900 and 1906 (Cobley, 2010, p. 381). Nonetheless, racist notions of cricketers were popular. The non-white style of play, “calypso cricket,” was often demeaned as impulsive, inconsistent and wild. Star non-white athletes, across many sports, were deemed successful because of some raw, inherent physical attributes, rather than their penchant for hard-work, discipline or strategic abilities.

These notions were emphasised when the West Indies men’s team, under the leadership of a black captain, floundered in the 1990s, after decades of dominant international performances. In 1928, the West Indies team was integrated by race and had gained access to complete international test matches, the most elite level of international competition. The revered teams of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s were a source of national and transnational pride in the Eastern Caribbean. Against the backdrop of the demise of British colonialism and the rise of Caribbean independence, the West Indies team grew to challenge and defeat the English national team, a defiant moment for the post-colonial Caribbean. Cricket success fuelled Caribbean pride, and individual sporting heroes, such as Sir Garfield Sobers in Barbados, became national symbols of success (Cobley, 2010).

The new age of Caribbean cricket, in an era of globalisation, is contested with many of the same old questions about race and ethnicity, and further complicated by new post-modern, neo-colonial challenges. Many argue the demise of West Indian cricket is a direct result of globalisation, and a growing black and brown middle class that prioritises education over sport. Other explanations include co-education (mixed gender schools), urbanisation and the increasing influence of American popular culture (television, movies and music) and sport (Cobley, 2010). The West Indies have experienced recent resurgence in cricket success, including world championships in both the men’s and women’s Twenty20 World Cup in 2016. Twenty20 cricket is a newly designed

version of traditional cricket, with shorter matches than historic test match cricket.

However, the legacy of the British is not the only colonial influence on sport. The Eastern Caribbean sits in the shadow of an imperial power that casts a heavy influence on the politics, culture and economy. The influence of the United States on sport in the region is palpable. The prospect of getting a scholarship to play sport for an American university is strong motivation for many aspiring young athletes. Track and field is arguably the most successful sport in the region, with stars such as Usain Bolt taking the spotlight every four years at the Olympic games. Every year, young sprinting stars are showcased at championship meets, with American university recruiters on hand to scout for scholarship-worthy athletes. In basketball, as well, young Caribbeaners dream of being “spotted” by scouts and brought to play in the U.S. (Cobley, 2010, p. 387). This “sport migration” has become a dominant theme in the post-colonial sport landscape of the Caribbean. Youth sport programmes, those focused on improving athlete performance, often include guidance on how to avoid breaking eligibility rules for accessing U.S. sport scholarships and promote young athletes to coaches and recruiters from the U.S. So, whilst the history of sport in the region is rooted in British sport, the present and future is significantly influenced by the new American imperialism.

I first became aware of this “forgotten child” of sport for development at a conference for sport in the Global South at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia in 2011. Meeting with scholars from the University of the West Indies (UWI), I was invited to explore further. In particular, they spoke of focusing on the conflicting views on how sport in the Caribbean may challenge and/or reinforce restrictive gender norms. The intersection of sport, development, gender, race and post-colonial legacy in these small islands is unique. With the support of Caribbean scholars at UWI in understanding the history and context of sport for development and gender in the West Indies, I would be able to provide a perspective steeped in knowledge of the American sport model. I, too, strived for the dream of a sport scholarship. Yet when the time came to choose, I preferred to play for free and study at my top choice of university. I studied anthropology and archaeology, followed by a master’s in sport. I worked/interned in university and professional sport programmes in the U.S. I believe that this perspective did help me recognise when coaches, trainers and programme administrators drifted from discussing the benefits/challenges of sport for development and into efforts to develop sport skills amongst their participants toward the goal of performance success and a chance to “make it” to the U.S.

Based on the need for in-field research support, I looked to Barbados as the primary location for this study. Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados, is also home to one of the main campuses of the UWI (as well as campuses in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago). There, Professor Eudine Barriteau, of the Institute for Gender and Development Studies, and Professor Alan Cobley, of the Department of History and Philosophy, were available to guide my fieldwork. Furthermore, Barbados is home to numerous SDP programmes that fit within my selection criteria (see Section 1.5 for criteria).

To balance with Barbados, I sought another small English-speaking island with a similar history, development indicators and population. St. Lucia and the Bahamas are the closest in population to Barbados. However, the Bahamas contain hundreds of small islands and have a distinctly different history and development status. Other islands close in population size have different colonial histories (Martinique and Guadeloupe are former French colonies, whilst Curacao and Aruba are in the Kingdom of the Netherlands). St. Lucia was the closest cousin to Barbados based on population, governance and colonial history and development status. Upon further inquiry, St. Lucia also contained several SDP programmes that fit the criteria for selection. Additionally, whilst there is no UWI campus on St. Lucia, I was able to access SDP programmes through faculty input and networks from UWI and George Mason University.

St. Lucia

St. Lucia is a relatively small Caribbean island by size (606 km²) and population (approximately 180,000 residents). Situated among the Windward Islands in the eastern Caribbean Sea, the island is among the six independent states and two British territories included in the Eastern Caribbean Currency Union (ECCU). After nearly five centuries of colonial rule (by the Dutch, French, and English), including more than 200 years of slavery, St. Lucia became independent from the United Kingdom in 1967. Today, one-third of the population lives in the capital city of Castries. Most of the citizens identify “black” or “Afro” as their race/ethnicity (Niddrie, 2013).

Classified as an “upper middle income” economy by the World Bank and recently upgraded to a “high human development” country by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), St. Lucia had a 2012 Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.725 (UNDP, 2013d). The HDI is a measure used to calculate the overall well-being of a country’s population beyond traditional economic analysis. The HDI includes three basic elements: health, education, and income. Its HDI places St. Lucia slightly below the average in the Latin America and Caribbean region and in the bottom half of English and Dutch speaking Caribbean islands (UNDP, 2012).

However, the data on wealth distribution in St. Lucia is scarce and this HDI is not adjusted for inequality. Poverty is relatively high, with 19 percent of the population living below the national poverty line (UNICEF, 2006). The HDI measure likely masks significant deficiencies in human development for marginalized populations, such as the poor. The status of development in St. Lucia is further complicated because many key world development indicators, such as the Gini Coefficient, Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII) have never been calculated. Available data includes life expectancy (74.8), mean years of schooling (8.8) and Gross National Income per capita (US\$ 7,971) (UNDP, 2013d).

Declining exports, a result of changes in British trade policy, caused a dramatic shift in the St. Lucian economy in the 1990s. In a 2013 study on economies in the Caribbean, St. Lucia had the highest unemployment rate among seven countries surveyed between 2005 and 2012, with a rate of 21.4% (ECLAC, 2013). Tourism is now the mainstay of the economy, accounting for 65% of GDP. This industry proved

vulnerable in the global economic crisis of 2008 and has remained stagnant or in decline ever since (CIA, 2014).

Barbados

Barbados is smaller by landmass, but larger in population than St. Lucia. With 286,705 residents, this island is one of the leading economic, political and cultural centres of the Eastern Caribbean (along with Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago). Most Barbadians are black descendants of African slaves who arrived during the centuries of slave trading in North America and the Caribbean. Barbados was ruled by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries, until the British took control in 1624. The country did not obtain independence from England until 1966 (Phillips, 2014).

Since that time, Barbados has grown to become one of the most diverse and prosperous economies in the Eastern Caribbean, with strongholds in tourism, light industry, sugar, and offshore financing (Caribbean economies turning over, 2011). The World Bank classifies Barbados as a “high income non-OECD” economy (CIA, 2013). However, tourism remains the foundation of the Barbadian economy, leaving it vulnerable to economic downturn. Although hit hard by the global recession, the International Monetary Fund noted that the Barbadian economy is recovering faster than most of its Caribbean neighbours (Caribbean economies turning over, 2011).

In addition, the education system of Barbados, based on the British system, is considered to be one of the best in the Caribbean. It is estimated by the World Bank that as much as 99% of the population is literate, among the highest in the world (CIA, 2013). The Barbadian government funds free public education between the ages of 4 and 18 for primary and secondary education, a weighty investment for the small economy. Students also have the opportunity to study at a tertiary level in Barbados, including the Cave Hill branch of the University of the West Indies. The Barbadian government views education as a foundation for healthy social, economic, and political growth and has demonstrated this commitment through extensive public funding (Lim, 2007).

Their efforts seem to be paying off, as Barbadians enjoy a relatively high standard of living for residents in Latin America and the Caribbean. According to the UNDP, Barbados ranks well above the regional average in human development, with an HDI of 0.825 (2013). Overall, Barbados ranks 38 out of 169 countries with comparable data in human development. Barbados also outranks its nearest comparable neighbour, Trinidad and Tobago, which has an HDI of 0.760 (UNDP, 2013a). However, once again, the Barbados HDI is not adjusted to reflect inequalities and this measure may gloss over development concerns for poor and marginalized residents. The Gini coefficient in Barbados was measured at 0.40 in 2010, relatively low for the region, indicating fairly evenly distributed income across the country (UNDP, 2010). However, since that time, the global recession has slowed economic growth across all sectors. Still, a 2012 estimate measured unemployment at 11.6%, placing Barbados well behind Trinidad and Tobago, which has only a 5.9% unemployment rate (UNDP, 2012). Other development indicators also support the high human development classification. The Barbados GII is 0.364, above average for the region. Life expectancy is high, at 77 years and the mean years of schooling is 9.3, both well above regional averages (UNDP, 2013a).

‘At risk’ adolescents and youth in St. Lucia and Barbados

The economic decline, including increasing poverty and unemployment rates, has left many children and young people in vulnerable states. For the purpose of this study, I rely on UN informed definitions of adolescence and youth. UNICEF defines adolescents as those between the ages of 10-19, which is included in the broader age range for youth, defined as between the ages of 10 and 24 (Bailey & Charles, 2008). In Barbados, 65,000 residents are under the age of 18 and in St. Lucia 54,000 residents are also under 18 years old (UNICEF, 2006). Although in Barbados, the average number of children per household is significantly lower than St. Lucia and other Eastern Caribbean countries.

A 2006 United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) study classified more than half of the children in St. Lucia and one third in Barbados as “at risk.” UNICEF defined children “at risk” as those who are exposed to certain risk factors such as poverty, child abuse, crime and caregiver insecurity (2006). A 2007 study by the University of Calgary defined at risk as children who are vulnerable to harm (physical, sexual, or psychological) and/or to “significant impairment in growth and development, educational development, health and emotional well being . . .” (Hornick & Matheson, 2007, p.5). These definitions are both broad enough to include a wide range of people and are sufficient for this research. For this study, I will focus on the risk factors identified here, and later in the youth development model, such as poverty, abuse, insecurity and impairment to human development (i.e. educational development, health and well-being).

Among those risk factors are poverty, caregiver insecurity, child abuse, drugs and crime, living with a chronically ill parent, exposure to HIV/AIDS, and poor health care (particularly reproductive/sexual health). Below is a selected review of the UNICEF and University of Calgary studies on at risk children and youth in Barbados and St. Lucia. In both studies, poverty is a causal factor for a panacea other risk factors.

St. Lucian children are often exposed to crime, domestic violence, absent parents and child abuse. Family court records in St. Lucia indicate increasing numbers of children affected by rising crime rates. Homicide and domestic violence rates have increased since 2000 and the most common form of domestic violence is assault on women, which increased 35% from 1998 to 2004 (Hornick and Matheson, 2007). Furthermore, parental union instability and “child shifting” are noted risk factors for St. Lucian children. Child shifting is when parents or guardians move children from home to home for care. The UNICEF study noted that high numbers of children lived without a father in the home, often due to incarceration or death. These situations can create instability and displacement for the child, which then tends to expose children to other risks, such as child abuse (UNICEF, 2006).

To a lesser extent, children in Barbados are exposed to many of the same risk factors. Of particular concern to Barbadian residents are crime and drugs, as noted in the UNICEF study. UNICEF researchers also highlighted a specific concern about physical and emotional child abuse in Barbados, citing that a high proportion of children appeared to be victims of such abuse. Among all countries in this study,

Barbados had the highest amount of visits by police and social workers to homes with children (UNICEF, 2006).

The UNICEF report cites concern over sexual abuse of adolescent girls in both countries. In St. Lucia, sexual abuse was the most highly reported form of child abuse and girls are overwhelmingly more likely to be sexually abused than boys, particularly in adolescence. The Calgary report noted that understanding the extent of child abuse, particularly sexual abuse, in St. Lucia is nearly impossible (2007). There is, however, some data on the reports of child abuse, which indicate increasing of reporting of abuse (ILPA, 2012) Clearly, children exposed to such abuse are highly at risk. St. Lucian girls, in particular, are vulnerable.

The notion of “at risk” youth is problematic and concerning. “Discourses of youth at risk are framed by the idea that youth should be a transition from normal childhood to normal adulthood,” (Kelly, 2001, p.24 in Holder, 2012, p.8). The concept of “normal” is often constructed and defined by leaders in government and may then “legitimize government intervention in the lives of young people and these institutions . . . which construct ‘truths’ of youths ‘at risk’ (and) use it as a regulatory tool (Kelly, 2001, p.464) over young people’s bodies, their spatial existence and as Kemshall (2008, p.22) notes young people’s transitions into adulthood. It places young people as deviants and delinquents (Kelly, 2000, p.469) and gives legitimacy to the surveillance of populations of youth,” (Holder, 2012, p. 49). The very act of labelling these young people as “at risk” is a form of governance over their bodies and marginalises them from larger society.

The participants I researched with received messages from schools, the government, training centres, etc. about how to make changes in their lives so that they might have brighter futures. Inherent in these messages is that they are deviating from the correct or normal path. Furthermore, these messages often overlooked or de-emphasised the context in which they lived, in impoverished neighbourhoods or in decrepit schools. Aleisha Holder’s master’s thesis (2012) from the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) unpacks these concepts as she explores the lives “at risk” young men in a poor, marginalised community in Port-au-Prince, Trinidad and Tobago. Like her participants, many of my participants came from “bad” neighbourhoods. Places, as discussed below, like Deacon’s and Pine Gardens (where Parkinson Secondary School is located), which have reputations that carry a negative status. Being from a community with a bad reputation, just as attending a school with a lowly status, can be stigmatising and marginalising.

Gender inequality in the Eastern Caribbean

Gender inequality and gender empowerment is measured on a global scale in many ways. The Gender-related Development Index (GDI), the Gender Equality Index (GEI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), and the Gender Empowerment Measurement (GEM) were constructed by the United Nations Human Development Programme to help better assess gender in the context of their annual human development report. These measures are also used by the World Bank and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency’s Factbook. These indices help track changes and compare countries and regions around the world. The UNDP now uses the GII in lieu of the other two measurements to analyse the loss in human development from gender

inequality. Similarly, the GII measures five indicators within three dimensions. Within the Labour Market dimension, labour force participation is evaluated. Under the Empowerment dimension, educational attainment (secondary level and above) and parliamentary representation are calculated. Finally, under Reproductive Health, adolescent fertility and maternal mortality are analysed (UNDP, 2013b).

Gender as a social construct in the Caribbean has evolved toward greater equality in many aspects. Gender development indices in Anglophone Caribbean countries indicate that Caribbean girls and women enjoy relatively gender equality. Most Caribbean nations have sought to comply with the United Nation's Convention on the Discrimination of all Women (CEDAW) resolution. Constitutional laws prohibiting sexual discrimination can be found in most Caribbean nations (UN Women, 2013). However, women in the Caribbean are still at a disadvantage in labour markets and underrepresented in government. A CARICOM report also indicates that girls and women face unequal outcomes in terms of education (CARICOM, 2003). Aggregate analysis of gender development does not separate the Caribbean from Latin America, making it difficult to understand the context of gender equality in this region. Some Caribbean nations do not have GDI, GII, or GEM in the UN Development Programme database. Barbados is included, with a relatively good GDI of 0.900 (30th in world rank) and GII of 0.343 (UNDP, 2013c). Table 1.4 provides a snapshot of gender development indicators in Barbados and St. Lucia from the UNDP 2013 report.

Table 1.4
Gender Indices in Barbados and St. Lucia

Indicator	Barbados	St. Lucia
Gender Equality Index (GEI)	0.879*	0.796*
Gender Development Index (GDI)	0.887	n/a
Gender Inequality Index (GII)	0.343	n/a
Population with at least secondary education, female/male ratio	1.022	n/a
Adolescent fertility rate (females aged 15-19, per 1,000 births)	42.6	61.7
Labour force participation rate, female/male ratio	0.850	0.831
Shares in parliament, female/male ratio	0.244	0.318
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	51	35

*Source: World Development Indicators

Although some important data on gender equality in St. Lucia is missing, the Indices of Social Development provides further information. The Gender Equality Index (GEI) for Barbados is 0.879 and GEI in St. Lucia is 0.796 (2010). St. Lucia ranks lower than Barbados, and lower than most neighbouring countries in the Eastern Caribbean. Barbados' GEI ranks slightly behind Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, but ahead of the rest of the Eastern Caribbean included in the World Development Indicators (Gender Equality Index, 2013).

Comparable data from other English-speaking Caribbean countries is also limited for GII. GII measures in the region are as follows; Trinidad and Tobago, 0.311; Jamaica, 0.458; Bahamas, 0.316; Belize, 0.435; Guyana, 0.490 (UNDP, 2013c). Except for the relatively high maternal mortality rate, Barbados appears to be in good standing for gender equality within the region.

1.6 Sport for Development Programme Overview

In total, six programmes were included in the study. Four programmes were in St. Lucia and two in Barbados. However, the Barbados programmes had higher attendance and therefore contributed more participants to this study. In total, 82 young people from Barbados SDP programmes completed surveys and focus groups for this project, while 58 participants came from St. Lucian programmes. Additionally, adult coaches, programme administrators and government officials from Barbados (n=11) and St. Lucia (n=11) were interviewed. In total participants from the SDP programmes include 140 youth (128 adolescents, 12 young adults between 18-25) and 22 adults over age 25. Additionally, 76 participants from control groups were surveyed.

These programmes varied in many ways, including gender makeup, attendance requirements and referrals for entry. I examined them each to better understand how, in these varying contexts, SDP is experienced. Different programmes presented different challenges for me as I tried to engage with and understand the participants' experiences. The variation amongst the programmes provided different perspectives on the thematic areas explored. I have tried to identify and describe the different contexts for the participants and how those differences

inform the data and analysis, rather than to generalise about their experiences across the board. A similar approach was used in SDP research on rural and urban Indigenous peoples in Canada, and the researchers sought to “better understand how these communities might learn from each other, and develop possible solidarities through their common struggles . . .” (Hayhurst, et al., 2016, p.563). The challenges studying these different contexts are further discussed in Chapter 3, Methodology. Each programme is described below.

Programme selection

The programmes were selected because they will enable the thesis to contribute to current debates in SDP and fill gaps in the SDP literature. This section will include a brief overview of programme selection as a way of introducing the programmes, with a fuller explanation of programme selection in Section 3.4. The selection of the different programmes and the chosen methodological approach allows the study to explore how SDP is engaging with problems raised by gender and development within the rigidly gendered culture of sport. They all have a specific focus on sport for development, rather than development of sport. That is, they are explicitly designed to promote development aims over sport performance. They fall into the SDP category of “sport plus,” as described above. This criterion is the fundamental basis for their selection, as the purpose of the study is to examine the influence of sport for development within the framework of the HCA with an emphasis on gender. Therefore, the programmes selected support the examination because they enable the study to grapple with the current debates in SDP research. Namely, how is SDP engaging with the problematic issues of gender and development, within the rigidly gendered culture of sport?

The programmes selected are designed to address broad development objectives, allowing for the study to address the fundamental thematic areas of self-efficacy and social inclusion; gender role attitudes, physical activity and body image; and support systems. Other programmes, such as Kicking Aids Out Caribbean, tend to focus on more narrow objectives, such as HIV/AIDS education. The broader programme objectives found in the selected programmes enable this study to more fully examine the use of sport as human capability, with a focus on gender.

One variation among the programme types is their range of services. They ranged from entirely voluntary after school activities (Junior Visionaries) to one element of mandatory judicial requirements (Court Diversion Programme). The sport aspect of each programme was either one or two days per week at most, but some programmes had other meeting days for other topics or activities. Most programmes fell somewhere in between, with students referred to programmes for academic help (Sport for Life), voluntary programmes for vocational training as a sport coach (NSDC), as a required element of returning to school from suspension (A Ganar), and as a part of an alternative, but optional, education programme for students who left public schools (Upton Garden Girls Centre). To be clear, the sport aspect of each programme was just one part of a larger initiative or was embedded into broader schooling or programme. Therefore, just as in examining gender in its different contexts and various ages, these variations allowed for exploring how sport fits into these development efforts. For example, sport skill development in relation to self-efficacy was more prevalent in voluntary programmes than in mandatory ones. Social

relations and affiliation as “teammates” was also related to the extent of involvement in the larger development programme. While these variations created some inconsistencies in participant experience, they also then offered multiple perspectives by which to examine the thematic areas of the study. Examining the thematic areas across the different programmes provided a more well-rounded and relational exploration of these important issues in SDP.

Each programme also served the relevant age groups for this study (adolescents from 11-17 and youth aged 18-25), which is typical of SDP programmes as they are generally targeted to young people as participants. The thesis was informed by the child and youth studies (CYS) focus on children and youth as participants with agency adds the specific focus on gender (i.e. to analyse SDP through the framework of HCA with a focus on gender). Within that framing, the thesis looks at how SDP engages children and youth in development efforts. The study, therefore, has elaborated on an HCA with a youth development model. For example, it looks at education as a main entry point as each of the participants was enrolled in some form of education or training institution. etc. The focus is on gendered experiences in the school /education setting. It should be noted that with this model in mind, the research has not examined related aspects of young peoples’ lives, such as home and family as this is outside the scope of the SDP focus.

Overall the programmes provide sufficient numbers of boy and girl participants. Although five of the six programmes were overwhelmingly male-heavy, the inclusion of one all girl programme provided a relative overall balance in participants by gender. This was key in that it allows for the voices of all participants, boys and girls, to be heard. As discussed above, including the perspective of boys on gender and sport is an important aspect of this study to contribute to the body of knowledge in SDP. Finally, each programme was conducted by professionally trained and qualified staff, such as certified teachers, coaches and social workers. Unqualified staff is a common problem in SDP (Kidd, 2008), so the consistent quality of the programme staff is a key element.

Below is a brief overview of each programme. Further detail on programme selection, participants and control groups is provided in the Methodology chapter, Section 3.4.

The Upton Garden Girls Centre (St. Lucia)

In the bustling capital city of Castries, the Upton Garden Girls Centre serves many young women caught up in the cycle of poverty and abuse in St. Lucia. These girls between the ages of 12-17 come to Upton Gardens due to behavioural problems at mainstream public schools, which have resulted in suspension, removal or dropping out of school. In some cases, the girls have also experienced neglect or abuse in the home (ILPA, 2012; The Voice St. Lucia, 2009). Participants are referred to UGGC by teachers, counsellors, social workers, family members or other adults. Upton Gardens is the only such rehabilitation and counselling service available to young women on the island and has been in operation since 1980. With space limited to serving up to 25 students at a time, Upton Gardens accepts students referred by social services (in the case of abuse and neglect), schools, parents and other adults (Upton Gardens Girls' Centre, n.d.)

They offer a two-year “rehabilitation” programme that focuses on continuing education (math, literacy, health), life skills and job training. Students attend daily classes on these subjects, although they are not required to attend or complete the programme. UGGC is not a certified school and cannot offer diplomas, but aims instead to support its clients to be able to return to school or complete diplomas or certifications on their own accord. Additionally, they provide counselling services to students and families. Supported by government and corporate funding, the mission of the Centre is to “provide a quality day care rehabilitation service in a conducive environment to abused, disadvantaged and neglected young girls through high community involvement, timely and appropriate interventions and effective case management,” (Upton Gardens Girls’ Centre, n.d.). The UGGC staff is made up of certified social workers, teachers and other professionals. Currently, planning is underway to complete a residential facility at the centre to house girls who would otherwise return home to abusive or neglectful environments (The Voice St. Lucia, 2009).

Physical education and sport are supplemental programmes offered at least once per week. A FIFA certified (male) coach conducts weekly football sessions. Various other sporting activities are offered less regularly; including dance and netball. These additional sport activities are sponsored in collaboration with a Girls2Women SDP programme through the Australian Sports Outreach Programme (ASOP) and a St. Lucian SDP organization called the Sacred Sports Foundation (Alexander, 2012). Prior to this research, many of the participants had completed a salsa dance programme at Upton Gardens through a professional dance instructor. However, that programme had been cancelled because the instructor left. Several participants also engaged in sporting activity, both organized and casual, outside of Upton Gardens. 16 young women were included in this study.

According to an administrator of the Upton Gardens Girls Centre, sport activities are included in their programme offerings primarily to foster social and life skills, such as working in groups and overcoming challenges (building self-efficacy). Additionally, the sport elements provide an opportunity for exercise and offer a fun outlet that keeps the participants interested in returning to the programme. The administrator also considered sport an important aspect in challenging gender norms and expectations, especially for young women who often feel marginalised and stigmatised because of poverty, abuse, and exclusion from school.

The National Skills Development Centre (NSDC) (St. Lucia)

The NSDC in St. Lucia is a government-supported organisation that provides technical, vocational and other training to St. Lucian residents. The mission of the NSDC is to “assist in providing information and training services towards developing a skilled, informed and marketable workforce, which will contribute to the development of St. Lucia,” (NSDC, n.d.). The NSDC staff consists of professionals working for the national government, including vocational trainers, social workers and teachers. The coaching trainee programme is one of the training courses offered by the St. Lucian government at the NSDC. Other training courses included electrical work, carpentry, hospitality and hotel services, etc.

In the fall of 2013, the NSDC partnered with the Sacred Sports Foundation to launch a new training programme for sport coaches. Fifteen participants signed on to receive training in football coaching (FIFA certification), CPR and first aid and child protection services. The programme was entirely voluntary and the participants were not necessarily referred to the programme directly. They sought out support through the NSDC on their own volition. However, it was a pre-requisite for all NSDC programme participants to be unemployed at the time of enrolment. The participants in the coaches training programme attended classes between one and three times per week, depending on scheduling, over the course of four months.

The participants attended four months of training for on field activities and classroom instruction through Sacred Sports staff and partners. This study included 12 participants, 11 men and one woman. Instructional staff was certified coaches or professionals in relevant areas (e.g. a government social worker taught child and protective services). The goal of the programme was to train these young people as coaches so that they can go and run their own community sports programmes or work within the national sport development systems teaching young children football. During their training, the NSDC and Sacred Sports assisted in placement as community coaches in sport programmes across the island (NSDC, n.d.). The mission, therefore, was two-fold. First, it was to support the trainees in gaining knowledge, experience and certifications in coaching and related areas (e.g. First Aid and CPR). Secondly, the trainees in turn served the children of St. Lucia by providing quality coaching for football programmes once per week. Following the completion of the official NSDC training seminars, the trainees were still active as community coaches.

Sport for Life (Barbados)

The Sport for Life (SFL) is a Caribbean wide programme with a chapter in Barbados that serves disadvantaged youth. Sport for Life was launched in 2009 by Yolanda Alleyne, the widow of former International Cricket Council (ICC) World Cup CEO Stephen Alleyne. The West Indies hosted the 2007 ICC World Cup. Sport for Life is a legacy programme from this event. Sport for Life programmes operate also operate in St. Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Their motto is: The choices I make today will determine the course my life takes tomorrow (Sport for Life Barbados, 2013).

According to the programme Director, Kathy Harper-Hall, the Barbados programme is free and serves male and female at risk students between the ages of 10-16. The goal of SFL is to support academic and life skills learning for adolescents who have been identified as needing help in school. Although SFL has sport in its name, the participants spend more time working in classrooms than on the cricket pitch. The programme hosts approximately 40 participants each year. Sport for Life runs from September to December, with a break over the winter holidays. It restarts in January and runs through March, with another break before the final session from April to June. The programme runs for three hours every Saturday during the school year. The sessions are divided between learning activities and sport skills (cricket). Trained coaches provide sessions on basic cricketing skills. The educational curriculum includes; life skills, numeracy, literacy, information technology, and conversational Spanish. The Sport for Life facility is located in the Kensington Oval cricket stadium in Bridgetown, one of the most famed cricket facilities in the world.

The programme centre includes a computer lab with more than 20 desktop computers, a laptop, a smart board, and printers. Participants also have access to donated cricket equipment (Sport for Life Barbados, n.d.).

SFL participants are referred to the programme by teachers, school counsellors, principals, family members and other adults based on academic and behavioural concerns. The programme is voluntary, but many might feel pressure to participate based on the referral from an authority figure. The participants are divided into three groups based on their academic performance in a pre-test administered in September. This study included 37 participants between 11 and 14 years old (one 11 year old was included, all others were over between 12-14). The programme was mixed gendered, but included more boys than girls overall. The SFL staff consists of certified school teachers to instruct all academic sessions. The cricket coaching staff includes professional coaches. The programme includes multiple sports but is primarily focused on cricket.

A Ganar (Barbados)

Like SFL, A Ganar is a regional programme with a local chapter in Barbados. However, it is a programme of the Partner of the Americas, a multi-national NGO serving all of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) rather than the Caribbean only SFL. A Ganar means “to win” or “to earn” in Spanish and is found in 16 countries across the LAC region. A Ganar employs football (soccer) as a tool for youth development. In particular, the programme focuses on combating youth unemployment through technical and vocational skill training. A Ganar facilitators are trained through the Partners of the Americas. Their training includes pedagogy skills, social work education and sport coaching training for football. According to its programme guide, the A Ganar approach functions in four phases;

- (1) Sports-based training, translating sports skills to employability skills,
- (2) Market-driven technical, entrepreneurial or vocational training,
- (3) Supervised internships and apprenticeships,
- (4) Follow-on support (job placement, business involvement and re-integration in school) (A Ganar, 2014).

During this study, the Barbados programme was in its pilot year of A Ganar as a part of a nationwide youth development initiative called *Skills for the Future*. The *Skills for the Future* programme was introduced by the Barbados government to supplement education and foster employment skills for youth (Stone, et. al, 2014). The programme is implemented over the entire school year, working in four phases. To begin, the students did sport-based training with sessions designed to support developing communication skills, working in a team and organising tasks. These activities are designed to support the development of key “employability skills.” The first phase is the element of A Ganar that uses sport interventions and was implemented in both the fall and spring terms. As students progress toward finishing the school year, A Ganar transitions them into vocational training and internships for the next two phases. Finally, the programme follows-up with them through job placement and employment support (A Ganar, 2014).

A Ganar is targeted at secondary school students in the upper forms, or grade levels. The participants were on probationary status at their secondary schools. Their

continued participation in A Ganar was a requirement in order to remain in their schools and off of suspension. This study included a total of 45 participants, 25 boys and 20 girls between 15 and 17 years old. A Ganar was present at several schools and institutions across Barbados, including secondary schools and vocational centres such as the Barbados Vocational Training Board (BVTB). The BVTB is similar to the NSDC in St. Lucia in that it serves unemployed youth seeking to gain employability skills and vocational training. Participants in this study come from two secondary schools and, Parkinson Secondary and Frederick Smith Secondary. Additionally, two control groups came from A Ganar partner institutions, Parkinson Secondary and the BVTB.

Court Diversion Programme (St. Lucia)

The Court Diversion Programme (CDP) is run by the Probation and Parole Services Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs and National Security. Beginning in 2011, the CDP is an alternative to normal court proceedings for youth between 12 and 19. This study included twelve participants (eight identified as male and three as female) in this study between 14 and 19. The programme is specifically for youth who have committed criminal offenses, were suspended or dropped out of school or were otherwise deemed “at risk.”³ As a part of the diversion plan to keep these young people out of correctional facilities and to divert them from punishments or fines, they were required to attend the CDP activities. These participants were therefore essentially required or heavily obligated to attend the programmes.

The CDP included a broad range of programmes and activities; including, performing arts, computer literacy, crafts, remedial education, anti-violence education, vocational training, sport sessions and more. As a part of a larger criminal justice reform movement, the CDP was created in partnership with UNICEF. It is considered an initiative to support “restorative justice,” or processes that holistically seek to rehabilitate rather than to only punish those who violate the law (Saint Lucia Association of Social Workers calls for more efficient justice system, 2016).

In the fall of 2013, the Sacred Sport Foundation began delivering sport-based intervention sessions with the CDP. The weekly two-hour sessions include football training and life skills activities, with a focus on communication and healthy behaviours. These sessions were delivered through the director of Sacred Sport, his assistant (both certified football coaches) and some of the NSDC coaching trainees.

Junior Visionaries (St. Lucia)

The Junior Visionaries (JV) programme is also a product of the Sacred Sport Foundation. Housed at the Sir Ira Simmons Secondary School (SISS) in Castries, this after school programme is open to kids from ages 12-18. JV uses football to teach life skills such as communication, healthy habits and respect. It is offered once per week during the fall term and is among the after school activity options offered at SISS. Other after school programmes include art, music, dance, etc. Although the goal of the programme is to promote positive development in academic and “life skills,” the

³ The specific qualifications or criteria for being deemed “at risk” were not explicitly defined by the CPD.

strategy in JV was to engage the students in learning sport skills so that they would retain interest in the programme and regularly attend. Sessions were taught by the director of Sacred Sport and his primary assistant, both certified coaches. NSDC coaching trainees also assisted in some sessions.

Although attendance varied, approximately 30 students were at JV during this study. 28 participants identified as boys, while only two as girls. This study includes participants between the ages of 12 and 15, which were students primarily in the first and second forms at secondary school. The JV programme is entirely voluntary and the students are under no obligation to attend any after school activities. Their school, SISS, is consistently one of the lower rated secondary schools in St. Lucia, drawing upon a population of students who may be at risk for a variety of reasons, such as low academic performance and/or poverty. One of the control groups was also selected from amongst SISS students.

1.6 Overview of thesis

The thesis is organised to examine these thematic concepts within the HCA framework with a specific focus on gender. It examines how the sport element of these programmes as part of a broader development objective is perceived and embodied by participants, coaches, teachers and other leaders. In the exploration of these perceptions and observations of the embodied understandings the study sets out to show how and why SDP challenges and/or reinforces the development aims within these programmes from a gender perspective. By bringing these observations together using the HCA, this study contributes to the existing SDP literature an important and now newly emerging gender aspect to the field.

To begin, theoretical frameworks from development studies and sport for development are explored in chapter two. Namely, the human capability approach and youth development frameworks are adapted to create a new model applicable to sport for development in the Eastern Caribbean and beyond. Chapter three outlines the methodology used in this project, both during fieldwork and in data analysis. The following three chapters analyse the data collected. To begin, self-efficacy and social affiliation are analysed. In chapter five, gender role attitudes and body image are examined. To follow, chapter six unpacks the macro-environmental influences of economic instability, unequal education and government inefficiencies. Finally, chapter seven culminates in the concluding remarks on each capability set, limitations of the study and recommendations.



CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the theoretical foundations of the study are explained. To begin, the human capability (HC) approach to development is discussed, with a particular focus on the relationship of its three main elements; resources, capability sets and achieved functionings. To follow, the HCA is applied to sport for development to examine personal and social human capability development. To clarify, this study focuses on development at the personal and social levels, while examining larger economic, political and societal perspectives. It does not, however, attempt to analyse human development at the macro-level of economic, political or societal development.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the purpose of this study is to critically examine sport as a tool for development in the specific context of Barbados and St. Lucia and with the adolescent and youth participants. SDP scholars are calling for critical research that questions how and in what ways sport impacts development, going beyond the common assessment impact studies that have thus far dominated the field and have produced overly-romanticised accounts of SDP in practice (Sanders, 2016; Shehu, 2016; McDonald, 2015; Carney and Chawansky, 2016; Jarvie, 2013; Darnell, 2012; Coalter and Taylor, 2010; Levermore and Beacom, 2009; Kidd, 2008). Building on the work of these scholars who are engaging in such critical, holistic and insightful research, I employ in my thesis theoretical frameworks that support similar critical examination looking at the complexities of gender as a fluid and changing social construct in the visibly gendered world of sport and SDP.

I selected the HCA as my main theoretical framework for several reasons. The HCA explores how people convert resources in their environment toward building capabilities, or possibilities, in pursuit of living a in a way they find valuable and meaningful. The HCA is explained more fully in Section 2.1. First, the HCA framework challenges assumptions and ideologies of neo-liberal development and influences, such as promoting personal independence and self-reliance to overcome systemic problems such as poverty and inequality. As outlined above many scholars contend that the SDP field is positioned within neo-liberal ideologies and common evaluation approaches overlook or mask some of the risk and deficiencies in SDP in practice (Chawansky & Hayhurst, 2015; Coalter & Talyor, 2010). Therefore, the HCA is useful in questioning such neo-liberal frameworks. Secondly, the explicit focus on capabilities, as opportunities for individuals to pursue that which they value, rather than outcomes or functionings, opens the study to examine how participants experience SDP rather than simply assess programme efficacy. Thirdly, the HCA is allows for a gender lens to be applied on multiple levels and provide a thick layer of gender analysis. The concept of adapted preferences from HCA is particularly important to understand the interconnections of gender, sport and development. Finally, the model by Robeyns (2005), an HCA scholar, provides a useful diagrammatic overview of how HCA works. I found this model helpful and insightful in positioning my research and the experiences of the participants within the framework. In particular, it was a constant reminder to look across multiple layers of individual, micro and macro environmental factors. I further reinforced the layers of

analysis by adding insights from the youth development model of Robert Blum, Wendy Cunningham and Maria Correia, which outlines some of the systems and institutions examined in the field of youth development. This model is discussed more fully in Section 2.2.

While the HCA serves as the underpinning of the entire study, additional frameworks and theories further support this research. Namely, a model of youth development within the Caribbean provides particular context within this study on young people in that region. Further analysis includes a focus on aspects of social affiliation and self-efficacy, two key components to the HCA and in sport for development. Finally, aspects of gender, body image and the lived body experience are explored.

I have applied the HCA framework to the field of sport for development, while also examining current SDP research on sport as a contributor toward improving self-efficacy, empowerment, challenging of gender norms and building social affiliation among peers and mentors. Additionally, I have incorporated theories and models on gender, body image and the lived body experience (See section 2.3). Many studies show that sport has the capacity to contribute to human development through building human capability (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Groenmeyer, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Brady, 2005; Right to Play, 2008). Right to Play, a non-profit organization coordinating and promoting SDP projects around the world, reported direct social benefits of sport participation, such as fostering social inclusion, increasing self-efficacy, promoting gender equality, building empowerment (especially for girls and young women) and promoting healthy attitudes and behaviours in their 2008 report to the UNOSDP. These benefits, though not inherently found in sporting activities, are key building blocks toward the human capability development objectives identified in Sen and Nussbaumaum's framework and to the larger concept of human development. Additionally, organised sport programmes can serve as a platform for attracting young people into development projects and communicating messages on health, education and other social issues (Nauright, 2014; Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

2.1 Human Capability Approach in Sport for Development and Peace (SDP)

This study is built upon the theoretical framework of the human capability (HC) approach. HCA can be described as “a flexible and multi-purpose normative framework, rather than a precise theory of well-being, freedom or justice. At its core are two normative claims: first, the claim that the freedom to achieve wellbeing is of primary moral importance, and second, that freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value,” (Robeyns, 2011, p. 1). Human capability theory goes beyond traditional economic measures to examine the potential and capability of people. The father of the HCA is economist and philosopher, Amartya Sen. Sen developed the framework as an instrument to evaluate aspects of well-being, poverty and inequality. HCA is essentially intended to examine the opportunities people have to pursue the type of “good life” they seek (Sen, 2000). Within the HCA, the real opportunities, or capabilities, of people are conceptualized within the specific personal and socio-environmental constraints of the individual (or group of people).

HCA de-emphasizes outcomes and results that are common in utilitarian and welfarist approaches to human development and instead focuses on the freedom of people to choose among opportunities to pursue their own version of a meaningful life. In other words, HCA analyses the *means* rather than the *ends* (Robeyns, 2005, emphasis added). Specifically, the HCA models and theories of Sen, Martha Nussbaum and Ingrid Robeyns serve as the overarching theoretical framework for this study and, provide pathways to discuss gender and integrate a gender lens across the entirety of the HCA framework.

The crux of the HCA is the conversion of resources in an environment that fosters capabilities toward human development (Sen, 2000). The HCA “formula” is used to assess the interplay of three basic elements; resources, capability sets and achieved functionings. Within this formula, the critical element of analysis is the ‘capability set,’ or the vector of possibilities available based upon the resources and conversion factors. Essentially, capabilities are “attainable options,” of an individual (Gasper & van Staveren, 2003, p. 144). The achieved functionings, therefore, are the end result of choices made amongst the full vector of opportunities. Unlike many related theories, HCA does not focus on outcomes or outputs (i.e. functionings), but rather provides the tools to conceptualize capabilities, or what a person is “able to do and be,” (Robeyns, 2005, p. 94). This dissertation, therefore, also focuses on capability sets over functionings (outcomes). Sen posits that human development theory must focus on a person’s freedom and capability to pursue a life that bears meaning and quality to that individual. Effective development policies and initiatives, therefore, must promote pathways to essential freedoms and remove barriers to an individual’s pursuit of the type of life they find valuable (Robeyns, 2005; Gasper & van Staveren, 2003; Sen, 2000). He emphasizes the process or the means to achieve such freedoms, noting that personal choice may dictate whether a person actually obtains the type of well-being in mind (Sen, 2000). For example, two women with the same opportunity (capability) to work outside of the home may choose differently based on their own preference to pursue a career or not. An HCA evaluation of their circumstance would focus on whether they both had a real opportunity for formal employment, taking into account social norms and policies that may influence the extent of their freedoms and their personal choice, rather than whether or not they actually chose to work outside the home (achieved functioning).

Positive freedoms and adaptive preferences

In their analysis of the HCA, Des Gasper and Irene van Staveren (2003) note that Sen’s framework departs from mainstream development economics on its emphasis of positive freedoms as well as negative freedoms. In this context, “positive freedoms” are the capacity to be and do, rather than just the absence of interference or restrictions on one’s ability to act in a certain way. Mainstream development economics tends to focus on so-called “negative freedoms,” or the removal of barriers that inhibit one’s free will to act of his own accord. Removing policies and regulations that prohibit discriminatory practices (such as a women’s right to vote) are an example of negative freedoms. Sen’s focus on positive freedoms, calls for action taken to enhance the opportunity set of people, rather than just action that removes or diminishes barriers. In this realm, his work is in line with feminist scholarship on economic development, which contends that women may not benefit adequately from policies focused on negative freedoms (Gasper & van Staveren, 2003). For example,

a women who has the freedom (or capability) to work outside the home may not take advantage of such a freedom because she lacks the skills, education or experience to find employment due to a history of discriminatory practices and policies. She may also be faced with enormous social pressure to stay at home rather than seek formal employment, as the social norms dictate that women belong in the domestic sphere. Therefore, to pursue her goals it is not enough to simply remove barriers. She must have positive freedoms through policy initiatives that promote education or training for women and efforts to shift social norms toward more progressive views on gender roles so that her capability to work is realised.

In relation to positive freedoms, Sen explores the concept of personal choice and preference formation in his work. In particular, he explores the social and environmental influences on preferences by gender. In his early work on human capability in India, he reviewed health surveys near Calcutta after the Great Bengal Famine of 1944. The surveys showed that women were far less likely than men to state that they had poor health, although in reality, they tended to be worse off. Sen concluded that these women (widows) had adapted to being deprived, nutritionally and otherwise, to the point that they evaluated their preferences and satisfaction at a different scale from male counterparts. In other words, they were so used to having so little, that they had no strong preference to have more. One can also deduce that the opposite is true, those accustomed to privilege and means tend to adapt to their luxuries and hold higher standard for satisfaction (Nussbaum, 2001; Sen, 1988). Returning to the example above of two women choosing to either stay home or join the professional work force, Sen would argue that the woman who chose to stay home may have adapted a preference to do so as a product of a “life-long habituation” to being in the domestic sphere only (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 80).

Sen, Nussbaum and Robeyns contend that women are particularly vulnerable to the rather unseen forces of adaptive preferences (Robeyns, 2003; Nussbaum, 2001; Sen, 2000). Robeyns’ claims that gendered socialisation can impact the choices a woman makes from her capability set (Robeyns, 2003). Nussbaum argues that women are often systematically subjugated into accepting lesser roles, opportunities and freedoms. Essentially, women are more frequently denied basic capabilities (see list below of Nussbaum’s central capabilities). She argues that the habitual denial of these capabilities translates to an inability for women to have fully informed preferences. Basically, there is no way for a woman (or any person) to truly know what they prefer when they have been denied viable options throughout their lifetime. As in the example above, the idea of working outside the home may seem far-fetched or intimidating to a woman who has never done so before in her life. Therefore, her preference for working in the home is clearly biased. Furthermore, Nussbaum argues that even if she still maintains that preference after having the opportunity to work outside the home (i.e. if she tries formal and employment and later decides to return to the traditional domestic role), this is at the level of a functioning, not a capability (Nussbaum, 2001). In Robeyns’ view, these adaptive preferences are one reason that the HCA framework is a vital tool in measuring true well-being, because it is not overly reliant on subjective measures, such as happiness, which may fluctuate based on socialised preferences. More traditional metrics for measuring justice or well-being tend to overlook such influences (Robeyns, 2011).

The concept of adaptive preferences can be easily and directly applied to sport and sport for development. The environment of sport organizations is commonly constructed by traditionally male values, roles, and expectations (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2013; Cunningham & Sagas, 2008). According to Fink (2007), “sport as an institution still serves to produce, reproduce and perpetuate male hegemony” (p. 146). These references directly reflect Nussbaum’s assertion that women are often subjugated into roles and develop preferences based upon those life-long experiences. The same is true in sport. Numerous studies indicate that girls and women have fewer opportunities to play sport, are not socialised into sport participation at the level boys are and have established different preferences regarding sport than male counterparts (Acosta and Carpenter, 2014; Breuning and Dixon, 2008; Levermore and Beacom, 2009; Brady, 2005). This particular point will be discussed at length in section 2.4. However, at this point it is important to recognize that adaptive preferences by gender are a critical issue in the understanding how the HCA applies to sport for development.

Essential capabilities

Nussbaum built upon Sen’s work to develop the HCA into a larger theory of justice, in which she posits specific principles that ought to be applied by governments in order to guarantee universal freedoms and rights to its citizens (Nussbaum, 1999; Robeyns, 2005). In a much discussed departure from Sen, she drafted a “list” of basic capabilities that all persons should have. Nussbaum argues that these ten essential capabilities should be provided as a threshold for basic human development:

1. *Life*. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length
2. *Bodily Health*. Being able to have good health ... to be adequately nourished
3. *Bodily Integrity*. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. *Sense, Imagination and Thought*. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason ... Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.
5. *Emotions*. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves ... to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger.
6. *Practical reason*. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one’s life ...
7. *Affiliation*. Being able to engage in various forms of social interaction ... This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion national origin.
8. *Other Species*. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to

animals, plants, and the world of nature.

9. *Play*. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10. *Control over One's Environment*. Having the right of political participation ...Being able to hold property ..., being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers," (Nussbaum, 1999, p. 41).

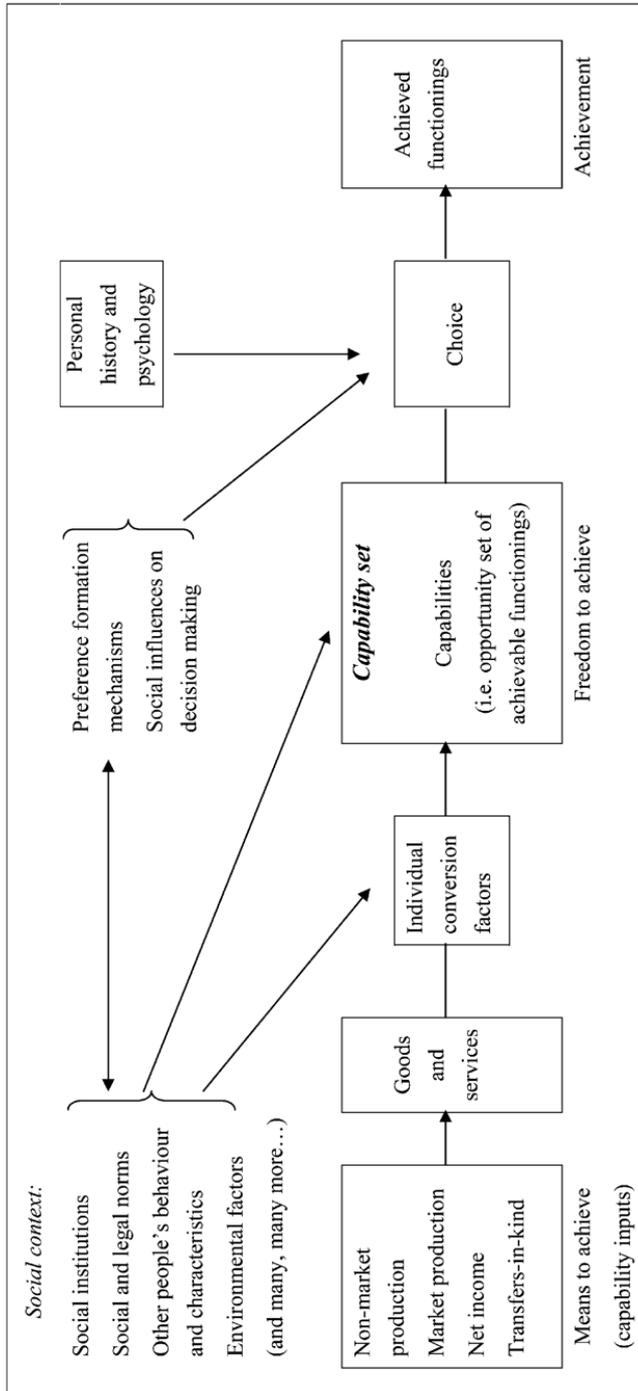
Though not exhaustive, this list was designed in broad terms so as to encompass all of the elements needed for human dignity and the pursuit of Sen's "good life." Nussbaum contends that Sen's framework requires a defined list of capabilities in order to be applied to real world scenarios (Nussbaum, 1998; 2001). Sen, on the other hand, refutes the need for a list, stating that a list should be designed as a part of a democratic process to apply to specific groups and citizens. Different purposes call for different lists, he argues (Sen, 2000; Robeyns, 2005). Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities aligns with many well-being measures, such as those used in the Human Development Report (i.e. measures on bodily health and political participation). She also stresses that the list can be further modified for direct application purposes within specific groups. Therefore, Nussbaum's list is a useful starting point with universal application that can be adapted to specific settings through a democratic process.

For the purpose of this study, Nussbaum's list helps clarify the HCA framework and supports the application of the theory to sport for development. It should be noted, however, that both Sen and Robeyns oppose the use of the list of essential capabilities for practical and epistemological reasons (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 2000). Nussbaum's list includes aspects of life that define how humans are able to live freely with an opportunity for well-being. Among the elements she identifies are play, bodily health, bodily integrity (free movement) and affiliation (Nussbaum, 1999). In my interpretation, sport falls most directly within Nussbaum's category of "play" as a "recreational activity." It is already included as a "fundamental right" according to the United Nations (Sport for Development and Peace, 2015). Play as an essential capability encompasses the spirit of the SDP movement – that sport can contribute to the overall well-being of body, mind and spirit of all people. In essence, sport is an act of playing, with emphasis on physical movement.

SDP and sport in general is also related to other capabilities on Nussbaum's list. Sport can promote social affiliation, serving as a platform for social activity amongst peers, mentors, family, community, etc. Toward bodily health, sport can promote physical activity to support healthy lifestyles, especially in the emerging battle against obesity in Global North and Global South countries. Clearly, bodily health and integrity are directly related to one's capability to engage in sport (although access to sport for people with disabilities is a major concern and a sub-section of SDP overall). To be sure, sport can also cause bodily harm and injury as well and the social affiliation gained through sport may be mediated through other conversion factors (i.e. gender, poverty, etc.).

While Sen and Nussbaum stand as the foundation of the human capability approach framework, scholars like Ingrid Robeyns have further developed the theories and clarified the dynamics of how resources, capability sets and achieved functionings interact. Figure 2.1a illustrates Robeyns' model on HC, based upon Sen and Nussbaum's previous work (Robeyns, 2005, p. 98). In her model, Robeyns outlines an individual's capability set within a personal, social and environmental context. Beginning with resources, or "capability inputs," (i.e. "means to achieve"), Robeyns' model emphasizes material resources (income, market production, etc.) along with goods and services.

Figure 2.1a Robeyns' model of the HCA (Robeyns, 2005, p. 98)



To further clarify the relationship amongst these elements, Robeyns provides the analogy of a bicycle. The physical construct of the bicycle serves as a primary resource in this example. The value of the machine is not in the materials that make up the bicycle (metal frame, rubber tyres, etc.), but rather the fact that it can be used as a mode of transportation. The use of the bicycle for transporting oneself is, therefore, the achieved functioning in this analogy. The process of converting the resource (bicycle) into the achieved functioning (mobility) is demonstrated within the HCA framework. Personal, social and environmental conversion factors influence how the bicycle is employed toward the achieved functioning. On a personal level, the individual's physical ability to ride the bicycle is paramount. A person with a physical disability or one who has never learned to ride a bicycle is constrained in her ability to make use of the resource. At a social level, policies and cultural norms may influence use of the bicycle. For example, social norms prohibiting women from riding bicycles further inhibit the prospect for reaching the achieved functioning of mobility. Finally, at an environmental level, aspects such as climate, geography and infrastructure serve as conversion factors. For example, in the Netherlands, cycling paths are common structures that better enable the use of bicycling as a means of transport. On the contrary, few cities in the United States have such an elaborate network of paths to support bicycling. In an ideal scenario, an able-bodied person with access to a bicycle is free to use this resource regardless of gender or social status on adequate pathways. Therefore, the capability of converting the bicycle into the achieved functioning of mobility is available. The only remaining conversion factor is personal choice, which may be influenced by one's own history or psychology. Personal choice may also be influenced by social influences on decision-making (i.e. do the person's peers ride bicycles?) or other preference formation mechanisms (bicycles are considered a symbol of low status) (Robeyns, 2005).

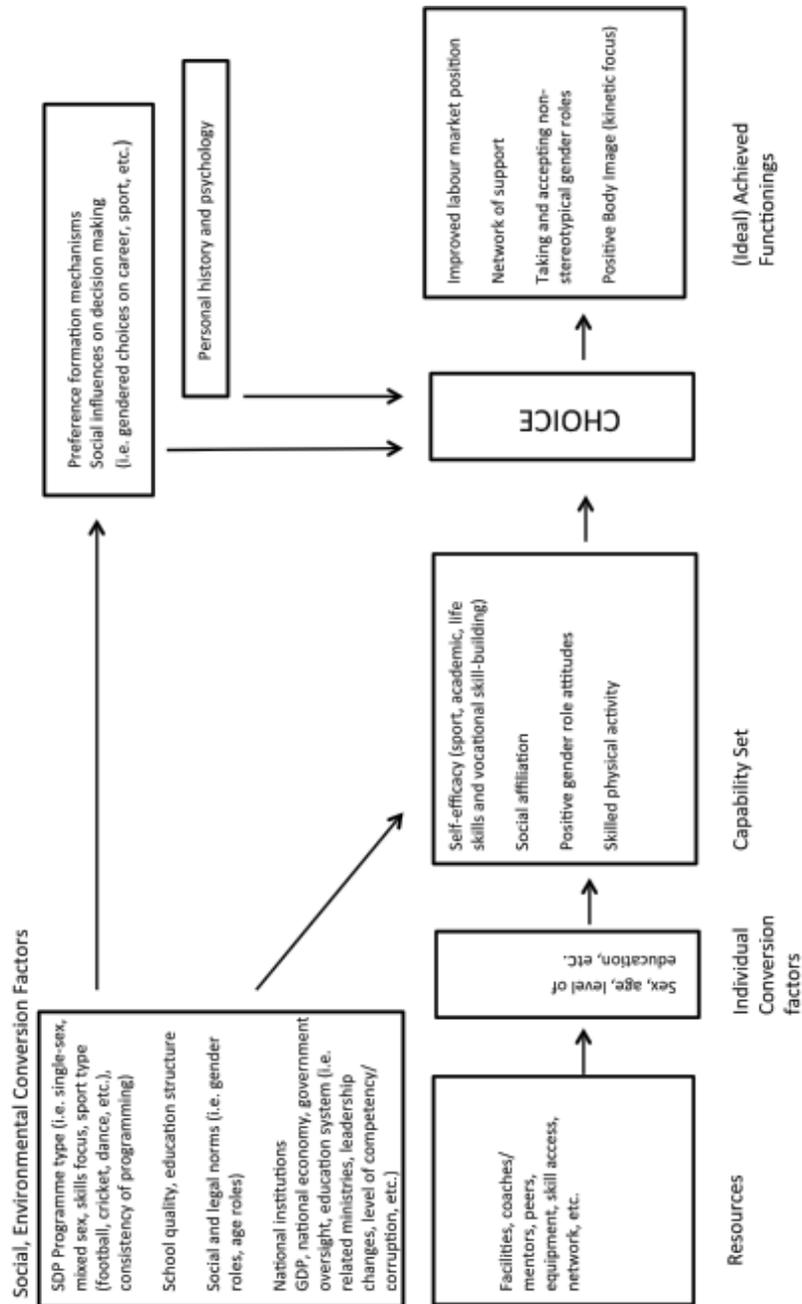
Within the framework of the human capability approach, I have applied Robeyns' model to examine how SDP impacts the formation of resources, capability sets and achieved functionings. My application of her model (see Figure 2.1b.), however, places greater emphasis on human resources (i.e. coaches as mentors, peer groups, social affiliation, etc.). Material goods and services (i.e. facilities, equipment, training, etc.) are included as well. Additionally, my model includes a more detailed dynamic from the specific opportunities (capability sets) within an SDP programme and the relationship to achieved functionings. For example, the opportunity to build sport skills is linked to the achieved functioning of self-efficacy. This adaptation of Robeyns' model helps clarify the positioning of SDP within the HCA and avoid assumptions (i.e. if skill-building is not adequately taught in the SDP programme and the participants are doing unguided free play, then the link to self-efficacy is weakened).

Here, I can apply a different analogy. The resource is a cricket programme and the achieved functioning may be the development of social affiliation. In this example, the conversion factors on the personal level, like in Robeyns' bike analogy, may include physical ability. A person with a disability may be limited in her access to the cricket programme. Social conversion factors may be gender norms and attitudes. In the West Indies, cricket is considered a highly masculinized sport generally reserved for boys and men (Lewis, 2003). At an environmental level, the infrastructure of a community may be a factor. For example, roadways in smaller

West Indies island such as St. Lucia are often impassable after storms, prohibiting potential participants from joining the programme. Furthermore, bus schedules and fees may prohibit many poor people from attending. The ideal scenario, therefore, is a free programme available (and promoted to) both boys and girls, offering free and reliable bus transport to participants. By joining the programme, the participant is able to connect with peers and mentors, the capability set that must be in place in order to achieve the functioning of social affiliation. In this scenario, I may accept that the capability set is available. However, the personal choice to not affiliate with peers/mentors is still available and the achieved functioning is not necessarily reached.

Throughout this study, sport for development programmes are analysed within this framework. The purpose of the analysis is to isolate the particular context of a sport programme as a resource within the HCA. What sort of common experiences in sport programmes foster specific capability sets of social affiliation, a sense of self-efficacy, positive gender role attitudes and positive body image? What other “capability sets” may or may not be impacted by participation in sport programmes? What types of personal, social and environmental conversion factors are presented via sport programmes? How are sport programmes limited in promoting such capabilities? And, finally, what can be done to improve the prospect for using sport as a development tool within the HCA framework for young people in the Caribbean West Indies?

Figure 2.1b Zipp's application of Robeyns' HCA model to SDP



Other ways of understanding gender, sport and development

Other theoretical frameworks are used to examine SDP in a critical way and offer useful concepts to analyse gender, youth and development in SDP. Poststructuralism frameworks are used in sport studies on leadership and organization inspired by Michael Foucault's analysis of power as productive, informing knowledge and discourse in a way creates hierarchies of that which is normal and that which is deviant. In this context, sport is a governing, disciplining force that encourages "compliant gendered bodies through surveillance, discipline and normalization," (Knoppers & McDonald, 2010, p. 319). Here, sport serves to reproduce and privilege social norms and values, imposing and indoctrinating participants into the dominant ideology of a hegemonic, heteronormative culture. As discussed above, the history and ideology of sport as a cultural product for and by white, Christian, Western, heterosexual men privileges and empowers certain populations and groups over others. Power hierarchies are therefore reinforced and reproduced, marginalizing those that deviate from "normal" or socially acceptable roles (i.e. men playing rugby is masculinizing and builds strong character, but women playing rugby is masculinizing and threatens their womanhood or signifies that they are homosexual). Poststructuralism emphasizes the intersectionality of many aspects of identity, such as gender, race and age and how those social constructs are effects of power. Through a poststructuralist frame, scholars examine how the dominant norms of sport and health are challenged, resisted and complied with (Knoppers & McDonald, 2010).

Hartmann and Kwauk constructed an "interventionist approach" to SDP based on a similar vision of deconstructing power, dominance and neo-liberal ideologies. Their work builds upon Foucault's notions on disciplinary power (1978) and SDP writings from Coakley (2002) and Darnell (2010, 2007), who assert that sport is often used as a "tool for normative, reproductive development but also believed to function as a mechanism for educating and recalibrating underprivileged or deviant individuals into 'upstanding' citizens," (Darnell, 2007 in Hartman & Kwauk, 2011, p.288). Their work echoes Coalter's cautions of SDP as risk-reduction development, which emphasizes how individuals and populations are deficient and in need of intervention for self-improvement and risk prevention, yet fails to address larger, more systematic failures in their environment that predicated their "at risk" status (Coalter, 2010).

The interventionist approach draws upon theorists in development studies and economics, who offer counter-theories to dominant neo-liberal, post-colonial ideologies. It also draws upon Foucault's vision of knowledge and power controlling the trajectory of human life, with socialization through sport as his "biopower," governing bodies, movement and ways of being (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p.292). In this approach, not only does sport govern bodies and reinforce power dynamics, it is also a mechanism by which Northern development practitioners, using Western ideologies and technologies, impose ideal ways of being and seek to socialize youth participants into neo-liberal, post-colonial structures and systems (e.g. education, government, free market employment, etc.) by "fixing" their deficiencies. Such an approach inherently subordinates and disempowers the young people engaged in SDP as participants, who are often already marginalised by society due to their "at risk" label (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011).

To challenge the dominant vision, this interventionist approach, along with another similar approach known as Sport for Development Theory (SDPT) (Lyras & Peachey, 2011), seeks to re-imagine SDP by re-constructing education as “freedom,” building on the work of Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire. Freire’s vision of education as freedom is a challenge to the traditional model, which is based upon the transfer of knowledge from teacher to student. In his seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), he proposes a critical pedagogy of education as co-creative, participatory and bi-directional, with knowledge generated with students rather than delivered to them. Such an approach fundamentally shifts the power dynamic and removes the complete control of knowledge from adult teachers and administrators gazing over youth. In this model, effectiveness of education is based on its ability to empower and liberate, to challenge and change social environments and larger society. Overall, the authors seek for this approach to help scholars and practitioners to “shift from using sport to change the individual toward using sport to challenge the commonsense notions and relations of power,” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p.298).

Other scholars in SDP have applied and built upon the work of Foucault and Freire. Sara Nicholls explores Foucaultian notions of power, subjugated knowledge and discourse in her examination of peer education in SDP Levermore and Beacom’s book (2009). She posits that peer educators, in line with Freire’s education as freedom philosophy, can serve as agents in re-envisioning education and shifting the dynamics of power for young people. Darnell and Hayhurst (2011) recognize the “colonial gaze” inherent in much of SDP and propose a framework of participatory action research (PAR) which engages children and young people as active agents in their own development and SDP research, in an effort to de-colonize the field. PAR, with an emphasis on feminist theory, is also found in the work of Crabbe (2009), McEwan (2009), and Hayhurst, et al. (2015).

These theoretical frameworks offer various pathways to explore, examine and unpack the complicated and intertwined components of SDP in the post-colonial settings of Barbados and St. Lucia. The focus on power dynamics and the construction of knowledge, intersectionality of identities (e.g. race, class, sex, gender, sexuality, etc.) and education make these frameworks well-suited for examining SDP. I have incorporated some of these insights into my use of HC. I primarily use HCA for its robustness in its rejection of neo-liberal development paradigms, an approach also called for by the SDP scholars discussed above who use poststructuralism, Foucaultian and critical pedagogy approaches. The HCA focuses on the development experience rather than outcomes and is flexible and adaptable to integrate a gender lens across multiple levels of analysis. Together with the insights from youth development and feminist theoretical perspectives, HCA helps navigate the gaps in SDP literature which fails to look at the gendered lived experience of youth participating in sport and the nature of embodied genders in SDP. Robeyns’ diagrammatic overview in particular was able to help me to organize and analyse the thematic areas repeat here the thematic areas.

2.2 Youth development theory

Although the HCA is the underlying framework for this study, the intentionally broad categories of capabilities outlined in Nussbaum’s list are need to be elaborated in order to allow in-depth analysis of the specific programmes examined. I therefore

borrowed from the insights of Caribbean youth development in World Bank studies and applied them to an HCA framework. In particular, I have applied their analysis of risk and protective factors for adolescent development looking at sport participation as a potential protective or risk factor.

It should be noted that although these studies are by named authors - Robert Blum, Wendy Cunningham and Maria Correia - the studies are funded by the World Bank. Relying on a youth development theory based solely on World Bank funded studies could be problematic because such studies are biased toward a neo-liberal ideology that promotes Western, post-colonial, capitalist values and dismiss or undervalue alternative, non-normative, anti-colonial viewpoints. Scholars in child and youth studies (CYS) caution against static, normative approaches to research on children and youth. Often, research on child and youth development overlooks how life phases, such as childhood and youth, are socially constructed, with young people as social actors adapting to and challenging their changing environments (Huijsmans, et al., 2014). As discussed above (Section 1.4), the very notion of “at risk” youth can be a form of marginalisation, leading to governance over the bodies and minds of young people to direct them toward “normal” adult lives (Holder, 2012). |

I have therefore aimed to apply a critical eye and drawn on aspects that are compatible with, inform or support the HCA and have made adaptations to the model (e.g. adding mentors to the diagram). I have sought to take notice of non-normative concepts and behaviours that might otherwise be overlooked (e.g. mentors that abuse or exploit participants). In my analysis concepts such as risk and protective factors and social connectedness were applied to the Robeyns’ HCA model and critically examined through a feminist perspective.

Robert Blum, who has written extensively on health and social problems among Caribbean youth, defines risk factors as “those which increase the likelihood that a young person will experience negative outcomes, whereas protective factors counterbalance the risk factors, increasing the likelihood that he or she will make a positive transition to adulthood,” (Blum, 2006, p. 2). Risk factors, or risk antecedents, pre-dispose adolescents to risky behaviour or making unhealthy life choices. Protective factors may directly protect (direct effect) or buffer (indirect or mediated effect) adolescents from those risky behaviours or from making decisions that have negative outcomes. For example, a risk factor of suffering child abuse or neglect predisposes adolescents to risky behaviour such as violence or substance abuse. On the contrary, a protective factor of family unity and school connectedness serve as protective elements against risky behaviour (Cunningham, 2003).

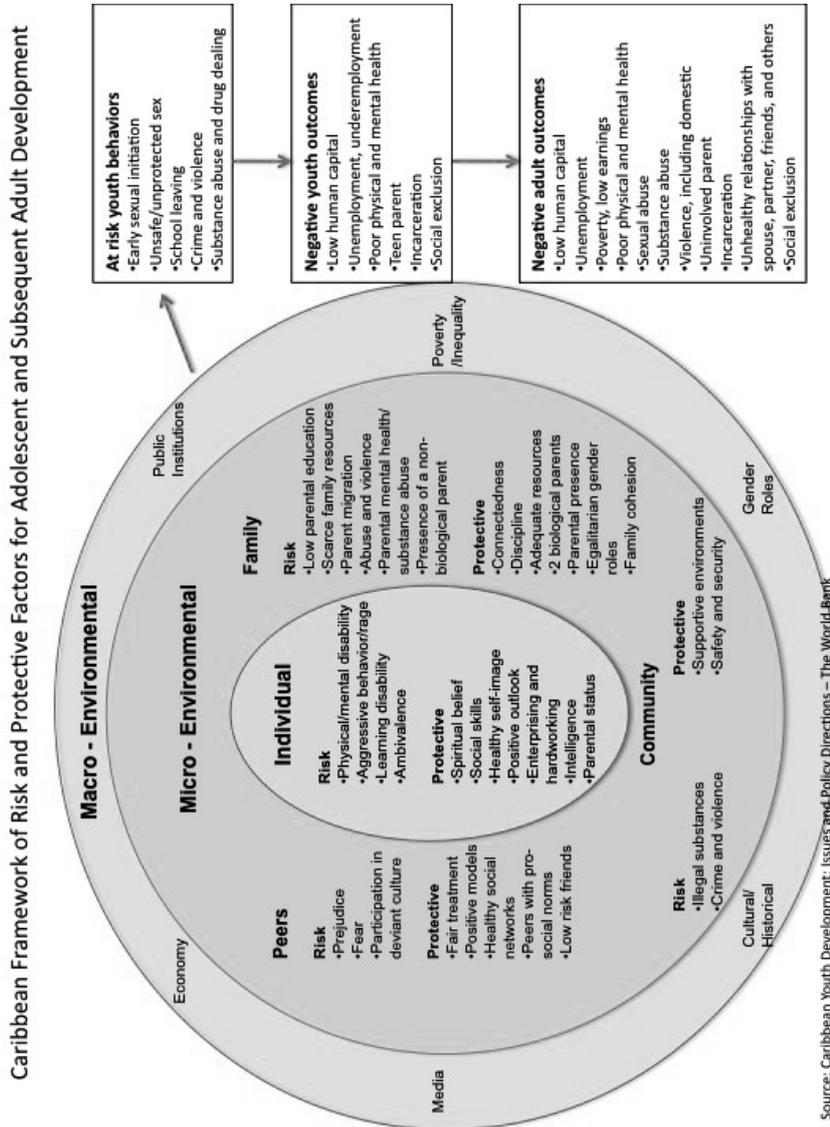
The work of Blum and Cunningham fits within the framework of the capability approach, with risk and protective factors operating as individual, social and environmental conversion factors. Incorporating the risk and protective factor concepts from Blum and Cunningham into Robeyns’ model, I can clearly label predictive effects of the conversion factors. In other words, I can think of the risk factors as those conversion factors that tend to limit, restrict or diminish the capability set. By contrast, protective factors are those conversion factors that enhance, improve or expand the capability set. In this study, the sport for development programmes are analysed according to their ability to provide protective or risk factors toward the desired capability set. Furthermore, the youth development theory narrows in on

common experiences of adolescents and youth such as those in the study. The World Bank model includes domain areas such as home, school and community that provide a context in which to examine how capabilities are developed. While Nussbaum's capabilities list provides a broad foundation to analyse youth development, Blum and Cunningham's risk and protective factor model and life domains allow for more applied and direct analysis in this particular study.

Another 2003 World Bank study titled *Caribbean Youth Development: Issues and Policy Directions*, examined youth development in the Caribbean and identified risk and protective factors for healthy personal development. The study also outlined a framework for analysis of youth development in this region (Correia & Cunningham, 2003). The report builds upon earlier work from Blum, who adapted his studies of North American youth to examine young people in the Caribbean. Blum's World Bank report *Adolescent Health in the Caribbean: Risk and Protective Factors* examined the relationship between health problems and numerous risk or protective factors (Blum et al, 2003). In various World Bank studies, Blum, Correia and Cunningham outlined an "ecological" model of human and adolescent development that unfolds in the interconnected spheres of home, school, family, and community. These four domains are the personal and social environments in which adolescents function directly and include major sources of influence on their development. That is, their day to day lives tend to unfold at home, in school, with family members and other members of their community. Sport for development programs tend to function within the community and school domains, including members of the community as coaches, mentors and peers. As many programmes are held at local schools and include teachers as mentors and classmates as peers, such programmes are also found in the overlap between school and community. Furthermore, some programmes included in this study operate in conjunction with schools (i.e. attendance to the programme is required for school eligibility). In chapters four and five, I focus on these life domains. Chapter six deals with the more distant macro-environment domains, discussed below.

Figure 2.2a, below, represents the relationship of risk and protective factors for Caribbean youth within the ecological framework (Correia & Cunningham, 2003). In their studies, they found that the most influential protective factor among youth in the Caribbean is "school connectedness," or the sense that the child felt an affinity toward his or her school environment, teachers and peers. Quality schools with effective teachers and safe environments provide the best resource for young people to transition into healthy and happy adults. On the contrary, unsafe schools with poor resources and teachers are a major concern for youth development. Children and adolescents exposed to physical, sexual, or emotional abuse are more at risk for negative outcomes from risky behaviour. Communities with activities and resources for young people to supplement their education, engage in positive leisure activity, and network with peers and adults contribute to positive youth development. Recreation and sport activities may be one aspect of this community environment, as well as parks and open spaces for children to play. Communities and neighbourhoods with high crime, drugs, gangs, and violence are very risky environments for young people (Blum, et al, 2003).

Figure 2.2a Risk and protective factors for youth development (Correia & Cunningham, 2003, p.11)



Macro-environmental factors include the economy, poverty/inequality, gender roles, cultural/historical, media, and public institutions. Feldman and Elliott described the macro-environment as “distal contexts of adolescence” (Cunningham, 2003; Feldman & Elliott, 1990). Blum defined the macro-environment as “systems and institutions that affect an individual, but with which the individual does not have direct contact (such as state of the economy, poverty and inequality, legal frameworks, cultural background, the mass media, and social norms on gender)” (Blum, 2006, p. 2).

In contrast, the micro-environment “refers to institutions and individuals with which the young person interacts on a personal basis (such as schools, communities, teachers, family, and peers)” (Blum, 2006, p.2). The primary difference between a macro-level factor and a micro-level factor is the direct contact and interaction with the individual that occurs at the micro level. Blum also notes that micro level interventions, such as sport for development programmes, generally offer the greatest opportunity to influence youth development. For example, policies or programmes for schools or teachers can directly impact the development of students. Social programmes for families can also have direct impacts. Within the micro-environmental context, the authors identify three sources of influence; family, peers, and community. These sources reflect Blum’s ecological model of life domains discussed above. Family influences in the family and home domains, while peers generally fall within the school and community domains.

Not all factors have equal influence on youth development within the micro-level. Longitudinal studies conducted in the U.S. and the Caribbean demonstrate that (1) school presence (and “connectedness”), and (2) the consistent presence of a caring adult provide the strongest protective factors against risky behaviour of young people (Blum, 2006). According to the 2003 Caribbean Youth Development Report from the World Bank, young Caribbeans who felt connected to their schools were much less likely to engage in risky behaviours such as sexual activity (30% less likely for boys, 60% for girls), violence ((60% less likely for boys, 55% for girls), and drug use (50% less likely for boys, 30% for girls) (Correia & Cunningham, 2003).

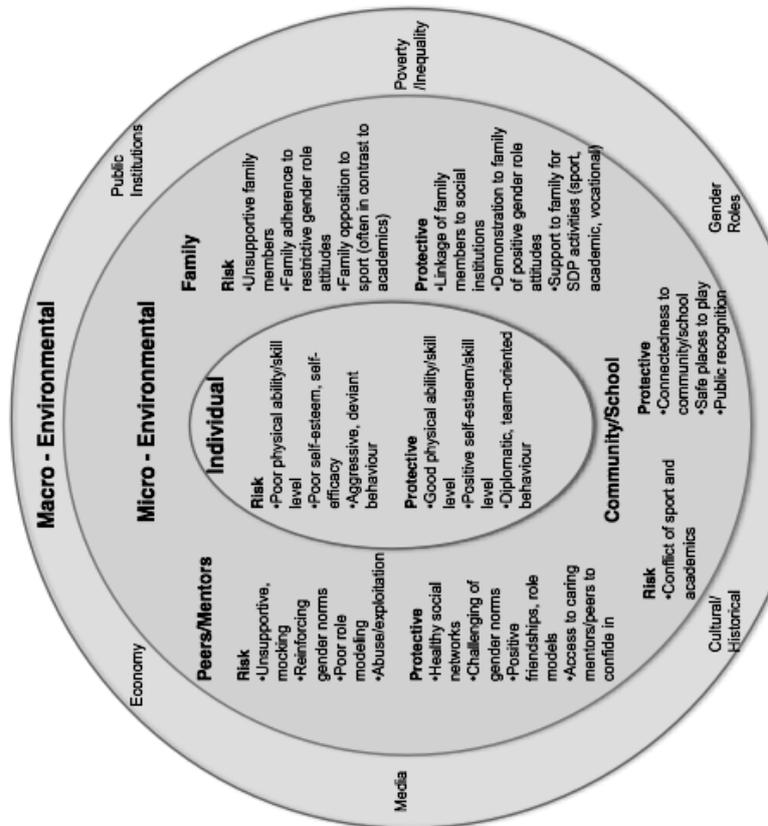
Finally, factors at the individual level are “related to the cognitive, physiological, and behavioural nature of the individual (such as physical health and growth, self-esteem, and aggressive behaviour)” (Blum, 2006, p. 2). Young people with physical disabilities, health problems, or developmental delays may be at risk for negative development outcomes. Additionally, youth suffering from depression or with abnormally low self-esteem are at risk. It is important to note that around the world, and in the Caribbean, young girls and women are more likely to suffer from depression than their male counterparts (Brady, 2005).

Figure 2.2b displays the Blum’s risk and protective model as applied to sport for development. Here, the individual and micro-environmental risk and protective factors in sport development are explored. These factors are then thoroughly examined in chapters four and five. As the macro-environmental factors are not directly specific to SDP, but instead relate to the underlying foundations for such programming, they are discussed as “support systems” in chapter six. Drawing upon the original framework, this analysis narrows in on aspects specific to SDP

programmes. For example, how does individual physical ability serve as a risk and/or protective factor in SDP toward the human capability of youth? In essence, this framework helps further clarify the conversion factors from the HCA within the specific context of sport and youth development. Using this framework, I can better examine the aspects that inform the choices participants make, understanding that macro and micro environmental factors impact access to and engagement in SDP programmes. For example, gender roles (macro) connectedness to school (micro) may encourage or dissuade a student from joining a sport programme held on school grounds that includes typically male-oriented sport forms.

As noted above, the World Bank studies need to be approached cautiously and read critically. Certainly, Blum's life domains are normative and exclude realms that may be relevant to youth, such as work, whether formal or informal. My focus was on life domains that intersect with the SDP programmes and I was able to adapt Blum's work to address concepts I found missing in his model. For example, work is primarily dealt with as a functioning of skill-building, training and education. Perspectives on work are further explored through a gender lens, exploring how gender influences expectations, goals and choices toward work, career and vocation. Other aspects of the youth development model, such as connectedness, were helpful in constructing the conversion factors to adapt Robeyns' HCA model to youth in SDP. Connectedness, particularly with peers and mentors, is a key element in SDP that I explored through the SDP literature in addition to the youth development model. Finally, the model itself emphasises different levels of risk and protective factors that I used to help organise the conversion factors into individual, micro-environmental and macro-environmental. I found this construct useful in pushing my perspective beyond the individual level, which is a common pitfall of SDP research in general.

Figure 2.2b Zipp's Application of the youth development model to SDP



At the individual level, poor physical ability or skill level (or disability) may put a participant at risk to fall behind, feel inadequate and lower self-esteem and/or self-efficacy. For example, a child who is less-skilled than his peers may have feelings of inadequacy reinforced through sport participation. Seeing the other kids perform better may damage his personal development. Conversely, a participant with strong physical ability and skill may enjoy confirmation of his worth and effectualness. In the same vein, poor self-esteem or self-efficacy may also place a participant at risk for further damaging her self-image. While a child with a positive self-image may have those feelings validated through her sport development activities. Additionally, a child with aggressive or deviant behaviour is at greater risk for abusing those feelings through contact or rough sport. In contrast, the participation in sport may also serve as a safe outlet for aggressive behaviour. Sport development programmes often aim to promote team-building and cooperative behaviour and could therefore also serve as a protective factor.

At the micro-environmental level, I consider the role of peers, mentors, family, community and school. Peers and mentors are often touted as a primary benefit in SDP, and can serve as strong protective factors by providing healthy social networks, challenging gender norms, building positive friendships and providing access to caring adults as mentors and role models. The advantages of such social affiliation are robust and discussed at length below. But it is also clear that these relationships may also pose a risk. Peers and mentors may be unsupportive or mocking. They might also reinforce restrictive gender role norms. In some cases, peers or mentors (as coaches) may also become abusive or exploitative through the sport development programme. Family involvement is also a potential risk or protective factor in SDP for young people. Sport programmes have the potential to connect family members, namely parents, to social institutions like schools, clubs or foundations. They may also serve as a positive influence on family members to reject restrictive gender role attitudes. Such programmes may also provide support services or resources to parents, guardians, siblings, etc. to support sport, academic or vocational activities. However, SDP programmes may also be a risk factor within the family environment. Unsupportive family members may reject the efforts of the SDP programme, isolating the child participating in it. Especially for females participating in an SDP programme might create a rift in family cohesion if the girl is seen as rejecting a cultural norm by playing sport. Family members may oppose the sport participation by seeing it as a competitor to a child's focus on academics. Finally, the sport development programme may offer risk and/or protective factors at the community and school level. For example, an SDP programme at a school may foster school connectedness (as discussed above). Such a programme could provide a rare safe space to play and public recognition to the child for his or her participation. The primary risk at this level is, again, the conflict of time spent on sport as an opportunity cost for time spent on academic study.

In summary, sport development programmes serve as a broad range of conversion factors. By employing the youth development framework, I can better understand how these aspects apply as risk or protective factors toward positive development, allowing for more specific analysis than is possible using the broad framework of Sen and Nussbaum.

2.3 Thematic areas

Self-efficacy and Social Affiliation

Self-efficacy and social affiliation are key elements to the HCA and youth development framework. Nussbaum makes specific reference to social affiliation in her capabilities list and describes aspects of self-efficacy in terms of one's ability to make choices and direct her path in life (Nussbaum, 2001). Both are considered protective factors in youth development (Blum, et al., 2003; Correia & Cunningham, 2003). In the world of sport for development, these concepts are often touted as positive benefits and listed as programme objectives. In particular, the impact on female participants is discussed at length. With restricted movement, limited access to education and employment, and significant threat of harassment or stereotyping, girls and women in the Global South often feel disempowered and unseen (UNSDP, 2008c). Sport activity is a way in which girls and women can feel seen, valued, and a part of a larger group. Furthermore, sport allows for freedom of movement and expression, a valuable step in building self-esteem and self-efficacy (Brady, 2005). In this section, concepts of self-efficacy and social affiliation are explored within the larger theoretical framework and as relevant in the field of sport for development. Specific attention is paid to the impact on girls and young women.

Self-efficacy is widely defined as the belief in one's ability to influence events in his or her life towards a specific outcome (Bandura, 1997). A person who has a strong belief in his ability to "plan and perform a task, to achieve a particular outcome, to address difficult issues" would have a strong sense of perceived self-efficacy (Coalter & Taylor, 2010, p. 19). Three component parts make up self-efficacy measures; initiative, effort and persistence. Initiative refers to a person's willingness to initiate behaviours, effort reflects her willingness to expend effort in completing the behaviour and persistence assesses her ability to continue trying in the face of adversity (Sherer, et. al., 1982, p. 665). Self-efficacy is distinct from its cousin, self-esteem in a very specific way. While self-esteem refers to one's perceived worth or value as a whole, self-efficacy narrows in on the specific belief in one's ability to achieve or attain and outcome. This distinction positions self-efficacy nicely within the capability approach, as it points to actionable capabilities, the "doings" in Sen's framework. Self-efficacy also measures perceptions and beliefs, not actualized outcomes or functionings. Therefore, the focus is on the capability of believing in one's abilities, rather than the end product.

Among the benefits cited in SDP research, self-efficacy serves as a building block to healthy personal development (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). SDP research frequently cites building self-efficacy as an objective in sport for development programming. In particular, the emphasis on practice, skill-building, overcoming challenge and clear goals (i.e. scoring points, running within a specific time, etc.), places sport uniquely in position to contribute toward self-efficacy as compared to other cultural activities such as art or music (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009). According to a leading scholar of self-efficacy studies, Albert Bandura, self-efficacy is best explored and honed in the context of facing challenges. A strong sense of self-efficacy serves as motivation or incentive to take on challenges and persevere through difficulties (Bandura, 1997). Once again, sport is uniquely qualified to serve as a laboratory for self-efficacy building as it provides a setting by

which people can face and overcome challenges. For example, the challenge of scoring a goal, hitting a ball or improving upon a previous performance.

Empowerment and agency are concepts closely related to self-efficacy, as building blocks toward freedom and human development. Feminist social economics theorist Naila Kabeer defines empowerment as the opportunity to make choices (Kabeer, 2001). In this context, the opportunity to choose sport and physical activity constitutes empowerment for females. The expansion of opportunities for girls and women, as noted through the International Platform for Sport and Development (sportanddev.org), reflects the social change implied in the term empowerment (moving from a lack of choices to the capacity for choices). However, it is important to note that the majority of these programs around the world, and particularly in the West Indies, are still either co-ed or male only. While females have gained ground, claiming more choices and greater empowerment, an imbalance toward sport development programmes for males still exists.

Agency is another element of empowerment discussed by Kabeer (2001). Kabeer defines agency as “the power within,” or the process, purpose, and meaning of actions taken. To have agency is to have be a part of the decision-making process and to have influence over priorities and terms of access to resources named above. When girls and women are brought into the decision-making process in sport programmes, in a collective and structural way, one could argue that they have a sense of agency in this context. In the MTGK example below, participants take leadership in their own activities, which may be a form of agency. Other sport programmes may be structured differently, with a more authoritative hierarchy and less opportunity for individual or collective agency.

Many sport for development programmes focus on empowering females by giving them roles in organizing their teams and building leadership skills through teamwork and competition. Lydia Kasiwa joined an all-female programme in 2004 called Moving the Goalposts (MTG) in Killifi, Kenya. Killifi is a rural, coastal village, with high levels of poverty. The MTG programme strives to foster self-confidence as well as transferable leadership and organisational skills through football play. The programme engages through peer leaders, providing a pathway for participants to progress from player to leader, as Lydia has done over the five years she was at MTG. Her reflections on her experience at MTG indicate improved self-esteem and empowerment:

Through MTG I have gained confidence and organization skills because I have been given more opportunities to organize and manage different issues at hand. Honestly, I wasn't that perfect at public speaking but bravo MTG! I am able to stand before people, talk to them on different issues finding facts on them, such as information based on HIV and AIDS, reproductive health and decision making especially to out of school girls, primary and secondary school girls and women. (Moving the Goalposts, 2012).

As Nussbaum proposes, social affiliation is a key element to human well-being and a platform for human development (Nussbaum, 1999). Building positive peer and mentor relationships is a key element to youth development (Blum et al 2003; Cunningham 2003). In fact, both World Bank studies indicate that positive

peer and mentor relationships are among the most influential protective factors available to Caribbean youth. For the purposes of this study, social affiliation is a key element of the HCA and youth development framework to be explored within the context of sport for development. Sport activities and programmes can provide valuable opportunities for young people to gather in safe spaces to socialise (Levermore and Beacom, 2009; Brady 2005). One common theme across SDP studies is the potential for sport to support social inclusion and connectedness among participants and between participants and mentors (Dagkas & Armour, 2013). Sport often generates a sense of belonging and can bridge social distance. People who feel marginalized by poverty, race, gender, or other factors may find sport as a way to connect to others on a level playing field.

For example, one group of participants in a 2005 study discussed how they experienced a unique sense of pride in their team, league and accomplishments. Players from a Kenyan sport for development programme, the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA), report wearing their football jerseys with a sense of pride (Brady, 2005). Their sport programme affords them a type of public recognition rare for children and adolescents to obtain, especially girls. The pride they feel in wearing their jerseys denotes that they have a place in the public sphere and a way to identify with a larger group. Of course, sport can also create social barriers and further marginalize people, such as the poor, who may not have the same levels of access to sport as those in more privileged groups, which will be further discussed in section 2.5 (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Meier, 2005).

For girls and women particularly, the networks of support established in communal sport and the feelings of accomplishment through learning and playing with other girls and women can provide enormous benefits (Right to Play, 2008). Several SDP studies show that these networks can provide support, recognition, and public identity of females beyond those that are typically prescribed to the domestic realm (e.g. daughter, sister, wife, mother, etc.). Female participants in sport programmes have cited social interaction, group identity, and friendship as important elements of the sport programming (Brady, 2005; Meier, 2005; Saavedra, 2009). In contrast, sport can also expose female participants to exploitation and sexual abuse, particularly when male coaches train adolescent girls. This limitation is further discussed below in section 2.5.

Additionally, sport programs that include girls and women allow for interaction between females and community leaders, families and educators. These interactions can produce meaningful relationships and networks of support critical to the positive development of young people, especially females. Furthermore, leadership and development opportunities for girls and women provided through sport activity can help produce positive female role models. Finally, sport provides a unique opportunity for girls and women to participate in activity typically deemed “masculine.” The ability of girls and women to participate and compete in sport can challenge restrictive gender norms around the globe (UNSDP, 2008c).

As demonstrated above through the words of Lydia Kasiwa of the MTGK programme, well designed sport for development initiatives can provide girls and women with important leadership roles. Programmes such as MTGK can incorporate organizational, management, coaching, and other leadership roles for participants.

These roles not only give females a sense of self worth, but also help build transferrable skills that can be applied to their academic, employment, and domestic lives (UNSDP, 2008c). Furthermore, public achievement through competition can be a rare and powerful recognition of girls and women in these communities. Finally, sport programmes such as MGTK, Ishraq, and the MYSA use their organizations to teach leadership and professional development skills (Brady, 2005; Saavedra, 2009).

Gender role attitudes, physical activity and body image

As defined in section 1.2, I conceptualise gender as a social construct, practised and performed within specific social and cultural contexts. It is fluid and relational to one's own experience, preferences and situation. However, the world of sport, as discussed above, was built upon and mainly continues to conceptualise gender as static, binary and informed through one's biological sex. Sport literally and figuratively divides participants by gender and establishes prescribed roles by which athletes are expected to function (Kidd, 2013). Gender is rigidly defined and imposed in the West Indies as well, with male hegemonic ideals and patriarchal social norms (Barriteau, 2012). It is a relatively machismo masculinity, built on heteronormative values (Barrow, 2007). These perspectives on gender inform the norms and expectations that construct gender roles. In this study, attitudes about such gender roles are explored. How such roles are experienced, perceived, challenged and reinforced are examined.

Sport has traditionally been considered the domain of the masculine, however, gender barriers in sport are reducing and girls around the world are gaining more access to the power of sport (Claringbould & Knoppers, 2013; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister, 2003). Sport participation is one tool to help reduce restrictive gender constructs and empower girls and women. Precisely because sport is commonly perceived as masculine, the inclusion of girls and women in sport can challenge existing gender stereotypes and norms (Saavedra, 2009). Central to the theoretical framework of feminism and development is the concept of empowerment. Kabeer defines empowerment as the ability to make choices (2001). In this context, the expansion of opportunities for girls and women to play sports reflects the social change implied in the term empowerment (moving from a lack of choices to the opportunity for choices). Still sport programmes must be carefully designed with local languages, customs, concerns, and infrastructure in mind or risk merely reinforcing the long-standing resistance to girls playing sports (Brady, 2005).

While females have gained ground, claiming more choices and greater empowerment, an imbalance toward sport development programmes for males still exists. A leading scholar on gender in the Caribbean, Professor Eudine Barriteau of the University of West Indies, argues that gender constructs in the region are still deeply imbedded in patriarchal social, economic and political structures (2012). The majority of existing programmes around the world, and particularly in the Eastern Caribbean, are still predominantly male, with some co-educational and few exclusively for females. Expanding opportunities for females by adding to existing male-only programmes or by creating new co-educational programmes may be considered an "integrative" approach, as proposed by early feminist theorists such as Ester Boserup (1989). Integration into existing male dominated structures is often criticized by postmodern feminists and gender and development (GAD) scholars as

falling short of real social change. Such an integrative development approach has been debated and largely abandoned by scholars, who recognize that without fundamental and transformative change to existing hegemonic systems and structures, true progress toward gender equality is difficult to achieve (Meier, 2005; Okin, 1997; Boserup, 1989). Still, as sport is so deeply mired in traditional masculinity, development through sport is often stuck in this out-dated mode of development, relying on hegemonic cultures and striving for mere integration of girls and women into the hyper-masculinised world of sport (Sherry, Schulenkorf & Chalip, 2015; Darnell, 2012; Chawansky, 2011; Saavedra, 2009; Brady, 2005).

Integrating girls and women into patriarchal sport structures can diminish the impact of sport benefits or even reinforce gender norms by requiring female participants to adapt to programmes designed for males (Chawansky, 2011; Saavedra, 2009). Structural changes and new sport programmes directed and reserved for girls and women have also emerged and are part of an evolving movement, the “girling” of SDP (Chawansky, & Schlenker, 2016). These programmes, such as the Moving the Goalposts Kilifi (MTGK) programme in Kenya, provide sport and physical activities specifically for girls and women with curricula designed toward addressing their unique development needs (such as empowerment, sexual health and gender equality). Female only programmes such as MTGK could be considered a postmodern feminist “transformative” approach. The nature and impact of programmes, whether co-educational or female-only, is highly dependent on the qualities of the programme and the specific cultural context.

Furthermore, the setting for sport play can provide access to public spaces for girls and young women who are typically confined to the domestic sphere. Martha Brady discusses this aspect in her 2005 article “Creating safe spaces and building social assets for young women in the developing world: A new role for sports.” In particular, Brady defines a “safe space” as “one that would be considered culturally acceptable to parents and other gatekeepers on the one hand, yet free from parental pressures on the other. It would be a place that is conveniently located, known by potential program participants, yet not subject to intrusions by males and unwanted authority figures. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the ‘space’ should not put girls at any risk of physical or emotional threat or harm and must offer girls some degree of privacy and confidentiality. Sport fields and facilities have the capacity to meet all of these criteria, though they must be thoughtfully designed and carefully managed (Brady, 2005).

Cultural perspectives on body image influence development efforts, particularly for females. Nussbaum isolates aspects of life that define how humans are able to live freely with an opportunity for well-being. Among the elements related to sport that she identified are bodily health, bodily integrity (free movement), affiliation, and play (Nussbaum, 1999). At a basic level, male body image is centred on how bodies *act*, while female body images are focused on how bodies *look*. The Western ideal male bodies should be strong and muscular, demonstrating physical prowess and ability. Female body ideals are framed aesthetically, with emphasis on body size and conformity to culturally traditional feminine attractiveness (Murnen, 2004; Cash & Pruzinsky, 2002). In the sport context, the inherent emphasis on physical movement of the body reframes the conversation on female bodies. The focus is shifted from aesthetic to kinetic. However, females who play sports,

particularly adolescents, have expressed concern over developing overly muscular bodies through sport participation. This concern can discourage young women from sport participation (Slater, et.al. 2011). Body image worries marginalizes girls in sport and may prevent them from gaining the stated benefits of sport on personal development. Additionally, specific types of sport carry gendered histories and connotations, influencing how girls engage or reject sport-based initiatives. For example, the sports of cricket and football, used in the SDP programmes in this study, are considered masculine sports in the Eastern Caribbean. Girls and women may feel unwelcome to participate or have less familiarity with these sports than their male counterparts (as described in the introductory illustration).

Furthermore, body image and body politics are generally framed in a binary model of masculine and feminine. This study attempts to look beyond this dichotomy to examine the concept of the *lived body* as a dynamic force that performs elements of sex and gender but is not confined by these binary modes. Feminist philosophers Toril Moi and Iris Marion Young examined the *lived body* concept (Moi, 2002; Young, 2005). “The lived body is a unified idea of a physical body acting and experiencing in a specific sociocultural context; it is body-in-situation. For existentialist theory, situation denotes the produce of facticity and freedom. The person always faces the material facts of her body and its relation to a given environment,” (Young, 2005, p. 16). Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who coined the term “lived body” in his 1962 book “Phenomenology of Perception,” argued that the lived body is both physical and psychological (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). The *lived body* rejects the constraints of masculinity and femininity, moving beyond these problematic categorizations in feminist theory and de-emphasizing heteronormativity. According to Young, the lived body is a performance of one’s lived experience, rather than a physical construct based on sex and gender. The lived body encompasses elements beyond sex and gender, such as skin color, hair texture, age, socio-economic status and the specific socio-cultural context in which the body is situated. The body is more than a concrete form, but rather an abstraction of the physical being which guides interaction with the practical world. Depending on the situational context, one might be afforded privileges to move his or her body freely or be confined by “structures of constraint” that define norms and standards of physical freedom (Folbre, 2004).

Furthermore, the concept of the lived body is useful, as the specific situation in which the body is performing sport (single sex or co-ed, type of sport, age of participants, socio-cultural setting, etc.) deeply informs how the body is perceived by the actor herself and others participating and spectating. As a highly gendered cultural concept, sport is dripping with “structures of constraint” that define what sports are appropriate for girls and boys and how they are expected to perform these sports. For example, contact sports such as rugby and football are considered to rough (or masculine) for girls to play, thus creating a structure of constraint through limited participation opportunities in these sports. By contrast, boys may be excluded from feminized sports such as dance, netball and gymnastics. When members of either gender transgress these norms, they tend to experience resistance or even ridicule (Levermore and Beacom, 2009).

2.4 Limitations of SDP

As discussed throughout the sections above, there are limitations, drawbacks or risks associated with sport as a tool or platform for development programming. As discussed at length above, sport programmes can reinforce harmful stereotypes and restrictive gender norms, promote homophobia, and marginalise girls and women. Sport programmes may actually expose children and adolescents to danger or harm. As noted, sexual abuse from coaches is a real concern, especially toward girls and young women (Hyman, 2010; Saavedra, 2009; Brady, 2005). In response, many sport for development programmes now include training or even certifications in child safeguarding and protection, with international standards for safeguarding in sport drafted by international sport federations (Ruuska, 2013). Additionally, bodily injury through sport, by traumatic injuries such as a broken bone or overuse injuries from training, are also potential hazards (Hyman, 2010; Right to Play, 2008).

Beyond these concerns, one must examine if the resources put into sport for development programmes are being used to their full potential. What is the opportunity cost of sport programmes within the larger development context? It is unclear if sport programmes are the most effective or efficient way to promote physical activity, health, gender equality, girls' empowerment, etc. Better resources at schools or art and music programmes may be equally or more powerful.

One of the main arguments for the benefits of sport for development programmes is the element of social inclusion as a positive development factor. However, scholars caution that the benefits of social inclusion may be overstated as an effective means of human development to challenge poverty and gender inequality (van Staveren, 2003). The discussion on poverty and access to sport, recreation, and physical activity also casts doubt on the effectiveness of sport for development. Studies show that poor people tend to have less access to the healthful resources of sport and recreations (Panter, Jones, & Hillsdon, 2008). While sport itself may hold many positive development elements, poverty clearly serves as a negative mediating factor toward human development goals through sport.

Finally, sport for development programmes, initiatives and global movements have been highly criticized for a lack of consistent, rigorous and meaningful evaluation. As a relatively new actor in the development sector, establishing guidelines and standards for effective monitoring has lagged behind the growth of the programmes worldwide. With the support of multi-national organisations and NGO's such as the United Nations, UK Sport and the European Erasmus + network, efforts to produce high quality research and evaluations of SDP have improved over time, but are still a source of concern for academics and practitioners in the development field (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

2.5 Toward a new model of human capability in SDP

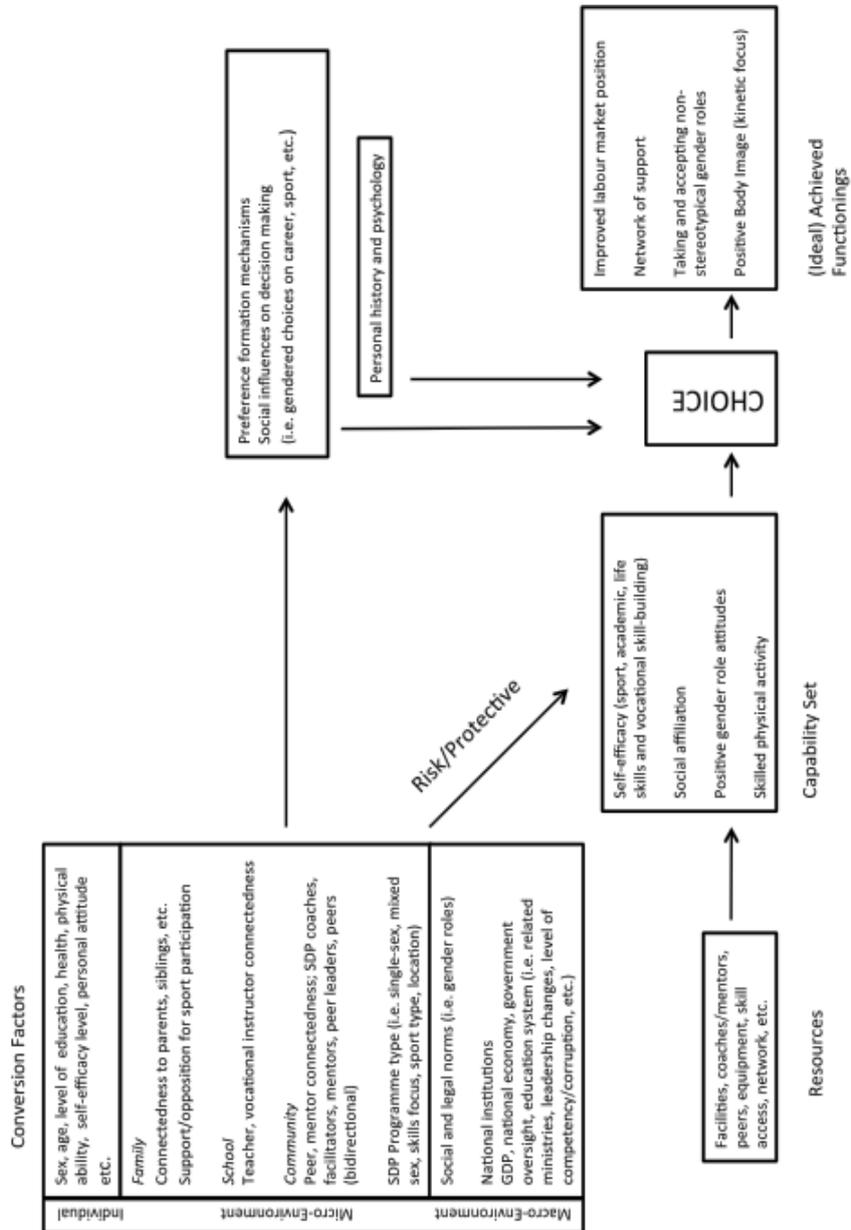
In this chapter, the theoretical framework of the HCA was outlined and discussed within the context of sport for development. This framework, with its emphasis on expanding opportunities (i.e. freedoms, choices) as capability sets, is coupled with concepts of youth development and informed by critical development studies and SDP scholarship on gender. This new, adapted framework is applied throughout the thesis.

As Figure 2.5 illustrates the capability sets, or vector of opportunities, afforded to participants within sport for development programmes in this study. First and foremost, they can play. The freedom to play is one of Nussbaum's essential capabilities and has many indications toward physical and emotional well-being (Nussbaum, 2001). Furthermore, they can practice skills (related to sport). Skill-building and acquisition is a direct contributor toward the development of self-efficacy, a key factor in youth and human capability development. Prior studies on SDP indicate a relationship between sport skill-building and self-efficacy (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). Toward social inclusion, SDP programmes bring peers and mentors together. The gathering of participants and mentors/coaches provides the opportunity for social inclusion and affiliation, important aspects of youth development and the HCA. Ideally, these gatherings are in safe spaces for play and socialization and the growth of SDP should encourage the creation and maintenance of these safe spaces that have a range of benefits toward youth development (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Brady, 2005). Sport programmes housed at schools or with teachers as coaches may further promote a sense of connectedness to schools, which is the most influential protective factor in Caribbean youth development theory (Blum et al, 2003). Participants have the opportunity to use their bodies in a physical activity. Especially for girls and young women, this creates a kinetically focused setting for a "lived body experience." This experience can be a unique alternative to the predominant body image orientation of females, which is founded on an aesthetic relationship to the body.

Of course, these capability sets are all deeply influenced by the personal, social and environmental conversion factors specific to the real-life scenario of adolescent boys and girls in the Caribbean West Indies. A predominant machismo culture, especially in sport, may severely inhibit the real opportunity for girls and young women to obtain these capabilities or the achieved functionings that are linked to the opportunities. Furthermore, the institutional support for such programmes, including access to training for coaches/mentors, development of facilities and access to equipment is problematic at an environmental level.

By viewing these sport intervention programmes through the lens of the HCA framework, this study seeks to unpack the specifics of how and under what circumstances valuable capabilities are developed for the youth of Barbados and St. Lucia via sport for development programming. Certainly mixed gender sport has a different impact than female or male only sport. What is that impact and what types of capabilities are fostered within each of these settings? Does the type of sport played matter? How? In what ways does the gender of the coach impact the capacity for skill-building, social affiliation or the development of positive gender role attitudes? These are the questions explored in order to better understand how SDP functions within the HCA framework.

Figure 2.5 Zipp's application of Robeyns' HCA model and the Youth Development Framework to SDP



**CHAPTER III: Methodology**

The methodological approach to this study was designed to examine the essential research questions of how sport for development interventions influence the development of capabilities of these at risk youth participants, focusing on how gender intersects with the development aims of the programmes within the selected thematic areas. In this chapter, the methodological approach, including researcher positioning, ethical concerns and programme selection are explored. Mixed methods with a narrative focus was chosen to enable effective and ethical research with child participants, providing room for multiple perspectives and means of expression amongst participants. My methodological work builds on the work of several scholars who have critically examined SDP, particularly Coalter and Taylor, to establish the instruments for research and thematic areas to explore. I have drawn from researchers focused on working with children, such as Punch, Armour, Stanford, Huijsmans and Holder in order to ensure that my approach is responsible and promotes engaged, fun and insightful research that provides varied platforms to give voice to the participants.

3.1 Methodological approach**Researcher position**

As an adult woman coming from the U.S., I bring to my fieldwork approach and analysis a different view and experience of the world than the subjects of my research. This diversity has had to be factored in by recognising how I am situated. My position of authority and agency is empowered differently, coming from a perspective of an educated, married, white, middle-class professional adult and working mother who is capable of making life choices (such as where to live, how to spend my time and money and how to exercise my political rights) that are not necessarily available to the children and youth in my study. My whiteness places me in a position of privilege, likely opening doors for me and bestowing an additional layer of authority that was already embodied in my adulthood. This privilege was something I keenly felt during my fieldwork experience. My perspective as an American of (mostly) European decent situates me as a member of an imperialistic influence in the Caribbean, as the U.S. is a dominant presence in popular culture, economics and politics. The political and cultural sway of the U.S. impacts everything from trade policies to popular sports and music in the West Indies (Joseph, 2011; Cobby, 2010).

My presence was likely associated with other interventions from foreigners, such as NGO's, government officials or, at the very least, well-meaning tourists engaging in community projects. Researching with this status may mean that my data is "littered with appropriate responses, evasions and misrepresentations" as participants sought to impress me or follow a certain agenda (Huijsmans, 2010, p.339 in Holder, 2012, p.31). Such a starting point required me to take extra care to make the participants feel comfortable, in control and open to express themselves freely. I tried to do this in many ways, by continually reminding them this voluntary and they only had to participate if they wanted to join in and by trying to keep everything light and fun. Whenever I saw hesitation about discussing a topic, I reminded them, 'it's

ok to be honest. Please don't tell me what you think I want to hear, you can tell me the truth.' During our FGDs, adult leaders, coaches and teachers were asked to stay away (which they did, except for occasional interruptions). We spent a lot of time laughing at my struggle to understand their accents when they talked fast. I told them I was a student, from a small school they probably have never heard of. It was all true and it helped me lower my status in a way to become more approachable. While there is likely still some aspect of socially desirable responses in the data they provided, I contend that the data also includes a lot of material that they must have guessed I might object to (e.g. that girls/women are not very good at sports). They also included notes to me in their journals and surveys that indicate their level of comfort and connection.

An important point of connection is my sport background as an athlete. In an embodied way, my sport experience allowed me to connect with the participants and enabled me to quickly build a rapport with them. I played sports through my childhood and competed through the university level in the U.S. (basketball, athletics and team handball). This unique experience informs how well I can join my research subjects in playing sports comfortably and relate to them about their experience playing sport. It also added another layer of authority to my presence, although this one seemed to bring me closer to them as they curiously asked about my sporting experiences and were eager to share their own ideas, goals and perceptions about sport in their lives and in the U.S. This experience was true, in different ways, with both the adolescent participants and the young adults in the NSDC training programme. Adolescent boys were most interested in popular notions of sport in the U.S., such as superstars like LeBron James. I was able to causally and knowledgeably chat with them about popular sports and sport figures, sharing my own experience with them playing in the U.S. and working for college and professional sports teams. They taught me about some of their sporting heroes from the Caribbean. The NSDC trainees wanted to know more about how athletic scholarships work, especially the men. We discussed the truths and myths of college sports and scholarships, learning from each other along the way. The adolescent girls engaged with me on how sports are different in the U.S. for girls, such as the popularity of basketball in the U.S., while netball is far more common for girls in the West Indies. We talked about the differences between the sports. They taught me about netball, I taught them more about basketball. We also shared and reminisced about what it feels like to be on a team, surrounded by friends and "sisters." Adult programme leaders, coaches and teachers were interested in my experience and discussing how sport structures, policies and opportunities were different in the U.S. as compared to the West Indies.

I approached this research with a background in sport for development, building on the work of others in this growing field. My positioning is grounded in my knowledge of sport history, theory and practice; sport as a development strategy and the intersection of sport, gender and development. I am a student of development studies and am currently in my 11th year as an academic in the field of sport studies, having taught undergraduate students in the U.S. and the Netherlands. I have published articles, book chapters and other items on sport for development, sport history and sport in different cultures. My research also includes examining policies on gender in sport, including an institutional evaluation of Title IX, the landmark U.S. education policy mandating gender equity in school based sport (Title IX Compliance Review, 2012). I have delivered more than a dozen presentations on topics of sport,

gender, development and education in North America, Europe and the Caribbean. I teach classes on sport and culture, social issues in sport and sport for development. My classes explore concepts of sport and gender, race, religion, disability, politics, violence, corruption and more. I helped launch a new undergraduate minor in Sport Development in the fall of 2014 at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences. With the minor, I have lead students on three fieldtrips to Bosnia and Herzegovina, practicing sport for development in “the field” with Bosnian children and adolescents.

Throughout my life, I have competed in a broad range of sports; including basketball, athletics, team handball, volleyball, softball, baseball, soccer (football) and swimming. At age 15, I was the first girl to win a state championship in the girls’ pole vault, besting my much more skilled older brother, who had a terrible day and failed to clear a height. The headline in the next day’s local newspaper read; “It’s a bird, it’s a plane, it’s a *girl!*?” beneath my picture. As a child, I was also a pioneer in baseball, playing in the boys’ league on all boys’ teams rather than in the girls’ softball league. Although I could throw a spear (javelin) or a baseball harder and farther than many boys, I was still told I throw “like a girl,” as an insult. It infuriated me that my older brothers were assumed to be stronger, faster and tougher than me. I have spent much of my life thumbing my nose at the popular narratives of femininity, particularly in sport. I have always preferred a weight room with a squat rack to tennis skirts or aerobics class. Yet I know that pushing the boundaries of such cultural norms can be painful and difficult, especially in adolescence. I was deeply fortunate to have a family that supported my unconventional ways and had the resources to help me pursue my sporting dreams. I am a white, Western feminist bringing my own triumphs and failures in the gendered world of sport to my research. Which is why I stood on the sidelines cringing each time a girl dropped the cricket ball and felt conflicted about them exiting the lesson and going to the sidelines to do cartwheels. I wanted them to succeed. I converted that frustration into my own efforts to understand why and how girls are still marginalised in sport and how boys and girls experience their lived gender in these SDP programmes.

These experiences – from a childhood of sport play to studying sport to teaching sport as a cultural expression intertwined with gender, class, politics and other social issues, formulate my researcher position. They constitute my “situated knowledge,” as Donna Haraway might describe it (1988). Situated knowledge is my lens, or vision, of this research. No researcher is able to remove subjective viewpoints or bias entirely, nor is this approach useful. Instead, I seek to understand my perspective, my subjectivity and how it informs my positioning as a researcher. I am a feminist sport for development scholar and look to understand how and why gender is experienced and performed in sport for development. From this viewpoint, I sought to engage with the participants with empathy, understanding that they had their own experiences and goals in the sports they were playing. I sought to understand their stories and voices.

In my research, I filter my interactions, observations and engagement with participants through this lens of experience. My sporting background enabled me to meet the participants on a shared playing field. Although we played different sports, in different time and in different places, we had a common experience of practicing sport skills and playing together with teammates. Together we ran, jumped, played catch and kicked balls. Based on sporting experiences, these activities were

comfortable and familiar to me. We dressed in similar clothing; shorts, t-shirts and trainers. Together we talked about how it felt to play sport and what it meant to them in their lives. Again, my experience enabled me with common experiences and vocabulary (e.g. the different feelings toward skill work and scrimmaging during training sessions). With the girls, I was able to engage with them on the topic of sport and femininity, as well as the experience of being the only girl on the pitch with a team of boys. As an adult researcher from a different background, I can never see the world from the eyes of child participants (Punch, 2002). However, I can see, understand and interpret how they interact with sport for development more clearly because of my situated knowledge.

Despite these efforts, the researcher position is problematic and needs to be recognised and understood. I am a white, American, heterosexual adult female studying black, Caribbean adolescents and youth. Clearly, I am an outsider in their world with a specific position in society and risk appearing as an authoritative figure. I cannot deny the power imbalance inherent in every interaction with the children and young people in this study. I am also an outsider in the eyes of many programme leaders and administrators. My only path is to then try and understand how my positioning effects these interactions. I seek to have a “power sensitive conversation,” one that is aware of our relative positioning during the interactions and in the analysis (Haraway, 1988, p. 589). Western feminists researching in the Global South should strive for self-awareness and reflection to open up communication and understanding with participants (Harcourt, 2015). I am aware that my researcher position makes this study vulnerable to participants providing socially desirable responses rather than speaking their own truths fully (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Poran, 2006; Punch, 2002). It is likely that some participants held back thoughts and experiences they were embarrassed by or thought I would dislike. However, given the often-critical responses they provided (in written and oral data) and the presence of debate within their discussions, I contend that the participants felt comfortable and free to express themselves relatively openly.

I am also aware that in order to navigate my researcher positioning, I must be highly sensitive to my own assumptions and limitations. To that end, I sought to avoid overly simplistic interpretations and concepts by listening to the participants and learning from their interactions. I have strived to be at peace with ambiguities and contradictions. In this way, the HCA is particularly useful because it allows for these complexities and avoids dangerous dichotomies, such binary concepts of gender so often found in SDP literature. By looking at capabilities rather than outcomes, I can better recognise how aspects of the programmes both challenge and reinforce gender norms. It is the fluidity of gender and sex on a continuum and its interaction with sport that helps unpack this aspect of the study. Through my situated knowledge of gender and SDP, I am keenly aware of the importance of examining gender as a dynamic, relational concept.

Mixed methods, narrative approach and participant engagement

A mixed methods, narrative research approach was chosen for this study, with an emphasis on engaging participants actively in the research process. Methods included qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques. The five methods selected; (1) survey questionnaires, (2) focus group discussions (3) individual interviews (4)

guided journals and (5) participant observation were designed to gather data from multiple sources and perspectives and provide opportunities for participants to actively engage in the research by voicing their own thoughts and perceptions. Furthermore, a mixed methods approach allows for fuller, richer data as the varied methods and instruments provide additional layers of information and different viewpoints which may either reaffirm or contradict other forms of data. This approach is particularly important when researching with children and youth, as they are at different levels of cognitive development and their perspective is informed by different life experiences than adults (Punch, 2002).

Using a mix of oral and written data collection techniques helped ensure that participants who can better express themselves in either format were able to make their voices heard. Varying methods also better supported participant engagement, as they were better able to direct and control some methods more acutely, such as FGDs and the drawing exercise included in the journals. Additionally, a few participants struggled with the written surveys and journals because of limited literacy skills. At times, I had to assist them in understanding parts of the survey.⁴ The focus group discussions, however, allowed for such participants to engage in the research more actively. Researchers argue that including a verbal or other non-written approach to research on children and adolescents is key to reaching participants of different literary ability (Armour & MacDonald, 2002; Punch, 2002). On the other hand, participants who may feel shy, reserved or even intimidated in open discussions had the opportunity to express themselves in the written surveys and the journals.

Within the journals, they were invited to make drawings. These instruments also permitted greater confidentiality than focus group discussions as they were done individually and the journaling took place away from the research site. Task-oriented research, such as drawing or keeping diaries, is one approach to research with children that allows for different forms of expression. Drawing, in particular, may appeal to children who struggle with literacy tasks, although it would not appeal to children who struggle with artistic skills (Punch, 2002). The drawing exercise also allowed more freedom to express their ideas away from my influence as a researcher. They completed the drawings off site and returned them to me with the journals, later receiving a sticker gift based on the drawings I received. I gave no boundaries for the drawing subject, only asking them to draw what was on their minds or what was important to them. In this way, they had an outlet to share ideas that I did not frame for them (such as the questions I asked in the surveys and FGDs).

The methodology for this project is based upon previous studies on children and young people in health and physical activity. In particular, the work of Armour and Sanford on positive youth development through physical activity serves as a basis for methods used in this study. In their 2012 textbook, *Research Methods in Physical Education and Youth Sport*, Armour and Sanford advocate for a narrative and participant-engaged approach to research on young people. Noting that young people's voices and perceptions are often overlooked, Sanford claims that "actively engaging young people in qualitative phase of the study would prove to be both an enjoyable experience for the individuals themselves and a means of generating rich

⁴ Specific instances when participants needed help in the survey are discussed in the empirical chapters containing data analysis (chapters 4, 5 & 6).

data to illustrate the issues central to the research endeavor,” (Sanford, 2003, p. 49). Focus group discussions, journaling, interviews and participant observation are considered “narrative” methods here. These methods also engage young people in the research process (Armour & Sanford, 2012; Dowling, 2012). These methodological methods were employed in a four-year study on youth development through physical activity and provide a solid framework for this research project (Armour & Sanford, 2013). Dowling argues for a narrative approach to research with young people and points to a “narrative turn” in research on physical activity among youth (2012, p. 39).

This type of narrative, participant engaged methods are also called upon in the SDP research, especially in regards to examining gender, sex and sexuality from a holistic, dynamic and relational perspective (Hayhurst et al., 2015). Scholars looking to upend the more traditional M&E methods, such as outcome assessment, that have dominated the MDG era are advocating for research methods designed to explore the ambiguities of SDP in the SDG era. Sherry, Schulenkorf, Seal, Nicholson and Hoyer acknowledge the valuable contributions traditional research methods in the body of SDP literature over the early years of the field (2016). They propose more “participatory, reflective and collaborative” approaches for the future. They advocate for mixed methods, including surveys, story sharing and visual exchanges (photographs and video). These are the type of mixed methods I have included in my study.

3.2 Ethical concerns

Research with children

I have designed this project to provide multiple points of engagement with participants to share their experiences, thoughts and reflections in written, oral and verbal formats. I have also strived to co-create and collaborate with my participants, through joining the participants in sporting activities and, at times, letting them teach me how to follow the exercises that were new to me. I have also collaborated with programme leaders to help understand their own experiences as well as how to better engage with the participants in their programmes. With participants and leaders, we shared stories of my own experience with sport, opening the door for conversations such as why I played basketball and not netball like most girls do. These experiences also helped me engage as a reflective researcher, acknowledging my own position and situated knowledge in this context. Through the drawing activity, my participants co-created with me as well. As I distributed the journals, I informed them that I would make a gift out of the drawings they made and share it with them. They seemed pleased and excited about this idea. After the first fieldwork phase, I gathered their drawings, combining them into a composite image and making stickers out of it that I gave away as a small gift of appreciation for their participation in the research. They were happy to receive this gift and those that had contributed drawings were proud to point out their work to others.

Building on the work of others at the forefront of research on sport, gender and development, I believe my methodological approach and strategies are effective, insightful and ethically sound. These methods are well-suited for child and youth participants. Samantha Punch, a scholar on research with children, also calls for mixed methods approaches to research with children (2002). She argues for

combining traditional methods for research with adults (such as written surveys) along with more innovative approaches (such as diaries and drawing activities) can help children better engage and participate in the research process. This approach is distinctly different from designing entirely child-centred research methods or simply imposing traditional adult methods into research with children. Punch rejects the notion that children are simply adults in waiting, nor are they entirely different creatures. To a degree, they may have different competencies from adults based on their life experience, stage of life and individual values (2002). I find this approach very useful, especially when considering adolescent participants, who vary greatly in their development over relatively short periods of time. Certainly the experiences and competencies of a child in his first year of secondary school (approximately 12 years old) is distinctly different from a child in his final year (approximately 17 years old). And, clearly, the experience of a girl playing the masculinised sports of cricket or football is very different from the experience of a boy in the same programmes.

Like adults, children have their own strengths and weaknesses in understanding and communicating. But one must be cautious not to lump all children together as a homogeneous group. There are no universal experiences of childhood. Rather, childhood is social constructed and informed by history and culture (Punch, 2002; Harden, et al., 2000). Using multiple research methods is one way to address these differences and allow for children with different preferences to express themselves in multiple ways (Punch, 2002). The written, visual oral and participant observation methods used in this study are in line with Punch's recommendations on research with children.

Drawbacks to a narrative approach include ethical concerns, especially when researching children and young people. In her research, Punch identifies several methodological and ethical concerns common in research with children. In addition to the issue of selecting appropriate research methods (discussed above), she addresses several other concerns; not imposing the researcher's own perceptions, validity/reliability of responses from children who may seek to please the researcher, clarity of language, research context and setting, building rapport and avoiding imposing adult interpretations during analysis (Punch, 2002). I have addressed these concerns in many ways, attempting to be highly aware of my researcher position as an adult and the inherent power imbalance that created. I did find many of these issues apparent in my research to varying degrees, based on the ages of the participants from young adolescents to older adolescents and young adults.

Imposing researcher perceptions and building rapport

These concerns were addressed in many ways. Certainly, as an adult, I have a different view and experience of the world. My sport background, as an athlete and scholar, provides me a situated knowledge and expertise that helped me to understand my researcher position and quickly build rapport with the participants. I tried to engage in fun activities, such as sport play and drawing, to help them feel comfortable and enjoy participating in my project.

Children experience the world in a marginalised way, with adults setting rules and imposing values on them. Their views and voices are often unheard or misinterpreted by adults. Therefore, it is critical to research with children that their

opinions and perspectives are respected and supported as valid (Punch, 2002). I worked very hard to create an open and safe environment for them, building rapport so they felt comfortable sharing their thoughts. I tried to actively respond to their ideas, allowing them to take the lead in discussing what was important to them. For example, I had originally planned to spend more time focusing on issues of healthy habits and behaviours, but this seemed uninteresting to many participants. They preferred to talk about other topics which evolved into the thematic areas of the study. I did not try to impose my views about what was important in their lives and allowed them to inform me about their perspectives. On the other hand, I did have to take some adult-like steps at times. When they got excited about certain topics, many participants began talking at once, making it difficult to hear each person adequately. I began bringing a cricket ball to FGDs and asking them to pass the ball around and share ideas only when they were holding the ball so that I could listen to everyone's comments. While this allowed for them to share more effectively, it could also be experienced as an adult imposing her own rules on them. I think their openness in sharing their ideas, in FGDs and in some of their messages in the journals, are testament to the idea that we had a good rapport.

Sanford and Punch both discuss the inherent power dynamic between adults and children may be problematic in this type of research. Researchers are encouraged to present an identity that is not overly authoritative in this context. For example, in her research, Sanford identified herself as a "student" rather than a "researcher" or "teacher" (2003). In this study, I also identified myself as a "student." Participants were given the opportunity to ask questions prior to completing surveys and focus group discussions. They were also encouraged to make verbal or written comments and suggestions (on surveys, journals, etc.) about the study. Engaging with children as active participants and designers of the study can help them feel empowered and help confirm that their voices are important, a vital component to research with children (Sanford, 2003; Punch, 2002).

Additionally, I wore sporting clothing and engaged in sport play with the children as a participant, rather than a leader. I believe this further helped me build a good rapport with them. For example, in the SFL programme in Barbados, cricket is the main sport played. I have very little experience playing this sport and did not fully know the rules and techniques. During a field session, I played along with the participants and allowed them to teach me basic skills about this sport. Through such activities, I aimed to alter the power dynamic and engage with the child participants at their level.

My positioning as a person knowledgeable about sport in the U.S. was an advantage toward building rapport, even though it was something that might seemingly separate them from me. Here, again, my situated knowledge was useful. We talked about popular sports, especially superstars in American basketball such as LeBron James. These conversations were especially popular amongst the boys, although the girls had many questions too about my experience playing sports in the U.S. We also discussed shared knowledge about sport closer to home, such as the West Indies cricket teams, who were playing at Kensington Oval during the weeks fieldwork was conducted in Barbados. Having taught about Caribbean cricket in my classes, I was able to "talk shop" about the Windies (the nickname of the West Indies cricket team). We also discussed their regional sport heroes, such as Jamaican

sprinter Usain Bolt. These casual conversations, often held while waiting in line during sport activities or over lunch breaks, were key aspects in engaging with the participants.

Besides the sporting activities as fun and engaging, the drawing exercise and prizes associated with it (I created stickers based on some of their drawings and gave them out as prizes), seemed to be well-received. Although most participants did not submit drawings, those that did seemed to have put a lot of effort and thought into their drawings. They wrote messages, some directed to me explicitly, that were mostly positive.

Punch notes that it can be difficult for adults to build rapport if they are not used to working with children (2002). I felt comfortable and at ease during these activities, as I am experienced in sport and have also worked with children in sport campus and clinics as a coach. I am also a parent, so I spend a lot of time around schools with children (although my children are much younger). I am also a Lecturer at an applied science university and therefore have a lot of experience working with young people between the ages of 18 and 25. I relied on this experience to help build rapport with the older participants, particularly those in the NSDC programme.

Validity and reliability

The unequal power dynamic between adult researchers and children is also a point of concern regarding the validity and reliability of the data obtained. It is common for children to want to please adults, seek to give the “correct” answer and to avoid disagreements. Children may also simply make mistakes or exaggerate, expressing a world view they believe is true but may rely on inaccurate information. This is not unique from research with adults, who may also seek to give socially desirable answers or get facts wrong. However, the inherent power imbalance between adult researchers and children participants poses a greater concern (Punch, 2002). There is no discernable way to full proof any type of research from these problems, but building good rapport, including children as active participants in the research process and using methods that promote open expression, researchers can promote more valid and reliable exchanges with child participants.

During the fieldwork phases, I was acutely aware that participants would likely seek to provide me with socially desirable responses and sought to develop good rapport so they would be open and earnest. In particular, I felt that getting boys to open up about their honest views on gender role attitudes would be a big challenge. While there is no absolute way to tell if they were being entirely honest, I believe the data speaks for itself to some degree. Across the varied programmes and age groups, boys spoke in depth about their views, including how they felt girls were inferior at sport directly following sessions where I sported with them. On occasion, they argued amongst themselves about these ideas. I took those exchanges as an indication that they were not afraid to share opinions that they thought I might not like. Overall, the participants seemed comfortable in sharing and discussing multiple viewpoints, even those they had reason to believe I would not prefer.

On the other hand, there was an instance where a young adult participant from CDP was intentionally misleading me, as a joke, it seems. As we opened an FGD

session, his phone rang. He claimed that his wife was calling him. The group laughed and I understood that this young man was making a joke, so I laughed too. I asked him if he really was married, he laughed and several other group members joined in to say that he was not married. Everyone laughed. Their laughter, from my perspective, indicated that they were at ease with me. The man who made the joke did not feel too intimidated by me to mislead me in a way that he knew the others would recognise as a joke or lie. He may have been posing in order to sort of establish himself as a leader within the group, or as someone who does not feel beholden to older adults or authority figures. The rest of the group did not try to cover for him or get defensive in any way, but instead felt comfortable to “let me in” on the joke.

Another concern on validity is the short time frame of the study. On site fieldwork was conducted over a total of seven weeks. Although some interviews (and planning meetings) were conducted with programme leaders around these fieldwork phases, the bulk of the data was obtained directly during fieldwork. The major threat to this design is that it would deplete my ability to gather valid, authentic data. Can trust between researcher and participants be established over such a short period of time? Can the relevant topic areas be covered during these fieldwork phases?

Although it was a short time during the field research, I was able to spend considerable intensive time with the participants during the sporting programme, and, as explained above, I could quickly gain their trust through this embodied connection. The intensity of the field research—spending hours at a time with them, allowed me to gain information quickly and to some extent overcome the problem of a short time in the field. I visited each programme between two and five times, spending between two and six hours with them at each visit. In total, I visited the St. Lucian programmes ten (10) times and the Barbados programmes eight (8) times. I also held 32 different interview sessions with coaches, leaders, government officials and educators. I visited the control groups five (5) times. SFL, which is held for six hours on Saturdays, offered the most ample time to spend with participants and immerse myself in their day. CDP and JV were at the opposite end of the spectrum. They only held two sessions during the fieldwork, as a third was cancelled due to bad weather. These visits included time spent in sporting activities, doing surveys and FGDs, with the bulk of the time spent in FGDs.

I contend that I was able to achieve trust, as evidenced by the rapport built with participants and their willingness to divulge wide ranging and critical responses. Their engagement with me during sport activities was key to quickly building rapport. The thematic areas were covered extensively, especially as their input guided me away from health topics, opening more time to focus on exploring their ideas on gender roles. Although more time could well have improved the study, especially if I had time to do more participative activities, such as games, drawing or photo making, I made the most out of the direct time with the participants joining in on their sport play, doing FGDs and surveys. I regret I was not able to employ innovative techniques such as photo journaling. I think such techniques can offer unique insights into their world and serve as participant-centred touch points for discussion. Researchers report that this activity is experienced as fun, creative and engaging with participants, especially children (Sherry, et al., 2016; Hayhurst, et al., 2015; Punch, 2002). Given the limitations, due to funding constraints, access to programmes and

my own availability as a working mother, I found rich and layered data along the thematic areas I was interested in studying and I endeavoured to record a direct and authentic voice of the participants.

Clarity of language

Just as adults have different experiences and worldviews, they also tend to use different language to express themselves. According to Punch, adult researchers must conscientiously use language that is understandable and relevant to children. Adults tend to perceive children as lacking an articulateness and vocabulary, which can be true in many cases, particularly with younger children. Children also tend to use a different vocabulary or language to describe their distinctly different worldview. To address this concern, I drew my research instruments from prior research with children and youth, borrowing the language and vocabulary from these tools. Not only were these tools designed for children who may have limited levels of literacy, but the WHO survey questions were also designed for the specific context of the West Indies. The questions included mention of popular name brands in the region, providing relevant references for the participants to better understand the questions.

These tools seemed to work effectively. I sought to engage with them on their terms and vocabulary, while acknowledging my own positioning. For example, we talked about how in the U.S. the sport of football is called soccer. My research material referred to the sport as football, but by acknowledging our differences it opened up a discussion on their sporting heritage and culture (i.e. What sports do they play? Why?). Language was also interesting in discussing netball, which one girl described to me as the “girl version” of basketball. I knew what netball was as a sport, but wanted them to explain it to me so I could better understand how they experienced it. Their description gave me a clear perspective on how the sport is gendered in their eyes. Although there were instances where language was a complicating factor. For example, the word “preoccupied” was in the survey questionnaire. Some participants in the SFL group were unfamiliar with the word and I had to explain it to them.

Research context and setting

Another contributing factor to the difference between research with children versus research with adults is the context and setting. Children spend much of their time in adults spaces, or places where adults set the rules and they have less control (Punch, 2002). Looking at the life domains of youth from Blum’s youth development theory, the spaces of school, community and home are likely to be adult dominated (200). Most of the settings for this research took place in schools, in classrooms and playgrounds. Other spaces included vocational centres (with older adolescents and young adults) and a cricket stadium. Particularly at schools, children are likely to feel pressure to answer “correctly” or appease the researcher in the same way they desire to impress or please their teachers. To address this concern, I reminded the participants often that there were no right or wrong answers and that their individual responses would be kept confidential. Some settings seemed more conducive than others

Play spaces, such as the cricket pitch or playground at school, may be a sort of middle ground area. Sport fields and playgrounds, in the right context and under appropriate leadership, can constitute “safe spaces” for children to play and explore (Brady, 2005). In these spaces, children tend to have more freedom and control in comparison to a classroom. On pitches and playgrounds we could really participate together and collaborate. Playing catch or kicking balls together is an interdependent activity. We needed each other to complete the tasks. The coaches were clearly “in charge” of these situations, as I followed their instructions alongside the participants. In this way, the research conducted during or alongside sport activities, such as many of the FGDs and participant observations, was held in a comfortable setting for the participants. It was also in these settings that the more subtle gendered experiences of sport came to light, such as the girls at SFL exiting the cricket drill to do cartwheels on the sidelines. In hindsight, it may have been more comfortable for the participants have held more or all of the FGDs on play spaces, rather than in classrooms. However, the classrooms offered quieter spaces with fewer distractions and chairs to sit in. The schools and vocational centres where the surveys were held and some of the FGD were also familiar spaces for the participants. Schools are a generally good place to conduct research with children, as they tend to feel comfortable even though power dynamics may be apparent in these spaces (Punch, 2002).

Analysis

Perhaps the most precarious space to impose one’s own adult worldview on research with children is during the analysis. No matter how carefully data is collected and considered from the point of view of the child participants, it must still be filtered and interpreted through the eyes of the adult researcher. Here, the danger posed is that a lack of understanding of the child’s worldview will misguide the analysis (Punch, 2002). In order to appropriately analyse, I sought to avoid imposing my own adult perspective on the data. My analysis approach evolved as I sifted through the data. Originally, I was coding transcripts rather narrowly, trying to identify thematic areas and group them into the larger families almost sentence by sentence. Quickly, I realised I needed to expand my coding quotation units to include whole paragraphs and responses. This allowed for more context in each quotation, I believe, giving a more direct voice to the participant and moving my interpretation of her or his words a step back. The findings chapters, chapters 4-6, therefore, include long quote blocks to more accurately present the participants’ full perspective in their own voices. I then sought to place their responses in context of the thematic areas, allowing for one response to touch on multiple themes. I have also added photos to this thesis, so that the reader can see the research context and setting for himself/herself. Some of the participant drawings are also included, unfiltered, so that the creative expression of the participants is clear. The data is informed by my own interactions with the participants as I was collecting it, as my own efforts to build rapport enabled the type of data they provided.

This concern, to allow space for the participants to express themselves, is one of the reasons using multiple methods is critical in research with children. Not only does the mixed method approach offer varying opportunities for the children to express themselves differently and according to their own competencies, but it also allows the researcher to triangulate and cross-check data in the analysis. My own starting point was more focused on examining health issues and was less critical of

SDP overall. With flexible research methods and an open mind during analysis, particularly after phase I, I learned to let go of my own perspective of what was most relevant to the participants as they engaged in these sport programmes. I revised my survey and discussion guidelines to focus more on the issues clearly relevant to my participants, namely the fluidity of gender roles in SDP and how they influence the perspective of the participants in their lives outside of the programmes.

With my background on gender in sport, I was able to identify some nuanced issues on gender roles and the lived body experience. Gender equality in sport extends beyond whether or not girls can access sport, but includes how they experience sport and how they apply those experiences to beyond the playing fields. I identified with the girls' own struggles to conform to popular concepts of femininity while striving to be strong and physically active. I understood and applied the sport and gender research that explores this narrow range of acceptable femininity in the sport world. I saw that their fluid experiences of gender fit within the framework of the lived body experience and should be taken into account as part of development of gender role attitudes. I also saw that the boys' perspective on gender roles was important and related to their own self-image as they struggled to adhere to norms of Caribbean masculinity. Together, the perceptions of the boys and girls help unpack the relational and dynamic concepts of gender they experience in SDP programmes and lead to better understanding of how the capability of positive gender role attitudes are developed.

Informed consent and assent

Careful consideration to participant confidentiality must be upheld. Participants should be appropriately informed about the research in order to give assent. Each participant was given an informed assent form to sign. The assent form included information about the survey in simple, age-appropriate language (see appendix A). During the assent process, participants were encouraged to ask questions about the study. Furthermore, as children are not legally able to give consent, the programme administrators or school principals were provided with informed consent forms to review and sign (see appendix B). While it is ideal to have parental or guardian consent, this was simply not feasible in the timeframe of the study. It is common in research with children for other adult gatekeepers to provide consent on behalf of children (Punch, 2002). Both forms explain the nature of the research and the voluntary nature of participation. The informed assent and consent forms are based on the suggested format from the Institutional Review Board at James Madison University.

The option to opt out or withdraw from participation in the research must be clearly expressed to all participants. Additionally, researchers are advised to take steps to create a safe and open environment. Active listening without interruption and confirming the importance of a young person's voice is paramount to establishing a positive environment for exchange when researching young people (Armour & Sanford, 2013). During this study, participants were repeatedly advised that their participation was voluntary. At each stage, they were reminded that they had the option to skip questions or discussions if they felt too uncomfortable. Furthermore, they were permitted to opt out at any time during the research. On one occasion, a boy chose to quit taking the survey but continued participation in other aspects (focus

group discussions, observed activities). He was the only participant to remove himself from any element of the study.

3.3 Data collection techniques

Overview

In order to address the research questions, data collection techniques were borrowed or adapted from previous research on sport for development, health and physical activity and body image. Primary themes used in a 2010 UK Sport study on sport for development in the Global South served as the basis for much of this study (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). The themes included self-efficacy, self-esteem and gender attitudes. Social affiliation was measured using peer, mentor and family connectedness questions from prior World Bank studies on youth development in the Caribbean (Blum, et al., 2003; Correia & Cunningham, 2003). Additionally, health and physical activity questions were taken directly from the WHO Global School Health Survey (GSHS) (WHO, 2013), a global survey designed for children and adolescents, which includes adaptations for specific countries. Items regarding body image were adapted from studies on body image, esteem and satisfaction and included Likert scale items as well as image selection (Pulvers, et al., 2004; Mendleson & Mendleson, 2001). An overview of data collection techniques and measurements is provided in table 3.3.

The validity and reliability measures of these instruments was not available in the literature I reviewed. However, each instrument has been used in peer-reviewed studies, some of them used and replicated across many studies and disciplines (e.g. the self-efficacy and self-esteem scales, the WHO health survey, etc.) as explained above. The complete self-efficacy scale was included here, allowing for aggregated analysis of the full scale. The self-efficacy scale has been researched extensively, including multiple versions of it (with different numbers of questions). Although some criticisms remain about its construct validity and reliability, recent studies have shown it is a useful research instrument.

“GSE is a theoretically and practically useful construct for the educational (Robbins et al., 2004) and organizational (Chen et al., 2001; Eden, 2001) domains. This research demonstrates that the efforts to develop measures of this construct have produced psychometrically sound instruments that differentiate between people with various levels of GSE and are related to the latent construct. Thus, the measurement criticisms of GSE measures may be overstated. With greater confidence in the reliability of the responses to the items on GSE and the relationships between the items and the construct of GSE, practitioners can utilize these measures in their applied work, especially when dealing with individuals at lower levels of GSE. Researchers can focus on the difficult task of further developing the evidence for the construct validity of GSE,” (Scherbaum, et al., 2006, p.1061).

The other survey instruments are not validated as scales and they were analysed based on individual questions. Through my own interpretations of the data, guided by previous studies in SDP, I integrated the survey instruments into the results, noting how and where results from these instruments supported and/or contradicted other results from qualitative methods. In essence, the mixed method research approach supports the validity and reliability of the overall study by triangulating and cross-referencing data across a variety of methods. Furthermore, by using

instruments common in other studies, particularly SDP studies, I am better able to situate the results of my study in the context of the larger field.

Another research method that was considered, but not employed, was (feminist) critical discourse analysis. This is a popular method in SDP research, often used to examine manuals, curricula and media generated by SDP organisations (Haselgard & Straume, 2014; Avila, 2015). This method was not feasible, however, for this study. The programmes selected did not have sufficient material for analysis. Amongst them, there was broad variability in available materials. On one end of the spectrum, A Ganar, the programme overseen by a large regional NGO, had detailed curriculum guides, programme manuals and promotional materials. At the other end, the JV programme had almost no written documents. Many of the programmes fell somewhere in between, but few had more than a small programme guide or overview.

Table 3.3 Survey data collection techniques overview

Survey items	Measurement tool	Type of measurement
Self-esteem	Rosemburg scale (Coalter & Taylor, 2010)	Likert scale
Self-efficacy	General Self-Efficacy Scale (Coalter & Taylor, 2010)	Likert scale
Gender attitudes	Adapted from UK Sport study (Coalter & Taylor, 2010)	Likert scale
Social affiliation (peer, mentor, family)	Designed from World Bank youth development theory on connectedness (Blum, et al. 2003; Correia & Cunningham, 2003)	Likert scale
Body image	Designed from Pulvers, et al. (2004) study	Likert scale, yes/no, body image scale
Nutrition knowledge, health habits	GSHS survey (WHO, 2013)	Likert scale, yes/no, frequencies
Physical activity habits	GSHS survey (WHO, 2013)	Likert scale, yes/no, frequencies

This project took place in two research phases. Phase I occurred in October of 2013 (4 weeks) and Phase II in May of 2014 (3 weeks). Clearly, having only 7 weeks to conduct my fieldwork was a limitation. I broke the fieldwork into two phases in order to avoid school holidays that disrupt programming. The gap between phases also allowed me to get different perspectives from the beginning to the end of the school year and to collect data from the NSDC participants after they had completed their training. I am certain that more time on the ground would have helped me gather more data and expand on my research results. However, as described in Section 3.1, I was able to quickly develop rapport with the participants and seemed to have gained their trust. They offered critical and contradictory

responses at times, which indicated to me that they tended to feel free to express themselves.

Survey questionnaires, focus group discussions, interviews, journaling and participant observations were conducted during both phases. Survey results were done by pen and paper, coded and input into Microsoft Excel files. FGD and interview sessions were recorded. These audio recordings were transcribed and coded for themes. A systematic approach to coding was employed, with key words and phrases coded into themes. Data was coded based on themes from Coalter's study. Text that did not fit these predetermined themes were also coded and categorized into new themes. Researcher field notes were included in the analysis, as the group dynamics were observed to influence the direction and intensity of the discussions (i.e. highly vocal participants tended to steer the conversation).

The adolescents participating in this study were invited to join a drawing contest for a prize. They were instructed to make a drawing on the back page of their journals to enter into this contest, during the first phase of fieldwork. This contest was designed as an incentive to participate. Between fieldwork phases, I merged several drawings into one design and created a sticker to pass out to them during Phase II (see Appendix F). Those that completed drawings included in the sticker were given plastic water bottles as a reward. Additionally, I passed out small, temporary tattoos with animals and sports figures on them to all adolescent participants.

Survey questionnaire

The first method used in each programme was a survey questionnaire. This method proved to be an efficient and effective way to gather input from all participants and control groups. Given the limited access to their time by the adult gatekeepers, such as programme administrators, this was an important tool. It is also effective in that it helps position this study in the context of other SDP studies, namely Coalter and Taylor's multi-regional study in 2010. The questions, designed with children in mind, were largely accessible to their varying literacy levels. Out of more than 200 participants, only a handful had any questions about the meaning of certain words in the questionnaire.

The survey was administered twice, once in the first fieldwork session (fall 2013) and again in the second fieldwork session (spring 2014). During the second round of surveys, the body image section was expanded to include image selection⁵ and some questions regarding nutrition and health habits were removed to shorten the length of the questionnaire (see appendix C). The first round of surveys was designed as exploratory and the second round of surveys was designed for data analysis of. However, some programmes were not in session during the second round of data collection (Junior Visionaries and the Court Diversion Programme). In those cases, along with some participants who were not present during the second fieldwork session, the first round of surveys were used in analysis. Control group surveys were conducted in the second round of fieldwork.

⁵ Body image selection refers to a series of images that participants were asked to select from to answer survey questions.

The survey questionnaire was made entirely of four-point Likert scale, multiple choice or fill in the blank questions. The Likert scale questions ranged from strongly disagree, disagree, agree and strongly agree. Multiple choice and fill in the blank questions were used to determine demographic data such as age, gender and race. Data was later analysed by gender, age and race breakdowns, along with programme and control groups. However, race was not included as a specific point of analysis in this thesis because the participants overwhelmingly identified as Black. Only nine participants selected other races (White, Indian) and another twenty-one selected mixed (several wrote in Black/White, negro or Black St. Lucian). As race did not emerge as a thematic area in discussions and interviews, it is not engaged with specifically as a point of analysis. Space was also made available to add additional comments in a comment box. As noted above, each of the survey sections were drawn from prior studies. Most of the questions were copied verbatim, however some were adapted to fit the context of this study and answer the research questions posed. The content of these survey questions and scales is discussed below.

The General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSES) used in the UK Sport study is a widely accepted survey scale developed by self-efficacy expert Ralf Schwarzer (1992). The GSES is used around the world and adapted to different target groups and languages. It includes three components for measuring self-efficacy; initiative, effort and persistence. Initiative refers to a participant's "willingness to initiate behaviour;" effort is "willingness to expend effort in completing behaviour;" and persistence is "persistence in the face of adversity," (Sherer, et al., 1982, p. 665). These components are the building blocks for self-efficacy. The GSES is designed to provide a summary analysis for participants who complete all 12 items. Alternatively, individual items or sub-groups of the components can be analysed. For this study, the 12-item GSES used by Coalter & Taylor in their UK Sport study of five sport for development programmes in India and sub-Saharan Africa was employed. This GSES, which was translated to English in the publication of the UK Sport study, was copied verbatim. The exact GSES is included as Appendix C. There is no widely accepted ranking for GSES results, such as low, medium or high levels of self-efficacy. Therefore, for comparative analysis we based the GSES scores here with those from the UK Sport study.

Another survey scale borrowed directly from the UK Sport study was the self-esteem scale, first developed by Rosenberg and widely used in research around the world (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). The Rosenberg scale was developed by Professor Morris Rosenberg in 1965. It is a ten-item, Likert scale survey set used to measure a person's self-esteem, or perceived emotional evaluation of his self-worth (Rosenberg, 1965). The scale is widely used in social science research and has been translated into numerous languages. Unlike the GSES, the Rosenberg scale has an accepted ranking of low, medium and high levels of self-esteem (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). The English version of the Rosenberg scale was used verbatim for this study.

To examine gender role attitudes, survey questions from the UK Sport study were, once again, employed⁶. Coalter and Taylor designed these questions

⁶ The specific questions included are discussed in chapter six and included in Appendix C.

specifically for adolescents in sport for development programmes. The broad categories defining this section include;

- Sports-specific gender attitudes.
- Women and men's role in the home.
- Women's rights to education.
- Women's role in business and politics.
- Women's rights in relation to choosing a marriage partner.
- Responsibility for preventing pregnancy. (Coalter & Taylor, 2010, p. 47)

While their survey items slightly vary by programme, as they permitted the programme organisers to select which questions to include, this study has the same 16 items for all programme and control groups. Changes to the survey items include; listing cricket, football and rugby as sport examples and adding two items regarding girls' body image related to sport participation. Additionally, they measured these items in dualities; including only yes/no or agree/disagree responses. In this study, the same four-point Likert scale was used as in the GSES and Rosenberg scale.

Survey items regarding social affiliation were not taken from the UK Sport study. Instead, they were adapted from the multiple World Bank studies on youth development in the Caribbean. A total of 11 items were included in this section and participants were asked to rate their feelings on the same four-point Likert scale as in other sub-sections. The basis for most of the questions was "I feel close to . . .," followed by either mother, father, teachers, sport coaches, people at my school and people at my sport programme. Other questions included whether or not they had trusted adults in their lives and how happy they were in different social settings (family, school, sport programme). These items were drawn from studies by Correia and Cunningham (2003) and Blum, et al. (2003). In their World Bank studies, these researchers examined social relationships of amongst adolescents and youth in the English Caribbean.

In relation to body image and the lived body experience, were drawn from various studies on body image, esteem and satisfaction. Mendleson and Mendleson's widely accepted body esteem scale was used in this sub-section. The scale includes nine items rated on a five-point frequency scale of; never, seldom, sometimes, often and always. During the second round of the field data collection, an additional component was added. This new addition was the body satisfaction scale from Pulvers, et al. study on body satisfaction among urban African Americans (2004). This instrument consisted a scale of images of people, from very thin to very wide, and asks the participant to circle the image that looks most like they do, the one they would like to look like, and the one that is most culturally ideal (see Appendix D). A set of images was included for both boys and girls. Images that represent black or African American people were selected to make the instrument more culturally relevant for these participants. This additional item was added in part to make the survey more interesting and to better include participants who struggled reading written question and statements.

In terms of measuring health knowledge and habits, this study used survey methods from the WHO's Global School Health Survey (GSHS). The GSHS is directed at youth between the ages of 13-15 and examines health habits such as

nutrition, physical activity, sexual health, smoking, and violence (WHO, 2013). The survey questions were Likert scale, yes/no, frequencies, with room for additional comments at the end. The WHO includes GSHS items for different countries, including specific items for Barbados and St. Lucia. These adapted items were included in the survey, as they mentioned specific stores, brands and activities that were relevant for these participants.

Focus group discussions, interviews and journals

Themes from the survey questionnaire are the basis for the qualitative methods for this study as well. Focus group discussions (FGDs) were held at each of the six sport programmes and control groups. The themes for each discussion were drawn from the primary themes of the thesis and guided by the research questions. In particular, we discussed how and if they were developing skills through the sport programming and if the process of skill development carried over into other parts of their lives. This helped establish conversations about self-efficacy, in particular. Often, this theme was guided by questions and discussion on their goals for the future in school and in their work and careers. Furthermore, the FGDs helped in understanding the levels and type of social affiliation amongst the participants. We discussed how (or if) they felt connected to their coaches, teachers, peers, family members and wider community. We discussed interpersonal relationships at school, within the sport programme and in their neighbourhoods. The discussions were also guided toward issues of gender attitudes and equality, within sport and beyond, such as in career, school, government and domestic life. They talked about how they felt regarding gender roles and norms, often using sport as a starting point. For example, we spent a lot of time discussing how girls might feel restricted from playing contact sports and how boys often feel excluded (happily) from playing the sport of netball. Body image, satisfaction and one's relationship to their body as an active instrument in sport was also discussed at length. Although these discussions were guided, they were also left open to follow along the topics of interest to the participants.

A total of 100 programme participants engaged in focus group discussions, including 39 females and 61 males. Most FGDs contained four to six participants, although two included more than eight participants (NSDC (n=12), CD (n=11) and A Ganar-Frederick Smith Secondary School (n=8)). One FGD at SFL had only three participants (girls). During all FGDs, teachers, coaches or mentors were asked to leave the room or area (some were conducted outside) so that the participants could speak freely without fearing punishment about criticizing the programme leaders. Each discussion began with a brief introduction about speaking openly, but respectfully. In most discussions, I brought a small ball to pass around. The person holding the ball had the priority to speak, while the others listened. This worked somewhat, but often they began talking all at once. The groups were generally segregated by gender, so that the girls were together and boys were together. However, there were three occasions in which groups were mixed gendered (at NSDC, SFL and CD). FGDs were held during both fieldwork trips and several participants were able to join in FGDs on both occasions.

Semi-structured interviews with programme coaches, administrators and government/ministry officials were conducted at the same time at all six programmes. The same themes were discussed, such as self-efficacy, social affiliation, gender role

attitudes and body image. However, the administrators were able to provide a different perspective than the adolescent and youth participants. They described how they saw their participants change or grow throughout the programme. Additionally, they were able to provide insight into the larger social structures and macro environmental support systems, such as the economy, education systems and government that influence the development of youth in their country. Again, these interviews contributed to the narrative approach of this project and provide further context for how sport for development works in these communities and the larger region. Additionally, I was invited to join in on a staff meeting at A Ganar to gain further insight into their organisation and approach.

22 total participants were interviewed throughout the study. Some participants were interviewed twice from the Sacred Sports Foundation (organises NSDC, UGGC and JV) and another interviewee from the Barbados sports council. These two individuals, referred to as “Alex” and “John” in the study, also served as location guides during each fieldwork phase (providing guidance, location advice and sometimes car rides). As a part of his hosting activities, “Alex,” sat in on three interviews (“Matthew,” “Charles,” and “Aaron”). Nearly all of the interviews were conducted in person, however two were conducted by phone or Skype, rather than in person. In those cases, the interview audio was not recorded, but detailed notes were taken. Transcripts and notes of all interviews and focus group discussions were analysed in Atlas.ti software. Researcher field notes were included in the analysis, as the group dynamics were observed to influence the direction and intensity of the discussions (i.e. highly vocal participants tended to steer the conversation).

Participants from the sport programmes were also asked to complete weekly semi-structured journals with open-ended questions (see Appendix E). Although the journals were passed out to each group, only two programme groups were interested in participating, SFL and UGGC (n=31). The journal items were focused on similar themes, although much of it was devoted to tracking daily physical activity and health habits. The journal provided a space for participants to discuss, in their own words and on their own time, without instruction on what topics they should focus on. The journals provided insightful commentary for qualitative analysis. Included in the journal exercise was an option to make a drawing for the contest mentioned above. The submitted drawings are included as Appendix F. While only six participants contributed drawings, many more liked the *idea* of making drawings. Perhaps they did not have the time or motivation to actually complete one, or they may have been embarrassed about their artistic abilities. Regardless, they seemed pleased to have the opportunity to do this activity, especially as a co-creation project for the stickers I brought on the second fieldwork phase. In hindsight, I think it would be worth taking the time to get them started on drawings at a session and allow them to take it home to work on as this approach may have gotten more participation. Another popular choice for visual research methods is photo journaling. This would have been a great option that I would like to include in future research. However, I did not have the resources to give them cameras for photo making. One concern regarding the journal activity was that at UGGC, the teachers insisted on keeping the journals at the facility, although they pledged not to read them. This arrangement may have intimidated some of the participants and kept them from being more open.

3.4 Sampling methods

Selection of SDP programmes

As discussed in Section 1.5, programmes were selected based on several criteria. The main criteria were that programmes were explicitly focused on using sport to address development concerns and support broader development goals. In order to address the gaps in SDP literature and pursue a critical analysis of how SDP engages with gender as a relational, dynamic concept, I looked for programmes that focused on sport as a development tool, rather than sporting as a process to improve sport performance. The programmes used common SDP strategies to support development aims. That is, they all used aspects of learning skills and working on teams to address the needs of their participants. In each programme, social affiliation and connectedness, were key tactics to combating perceived development threats and risk factors.

The programmes selected fall in line with the common types of programming in the SDP field. They addressed development issues such as academic enrichment, healthy lifestyles, “life skills” (i.e. communication, teamwork), crime prevention and enhancing employability skills (e.g. vocational training, career exploration) (Levermore & Beacom, 2009). The six programmes selected conducted programming that addressed each of these concerns in some way, with focal points varying amongst the programmes (i.e. CDP was more focused on crime prevention than the others). These broad topics allowed for the study to examine the thematic areas via the HCA and explore how gender intersects with common SDP practices.

Programmes not selected

I made the selection out of 15 programmes examined. Programmes considered in the selection did include government sponsored sport recreation programmes, run via youth sports councils in Barbados and St. Lucia, that had scheduled competitions and served as pipelines into more performance based elite sport leagues or programmes. These programmes focused on talent acquisition. That is, they considered enhancing sport skill as a priority and recruited, selected or promoted participants who displayed skill. Additional community/neighbourhood based programmes, such as those coached by the NSDC trainees were less performance focused, but held competitions and did not overtly engage in development topics. I chose not to select these programmes because they would skew the participant sample toward those with sporting talent, rather than those in at risk environments. They would also not permit the examination of how sport functions as a tool for engagement on specific development goals.

Other programmes considered were using sport as a development tool, but had too narrow a focus. For example, Kicking Aids Out Caribbean (Barbados) is a part of a global NGO focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention. Jump Rope for Heart is another global SDP programme, but it is specifically focused on health. More locally, the Ready and Able programme in St. Lucia uses sport as a development platform, but is exclusive to only children with disabilities. Dance4Life in Barbados was focused on HIV/AIDS as well as other issues, but was centred on dance only, which is often not classified as a sport per se. None of these programmes would have offered the broad focus on sport for development desired for this thesis and were not selected.

Primary selection criteria

The six programmes were further chosen using the following criteria:

1. They did not prioritise sport skill or performance,
2. They did not contain competitive sport aspects such as games, meets or matches.
3. The participants were in at risk environments
4. They were not narrowly focused on one development goal and used broad SDP approaches
5. They were interested in self-efficacy

The programmes selected are considered “plus sport” based on the criteria from Levermore and Beacom (2009). Plus sport programmes are centred on the human development component (life skills, education, etc.) and use sport as a mechanism or vehicle to engage in these lessons. These programmes were not overtly competitive (there were no organised matches or leagues) nor are they focused on sport talent acquisition. An overview of basic elements of each programme is included in Table 3.4

As explained above, the programmes selected here generally covered broad development themes, such as education and academic support; career guidance and exploration; healthy lifestyles, etc. They were not intensely focused on one narrow theme, such as HIV/AIDS prevention or healthy habits. The broader focus of the programmes allowed me to examine self-efficacy and social affiliation; gender role attitudes, physical activity and body image; and support systems. For example, because the programmes included more generalised academic support and career advice, self-efficacy can be explored across these topics in relation to the programme. If the programmes were explicitly focused on sexual health, for example, it would be more difficult to relate self-efficacy to some of the key aspects of the youth development theory that serve as part of the framework for this study. Self-efficacy within the life domain of school (and/or training and education settings) is an important part of this study and is a common across all participating programmes.

Within the broader topics, I still identified different focal points within the programmes selected:

Academic performance

A Ganar and Sport for Life are intently focused on improving academic performance, more so than the other programmes.

Crime prevention

The Court Diversion Programme is directly focused on crime prevention and supporting its participants in meeting judicial requirements.

SRHR

And at Upton Garden Girls Centre, topics such as sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) are more explicitly prioritised than in other programmes.

Across these different focal points, however, the programmes used common SDP strategies to support development aims. That is, they all used aspects of learning skills and working on teams to address the needs of their participants. In each programme, social affiliation and connectedness, for example, were key tactics to combating perceived development threats and risk factors. In the end, it is the purpose of this study to examine how sport is used to work toward these goals and the varying focal points actually help to highlight how sport is experienced in these different contexts. Therefore, I contend, that the variation in programme focus is narrow enough to draw comparisons and useful in that it offers varying perspectives on SDP.

Additional criteria

Several other criteria were examined in selecting programmes:

1. Education institution
2. Age of participants
3. Gender balance
4. Attendance, frequency and intensity
5. Quality of staff

Education institutions

Each of the participants was enrolled in some form of education or training institution. While most were students at public schools, others were in alternative educational programmes or vocational training programmes. In each programme, the sport activity took place either at the location of their school/training centre or was conducted along with intensive academic sessions (in the case of Sport for Life), with sport coaches/trainers working alongside teachers. This commonality serves as the focus of the study, that is, how are they experiencing the sport aspect of their engagement with education or training? To examine this question, a youth development model is employed to explore the participants' connectedness to institutions (formal and informal) of school and community as well as her/his experience of social affiliation. The variation or similarity of their experiences, whether they are in public schools or alternative programmes, can help highlight how such experiences may vary and what themes cut across their experiences. It is beyond the bounds of this study to specifically examine related aspects of their lives, such as home and family.

Age of participants

Each of these programmes serves the relevant age groups for this study, adolescents and youth. Whilst some are focused on pre-teens and teenagers (12-18), others are designed for older adolescents and young adults (18-25). Different age groupings provide input from different perspectives. For example, some groups were mostly first and second "form" students (referring to their grade level at secondary school (approximately 12-14 years old). Within these groups, the school environment was a clear focal point of their lives. By contrast, the oldest group of young adults, were primarily concerned with developing their careers and finding fulfilling work.

Gender balance

Additionally, the programmes selected provide a relative gender balance amongst participants, which can be a difficult achievement as most sport programmes include more boys and men than girls and women. The selected programmes ensured that enough girls and women participated. To understand the different way voices are heard from a gender perspective programmes were selected that had different numbers of boys or girls.

Gender balance within the programmes varied greatly, however. The UGGC group was girls only, while, at the other end of the spectrum, the JV programme included 28 boys and only two girls. These variations allow for a nuanced exploration of the role of gender within SDP and the unpacking of gender in a more nuanced, relational and dynamic way. For example, how did girls experience SDP differently in girls' only groups versus mixed gender groups? And how do they feel about being the minority gender in most programmes?

Attendance, frequency and intensity

Programme attendance policies and frequency of sessions were also considered. Different programmes had varying attendance requirements, indicating that participants in more required programmes may be more "at risk" for development concerns than those in voluntary programmes. By understanding how participants engage with the sport aspect of each programme, their unique perspectives can be explored within the context of their programme group. For example, how does a participant who is required to attend experience sport play differently from one who is volunteering to attend? How do various incentives to attend impact the participants experience? How do participants experience the sport aspect of each programme as embedded into the larger programme curricula? All programmes were chosen had only a sports programme on one day per week.

In order to look more closely into the experience of risk participants in SDP, programmes were chosen that ranged from entirely voluntary toward mandatory. Table 3.4 provides an overview of their attendance expectations and frequency of session. The Junior Visionaries programme was entirely voluntary after school programme whereas the Court Diversion Programme required participant attendance in order remain in good standing with the court system. Others programmes run along the spectrum, with varying incentives for attendance. For example, participants in the Sport for Life programme are referred to the programme based on academic need, with referrals coming from their teachers, counsellors and school principals. Attending SFL is likely incentivised for these participants not only because of the experience itself, but in that they can report to their teachers that they are attending. Attendance to the A Ganar programme includes a quasi-requirement. That is, participants are referred to join A Ganar as a contingency for their full inclusion at their schools. These students are on academic or disciplinary probations of some kind, and are therefore only allowed to continue their enrolment at their school if they participate in the A Ganar programme. Another programme with strong incentive to attend is the Upton Garden Girls Centre. Although these participants are not enrolled in schools and have no explicit requirement to attend UGGC, the full UGGC curriculum (of which the sport component is only a minor element) is designed to be completed within two years in order to either return to

secondary school or be prepared to enter a vocational training. Here, the required aspect is not present, but the intensity of the full programme (which runs 5 days per week and is planning to offer on site housing) is high. The programme descriptions below include explanations of how each programme's attendance is organised and the intensity of each programme overall.

Quality of staff

The programmes were also selected because they worked with professionals that were either paid or received travel stipends for their work. These programmes also work with staff with professional training, such as certified teachers and coaches. One of the criticisms of SDP, as cited above, is a lack of qualified staffing within programmes (Kidd, 2008). Each of these programmes were lead by professionals trained in teaching, social work or related fields. For the sport-specific elements, specialist coaches were brought in (cricket, dance, football). Selecting programmes with professionally trained staff was important because it ensures a level of quality and expertise of those conducting the sessions.

Overall the various criteria of the selection of the programmes enabled a study of how the different participants engage with the sport element of each programme, within the varying institutional settings.

Table 3.4 Overview of programmes in study

	A Ganar	Court Diversion	Junior Visionaries	National Skills Development Centre	Sport for Life	Upton Garden Girls Centre
Abbreviation	AG	CD	JV	NSDC	SFL	UGGC
Gender makeup	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed (one female only)	Mixed	Female
Primary sport	Varied	Football	Football	Football	Cricket	Football, dance
Voluntary or required	Required (in order to attend school)	Required (by criminal justice system)	Voluntary	Voluntary	Voluntary	Voluntary
Referral	Referral by school principal	Referral by Probation and Parole Services	None	No referral required.	Referral by school officials, parent, other	Referral by school officials, parent, other
Entry requirement	On school probation	Committed criminal offense	Student at SISS	Unemployed	Secondary school student	Not attending mainstream public school
Frequency of sport sessions	Once per week during school year	Once per week during probation period	Once per week during fall term	Between 1-3 times per week for 4 months	Once per week during school year	Once per week year round
Location	Barbados	St. Lucia	St. Lucia	St. Lucia	Barbados	St. Lucia
Age of participants in study	15-17	4-19	11-15, + one 17	16-25	11-16	14-17
Primary goal(s) or focal point(s)	Education	Crime prevention	Life skills, sport skills	Career development	Education, computer skills, life skills	Education, life skills

These programmes were discovered through the assistance of several academic faculty at the University of West Indies (Barbados campus) who specialise or teach in sport and culture studies. In particular, Professor Alan Coble of the History and Philosophy department served as an on site research advisor. Sasha Sutherland, a Ph.D. candidate in cultural studies with a specialty in sport and gender and official at the Barbados Olympic Committee provided guidance and contact information. Finally, Professor John Nauright, who had served as adjunct faculty at UWI, provided further advice and contact information. All together, these specialists offered advice, direction and guidance for finding appropriate programmes to study

Control group selection

I decided to include control group analysis in my thesis in order to align with some of the research widely conducted in SDP, such as Coalter and Taylor's UK Sports study. By using control groups, I am better able to situate my findings in the larger SDP literature. I do, however, acknowledge that control groups are a highly imperfect tool and there is no way to truly "control" social science studies in the same way a researcher in the natural sciences can control her laboratory. Still, the control groups serve a purpose in helping me to gain a better understanding of how the participants experienced specific aspects SDP. I was able to compare the participants feelings on, for example, gender roles in sport and career with those not in the SDP programmes. Through this analysis, I could further focus in on those nuances in the qualitative methods. Overall, the control group approach was helpful and worthwhile.

Three different control groups were selected in order to enhance the analysis and help isolate how the SDP programmes were experienced by the programme participants. Control groups were included in the survey and FGDs. In St. Lucia, students from the Sir Ira Simmons Secondary School (SISS) were included in a control group (n=26; 19 boys, 7 girls). SISS is the same secondary school where the JV programme is held and is considered amongst the poorest performing schools in St. Lucia. SISS students, as noted above, are often labelled as underprivileged. The nature of the St. Lucian school system is explored further in Chapter IV. This group experiences life very similarly to those in the JV group, and some may have simply chosen to engage in a different after school activity other than JV. Furthermore, their ages align with many from the JV and SFL programmes, as they are mostly between 12-14 (including one 11 year old). In that sense, they give voice to the younger adolescents who are not involved with one of the sport for development programmes. Still, their experience may be different, as there is no way to determine how "at risk" they were in comparison to some of the programme groups.

Similarly, a group from Parkinson Secondary School in Barbados was selected as a control group (n=17). This group was identified by their Principal as "at risk" academically and were taking remedial classes. This control group was slightly older, with mostly 14 and 15 years olds (and one 13 year old) included. This group cuts across the ages of the JV, SFL and A Ganar programmes. They included 5 boys and 12 girls, a contrasting gender ratio than the participant programmes.

Finally, a partner programme in A Ganar, the Barbados Vocational and Training Board (BVTB) was also included as a control group (n=33). The BVTB

offered a different A Ganar programme, but these participants elected not to join that particular programme. This group was older, ranging in age from 15 to 18 and included students training in various vocational skills. They included 13 boys/men and 20 girls/women. All but one of the girls was studying hairdressing and all of the boys and men were studying auto mechanics. Like the NSDC in St. Lucia, the BVTB offers vocational training to unemployed youth. However, these participants were in general younger than the NSDC participants. The A Ganar country coordinator advised including the BVTB as a control group because they have similar life experiences as the students in the other A Ganar programmes.

Overall, the control groups provide a perspective of other “at risk” adolescents and youth from similar schools and training programmes as the programme participants. Looking back, I would have preferred more control group participants from the secondary schools to provide a more neutral perspective on gender for the quantitative analysis. The BVTB participants were already divided into traditional sex labour roles by their choice of study. I selected for these gendered vocations in order to get a balance of male and female participants. Their input was very interesting and useful in helping me understand gender roles in their lives and provide an excellent balance to the (also rigidly gendered) NSDC trainees. Although they vary, much like the programme participants, their voice contributes to the study in a meaningful way. In particular, they discussed concepts of gender roles in life, career and sport. These discussions allowed for analysis of how they engage differently with gender than those in the sport programmes and informed my qualitative work with the participant programmes.

3.5 Overview of data

This project took place in two research phases. Phase I occurred in September and October of 2013 and Phase II in April and May of 2014. Programme participants and control group participants ranged in age from 11 to 25, though most fell within the adolescent range. All adult programme participants came from the NSDC and were not included in surveys. Additionally, programme coaches and administrators participated in interviews. In total, 264 individuals participated in this study. 207 young people fully completed the surveys (239 total surveys submitted). 125 of the survey participants were from programme groups, while 82 were in control groups. Focus group discussions included 124 participants with 100 participants from programme groups and 24 from control groups. Additionally, 31 adolescents completed week-long semi-structured journals. All of the journals came from programme participants. Finally, 22 adult coaches, programme directors and administrators were interviewed. Multiple interviews were conducted with some participants. Tables 3.5a through 3.5e provide a graphic overview of the data collected.

Table 3.5a Data Overview

Method	Programme	Control	Male	Female	Total
Survey	140	76*	127	89	216
FGDs	100	24	71	53	124
Interviews	22	0	10	12	22
Journals	31	0	10	21	31
Total	278	106	230	186	384

*Includes 1 unknown gender

Table 3.5b Survey Overview

Surveys	Male	Female	Total
Programme	85	55	140
Control*	38	38	76
Totals	127	89	216

Table 3.5c FGD Overview

Programme	Male	Female	Total
Aganar (FSS & Parkinson) (BB)	9	11	20
Sport for Life (BB)	18	8	26
Court Diversion (SL)	8	3	11
NSDC (SL)	11	1	12
Upton Gardens (SL)	0	16	16
Junior Visionaries (SL)	15	0	15
Total	61	39	100

Table 3.5d Interview Overview

Affiliation	Male	Female	Total
Sport for Life (BB)	0	4	4
A Ganar (BB)	0	3	3
National Sports Council (BB)*	2	1	3
BVTB (BB)	0	1	1
NSDC (SL)	2	1	3
Upton Gardens (SL)	0	1	1
PE/School Sport (current and retired) (SL)	3	1	4
Sacred Sport Foundation (SL)*	2	0	2
Government Official (SL)	1	0	1
Total	10	12	22

* some participants were interviewed multiple times

Table 3.5e Journal Overview

Programme	Male	Female	Total
Sport for Life (BB)	10	3	13
Upton Gardens (SL)	0	16	16
Totals	10	19	29

When conducting the surveys, I found that some participants struggled with reading and understanding the questions. Furthermore, some of their writing skills are limited so written responses were difficult to interpret. I provided assistance to a handful of the participants during the survey process to help explain the questions and facilitate accurate responses. The surveys included 16 statements were intended to gather data on gender attitudes, expectations and norms. The same concerns regarding reading and writing ability apply to the completion of the journals. Results therefore may be influenced by the ability of participants to fully understand the questions and articulate their responses. Many of the journals were unfinished or contained little narrative information. The participants completed the journal entries when I was not present. The information gathered was insightful, still. It provided a glimpse into their lives and provided input on what they liked to do, who they looked up to and how they felt about themselves. Several participants wrote me small notes, all encouraging or thankful except for one. One SFL boy wrote “no more questions please” in his journal. I tried to remind everyone that participation was voluntary, but he must have still felt pressured to answer questions. Overall, however, their feedback in the journals about being in the research project was positive.

Coupled with the data from surveys, FGDs and interviews, it gives a fuller perspective of the participants' experiences and views. I did consider that most of the material came from only two groups – the SFL and UGGC. The UGGC material is unique because it was from the all girls group and could speak specifically to their experience. The material from the SFL participants was generally from young participants than the UGGC and spoke to a different, mixed gender experience of SDP in a voluntary programme. I have provided some samples of their drawings in Chapter 5. In my view, their drawings took effort and focus and indicate that they enjoyed being a part of the research project.

Survey data was analysed using SPSS software version 21. Quantitative data is discussed in the chapters below. To examine the difference between groups and categories in the fall data collection, I chose the same analysis approach as the UK Sport Study (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). I ran non-parametric Mann-Whitney U tests to examine if there were differences in the medians or distribution between two groups (i.e. male/female, programme participant/control). I used the Mann-Whitney U test to determine differences in median scores when the distribution of data was normal and two independent samples were present. When more than two samples were being tested, the related Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric test was conducted (i.e. amongst all programmes). When the distribution was not normal, the test examines differences of distribution. This test was chosen, rather than independent T-tests or ANOVA tests because the scales used (i.e. GSES) do not generate interval data and, in some cases, the data was not normally distributed. Given these factors, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test and Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric tests are more appropriate than parametric tests for examining independent samples (Kruskal-Wallis H test using SPSS statistics, n.d.; Mann-Whitney U test using SPSS statistics, n.d.). The level of statistical significance was $p \leq .05$. All tests were conducted using SPSS Version 21.

Following the interview and FGD sessions, audio recordings were transcribed and coded for themes. Some interviews were conducted with a third party present, such as a support person to bring the researcher to the interview location. Data was coded based on themes from the UK Sport Study (inductive). The themes included self-esteem, self-efficacy/empowerment, peer and mentor relationships and gender attitudes/roles. These themes and the data collection methods for them were all drawn directly from the UK Sport study (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). An additional inductive theme was included regarding health and physical activity based on WHO studies. These themes were chosen because they all relate directly to the human capability approach and, more specifically, to the basic capabilities included in Nussbaum's list.

Text that did not fit these predetermined themes were also coded and categorized into new lower order themes. However, rather than generating completely new higher order themes, the data collected instead pushed the parameters of existing themes (particularly health and physical activity) toward other themes (gender roles and body image). For example, girls and boys expressed different feelings about building muscular bodies through sport. While this directly speaks to health and physical activity, it also relates to a broader theme on gendered relationships with the body, body image and body politics. The result was a new hybrid theme, which merged together elements of health, physical activity, body image and gender roles/attitudes. Analysis began with simple organising and sorting

of data into these themes. From that point, I began mapping the themes into diagrams and charts, which led to the proposed model based on Robeyns' capability model.

The emphasis in the original survey questionnaire and in the diaries regarding healthy behaviours subsided to more apparent participant responses regarding gender role attitudes and body image. In hindsight, I would have preferred to reduce or eliminate many of the questions directly on physical activity and health. This change would have allowed for more focus on the three thematic areas that became more important. A common concern in research with children is that they will lose focus if research methods are too time consuming (Punch, 2002). It is possible that the time spent answering questions and discussing healthy behaviours and physical activity were distracting to the participants and drained their focus from the thematic areas that were emerged as more important. Throughout the fieldwork, especially during the second phase, I adjusted to this change and decreased the emphasis on healthy behaviours and physical activity.

As discussed above, the UK Sport Study and WHO health themes were selected because they reflect the dominant objectives of the SDP programmes in this study and the larger youth development goals identified in the Eastern Caribbean. Furthermore, these thematic areas fall within the theoretical framework of human capability development. Findings were analysed and coded into three thematic concepts; (1) self-efficacy, and social affiliation; (2) gender roles, body image and physical activity and (3) support systems. While the resulting themes are largely inductive, the theme of health and physical activity shifted much more toward body image and gender roles than was planned, resulting in a broader theme to include gender roles, body image and health. Within each theme, underlying influences of gender and social relations were examined. The empirical data is presented in the next three chapters.



CHAPTER IV: SUPPORT SYSTEMS

4.1 Support systems overview

Much of this study focuses on conversion factors within the HCA framework at the individual (self-efficacy, body image/lived body experience) and micro-environmental (social affiliation, gender role attitudes) levels. To better understand these experiences, I begin by exploring the macro-environmental influences on the human capability development of these at risk youth, including formal and informal social institutions. Three primary factors will be examined; economic instability and vulnerability; the education system and government, policy and infrastructure. Each of these factors is informed and guided by larger, macro-level, informal social institutions. Namely, gender and the legacy of post-colonial neo-liberal development policies

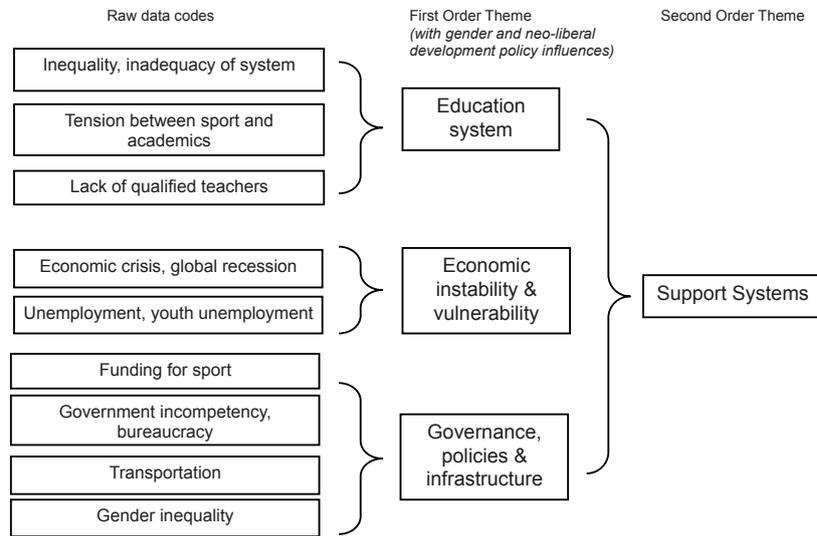
The economic instability and vulnerability of these small island states (SIDS) following changes in trade partnerships with the U.S. and Europe in the 1990s and the global recession from 2008 is a major influence on the current status and outlook for youth development in Barbados and St. Lucia. Although they retain their relatively good economic rankings in terms of GDP and income, some measures for inequality have increased and unemployment among youth is of particular concern. The education systems, though relatively well-structured, also contain inequities and insufficiencies that threaten the human capability development of the youth on these islands, especially in St. Lucia. Finally, both governments have struggled to execute policies and build infrastructure that supports the development of young people. Problems of bureaucracy bottlenecks, lack of coordination among entities and limited staff and resources have hindered efforts to recover from the economic crisis and rebound from international trade imbalances. National government initiatives have become further entangled in issues of Caribbean integration efforts in previous decades and the more recent shift toward autonomous representation of Caribbean countries on the world stage.

This chapter is structured slightly differently than the subsequent results chapters. To adequately examine these macro-level institutions and influences, secondary data sources were incorporated into the primary data from participants. Reports, statistical databases, documents, evaluations, books and papers were reviewed for information regarding these thematic areas in lieu of the surveys conducted regarding the previous themes. No quantitative analysis was performed on these topics. However, these subjects were included in focus group discussions (primarily with the older NSDC participants) and interviews with programme administrators, government/ministry officials, teachers, coaches and other leaders in sport, education and development in Barbados and St. Lucia. The themes emerged from both forms of research, primary and secondary.

As in earlier chapters, the data was coded and then grouped into themes. The raw codes were grouped into three first order themes; education system, economic instability and vulnerability and governance, policies and infrastructure. The thematic structure of this chapter is displayed in Figure 4.1. Within each of these three themes,

underlying concepts of gender and neo-liberal economic policies and the issue of emigration are influential. I will therefore discuss them in more detail below.

Figure 4.1 Thematic coding structure of support systems



Gender and economic policies

The collected works of Professor Eudine Barriteau⁷ of the University of the West Indies are among the main sources for literature on the influence of gender and post-modern feminist approaches to economics and policy in the Caribbean for this study. Patricia Ellis' 2003 book, *Women, Gender and Development in the Caribbean: Reflections and Projections*, provides further background on the intrinsically entangled elements of gender and neo-liberal economic policy. Additionally, data from the organisation for Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) provided further information. In a 2013 DAWN report, Peggy Antrobus found that women tend to bear a disproportionate burden for the costs of economic restructuring in the region (Antrobus, 2013).

In their work, both Barriteau and Ellis argue that the position of women within the economy has been ineptly overlooked and undervalued by traditional economists. Women in the Caribbean are far more likely to work in informal employment than men and do not appear in traditional economic measures such as GDP and income. Furthermore, the long tradition of post-colonial, neo-liberal economic policies and initiatives has negated the role of women and produced actions that hold greater negative influences on women than men. Barriteau argues for a post-modern feminist approach to economics in the region. "I propose a post-modern feminist approach that puts the household in place of the market as the core unit of economic analysis.

⁷ I met with Professor Barriteau during fieldwork for guidance and context.

Such an approach is particularly necessary in societies, such as one finds in the Caribbean, where market relations are strongly mediated by kinship and sociocultural exchanges,” (Barriteau, 1996, p. 143). She points to the high incidence of female-headed households and tendency for women to work outside of formal labour markets as a rationale for this approach.

Barriteau’s arguments refer back to the neo-liberal structural adjustment policies (SAPs) implemented throughout the Caribbean region, directed by global entities such as the World Bank and IMF. Furthermore, the dominant ideology of modernisation, led by the market influence of the U.S., has encouraged SAPs and created a climate that overlooks and undervalues the influence of women within the economy. In his 2011 book, *Decolonization in St. Lucia: Politics and Global Neoliberalism 1945-2010*, Tennyson Joseph expands on this analysis. Both scholars argue that the push toward modernisation, particularly the emphasis on opening the small Caribbean markets to international trade and investment, created an economic environment consistently vulnerable to the type of external shock of the 2008 crash. Joseph follows the path toward the crisis, from colonial period through independence and the shift away from an agriculture-based economy toward tourism and financing (2011). Crises from the oil shortages in the 1970s through the dismantling of trade arrangements for the once-thriving banana industry in St. Lucia up through the 2008 crash were all directly linked to neo-liberal policies toward modernisation.

As these economic shifts have come and gone, women have borne the brunt of failed SAPs. Barriteau and Ellis argue that policy efforts to curtail external economic shocks or stimulate international trade led to the devaluing of currencies at the same time that the price of goods increased. While these SAPs supported the increased interest in trade and investment, it was local citizens, particularly the middle class or poor female-headed households that had to absorb the cost of these changes. In effect, the state was shifting the costs of their initiatives from their own budget to the individual households, particularly those headed by women. “Their negative impact was especially felt by women, many of whom were employed in the social service sector and lost their jobs, and all of whom were expected to take full responsibility for the care of children, the elderly and the sick and to ‘take up the slack’ left by the reduction in social and welfare services,” (Ellis, 2003, p. 6). Barriteau echoes this claim, noting that SAPs often included reduction of social services and health care, which tend to more adversely affect women than men and which, in turn, have a detrimental impact on the health and well-being of children, particularly in female-headed households (Barriteau, 1996).

Barriteau provides an example of how women have been forced to innovatively adjust to these problematic SAPs. For example, the “suitcase trade” of the Caribbean region is largely implemented by women. In the suitcase trade, women travel from island to island, carrying with them goods in their suitcases to bring to and from different islands. “They travel intra and extra regionally, circumventing language barriers, manipulating foreign currencies, battling with customs officers, confronting import regulations and often undergoing physically stressful situations, (Barriteau, 1996, p. 148). These women have found a way to respond to external market forces and SAPs that fail to take into account the informal economy. This focus on traditional market measures such as GNP and trade “mask an underlying male bias” (Elson, 1991 in Barriteau, 1996, p. 152). Therefore, a shift to the

household as the main unit of economic analysis is proposed. To be sure, the household is often more complex than it seems. Particularly in the Caribbean region, the gender dynamics, family structure and interaction with formal markets is often fluid and holds shifting power relationships (Barrow, 2001; Barriteau, 1996). Elson argues that, in fact, women may have more influence and control within the household than is commonly perceived (1991).

Emigration

Emigration is a Caribbean wide concern, with an average of 50% of the highly skilled labour force migrating from SIDS to find work. In some cases, the loss exceeds 75% of the working population (de la Croix, Docquier & Schiff, 2014). This out migration of highly skilled workers constitutes a major problem for St. Lucia and Barbados and threatens their economic development efforts. According to a 2005 report on Caribbean emigration, a staggering percentage of the skilled workforce left SIDS for OECD member countries, namely the U.S., Canada and the UK (Docquier & Marfouq). Between 1965 and 2000, 85 % of St. Lucia's most educated workers (those with tertiary education), migrated to OECD member countries. St. Lucia was tied with Jamaica for the second highest migration rate amongst those with tertiary education in the Caribbean region, behind Guyana at 89%. Across the globe, St. Lucia is ranked as tenth in out migration of highly educated residents (those with 12 or more years of schooling). Barbados was on the lower end of the spectrum, at 64%. At the level of secondary education, the outward migration drops to 28% in St. Lucia and 21% in Barbados (Docquier & Marfouq, 2005).

There are several push and pull factors on migration in the Caribbean. Push factors include limited employment and education opportunities in the country of origin, as well as socio-political factors such as crime, violence, political instability and corruption (de la Croix, Docquier & Schiff, 2014). As discussed throughout this chapter, the vulnerable SIDS economies in the Caribbean are strong push factors. The gap between St. Lucia and Barbados in highly skilled emigration reflect the better economic conditions in Barbados, which has a stronger GDP and labour market. Additionally, limited opportunities for tertiary education in St. Lucia account for further disparities. Barbados has the UWI campus, a regional provider of higher education at the bachelor's, master's and doctoral levels. St. Lucia does have some tertiary education institutions, namely Sir Arthur Lewis Community College and a distance-learning programme with UWI. However, there is no four-year public university on the island (Universities in St. Lucia, n.d.). There are two private medical/nursing schools from the U.S. Their tuitions range from \$625 to over \$12,000 (U.S.) per semester/trimester and are likely unaffordable options to many St. Lucians (Tuition & fees, 2016a; Tuition & fees, 2016b).

Pull factors include appealing employment and education opportunities, geographic proximity, cultural similarity, colonial heritage and language (de la Croix, Docquier & Schiff, 2014). Such pull factors explain why the U.S., Canada and the UK are the primary recipients of outward migration patterns from the Caribbean. The relative stability of those economies offer better employment opportunities, none carry language barriers for the English-speaking Caribbean and all offer significant opportunities for advanced education.

Although there may be some positive feedback from such migration, such as remittances, overall they are negative consequences for a country when the emigration of highly skilled migrants is above 15% (Mirsha, 2006). The IMF calculated overall losses for Barbados at 4.9% and for St. Lucia 5.3%. reference These results include losses predicated by labour-demand supply framework and external effects, such as loss of productivity amongst those that stay behind, a common consequence of emigration of highly skilled worker (Mirsha, 2006).

The gains from remittances through outbound migration are very small. In St. Lucia, the remittances as a percentage of GDP are just 4.0% and in Barbados 2.3% (Docquier & Marfouq, 2005). “Hence, in small developing countries, brain drain sharply reduces the stock of human capital, which is usually considered a fundamental engine of growth. Furthermore, if strong technological externalities are associated with human capital accumulation, high-skilled emigration contributes to increasing the wage gaps between the origin and leading countries. In sum, high-skilled emigration is an endogenous phenomenon (a consequence of poverty) and in turn, reinforces poverty in the origin countries,” ((de la Croix, Docquier & Schiff, 2014, p. 124-125). Can you put this in your own words?

The overall outcome is often a net loss for countries of origin. Not only does brain drain carry heavy losses for potential economic development for SIDS through direct labour losses and external effects, but the cost of educating residents who later migrate out of country is an additional burden. Particularly in Barbados, the Caribbean country which has the highest expenditure (as percentage of GDP) on outbound migrants. According to a UNESCO report, Barbados spends nearly 14% of GDP on education of migrants who have left, reflecting the large investment in tertiary education of such migrants. St. Lucia is at the lower end of Caribbean countries, with just under 2% (Mishra, 2006). Examining the combination of education expenditures (which includes current and capital expenses) with the return of remittances, St. Lucia appears to nearly break even while Barbados suffers a significant overall loss, primarily due to higher expenditures on tertiary education for outbound migrants.

The consequences of emigration of highly skilled workers is a hindrance to the economic stability and growth of St. Lucia and Barbados. The post-colonial legacy, neo-liberal policies and globalisation of the labour market are driving forces behind this problem. It is unclear how much the global recession has impacted this phenomenon, as I could not find statistics on highly educated outbound migrants after 2008. I explored concerns on this issue through my interviews with participants, namely adult programme leaders and coaching trainees. We discussed employment opportunities at home and the lure of going abroad, particularly to the U.S., for education and employment possibilities. Coaches and programme leaders promoted the possibility of earning a scholarship to play sports abroad at American universities, in turn promoting outward migration of the countries’ best athletes.

4.2 Economic instability and vulnerability

As discussed in the introductory chapter, Barbados and St. Lucia are SIDS with relatively good economic ratings. St. Lucia is considered an “upper middle income” economy while Barbados is classified as a “high income non-OECD country” according to the World Bank (World Bank, 2014). Despite these positive descriptions, inequality is relatively high and increasing in Barbados and data for inequality is scarce and insufficient for St. Lucia. Furthermore, since the beginning of the global recession in 2008, these countries have suffered economic stagnation and instability. The nature of their economies as largely dependent on tourism, keeps them continually vulnerable to such external economic forces. They are also susceptible to weather and climate impacts toward tourism and infrastructure.

A 2014 evaluation report from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) examined the current state of the Barbadian economy. As the global economic crisis erupted in 2008, its effects hit the shores of Barbados in 2009 and continue to stymie economic growth. The IDB report found that the economy is still in a stagnant state and government efforts to stimulate growth have led to large and increasing fiscal imbalances. Real GDP decreased by 4.1% in 2009 and has not recovered. The report also found that the national poverty rate grew to 19% in 2010, with 9% indigent poor (Stone, et. al, 2014). Neither the CIA World Fact Book, the UNDP, the UNICEF nor the World Bank offered more recent poverty figures for Barbados. Unemployment rates (as percent of labour force) increased from 7.4% in 2007 to 12.2% in 2013, while youth unemployment jumped from 16.9% to 27% in the same period (World Bank, 2014).

Updated economic data on St. Lucia was not as readily available. The World Bank’s most recent figures only extend to 2010 for overall real unemployment and 2007 for real youth unemployment. Their figures show a jump in the overall unemployment rate from a low of 14.00% in 2007 to 20.60% in 2010 (World Bank, 2015). According to a more updated report from the International Labour Organization (ILO), unemployment continued to rise after 2010 to 22.21% in 2013 and then slightly dropped in 2014 to an estimated 20.8% (2015).⁸ The ILO also reported that youth unemployment sharply increased from a low of 27.6% in 2007, which was a low point in youth unemployment since 2002, to a high mark of an estimated 48.2% in 2013. It is then estimated to have dropped to 41.6% in 2014. The ILO projected another slight decrease in overall unemployment to 20.1% in 2015. However, youth unemployment was projected to have increased to 47.2% in that year (ILO, 2015). The ILO estimated that 17,000 young people in St. Lucia are unemployed and that the outlook for immediate improvement is not good. Unemployment trends in St. Lucia have not yet recovered from the global recession (Global trends: St. Lucia’s unemployment rate may not improve anytime soon, 2015).

Tourism and other factors

Why are these economies so vulnerable to external forces such as the global recession? The very nature of SIDS is that these are small (in population and land mass) islands with structural trade barriers (separated from trading partners by the sea) and they live in the economic shadow of the U.S., Canada and the UK. The two

⁸ The ILO lists their unemployment figures as “estimates and projections” for overall unemployment figures in 2014 and for all youth unemployment figures since 2007.

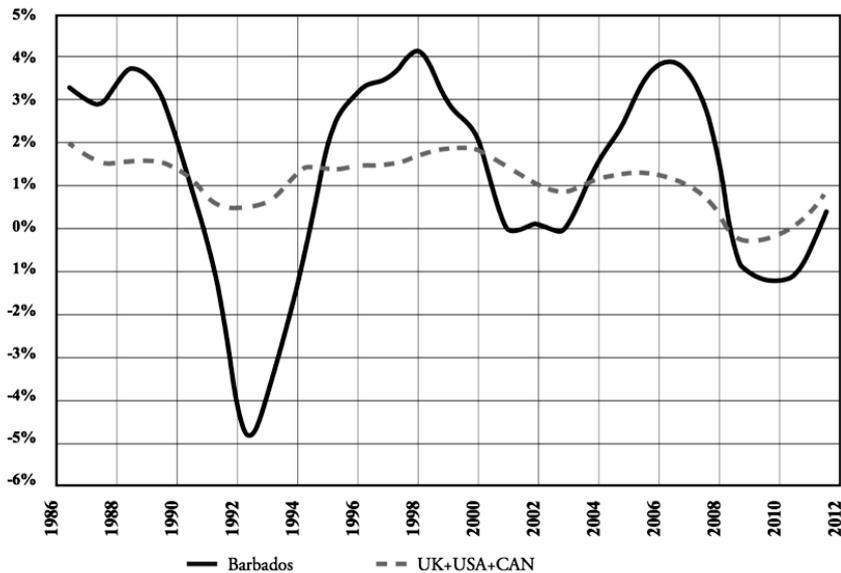
largest industries, tourism and off shore finance, are largely dependent on American, Canadian and British partners and clients. As the global recession hit, tourism dropped across the region. Both Barbados and St. Lucia had shifted their economies away from its agricultural base and toward tourism and related service sectors in the 1970s. After losing favoured trade status with the U.S. and European Union over a series of external decisions in the 1990s, the dependency on tourism grew. As discussed in the introduction chapter, the once thriving banana industry of St. Lucia was decimated by trade agreements and external competition for the U.S. and European markets (Index Mundi, 2014). Today, 12% of the Barbadian labour force is employed in the tourism sector (38% in indirect contributions) and roughly 12% of the country's GDP is directly through tourism (39% when indirect contributions are considered) (Stone, et. al, 2014). Figure 4.2a demonstrates the close correlation of tourist stays to the real GDP of Barbados. In St. Lucia, Index Mundi estimates that 65% of GDP is generated through tourism and the country is extremely vulnerable to external economic shocks (2014). Downward tourism trends since 2008 have negatively impacted prospects for economic growth. In 2012, airlines reduced flights to the small island and the government instigated a value added tax (VAT) to make up for lost tax revenues in the declining tourism industry. It was the last of the Eastern Caribbean nations to introduce the VAT (Index Mundi, 2014).

Figure 4.2a Real GDP of Barbados and overnight tourist stays
Source: IDB report, p3



The global recession deeply affected these vulnerable economies because of their dependency on American, British and Canadian tourists and international business via offshore financing. In 2013, offshore financing contributed about two-thirds of corporate tax revenue and employed over 2% of the labour force, mostly in highly-skilled positions (Stone, et. al, 2014). Barbados has double taxation avoidance agreements with the U.S. and Canada, making it a desirable market. Figure 4.2b reflects the influence of economic growth in the UK, USA and Canada on Barbados' economy. Notably, the Barbados economy fluctuates more severely as these more powerful economies rise and fall. In particular, economic growth in Barbados tends to swing lower than the UK, U.S. and Canadian growth rates (Stone, et. al, 2014).

Figure 4.2b
 The influence of economic growth in the UK, U.S. and Canada on growth in Barbados
 Source: IBD report, 2014 p.5



Furthermore, the IDB reported that Barbados' credit rating had been downgraded repeatedly in recent years. Standard & Poor's (S&P) lowered the country's sovereign rating from BB+ to B with a negative outlook between 2012 and 2015 while Moody's rated Barbados at B3 with a negative outlook (Stone, et. al, 2014; Johnson, 2015). St. Lucia does not have a sovereign credit rating through Standard & Poor's or Moody's. The growing national deficit and federal debt of Barbados is a likely contributor to such deductions. In an effort to reduce the impact of the 2008 crash, Barbados' government initiated programmes to stimulate the economy, leading to a growth in national budget deficit from 4.9% of GDP in 2008 to 8% in 2012. In turn, the national debt rose from an average of 71.7% of GDP from 1998 to 2008 to 127% of GDP at the end of 2013 (Stone, et. al, 2014). The most recent estimates available of the St. Lucian national debt are from 2012 and listed at 77% of GDP (Index Mundi, 2014). Barbados' reduced credit rating could negatively affect the island's ability to attract investors and boost the economy through offshore financing.

But global economic factors are not the only threat to the economies of SIDS. Climate and weather are severe and consistent concerns. Major storms, such as hurricanes, and the larger impacts of climate change disrupt business and industry, destroy or damage infrastructure and dissuade foreign investment. Coastal erosion is a constant challenge to both Barbados and St. Lucia. Furthermore, both islands are deeply reliant on foreign sources for fossil fuels and energy costs are high. 92% of Barbados' fossil fuels consumption is imported, leading to energy costs that are nearly

four times higher than those in North American countries (Stone, et. al, 2014). Data on St. Lucia's fossil fuel consumption was unavailable. Although recent government initiatives and strategies have steered both countries towards renewable energy sources, the high energy costs are still problematic to economic growth. According to a report from the Energy and Climate Partnership of the Americas, both nations signed an agreement, known as the Barbados Declaration, to reduce fossil fuel consumption and invest in domestic renewable energy sources (2015). Finally, in Barbados, water scarcity is a consistent problem. The country is below the international standard of available water supply and considered a condition of "absolute water scarcity" and places the island among the 15 most water-scarce nations in the world (Stone, et. al, 2014, p. 4). These climate concerns are a burden to the national governments and a threat to economic growth.

Throughout interviews and discussion groups, the economic crisis and recession were common topics. Participants from NSDC, government officials, teachers, coaches and programme administrators generally felt that the national economies in Barbados and St. Lucia were still deeply affected and struggling to recover. Melly, the administrator from the Barbados sports council blamed the recession for budget challenges in their ability to offer sports opportunities to youth. She explained that programmes were reduced and travel to regional competitions, something she considered a key contributor to the development of the participants' experience and world view, were curtailed due to budget cuts. She went on to claim that government and political changes were also negatively affecting her programmes. Others in Barbados, namely Nathan from the sports council, John (the athletics coach), Addy from A Ganar and the SFL facilitators all pointed the poor economy as a major threat to youth development. They noted that sports, education and employment outlooks were of major concern. In St. Lucia, Daniel, Alex, the NSDC coaching trainees and a government official, Aaron, all felt that the downward turn in the economy was a major problem for the future development in their country, especially for the youth. They cited negative effects toward sport, infrastructure and education.

More specifically, several participants discussed the overall vulnerability of the economy due to its dependence on tourism. Nathan, from the sports council in Barbados claimed that tourism was the primary driver of economic growth in Barbados. Teachers, coaches and facilitators at both A Ganar and SFL all agreed that most of their participants would go on to work in the tourism industry and that the fickle nature of this sector might endanger their ability to build successful careers. Aaron,⁹ an economist who served in the St. Lucian parliament and in ministry of economic development, elaborated on his concerns:

And the second thing is that sport is not a panacea, it can't be. If anything, sports buys time for the society and government to get their act together to help create opportunities. Look at the United States, OK. We all have periods of recession and downturn, OK. Where the unemployment rate goes up to 10 or 12% and then the economy starts to pick up. Things start to turn around.

⁹ "Aaron" is a major public figure in St. Lucian politics and was at the centre of a controversy regarding foreign investment during his time in the Ministry of Economic Development.

They start getting better again. And then the economy now has the strength to absorb more and more workers into the labour force. Now, we are sitting at the tail end of a couple of cycles. We depend on the US economy to get strong and the European economy to get strong, because that's where we pull our tourists from. So it's only when the US economy gets strong, when the European economy gets strong, there's a lag, two years later we start seeing (tourism rebound). We start seeing what happens. So all of these things, it's all part of one matrix. It's not the be all and end all of a developmental strategy. It's one element. It is an element that must be exploited to the max, to allow us to reap the benefits that help us. Especially to ride through periods (when) the formal economy is not doing what it's supposed to do.

Now, development is essentially as far as I am concerned, about organisation. Set your goals. You put in place your structures to help you to get there, and you must install the kind of people you need in these structures to get what you need done. It is the same kind of organizational discipline that we talked about in sports.

In his interpretation, the fluctuating economy is a part of the normal cycle in St. Lucia, and, more broadly, across the Caribbean SIDS. The government's ability to plan and "organise" appropriately, in order to maximise the benefits, is the critical factor. He continued on to explain the regional context:

There never has been competition over tourism. Never. Because there has always been enough market for us to take our own share. We are small. The common factor between 15 years ago and now is the spectre of Cuba opening up. Cuba has always been the threat to our tourism, we have never seen each other as a threat over tourism. Even the investment in our tourism, we haven't seen each other as competitors. Because you know each country is unique and there are enough investors. So there were harmonized fiscal incentives that we all greased. But we have never seen each other as threats, we see Cuba as something looming, but it's coming. And probably the response should be to synchronize our tourism, with that threat looming.

While his statements reflect a confidence in the cooperation within the Caribbean community to take advantage of the economic benefits through tourism, they highlight a new concern and source of vulnerability – the impact of Cuba broadening its market share. In August of 2015, the U.S. opened its embassy in Havana and lifted some of the travel restrictions that have kept many American tourists from visiting this island neighbour for over 50 years. Aaron's "spectre" of Cuba has come to life. The effects of the more open relationship between the U.S. and Cuba is indeed predicted to have negative effects on the tourism industry elsewhere in the Caribbean. An IMF working paper from 2008, which explored the possibility of Cuba opening up to American tourists, predicted that if all travel restrictions are lifted¹⁰ Cuba would become the largest Caribbean destination for American tourists in the Caribbean at approximately 3 million visitors per year (Romeu, 2008). The paper also warned that many smaller Caribbean islands have left themselves susceptible to this "supply shock" (Romeu, 2008, p. 4).

¹⁰ At the time of writing, some travel restrictions remain for Americans visiting Cuba.

Other participants recognised the vulnerability of an economy so dependent on tourism and foreign investment. Alex, the programme administrator and coach for both the JV programme and NSDC, was frustrated with the volatility of the tourism industry. “But there is a big divide by class here. It’s perpetuated because the economy is dependent on tourism, which is owned by white foreigners. Jobs in tourism don’t pay well and are menial. It is insane that we threw away an agriculture-based economy for tourism. This economy is so vulnerable and keeps money flowing out. It creates menial, low paying jobs and discourages entrepreneurship,” he claimed. Alex was educated in the U.S., earning his bachelor’s degree while playing football at a university in New York. Since his return to St. Lucia in the early 2000s, he has felt increasingly frustrated with the economic instability and the lack of opportunities for youth employment and career development. He continually pointed to the lowly status of hospitality and tourism “menial” jobs that many young St. Lucians thought were their only opportunities. “Kids here don’t dream big. They are satisfied to work in a hotel, do hair and nails, etc. . . . What do people have to dream about or strive for?”

Aaron, too, spoke about the menial and lowly nature of tourism employment. Furthermore, he strongly indicted the entire system, claiming that the dependency on tourism was essentially a recipe for economic disaster in the entire region. He felt the employment market within the tourist industry was oversaturated, leaving “legions on young men sitting on the block with nothing to do.” In his opinion, this was more than a St. Lucian problem, but, rather, a regional problem that urgently needed to be addressed. He summarised the concern over the cyclical nature of a tourism-based economy in this statement:

If we cannot find a way to create any opportunity for these young men and women in the ghetto, we’re going to burn down this country in the next ten years. And that’s the opportunity costs. Because the reality is . . . we are producing more kids than our employment capacity can absorb. So what do they do? They stay. They get disgruntled. They start to sell weed from St. Vincent to Martinique. They go to jail . . . Now that cycle, multiply it a thousand times. There are a lot of angry young men out there. It is going to undermine the fabric of all the societies in the Caribbean that are critically dependent for long term sustainability on tourism.

So, we have very fragile eco-systems. And so anything that we can do to keep those elements of our society, our youth, to give them opportunities in sports or otherwise, we are doing is preserving the integrity of our society, which allows us to build and maintain a base on which we can try to increase economic value.

His statements highlight the “fragile” nature of the economy and the heavy social consequences. He views the macro-economic situation as a causal factor for such social ills as drugs, crime and delinquency. Much as Barriteau argued that such macro-level factors should be examined, rather than placing the blame on family, community, schools and other micro-environmental institutions. Crime and drugs were discussed as related outcomes of the shaky economy throughout the study. Most commonly, participants (as discussed at various points above) agreed that when jobs

were scarce, selling drugs, “hustling” or other criminal enterprises became attractive options. The NSDC trainees discussed this cycle at length, citing that many of their peers felt there was no other way to “survive” other than turning to selling drugs. Others, most notably the administrators at NSDC, agreed that selling drugs was a particularly attractive avenue for unemployed youth to pursue. Aaron noted that this cycle further repeats itself as crime increases, driving away tourism and the fickle employment opportunities it may offer. Fewer jobs then increases the appeal of selling drugs. And so the cycle continues.

Unemployment

The NSDC coaching trainees recognised the cycle and decided to take actions to break out of it for their own lives. They turned to their government programmes to help build skills for employment in sports and education. These participants discussed concerns over the unemployment problem, in particular for young people. “The reason why we joined is that we were unemployed at the moment and we are part of the collective of the unemployment group, most of who, well, some majority who to go college, finish college and are still unemployed,” one trainee stated. The others agreed and talked about how many of their peers, most who finished secondary school and some who went on to earn associate’s or bachelor’s degrees, are struggling to find adequate employment in St. Lucia. “You come from the university and you still have to bag groceries,” one participant stated. They agreed that such a reality was not very motivating to pursue higher education. They estimated that about 75% of youth over the age of 18 are unemployed but seeking work. “It’s a very big, big, big problem. Huge,” one participant claimed. He continued to explain that many young people begin to feel frustrated and may be attracted to selling drugs to earn money. “You see now that most of them are probably selling marijuana or something because there are no jobs right now so they have to sell drugs, make some money and then the police would come and arrest them. And now they have real trouble, no job, crime. People dying. Stealing from other people. Country getting a bad name.” He added that they may not be bad people, but they get “drawn to it” and added that that could happen to people who go into prostitution as well. While others “hustle,” or engage in informal and black markets for common goods. “They hustle. We call it hustling. Probably sell some cd’s, movies, clothes on the streets, fruits, stuff.” The group generally agreed with his analysis.

The group agreed that their programme was trying “everything” to connect them to employment, but it is “rough.” They also commented that finding work was often about social connections that they simply lacked. Jackie, the female participant, was disappointed that NSDC had not placed her in a school as a sport teacher. She thought that would be the end point of the programme. The others agreed and expressed further disappointment. Jackie and another participant did point out that they may not be trying hard enough to reach out beyond their communities to look for work.

The head administrator of the coaches training programme at NSDC explained his efforts to find them work. “Daniel” decided not to directly link them to potential jobs at schools and instead try to support them to start their own business as contractors developing sport programmes around the island. His strategy was to teach them how to start their own business and then hire them to run programmes that he

was initiating with his own foundation, Sacred Sports. However, he was unable at this point to find enough work for them and he knew they were frustrated. One reason they did not have enough work was because of the high completion rate of the trainees. “When we took a group of 14 or 15, we didn’t anticipate more than half would finish, to be honest. We thought that most of them wouldn’t have the staying power,” Daniel said. Of the 15 original enrollees, 14 completed the programme. The one who left early did so because he found a job elsewhere. Daniel continued to believe that, over time, he would be able to achieve this goal of the trainees starting their own business. He had also laid plans to include internationally recognised coaching certifications, using coaches from the U.S. as trainers, for future programmes. He hoped this would increase their employability after completion of the programme. In the meantime, he continued to hire them on sporadically and pay for travel stipends, which they appreciated but were growing wary of working in that way for much longer.

The decision not to directly attach the coaching trainees directly to jobs was challenged by others within the NSDC programme. The lack of consistent coaching work is what drove Jackie, the only female trainee and a key potential female role model in sport, to turn away from sport coaching. After she finished her training, she reduced her coaching work and focused more on dance, where she was able to earn a more consistent income. Jackie was upset that they did not get jobs and that a similar coaching skills programme had direct attachments. “What I don’t really understand (was they had) one week only for a coaching programme and your qualified. I don’t really believe in that. We were in for four months. They only did it one week and now they have a job coaching . . . They have a young man in Canaries, and now he’s getting paid to coach and do what he loves. That’s what I thought too, when I took the football course and spoke to the NSDC trainers. He told me we’ll be placed in schools as probably PE teachers so I had my hopes up. Nobody explained why. I wouldn’t mind training the primary school because I know a lot about PE. I know about all sports. I would like to do it.” Although she thoroughly enjoyed the programme and felt she learned a lot from it, she was so frustrated with the lack of employment afterward that she felt that, if she could go back in time knowing what she knew now, she would not have taken the course. “Honestly, I don’t think so. Because NSDC is a place for where people who are unemployed go to get employed.” Daniel’s colleague and coaching partner at NSDC, Alex, was also frustrated with the lack of employment opportunities for the trainees and questioned the decision not to connect the trainees directly to employment at schools or government programmes. He understood the idea regarding entrepreneurial mind-set, but felt it was more of a priority to instead get the trainees employed and then build toward that higher goal.

Despite these criticisms, Daniel felt strongly about moving in this entrepreneurial direction rather than relying on the government or schools to hire his trainees. He planned to “target” more entrepreneurial recruits in future programmes. Both Daniel and the coaching trainees agreed that they wanted more business, management and fundraising skills included in future version of the programme. He felt it was important to develop this mind-set amongst the youth of St. Lucia. Furthermore, the concept for the coaches’ training programme came from his own experience. “We realised we didn’t have the personnel” to run their sport programmes. And they specifically wanted young people who could relate to the kids from poor or disadvantaged neighbourhoods. “Let’s use some people who are

unemployed,” he decided. “So many kids are graduating and there are no jobs for them.” He also felt strongly that too many programmes and agencies relied on foreigners for staff, he placed a strong emphasis in his Sacred Sports Foundation on employing local, unemployed youth. Through the NSDC programme, he could train future coaches that he could then hire as contractors for his programmes.

Adolescent participants were also concerned about their future career and job prospects. One of the girls at UGCC expressed her frustration with the sluggish job market. “In St. Lucia, they need to have some more developing. The country is too small and don’t take it serious. The country needs the government to get serious. There are a lot of young people with no work. You have to imagine, in St. Lucia, you have a lot of young people, even with degrees, and you cannot get a job. I mean, it don’t make no sense.” The other girls agreed adamantly. They all felt that the biggest challenge they faced toward building their own careers was the lack of jobs and “lack of money.” They talked about reaching out to the Prime Minister to call for changes.

Another UGCC participant proposed an idea to address this problem. “I think that we should sponsor the children to get educated. They should give them . . . the opportunity to send us to the (United) States. Check it.” In her plan, they study abroad in the U.S. to obtain bachelor’s and master’s degrees and then return. She added that this could help dissuade problems like teenage pregnancy. Another girl proposed that the government provided free housing to students when they turn 16 so long as they stay in school.

In Barbados, the A Ganar students were also concerned. They agreed that the idea of finding a job was daunting. “It’s mostly economic. So many people are looking and not as many open (jobs),” said one boy. The group agreed. They thought that finishing school and going into training programmes, like vocational training, would be easier than finding a job at the end of their schooling. One boy said he felt “nervous” about it and a girl stated that “entering the adult world and looking for work” were her biggest challenges in the future. Another girl pointed out that the most difficult situation would be trying to find a job after having a child without the support of a father. In response, a different girl said “you, you gotta work three or four jobs to support your child.” Others agreed and said they wanted to wait to have children until after they found a job.

Addy from A Ganar explained that the overarching goal of the programmes within the BVTB were to “teach employability skills” and “combat unemployment amongst youth.” She felt that the current economic situation, especially the high levels of unemployment for youth, made it particularly difficult. “Having to reach out for job placements and things, internships and stuff, it was really challenging. Everyone was like ‘No, no, no. If we do it, we can’t give stipends.’ We were like, ‘that’s ok.. We just want them to have opportunities.’”

Sport as employment or career training

Several government officials, programme leaders and coaches felt that sport had the potential to directly teach academic and career skills and generate employment opportunities for athletes and auxiliary positions in coaching, officiating, media and other areas of management. A former (retired) director of school sport and

physical education in St. Lucia, Charles, felt similarly. He spoke at length about the opportunities talented athletes could obtain, particularly the opportunity to go abroad through sport scholarships to American universities. His perspective was that going to the U.S. was a great achievement and could serve as motivation for young athletes. Clearly, he felt that the opportunities in St. Lucia, and the Caribbean, were limited and that emigration to the U.S. was ideal. His ideas fall in line with the discussion above regarding outbound migration of highly skilled labour and students. Through sport, “you can go to school (on a sport scholarship in the U.S.). You can become qualified and get a scholarship for the school. But we can show them that football is not just kicking a ball from point A to B. There is Z.” In his vision, the “Z” is about developing critical thinking skills and teaching sport, particularly football, in a “holistic” way. He continued on to explain how teaching kids plays, game plans and strategies involves math, physics and reading skills. As a former teacher, he felt strongly that teaching these skills via the sport medium is highly effective because it is more tactile and reaches students who struggle with book learning but have a penchant for experiential learning. Alex from JV and NSDC, who was present during this interview/focus group discussion, agreed and claimed that he had witnessed this kind of learning first-hand through his coaching experiences. He referenced American football as a model. “If you look at a game planning session, there’s a serious amount of IQ going into it . . . it’s extremely technical and we’re saying that we can use the same modus operandi and apply it to our football. That yes, talent and athletic ability is good, but you are also thinking on the field.” Trevor added that it was “critical thinking.”

In a separate interview, Alex also proposed that there are numerous possibilities for vocational skill development and training toward sport-related careers. He blamed national leadership in St. Lucia for a lack of “vision” on possibilities through sport. “Look, you can’t develop sports with one vision. You must think about developing all the other aspects around it so that you can get the full benefit of sports. For example, schools at this point in time, they have their own papers.” He explained his idea to place students as sports reporters, editors and photographers at local school sport and community matches. “You’re putting an editor in place, you’re getting kids (trained) in those skills. You’re putting a photographer. You know, you’re really getting to improve the possibilities beyond just playing.”

In their joint interview, Charles and Alex talked about other media aspects surrounding sport. “I mentioned to you bringing in the TV aspect. If we can get kids to record their own games, so that’s a whole new capacity building. You can get good kids to writing, or the editing capacity again,” Charles explained. He continued to discuss the advantages of teaching students to write by engaging them in topic they are interested in, sports. He and Alex were proposing that students write the script for a weekly sports show that covered youth sports around the island, in the style of the American network Entertaining and Sports Programming Network (ESPN). Students would write scripts, operate cameras (they mentioned acquiring discounted equipment through the Taiwanese officials investing in St. Lucia) and interview players and coaches. The entire process supports communication skills, from writing scripts to overcoming nerves to interview people on camera. In the end, the video content can also be used as a part of a career portfolio for potential employers. “And another thing that has become part and parcel of your game is that at the end of the day,

anybody could be seen. Like they could do an interview and so all these things are going to develop because I used to be afraid of the mic(rophone). I could do all of the background work and then learn to face the camera too,” Charles stated. He felt strongly that the process of overcoming fears about writing and speaking to others in an interview format, especially in front of a camera, were powerful learning opportunities. He also claimed that the exposure from this show could help some athletes get a scouted for a scholarship or student reporters recruited to work in the media.

Aaron, the former government official in the department of economic development, pointed out that some high performance athletes can bring wealth back to the country after competing in the U.S. The government fails to support this avenue, he claimed:

We don't recognise all sports as a development mechanism. All these young people who decide to go to the United States and they run and they train and they become good, they make money. They come and they send remittances back to their country and so on and they bring their families over and they make openings for other athletes whom they know from their own country and that's the way it works. That's the way networking is supposed to happen, but it doesn't happen now.

It is important to note that he was speaking hypothetically. No information was available to support his claim that remittances through athletics were significant in either Barbados or St. Lucia. Furthermore, it is unclear how these athletes are making money in the U.S. system. Even those successful enough to earn a college scholarship are ineligible to earn income through their sport while competing for an American college or university.

Nathan, from the Barbados sports council, took a slightly different approach. He wanted to create a pathway for former athletes to become coaches. “There's no enabling system that allows you to come back in and coach.” Essentially, he proposed creating a pipeline from playing to coaching so that young people could get training in coaching and PE while they trained in their sport. Those young people could then immediately fill needs within their communities as coaches or PE teachers.

4.3 Education systems

The key to combating unemployment and enabling economic mobility has long been considered access to education in both Barbados and St. Lucia. Throughout the study, participants of all ages referred to education as paramount in securing a solid future for the youth in their countries and within the larger region. There was a clear emphasis on education as a means to build human capital toward larger youth development goals. While both islands have relatively accessible and sound education systems, they are often viewed as unequal, with fewer resources and opportunities available to the poor or disadvantaged. Especially in St. Lucia, this inadequacy in the education system was a common concern. To begin our exploration of this theme, we begin with an overview of the education systems in both countries.

Structural elements and assessments

Residents in Barbados and St. Lucia both enjoy free universal education at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. According to their own ministries of education, they have similar structures, with education broken down into four levels: early childhood (3-5), primary (5-11), secondary (12-18) and tertiary (post 18) (ESDP, 2014; Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and innovation, n.d.). Schooling is mandatory from ages 5 until 16 in Barbados and from 5 to 15 in St. Lucia (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014; Rudder, 2014). Another standard feature of both systems, and those across the Eastern Caribbean, is the Common Entrance Exam (CEE), also known as the “11 plus” exam (11 years old). Students take the CEE at the end of primary school (ages 11-12). The CEE determines the access they have to secondary schools. Those scoring in the top tier have full accessibility to any school they chose. At each tier, the choices narrow until those scoring in the lowest percentiles are left with limited selection for secondary school. In both literature and amongst the participants in this study, the format of the CEE is a primary concern and considered a contributing factor to the perceived inequality of schools within the education systems, especially at the secondary level. Secondary education consists of five “forms,” or grade levels, with completion of one form per year (progressing from first to fifth form) as the norm. Both education systems have a format by which students are progressed through the system, regardless of academic ability. Therefore, students “pass” to the next grade level whether or not they have demonstrated achievement of learning outcomes. At fourth form, when students are 16-17 years old, they sit the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) exam for the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC), which is essentially the exit exam for secondary students. Students who are failing courses, but still attending secondary school continue to progress, but are not eligible to sit the CSEC exams. The CSEC is designed to certify that students have achieved essential learning outcomes and are prepared for tertiary education or “entry to the workplace,” (CSEC, n.d.). The CXC offers other, higher-level exams, such as the new Certificate of Secondary Level Competence (CCSLC), which was introduced as an education reform package in 2007. According to the CXC, the CCSLC “responds to the changing demands of education, and is designed to certify the knowledge, general competencies, and attitudes and values that all secondary school leavers should have attained,” (CCSLC, n.d.). The CCSLC is articulated with tertiary institutions across the region, along with

its older and more prestigious counterpart, the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE). The CAPE, also a product of the CXC, is for higher level learners and is specifically for students who wish to pursue higher education studies (CAPE, n.d.). Figures 4.3a and 4.3b are structural charts of the Barbadian and St. Lucian education systems.

Figure 4.3a Structural chart of Barbados' education system (UNESCO World Data on Education – Barbados, 2010, p. 5)

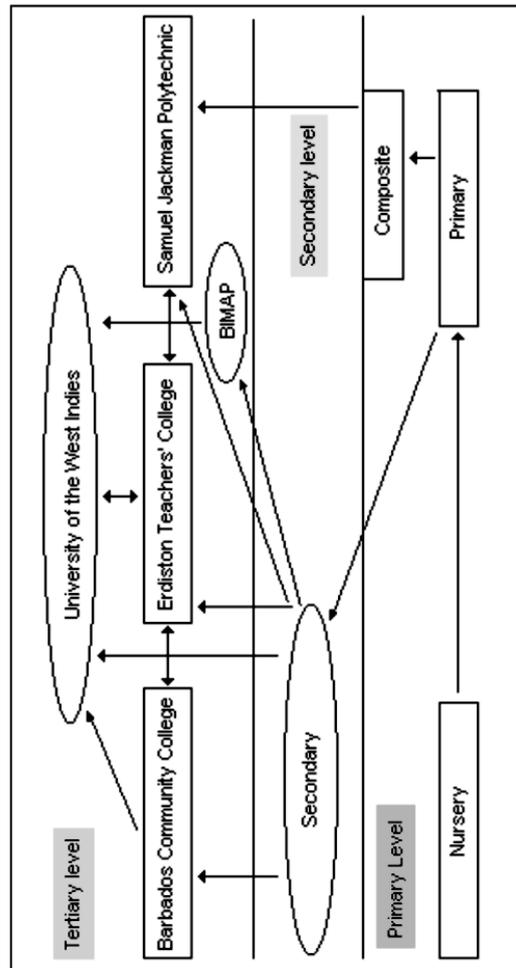
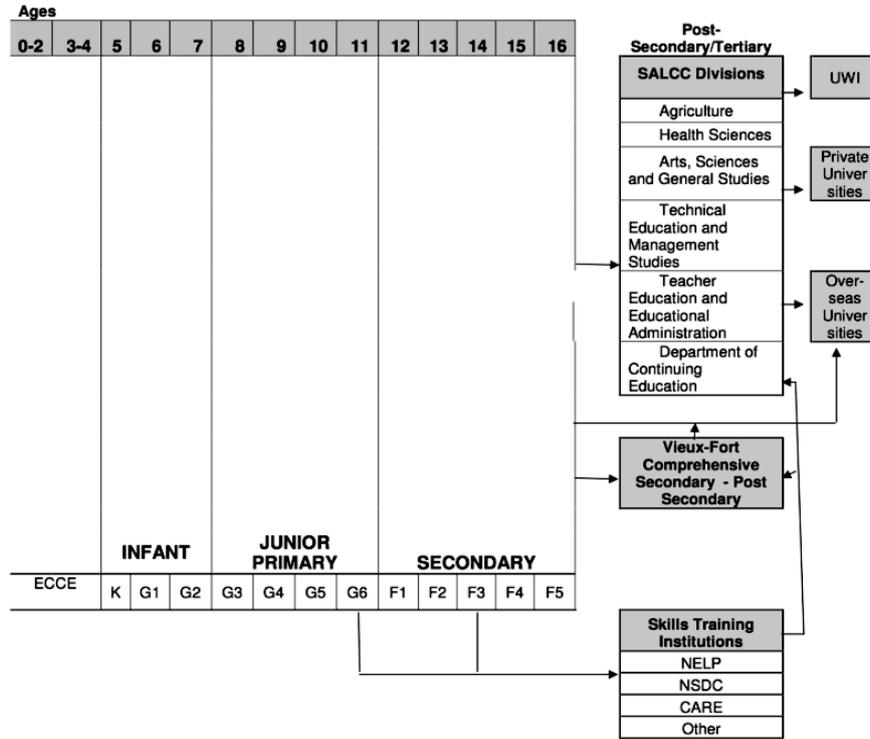


Figure 4.3b Structural chart of St. Lucia’s education system (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014, p.8).



Funding for schools comes from government education ministries, but the top schools are often supplemented through outside sources, such as the private foundations, the Canadian government or other commonwealth institutions. Relatively speaking, both governments support education through a significant percentage of public expenditures. According to the World Bank database, Barbados spent 5.6% of GDP on education in 2014 and St. Lucia spent 4.8%. UNESCO reports on education in both countries indicate consistent spending by both governments, despite the ebb and flow of economic conditions (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014; Rudder, 2014). The same UNESCO reports measure the youth and adult literacy rates for both countries at an estimated 99% in 2012, which is clearly a good indicator of educational outcomes. These rates have remained consistent over decades of study and are a source of pride amongst educators and government officials.

Inequities and inadequacies

While both Barbados and St. Lucia are able to boast of successful, competent and effective education systems, many critics, including those interviewed for this study, are able to point to issues of inequity and inadequacy throughout the systems.

According to a 2008 UNICEF report, the historical legacy of a two-tiered colonial education system still defines the schools of the Caribbean today:

From inception, the provision of formal education in the 19th century post-emancipated British Caribbean colonies was two-tiered, segregated along race and class lines with the system differing in structure, administration and financing and offering sex-segregated curricula to two distinct populations: children of white plantocracy and those of the labouring ex-slave population. From the outset, therefore, gender and political-economy have played a pivotal role in access to formal education in the Caribbean. In spite of successive educational reforms at significant political periods during the 20th century, intended to promote greater social and, to a much lesser extent, gender justice and equality, Caribbean education systems remain marked by race, class and gender organising hierarchies which regulate the distribution of knowledge and ultimately differential access to material resources and symbolic power, (Bailey, 2005 in Bailey & Charles, 2008, p. 62).

A review of the historical development of these education systems reveals that each system was built through a colonial history that was based on western, white, male hegemonies that have left behind a legacy nearly 200 years after the abolition of slavery and 50 years since colonial independence. Talia Esnard, in her provocative chapter on education in St. Lucia featured in the 2014 book *Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean and Netherlands Antilles*, wrote about this legacy. She contends that the historical divisions are still present in today's version of the education system in St. Lucia and other Eastern Caribbean islands. She contends that the current system, education policy and cultural practices regarding education are deeply informed by colonial and postcolonial formations. Furthermore, they serve to perpetuate neo-liberal ideals and subjugate local culture. For example, across the Eastern Caribbean local languages and dialects were dismissed from schooling, where English was the language of learning. British structural and pedagogy models dominate. More recently, education reform has focused on meeting the demands of global and interdependent economies, such as service industries related to tourism. Finally, many Caribbean nations, living in the shadows of the U.S. and its well-regarded higher education system, actively encourage students to pursue studies at foreign universities. In her view:

(They) unveil how the assumptions, practices and limitations of educational reforms in St Lucia remain embedded within dominant discourses and practices of development. The main argument therefore is that dominant ideologies underlying shifting discourses of development theories and practices, as a form of imported confusion coloured educational orientations in St Lucia, thereby perpetuating a silent crisis where the educational curriculum still lacks cultural relevance and where education as a practice seems far removed from creating conscious and critical individuals ready to deconstruct and recreate their realities in the process of advancing their societies, (Esnard, 2014, p. 342).

Her statement applies beyond St. Lucia and the formation of the education system in Barbados is similar. In the early colonial periods of the 18th and 19th centuries, slavery was legal (until 1830). African and Asian, people were brought to

the Eastern Caribbean as slaves by English, French, Spanish and Dutch settlers. Both enslaved and freed black Afro-Caribbean children were largely restricted from attending school. In fact, educating slaves and slave children was considered dangerous. In the post-emancipation period, schooling was still largely unavailable to children of African descent. As education became more accessible to non-whites, the systems were inherently segregated in structure and format. As blacks gained nominal power within the British colonial structures in the early 20th century, a small black middle class emerged and placed greater demand for education reform. Still, improvements in schooling were largely restricted to the middle class blacks and white, elitist classes largely attended private schooling. As schooling became more available to all classes, lower class black students were segregated into schools separate from where the already established middle and upper class students (both black and white) attended. This system served to perpetuate existing race and class structures (Welch, 2014). Esnard continues, expanding her thesis to include all of the post-colonial Eastern Caribbean:

In the post-colonial era, these elitist forms of education and historical trajectory of knowledge creation, flow and transfer from imperial states to the colonial countries remain a major source of contention (London, 1997). They bring to the fore questions related to the spread of global networks and projects across geopolitical spaces and provide a seedbed for scholarly resistance to long-term forms of power, control and marginalization of Caribbean peoples and societies (Lavia, 2012; Tilky, 2001). Given such, Tilky (2001, p. 158) suggests that: The education system was so highly selective and elitist in the opportunities it offered for secondary and higher education and was, therefore, deeply implicated in the formation of indigenous elites who in turn have become part of the emerging global elite. Thus, by privileging locality, race, class and language the emerging education system served to reinforce the existing status quo while forging a state of dependent development in the education system, the main aim was to instil in the colonized an imagination, identity or a 'world view that would develop in them [the colonized] a voluntary subservience to the White ruling groups and a willingness to continue occupying their positions on the lowest rungs of the occupational and social ladder'. Bailey (2009, p. 1) assesses this as a rift ... between race and social class in post-emancipation Caribbean society [which] masked hierarchical relations of gender ... effectively achieved through an intentional sex segregation of curricula offered in both tiers of the education system that ensured differential socialization of males and females into gender-related roles, (Esnard, 2014, p. 343).

The post-colonial period of the 1970s through the 1990s coincided with drastic changes in the economies of these islands, as they moved away from an agriculture base toward service industries, most notably tourism. As discussed in the previous section, this shift destabilised the economies, making them vulnerable to fluctuating global markets. Although political independence was achieved, economic dependence grew as the tourist economy became increasingly important in the macro-economic environment and reliant on American and British visitors. Despite these ebbs and flows, spending on education has remained a priority for both governments, with relatively consistent and reasonable spending on education and outcomes, such as high literacy rates, that indicate effectiveness.

According to Esnard and Welch, education reform has largely centred on structural and infrastructural factors (2014; 2014). Namely, increasing the number of schools, both primary and secondary, in an effort to make education more accessible to all residents. Rural residents, in particular have been targeted and schools built to service those students. This is especially true in St. Lucia, where the topography makes it more difficult to travel from rural areas to larger communities. Other reform efforts include increasing teacher training, standardising curricula and coordinating exams to fit regional standards. The UNESCO reports, government strategic plans, and documents from the ministries overseeing education describe a litany of reform efforts and initiatives. Such projects include *EduTech 2000*, which launched in Barbados in 1993 to increase technical skills and computer training amongst students. This project, funded by the Caribbean Development Bank, the Intra-American Development Bank and the Barbadian government, cost about US\$213 over seven years. Along with technical learning, it was intended to create a paradigm shift in pedagogy, from didactic learning to a more “child-centred” approach (Welch, 2014, p. 98). Clearly, this reform was intended to better prepare students for working in a digital world, giving them a competitive edge in the Caribbean region. It also represents the conflict over pedagogy, as the remnants of the traditional British system of instructional-oriented learning gave way to a more modern approach of participative learning. *EduTech 2000* was followed by other reforms, including the UNESCO *Education for All* plan.

Similar initiatives were found in St. Lucia, under the names of projects like the Education Sector Development Plan and the Basic Education Enhancement project, both conducted through the government. In various ways, these projects reflect the larger shift away from an agriculture based economy and towards service oriented work fields. Increases in technology training and access are consistently present in these reforms through the early 2000s up to 2014, when each secondary student on the island was issued a free laptop computer. This laptop giveaway was quite a controversial topic during the fieldwork period of this study, as the students could be seen all over the island playing games on their computers, with teachers and adults visibly and openly irritated that they were being used for such non-academic purposes. Beyond the technological focus of these reforms, continued increases in post-secondary vocational and trades skill training is prominent. For both St. Lucian and Barbadian students, those vocational programmes include training in tourist service careers, such as beauty therapy, bartending, and hotel housekeeping (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014; Rudder, 2014).

Esnard, for her part, argues that programmes like EduTech were popularised across the Caribbean as a part of the neo-liberal modernisation approach common in the post-colonial period (2014). She contends that to adapt to the pressures of the new, global economy, policy makers in the Caribbean began to commoditise education to fit the needs of external economic forces. Furthermore, these modernisation efforts served to reinforce existing inequalities within the islands and perpetuate the colonial influence in the region:

Caribbean scholars contend that such educational reforms remained crippled by the very nature of their design, goal and broader philosophical underpinnings under which they were framed and externally funded (Jules,

2003, 2006, 2008; Renee, 1996). Specifically, Caribbean scholars argue that despite noted changes in access and opportunity, the education system failed to address the systematic problems of society including those related to: existing academic biases in education; persistent educational inequalities associated with issues of class, race, gender and school type; limited spaces at tertiary institutions; the pre-eminence awarded to foreign-based tertiary institutions and assessments; the inherent reliance on academic education as the basis for the formation of the entrepreneurial class; and the resultant undervaluation of other skills, training and cultural art forms as entrepreneurial endeavours (Alleyne, 1995; Baksh, 1986; Miller, 1986; MoE, 2007, 2011; Renee, 1996). Moreover, the persistent dependency on foreign models of assessment and design through ongoing educational reform continues to reinforce new forms of colonialism through the aegis of the multilateral lending institutions (Kean, 2000). These institutions with their interventionist and reductionist approach to education as measured by enrolment, investment in human capital, expenditure and literacy statistics have in a sense reduced education to a numbers game (Witter, 1996), (Esnard, 2014, p.348).

Indeed, one can track the reform movements in education and find where such inequities still prevail. The same top schools, mostly private, draw the best performing students on the CXC while the lowest tiered students are massed together in the poorest performing schools. And so the cycle repeats itself, despite new initiatives for reform. Furthermore, Esnard's last point about reducing education to a "numbers game," seems especially apt. She also stated that:

Thus, many labour market demands, neo-liberal ideological changes, changing socio-economic paradigms and policies embedded in the geopolitical environment have increasingly resulted in the globalization of education. This process it can be argued transforms education into a commodity (en route to global competitiveness), emphasizes global positioning and continues to produce many contradictory effects (Carnoy, 1999; Jules, 2008). Therefore, at a "basic philosophical level there is the issue of the commodification of higher education that will result from treating education and training as "products" subject to trade rules, to be bought and sold across national borders' (Jules 2008, p. 209). These wide-range reforms are set to transform and reposition the education sector to meet the basic and development needs of the changing global society. In this context, St Lucia becomes a mini-state that bears global education mandates where the education sector must meet the demands for global markets, (Esnard, 2014, p. 348).

The increasing emphasis on test scores and evaluation outcomes makes it difficult to account for human capability development, although human capital development becomes clearer with each exam passed and certificate achieved. Barriteau echoes Esnard's cry in her contention that Caribbean governments have increasingly commoditised the development of young people viewing their growth and progress as a type of national capital (Barriteau, 1996). As curricula and structural reforms have continually directed education toward student matriculation into the new economy, even the names of the governing ministries reflect this commoditisation. In St. Lucia, the name was changed from the Ministry of Education

to the Ministry of Education, Human Resource Development and Labour. Clearly, education is positioned as a pathway to human resource and labour development. In Barbados, the ministry governing education is titled the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Innovation. Again, reflecting the emphasis on skill-building and workforce development.

Despite the myriad efforts at reform, the historic legacies of inequality seems to exist today. In one interview, Alex, a male programme administrator in St. Lucia who attended university in the U.S., referred to the existing secondary school structure in St. Lucia as a “caste system.” “All the top performers (students) are funnelled to the top tier schools (about four schools),” he claimed. He noted that there is a big gap between the top tier and other schools. We discussed how this was visibly evident in one of the programme schools we had attended, the Junior Visionaries (mixed gender) programme at Sir Ira Simmons Secondary (SISS) in Castries. SISS is adjacent to a top tier school, Castries Comprehensive. Castries Comprehensive was built with funding from the Canadian government. The school building is well-maintained, with grass fields and an indoor gymnasium. At SISS, the building is degraded (cracks, leaks, stains and trash throughout), there is no grass (only a concrete pitch with a drainage ditch around it) and no indoor gymnasium. Although both schools are near the shoreline, a fence separates students from SISS from walking to the beach. Castries Comprehensive students have beach access. During one visit, I noticed a sign on the door of a convenient shop across the street. The sign read “no students in school uniforms allowed.” Both Alex and Daniel explained that this sign is intended to keep out SISS students, but Castries Comprehensive students are generally permitted.

The Principal and another teacher at SISS agreed with the general sentiment that SISS is perceived as a poor, low-quality school and its students considered lower class while the Castries Comprehensive school and students occupied a more privileged reputation in St. Lucia. They and several other St. Lucian educators, administrators and government officials I spoke to echoed the concern that the existing system reinforces class divisions, which hinders the development of young people trapped in the lower rated schools. “If you put them all together, it’s very challenging,” Daniel stated. He noted that the SISS was “filled with the lowest performing kids who are most likely to have disadvantages at home.” Alex later discussed recent efforts to reorganize the education structure based on districting, such as the initiatives discussed above. He felt the plans failed because parents did not want to risk sending their kids to a school with a “bad reputation.” He went on to note that students from poor families are further hindered because parents tend to pull them out of school to “hustle” for money. For example, in Gros Islet (on the north shore of the island), school children can be seen helping their parents set up stands on market days in the city centre. The Gros Islet school is considered one of the lowest ranking. Ironically, the shoreline of Gros Islet is home to numerous luxury resorts, including a *Beaches* resort. Again, many of these school children live and go to school in impoverished settings, while within view of far greater wealth and privilege.

Figure 4.3c The JV programme at SISS



The NSDC participants felt similarly. They felt that “you need the money” to access the resources needed to get to the A-level courses, or CAPE, that lead to higher education. There was some disagreement about this, with several objections and an anecdote about a guy who managed to work his way up through the education system. One of the males shared the story. “He was poor and when he was younger, he would D’s, E’s and stuff. Then he started getting help in primary school and then he went up to C, B and the A and now he’s doing well. So, you really can (move up the system) and, again, you need to know the correct people.” Of course, a key aspect of this story is that he got “help” before entering secondary school. Many, in NSDC and elsewhere, felt that primary schools were more equal. It is only after the sorting process of the CEE at age 12, when students are divided by exam scores, that the inequalities become more apparent. Another key element of this story is that they generally agreed that it was rare for a poor kid to make such a leap. They agreed that it was partly effort and partly luck of connections.

To a lesser extent, this same problem was discussed in Barbados. The CXC system is the same as in St. Lucia. Several government officials, programme leaders and teachers felt that the system unfairly relegated kids from lower rated schools to fewer opportunities. Two officials for national sports council, John and Melly, discussed their own concerns about getting their children into schools with the best reputations. After taking me on a tour to several “bad reputation” schools to conduct surveys and focus groups, John, a male coach and administrator in the Barbados national sports council, proudly took me to his alma mater, one of the highest rated academies on the island. Kids that are fortunate enough to go to this school, he noted, are going to have the best opportunities of anybody else from Barbados. For everybody else, it’s going to be a “tough road” to get desirable jobs and careers. The brick building was well-maintained and spacious. By contrast, some of the lower rated schools we had visited were dirty, stained with graffiti and had poor facilities (holes in chalkboards, not enough desks to accommodate students, unfinished construction, foul smell).

Melly explained that, as in St. Lucia, the top students get grouped together in the top schools. There is a middle group and the poorest performing students are grouped together in the schools with the worst reputations. The director of the SFL programme provided a similar description of the system in Barbados. But one of her coaches, Jackie, disagreed. “I think people play names. Some of the schools that people think are the top schools. I didn’t go to the highest school, but got a certificate (at UWI) and did fine.” While this may be true, note that Jackie did not attend one of the “top schools.” Most of the concern from teachers, officials and others was about those funnelled to the worst, or lowest rated schools. The overwhelming feeling was that collecting all of the weakest students together, where they may have fewer resources and, even more likely, will be identified as poor students by their uniform, the system was trapping these children and youth into a path of low achievement.

Tension between sport and academics

The emphasis on test scores has many unintended consequences. Among them appears to be a tension between academic studies and sports/physical education. Teachers and school administrators are under increasing pressure to have successful

student outcomes on exams. Parents and students feel a growing pressure to perform well on the CEE in order to access better secondary schools, or at least avoid the lowest ranking schools. Furthermore, the number of secondary completion exams has increased so that students who complete secondary must then demonstrate their competency toward potential entry into post secondary education or the work field.

This theme came up again and again in interviews with current and former physical education teachers, sports council representatives, teachers and coaches. The increasing emphasis on exams in core subjects, such as math, English and geography, de-incentivizes schools to teach more auxiliary subjects. The CEE exam (11 plus) does not include health or physical education, nor does the CCSLC, however the CSEC and CAPE exams do (CXC, n.d). Therefore, parents and teachers of primary school students do not have to concern themselves with teaching health or physical education in order to earn higher test scores that help place students in quality secondary schools. Although, the most recent education reforms in both countries do include improving learning outcomes regarding health as goals (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014; Rudder, 2014). Naturally, the increased emphasis on developing skills for the global market place is reflected in the national and regional curricula. Exam subjects such as principles of business, principles of accounts and information technology have growing priority.

Figure 4.3d Public poster about exams in Barbados



Officials and educators repeatedly discussed the challenge of promoting sport and physical education in a culture that often sees these activities as in conflict with academic subjects. Parents and teachers were described as not understanding the role of sport and physical activity in the school environment. One government official in St. Lucia, who oversees school-based sport activities and physical education, described an interaction with a school Principal who exemplified this mode of thought:

How can you (she) come and say the ‘critical subjects?’ To her, PE is not important. She still feels that P.E. will set children back so you have to focus on English. I said, but you are giving them more periods and they are not performing. Something is wrong. So what about the physical development to keep them healthy, to keep them strong, to be able to stay up and so-on. . . It (PE and sport) is an integral part of the education system and when you separate the two, like sports is just play and that means the teacher is not doing work.

She also discussed how PE and sport is seen as something that takes away from time to study and prepare for exams. Another St. Lucian teacher and SDP programme administrator agreed. He made the following statement. “What happens is they are going to weigh any sporting overture against their curriculum. Sport is given a back seat. Maybe an hour or so within the system (once per week). By the time you take off your clothes and get dressed . . . (there is no time left to learn physical education).”

Matthew, the retired PE teacher and school sport administrator in St. Lucia, shared an anecdote of using soccer to teach his young granddaughter mathematics. He is a firm believer that sport is good for youth development intrinsically, but also as an avenue to teacher other academic subjects. “But people don’t realise the importance of sport to the whole, overall development of the child because sports and education can hold its own . . . But, luckily for me, I had parents who understood the value of sports. So that is another problem that you have that we are so bent on the academics that even children going to preschool or infant school go to lessons. And instead of letting the children go to recreate and have that free play where they could understand the importance of sports. That is not happening.” He continued on to explain that after decades teaching, he believes that physical education “develops the child physically, socially, emotionally: we know it can combat stress and so on . . .” Over the years, he has become increasingly frustrated and disappointed with parents and other educators who did not recognize or appreciate the value of sport and physical education within the curriculum. He felt that parents were trying to make the best decisions for their children, and the gravity of the CEE towards the future education of the child has meant that primary school children’s parents are intent on improving their academic scores. If there is competition over the way children spend time, subjects included on the CEE will always take precedence, he explained. Furthermore, he explained that “it is worse if you are a girl. Because the norm has always been that girls should not be involved with sports.” He felt that girls were less encouraged to play sport than boys for many cultural reason, beyond just the tension between sport and academics.

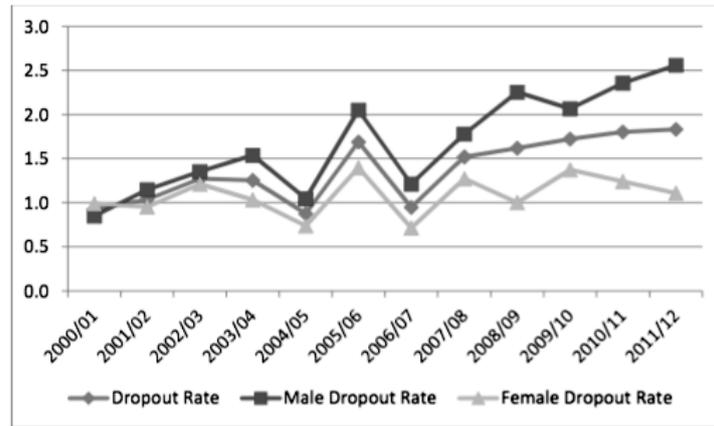
Overall there was little discussion on gender differences between boys and girls within the education system, however. Still, social norms regarding gender seem to be an influence within the system, particularly in St. Lucia. According to a female education department administrator in St. Lucia, who also has a background in sport and physical education, there is a clear benefit from the social affiliation through after school sports simply because it occupies the time of children at a critical point of the day. "It keeps them out of trouble. They probably would have been out there getting into all kinds of mischief. Especially the boys, they love sports," she said.

Other interviewees reiterated her statement, including Melly from the Barbados sports council. She felt that schools generally encouraged boys to play sports more than girls. She explained that their high energy levels can be problematic in the classroom, but great for sports and play. "I love the boys. I love to work with them because they are always set aside. And the girls were always given place. I prefer to work with the boys that were left out. So I will talk to them more and make them feel more welcome and more accepted and make sure they get the same attention." She pointed out that the teaching population is overwhelmingly female, with the government only recently choosing to actively seek male teachers.

The 2014 UNESCO report indicates that boys still drop out at higher rates than girls, particularly at the secondary level. The gap has widened dramatically at the secondary level. The male dropout rate increased from 0.8% in 2000-2001 to 2.6% in 2011-2012 (See Figure 4.3c). The female dropout rate only increased from 1% to 1.1% during that timeframe (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014). The increases coincide with a 2006 education policy for universal secondary education, aimed to improve access and increase enrolment at the secondary level. Therefore, the increase is not a surprise, as more students are not enrolled. However, the widening of the gender gap poses some serious questions. Dropout rates for both genders decreased at the primary level during the same time frame. The education ministry has increased counselling services, provided book rentals and offered transportation subsidies to help address the issue of boys dropping out.

A 2001 joint study from CARICOM, UNIFEM and ECLAC found that boys have a more negative attitude toward school work and struggle because the teaching population is almost entirely female (Bailey, 2001). As Melly mentioned above, recruiting and training qualified male teachers has been an on-going struggle. The UNESCO report found that the percentage of male teachers in both primary and secondary schools has actually decreased between the 2000-2001 and 2001-2012 academic years, from 17% to just 13% in primary and from 48% to 39% in secondary.

Figure 4.3e Secondary school drop out rates in St. Lucia by gender (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014)



The UNESCO study also explores the shortage of qualified teachers available in St. Lucia. This concern was also commonly expressed by the participants, particularly regarding PE teachers. Recent education reforms and goals in both Barbados and St. Lucia have included increasing teacher training at the tertiary level, with an emphasis on teachers acquiring bachelor's degrees (Chitolie-Joseph, 2014; Rudder, 2014). It is currently allowed that a person with an A-level secondary diploma can teach at the secondary school level. As discussed earlier, the increasing emphasis on core subjects included in the CEE and CAPE exams may push health and physical education to the margins of the curricula or out altogether. This tendency, in turn, reduces the need for PE teachers.

Many participants, especially those involved with national level sports councils or school sports and PE, were very concerned about the reduction of PE and the lax standards for PE teachers. The problem seemed more acute in St. Lucia, where there has not historically been a place on the island to pursue teacher certification. To earn a teaching degree, students would have to go abroad for study. Three different programme administrators in St. Lucia explained that many PE teachers travelled to either Cuba or Jamaica to earn their teaching degrees. This obstacle to cultivating trained teachers poses a challenge to Teresa, who directs all of the school sport and physical education in island. "It's my biggest challenge. Teacher training and getting teachers qualified to go into the school. There is a shortage of qualified PE teachers in school now. They take a teacher from another subject who has experience with sport and put them as a PE teacher. The principals do want PE teachers, but they still have the attitude of, come common entrance (CEE) time . . . Well, just before I left I had to call the chief to tell him about two schools that did not want to send the ids out to train because of the exam time."

She recognized that the shortage of teachers is a major challenge and, in addition to the tension over academics and PE, especially nearing CEE time. She explained that "most" of her teachers, at both primary and secondary were qualified

PE teachers. Several had studied abroad, namely in Cuba and Jamaica. At times, she had to shift people around and accommodate teachers leaving to study or move elsewhere. Schools and districts often shared a single PE teacher, who would travel from school to school on different days. In other instances, schools filled in PE vacancies with teachers who had a sport background. Clearly, she would prefer to have more qualified PE teachers to handle that subject. Her colleague in the school sport sector added that “I wish we had qualified persons doing the right job Because if you’re young, you can shape lives and help them make the change they have to make.”

Matthew agreed. He held Teresa’s position prior to his retirement. He felt that finding qualified PE teachers and sport coaches for the schools and communities was a constant challenge. He felt that educators generally looked down upon PE as an unnecessary subject. Furthermore, he recognized that teaching PE or sport requires more than just “technical” knowledge of the games. “So, while you may be technically sound, having the prerequisites to deal with the various attributes of adolescence is questionable.” He prefers to have all teachers and coaches trained in teaching skills, so they can better communicate with students and create an environment for more holistic learning.

Melly, at the Barbados sports council had similar wishes and experienced the same challenge of the PE teacher and certified coaches shortage. At the sports council, they did not have a coaching certification requirement. “We do a lot of self-training here,” she added. She felt frustrated that so many people who were experienced at sport and wanted to coach did not follow through with attending training sessions that she organized through the council. Barbados does have teacher training on the island through UWI, including PE certification. However, Nathan from the sports council was skeptical that many PE teachers at local schools had actually completed the certification process. “Part of the problem here is we don’t have bona fide teachers (for PE). My wife, for example, is a teacher. She started in PE. She said she used to do high jump many years ago. And they said ‘ok, we have a PE opening.’ So, you slide in.”

Overall, the impression given was that there truly is a lack of certified PE teachers and sport coaches. Again, the de-emphasis on PE, sport and health looks to be a causal factor. As noted, subjects in the CEE are a priority and are more likely to get the most qualified teaching candidates.

4.4 Governance & infrastructure

The third and final support system examined is governance and infrastructure. This section is divided into four different codes: government ineffectiveness, inefficiency and bureaucracy; transportation problems; lack of funding for sport and gender inequality in sport structure.

According to the 2014 IDB report on Barbados, the government was slow to implement projects and disperse investments. “Barbados has been persistently characterized by slow execution, delaying or preventing the achievement of goals,” (Stone, et. al, 2014, p. ix). The report found that the limited human resources, high personnel turnover and lack of project management skills reduced the overall

effectiveness of the government to enact projects and execute plans. The delays and bureaucratic procedures caused such problems that some projects were cancelled altogether. The report also highlighted redundancies within the government system. For example, projects were designed and implemented to address a specific problem or need. However, upon further review the IDB found that similar projects already existed and were overlooked. These redundant projects from previous strategies created confusion, wasted resources and generated inefficiencies (Stone, et. al, 2014).

The IDB report outlined several problems or issues related to project execution and loan administration in Barbados. Among them, the government struggled with project administration and staffing. Particularly, there was limited personnel to execute a myriad of complex development projects. The IDB noted that this was a common concern among small counties, but a particular hindrance in Barbados where the staffing procedures could take from 12 to 24 months simply to hire a civil servant to fill a project management position. The problem with the greatest negative impact on project execution was identified as “structural and institutional bottlenecks in the approval and procurement process,” (Stone, et. al, 2014, p. 20). While these problems are specific to the IDB projects, they represent a common source of concern amongst SDP programme administrators and coaches. In essence, the government was slow-moving, cumbersome and inefficient. Programmes were often redundant and underfunded. The views of the participants in this study reflect the concerns from the IDB report.

Government ineffectiveness, inefficiency & bureaucracy

The topic of government ineffectiveness, inefficiency and stifling bureaucracy was common among programme administrators and government officials. Accusations ranged from incompetence to nepotism to outright corruption. Aaron, the former economic development official in St. Lucia identified a region wide crisis of leadership. “Leaders need to be forceful. They need to have balance, but they need to be forceful. And first of all, they must know where they want to go and carry the people with them. So, it will be interesting to see what happens. But that is the crisis of the Caribbean now, in my opinion. Leadership. Visionary, effective leadership.”

Lack of a cohesive vision amongst government leaders, along with shifts in the political landscape and control, were common topics. Alex agreed, and referred to short-term thinking as a downfall. “The government never thinks beyond five years because that is the limit of a definitive future for politicians . . . Everything is piecemeal, patching potholes and not taking a holistic approach. There is no vision.” He also accused officials of corruption, saying they often looked to gain a “cut” of business deals from developers. In part, that is why the bureaucracy is slow and clunky, because “everyone’s gotta hae a hand in it.”

Melly in Barbados provided a similar analysis of the governance in her country, though without the direct corruption accusation. She identified the economic downturn as a driving force. “The whole recession and the whole political situation, well, not political, but government management, has affected everybody,” she stated. She was describing how projects within the sports council had been curtailed due to funding and ineffective management by the government.

Cumbersome bureaucracies and nepotism were to blame, according to several other participants. “They’re top heavy. They have all these administration costs. They can’t really do anything . . . The government is too busy micromanaging everything . . . if they would create the economic infrastructure, everything could run itself,” Alex claimed. Aaron claimed that government ministers were too involved in low level decisions, such as the hiring of civil clerks and promotions of employees. Daniel felt that there were many government officials claiming roles in project, but few actually complete the tasks. “In the Caribbean, the same people are doing all the work, everything.” Aaron painted the current administration, one that he was excluded from, as “lazy,” selfish and corrupt. He called St. Lucia’s bureaucracy “one of the most non-functional in the entire Commonwealth.” He continued:

I ran the public service sector many years . . . and I was the subject of political attack. I was vilified because I was tough. I demanded performance, but I was fair. Public services and bureaucracies are paid with taxpayer money . . . It’s not supposed to be a license to where you can lounge and come into work at any time that you want and leave at three o’clock instead of four thirty and do nothing. Especially in developing countries, you must earn your keep in the public sector. Because you are the engine of growth and development. Our private sectors are relatively underdeveloped. And so the government is really the driving force of what is happening in these countries, and, therefore, if you are being paid from the public purse, you have to work and perform and deliver.

He blamed the “lazy” and “undisciplined” nature of government bureaucrats on the abundance of nepotism within the system. When a new administration comes in, they “infuse your own people at the head of these ministries . . . They don’t know much about public service and the public service is a very, very tightly knit club.” He claimed that officials were appointed “on the basis of political patronage” and that this practice had led the public sector to become “a shadow of what it was before in the previous era.”

The previous era, he claimed, was one when there was a more unified vision among the Caribbean SIDS. He spoke of Caribbean integration and joint representation of the OECS in the U.S. and one high commissioner representative through CARICOM. In his opinion, the strength of unity was important, because individually they lacked economy of scale and political influence. He also believed strongly that those leaders had a more global vision. Aaron was educated in the UK as were many of his colleagues in the Compton administration. The leadership in the Kenny administration, as well as other OECS governments, came through the UWI instead. In Aaron’s view, they had a more narrowed vision than those educated abroad. He called them a different “breed.” Furthermore, he recognised that during the time of Compton and other Caribbean leaders, the issues at hand were more “inspirational,” such as colonialism and apartheid. Now, the leaders have a more “narrow and secular” worldview. But, the previous generation of leaders “were all prepared to sacrifice their individual power for the global Caribbean vision because they recognized that as individual counties we are too small. So we came together for the Caribbean vision. This crop of leaders is not speaking about Caribbean integration at all, because they all want to maintain their power in their individual countries.”

Clearly, Aaron's point of view is coloured by his service in the earlier administrations. However, his thoughts are in line with the problems of cumbersome bureaucracies and inefficient management described in the government evaluations discussed above. His thoughts are also echoed by his friend Alex, who acknowledged that the previous leaders had better vision, but still struggled to execute their ideas. He spoke about finding old government documents from 1979 that proposed building up a renewable energy infrastructure to power the islands, including schools and businesses. The plans included wind and solar energy as private enterprises to help support the economy locally, rather than relying on foreign fossil fuel sources. "They were way ahead of their time, but nobody did anything about it," he remarked. Similarly, the government mishandled their new technology in education initiative, which provided free laptops to all secondary students. "But what does it really matter because they don't have internet. The schools don't have internet. They don't have USB sticks. What are the kids going to do with those laptops? But the minister will just smile and point to that accomplishment for six months. What impact does it really have? We give them laptops, but they come to school hungry and can't concentrate." Again, he blamed government incompetence and failure to execute a successful project, even if the concept was good.

In Barbados, John had similar concerns about the government vision and leadership. Although he had no experience directly working within the administration, he served at a national level in the sports council. He explained how the same four or five people continually rotate through the board of the sports council. "A lot of them have no background in coaching at all. They are a friend of the minister or whatever." He was frustrated by the nepotism in the system and felt that it kept out people who could help influence positive changes. He also believed that the council had strayed from its vision and was often ineffectual in bringing its projects to fruition. "They say one thing, but the policies don't reflect that. They have a lack of understanding. They don't know coaching. They don't understand these athletes." He felt that the council leadership misunderstood how their sport programmes could support the social and economic development of its participants.

John's description of council leadership sounds much like how Alex and Charles described the sports council in St. Lucia. "It's a rotating among themselves . . . because they can only do a two year term . . . So, what he does is he become general secretary, the general secretary goes up to president and they just rotate it that way so nobody can accuse the of spending two terms or three terms," Charles explained. Alex called this a "vicious cycle."

The coaching trainees at NSDC had begun recognizing the problem as well. Randall explained that they did not receive any support from the government for their programme. He was unwilling to even engage with government officials for his programmes. "The whole politics thing is rubbish. So I don't get involved with it all because it has no benefits for us, not for sports, not even development. No benefits whatsoever." He preferred to focus on his coaching and organising the programmes rather than depend on any support.

Addy, from A Ganar, had a slightly different view on matters. She explained that the government ran a lot of programmes to support youth development, and sport

as well, in Barbados. “In terms of opportunities for development . . . the government funded programmes are out there. There are so many, but I find that most of the students are not aware of it. More than likely, the persons that recommend these students are parents that are showing some level of interest in their child. But there are endless possibilities for free, subsidized programmes out there. Even for persons who are at risk.” She continued explaining that she felt these government programmes were not well advertised and many children who could benefit were not aware of them. She also recalled a time at A Ganar that they examined a chart of the different youth programmes and noticed that many participants were counted more than once. “All along each group is counting this child as delinquent, but we are counting this one child over and over,” she said. Nathan, from the Barbados sports council had a similar concern about the government’s ability to monitor or track its own projects. He said even fairly basic measures are hard to come by. “That’s not how they do it here,” he claimed.

Transportation and infrastructure

In both countries, children typically get to school by public buses. Students in school uniform ride these busses for free. In Barbados, the transportation infrastructure is well developed, with adequate roads in the cities and highways connecting townships across the island. Because Barbados is geographically flat, traveling distances is relatively simple. There was little discussion among participants about transportation problems. In fact, Nathan from the sports council noted that parents appreciated after school sports because it kept their children occupied until after 17.00, the same time many parents got out of work.

In St. Lucia, however, transportation was a big problem for sports programmes. The island was formed by volcanic activity, creating mountainous terrain. The poorer government has been unable to build good roads connecting the major cities to outlying areas. It is particularly difficult to travel from major cities in the centre and north (Castries, Gros Islet) to the urban centres in the south (Soufriere, Vieux Fort). Cities in the east, such as Denneries, are also isolated by mountains and rain forests. Therefore, students traveling from rural areas or smaller towns to cities like Castries, must often ride buses for hours. One major concern is when students stay after school to participate in sports or other extracurricular activities, they may miss normal bus routes. Bus routes run frequently directly after school lets out (approximately 13.00), but less frequently after 17.00. If the students are in after school activities until after 17.00, they may have difficulty getting home until late into the evening. Busses are also not consistently reliable, creating a further concern for parents who want their children home at dinner time.

This concern was mentioned by numerous teachers, coaches and administrators in St. Lucia. Teresa, the director of school sports and PE in St. Lucia explained that it was a “challenge” to arrange school sports activities in a way that do not disrupt the students’ ability to ride free or discounted busses and trains to get home. Therefore, most of the sport competitions are scheduled during the school day. This, in turn, creates further conflict between the focus on academics versus sports. At two schools in St. Lucia, she and other administrators launched an After School Activity Programme (ASAP). The ASAP runs at two of the lowest academically rated secondary schools on the island. Her colleague, who teaches and works with the

sports council in St. Lucia, agreed. “I think it’s one of our greatest challenges, to get the parents on board. One thing that affects sports is that everyone has to catch this bus to get home. So, this affects after school.” A special bus comes to take children home. If they miss this specific bus, they have to take a regular transit bus, which requires a fee. To adjust, they sometimes hold activities over lunch, he explained. It also required some thought and planning to schedule everything from everyone involved, he added. Weekend activities were also difficult, especially on Sundays when public transit buses are not available. Charles, who was trying to launch inter-school competitions, decided to pilot his project in Castries simply because the bus system worked better there. He felt it would have been very difficult to get kids from more rural communities to take the busses, especially in the evenings, to go compete in football.

Many of the NSDC coaching trainees complained about the lack of transportation available for them to attend training sessions as well as conduct sport lessons for children. The NSDC provided travel stipends for them, but often took weeks to reimburse fees. So, not only did they have to travel long distances to attend sessions, but they had to pay up front for them while they were unemployed. Participants in the programme came from all over the island, as far south as Laborie and to Denneries on the east coast and included Anse La Raye and Canaries in between. Most of the training sessions were held in or near the north/central city of Castries. They conducted their lessons in their own communities across the island. Randall had to travel Canaries and spoke about his difficulties attending training sessions (he was training as an elite footballer) in Castries. The buses stop running somewhere around 17.00 and his training continued on until 18.00 or 19.00. His father quit playing because of this issue as well. He felt he was at a disadvantage to compete in his sport because of the lack of transportation from home to Castries. Janelle agreed, she, too, was doing some coaching in Canaries. She lived in nearby Anse La Ray, but decided to pause her work coaching in Canaries in part because of the lack of busses, especially on Sundays. She hoped she would be able to continue coaching in the future.

Lack of funding for sport

Within the lack of funding category, many coaches and administrators agreed there was a serious problem providing the most basic tools necessary to effectively run sport programmes. In Barbados, two national sports council members, Melly and Nathan, discussed funding concerns at length. From their positions within the national council, they found the budget highly restrictive and new budget cuts continue to impact their ability to offer quality programmes. In total, eight of the participants interviewed felt that the government was underfunding sport in their country. Five of those participants were from St. Lucia, and three were from Barbados. They were highly critical. They also cited recent funding reductions due to across the board budget cuts in response to the economic crisis. These participants talked about the difficulty in establishing quality development programmes of any kind, sport or otherwise, because the government does not provide sustainable funding. There is a general reliance on grant funding, which translates to short term programmes that are not maintained beyond two or three years. The general consensus among interviewees is that real, lasting, impactful development cannot occur with consistent

government support. However, such a commitment seemed unlikely to occur in their perspectives.

At SFL in Barbados, the opening session of the year began with a plea to parents from the programme director. They did not have enough funding to last for the entire school year and they needed everyone to donate. Two of the SFL teachers explained that this scenario unfolded every year and they had to conduct fundraisers, like car washes or fun walks to supplement the budget. One official in Barbados, Nathan, noted that the budget cut was a severe blow to the council's budget. But, despite all the problems in the school sport system, they are still able to offer access to school children for free. He felt this was very important because other activities for children (sport, art, music, etc.) are costly and generally restricted to wealthier families, excluding those most in need. Melly at the sports council felt that it was a continuing challenge to find space in the budget to meet the needs of the programmes and keep sports relevant to the schools so they would support these activities.

"When you have 40 kids and two balls, how are you really going to learn?" stated one of the male NSDC trainees coaching in St. Lucia. Concern over funding for adequate equipment was common among these participants. Another St. Lucian education administrator, Teresa, discussed lack of funding for training coaches and physical education teachers. A third coach/administrator, Alex, adamantly argued that the government is underfunding the sport programmes and that the minimal funds available are misused. He laughed at a recent announcement that the budget was cut by 4 million Eastern Caribbean dollars (1.3 million Euros). "I was honestly under the impression that they have no money at all." He followed this statement with critical anecdotes about misuse of government funds and lack of transparency.

The NSDC coaching trainees talked about their struggle to obtain and maintain acceptable kit and equipment for their programmes. They noted that they never had enough to work with and that things wore out quickly. They also explained that they had to get their own equipment and gear, including football boots, an item that could cost a lot of money. But they acknowledged that Daniel, their programme director, was trying to adequately outfit them with limited resources. Darren, one of the trainees, explained that his group (along with other NSDC trainees in Denny) wrote to their district representative or tried to get sponsors to supplement their resources. Randall had a different experience in Canaries, where they get "no support whatsoever." Another trainee explained that he wanted to see improvements in the care of the fields and pitches. But more so, he seemed desperate for greater respect for the work he and the others were doing.

"The pitches we train on are not good. Sometimes the kids get injured. They fall, get scratches on their skin . . . Sitting in the hot sun, we have a cooler of water, sitting on the stands. It gets really, really hot, but the kids got to drink it. We have people watching training, pass right on the pitch. They don't even mind that we are training kids. They just walk right through like they don't care. We have dogs on the pitch whilst training and stuff . . . "

Randall followed with his own thoughts about what he wanted from the government. It was not "finance" or improved pitches, rather, he wanted "follow on programmes . . . just to continue the programmes for youth development. You have

the right people. Because I started the programme, there are people who follow it, people who I can use to make it better. Follow on programmes, because the minute I leave the community, it's gone.”

His words echoed the thoughts of others at NSDC and across the programmes. In fact, the NSDC coaching trainee programme itself was cancelled due to lack of funds. Daniel never had the opportunity to pursue his next class of trainees and recruit more female coaches. Because, in part, of the shaky and sporadic support for sport or other youth development programmes from the governments, coaches and administrators were genuinely concerned about the legacy of their work. Although each interviewee expressed a belief in the power of sport to contribute toward the development of young people in Barbados in St. Lucia, most also added concern over the lasting impact of sport for development programmes. Addy at A Ganar in Barbados said that her “major fear for the students” was that when they go back out into their home environments, they fall back into the same routines, forgetting the lessons learned in A Ganar. Still, she went on to tell the story of one student who refused to participate in games when they went to his neighbourhood, which was a notoriously tough, poor area in Bridgetown. She felt he was embarrassed to be seen in the programme. However, within a few months he began to participate actively and take on a leadership role, even when the activities were held in a park in his neighbourhood. She saw this as evidence that he valued the learning from A Ganar and was able to retain those lessons even in his home environment. The country coordinator for A Ganar in Barbados agreed that making a lasting impact was the greatest challenge and concern. This same fear was apparent in St. Lucia, where the UGGC programme administrator explained how difficult it is to make a lasting impact when the students are sent back to homes where drugs, violence and abuse are normal.

Gender inequality in resources for sport

Jackie from the NSDC also addressed the lack of funding in the St. Lucian system. In particular, she noted that the football association and sports ministries support several boys/men football tournaments each year (she guessed 5 or 6). While only one female tournament ever occurred in a one-year period. She felt this was unfair and served to subjugate girls'/women's football and discourage young girls from participating. It is unclear if this is a direct funding issue, but she felt that only recently had the government and football association began funding girls football in a serious way.

She was 24 at the time of the interview, and felt that funding and support had improved from the time she was a child learning to play football. She felt this was important not only for the girls of this generation to access playing sport, but because she noted this is important to generate more female coaches, which could further encourage girls of future generations to participate in sport. It is also important to note that at the time of the interview she was one of the NSDC graduates who was not serving as a community football coach. Several of the male coaches were coaching, but she lived in a community that did not have a regular programme for kids. She felt disillusioned about this result of her training. In fact, she stated that had she known there would be no direct link to coaching, she would not have joined the programme.

Interestingly, she was also a lead member of a dance company that performed paid and non-paid events around the island. Following the interview, they received a national award at a dance competition. In her words, she was seemingly pushed toward dance rather than football because dance provided income. "I love football, but I don't get paid for it. In dance, at least I get some money."

Melly in the Barbados sports council described herself as an advocate for girls and women's sports. Improving opportunities for girls' sport was often like "pushing molasses up a hill," because culturally, sport was reserved for boys. She said:

In our culture, and this has been in my youth and to some extent still exists. Girls have not been given the leverage like boys have been given in terms of sport. Girls are kept to do homemaking. So this happens you keep the girl home because she has to learn how to do housework and she has to learn this and that. And she's more capable of helping with younger siblings. So, therefore, if there's a boy and a girl, the boy will get the ball . . . And when the mother is looking for a replacement or substitute, she looks to the girl to do these things. She's sent to the supermarket, to take the younger siblings to the health centre. And if the girl is not careful, and, I would say, ambitious, and would not rebel or not complain about not getting to play netball or to play a sport. Because mommy says 'I have to do this, I have to do that.'

She also felt that boys' sport was prioritised because girls had only recently begun participating in certain disciplines, such as cricket and boxing, while boys had a long history of playing those sports. Even when girls do access those sports, she explained that the boys often get better equipment and better opportunities to travel overseas to compete (at the higher levels of play). Girls programmes also tend to get less money from donations and sponsorships, making it more difficult to improve their resources. However, she felt that things were improving and the girls were getting more opportunities and freedoms to play sport. Her colleague, Nathan, did as well. He said there were more girls playing sports like basketball, football and cricket than in the past.

In St. Lucia, Matthew also recognised the challenge of getting more girls access to sports. He acknowledged that while he served as the director of school sport and PE, there were few opportunities. He recalled allowing girls to play with boys at football matches, although this was prohibited. But there were no competitions for the girls so he "turned a blind eye" to it until he received complaints. Now, he sees things improving and is hopeful that girls will play these sports because he believes there are scholarship opportunities for them to play in U.S. colleges. His successor, Teresa, spoke about her efforts to improve the situation in St. Lucia. There were less activities for the girls, but new opportunities in traditionally masculine sports like cricket were a promising sign. She explained that it was often difficult to get the girls to want to participate, as they have not been brought up to play sports in the same way the boys had. In essence, they were socialised to develop different preferences for their leisure activities. Furthermore, she explained that amongst adolescent girls, sport play could get complicated. At a certain age, girls "become very self-conscious of themselves. They are concerned about their hair and what they are wearing," she remarked.

4.5 Concluding thoughts on support systems

The three major elements examined in this chapter are the economic instability and vulnerability of these countries, their education systems and the governance and infrastructure on the islands. Overall, these macro-level factors serve as negative mitigating factors toward youth development, and possibly risk factors. I concur with Barriteau's analysis that it is in fact macro-level institutions, such as those discussed above, that serve as causal factors for inhibiting youth development. While micro-level institutions such as family and schools often are blamed for development failures, the data here speaks to a different cause. Fostering self-efficacy, social affiliation, positive gender role attitudes and body image are all hindered by the macro-level factors discussed here. I have tried to examine these factors and their relation to SDP, as such macro-level, systematic issues are often overlooked in favour of studying individual and micro-level factors (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). Using the HCA framework adapted for SDP enabled me to consider these influences on development goals, with gender at the forefront of the analysis, and provide insight on how SDP functions in these larger systems.

Clearly, the economic volatility poses a threat to the youth development in both countries and the youth unemployment problem is an immediate concern. However, the shaky foundation of the tourism-based economy seems to be a long-term issue that undermines the capability development of youth in Barbados and St. Lucia. In relation to sport, coaches and programme leaders had a tendency to promote the idea of emigration to develop sport skills. The dream of earning a scholarship to an American university to compete in sports loomed large. They emphasised going to the U.S. to study and compete, earning a degree and better situating oneself in the labour market at home and abroad. This perspective reflects the larger problem of outbound migration in Barbados and St. Lucia, a flow that tends to send the most skilled workers abroad with little gains returned to the local economy.

The education system generates deep divides along racial and class lines and its curricula reflects the lasting influence of neo-liberal policies bent on integration into global markets, despite their clear risks to these small economies. Inconsistencies, inefficiencies and inequalities in government policies further frustrate youth development efforts. The out migration of highly educated and skilled workers underlies these problems and negatively impacts economic growth. I conclude that the reduced focus on health and physical education are further reflections of neo-liberal ideological influences on the education system. There is only so much time and space available to teach subjects to students and as the curricula across the Caribbean region is increasingly geared toward meeting global market demands, subjects less relevant to global competitiveness take a backseat. CXC exam subject areas such as information technology, industrial technology, business administration and electronic document preparation and management have emerged as new priority areas. If education is viewed as a commodity to be instilled in young people as a means of social capital accumulation, the ability to engage in sport becomes less relevant than the ability to work with emerging technologies and manage business operations.

Overall, the structural components of the education systems in Barbados and St. Lucia appear strong. Access to both primary and secondary education is available

to urban and rural communities and basic indicators, such as literacy rates and secondary completion are positive. However, beneath the surface the cracks appear. Historic inequalities, legacies of the colonial past, still linger. The “caste” system of secondary schools is a product of the CEE approach and the social stigma of attending lower rated schools is very apparent, to the point where the uniform a child wears can reflect how he is treated within the community. Furthermore, boys, particularly in St. Lucia, tend to be marginalized. Here, we see influences of social norms regarding gender roles, where women are clustered into the teaching profession, leaving a lack of male role models and mentors for boys to connect with. Finally, the neo-liberal policies intended to generate skilled workers for a global economy, have commoditized education and fostered a culture of narrowed definitions of learning. Holistic development has taken a backseat to skill development toward employment. Life skills relevant to health and physical activity are de-emphasized in favour of subject areas now included on CEE and CAPE evaluations, such as information technology and business principles. Coupled with the weakened prospects of youth employment in the post-recession era, many young people, especially males, are left with fewer opportunities.

Finally, regarding governance and infrastructure, the overall lack of vision and cohesive, sustainable policies makes it very difficult for youth development to occur. Among all the other concerns of programme organisers, their ability to make lasting impacts on the young people they serve was the most consistent. In part, this is due to the ever-changing landscape of government support. As so many programmes are born and reborn again under new administrations, consistency of purpose and institutional knowledge is reduced. The overall lack of government support leads many SDP programmes to rely on grants and outside aid or contributions. In the end, the development initiatives form a patchwork, with redundancies and inefficiencies.



CHAPTER V: SELF-EFFICACY AND SOCIAL AFFILIATION¹¹

5.1 Self-efficacy overview

In this chapter, the results of quantitative and qualitative data analysis are explored in the context of the theoretical framework proposed in chapter two. As discussed in the literature review, self-efficacy is a key component to building human capability and can promote positive youth development. Furthermore, improving self-efficacy is often a primary objective in the field of sport for development, especially for at risk youth. Social affiliation, though separate from self-efficacy, can support the development of self-efficacy by building supportive peer and mentor relationships to help participants improve their skills and overcome challenges. Social affiliation, explained as connectedness in the World Bank youth development framework, is a key protective factor for youth development among adolescents in the Caribbean.

To begin, we will discuss the analysis of quantitative and qualitative results related to self-efficacy and their related functionings. The theoretical frameworks from the HCA and youth development theory will be applied to these results. Self-efficacy is positioned as a capability within the HCA and is most relevant at the individual level within the youth development framework, as illustrated in Figure 2.5. The physical components of sport, with a focus on skill building, practice and overcoming challenge, provides a uniquely tangible avenue for young people to develop self-efficacy as they become more proficient in each sport.

5.2 Self-efficacy Survey Results

A 12-item General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSES) test was included in the survey (near the beginning). The GSES used was identical to the scale in the UK Sport Study on sport for development in 2010, which was based on Sherer, et al.'s original work from 1982. Each of the items was coded from the 4-point Likert scale on the survey as 0, 1, 2, or 3 (strongly disagree, disagree, agree, or strongly agree). The survey, as conducted, contains 3 parts: Initiative, Effort, and Persistence. (although these subheadings are not apparent to the survey-taker). There were 3 questions categorized as Initiative, 5 questions as Effort, and 4 questions as Persistence. The questions under the Initiative and Persistence categories were written so that the responses toward the "strongly disagree" end of the spectrum were more positive (i.e. toward 0 as coded). Therefore, to generate a summary score these items were reverse coded (so that scores toward 3 were more positive). This calculation allows us to better examine the results of the GSES in summary. The highest possible summary score is 36.

¹¹ Parts of this chapter were published in: Zipp, S. (2016). Sport for development with 'at risk' girls in St. Lucia. *Sport in Society*, 1-15.

182 of the 217 participants answered all of the GSES items, which allowed for calculation of a summary score (those that did not answer all of the questions were omitted from the summary calculation to avoid skewing the statistics). GSES summary scores were analysed by gender and programme/control groups. I found very little evidence that the GSES summary scores were dependent on these variables. The general finding in this study on self-efficacy is that these participants rate at seemingly “normal” levels. Although there is no official range, those in our survey fell at or above the ranges found in the UK Sport study. My analysis here, therefore, is similar to that in Coalter’s UK Sports study. Kids who have challenging lives, whether from poverty, abuse or other sources, may develop self-efficacy at adequate levels simply to cope with their circumstances. Coalter argues that the assumption that these young people are somehow “deficient” is false. I agree. They come from environments that are deficient, but they do not internalize such deficiencies, at least as reflected through self-efficacy evaluations. They demonstrated this further in their focus groups and journals.

Comparing by gender, the Mann-Whitney U tests supported the null hypothesis that there is no significant difference in the distribution of summary scores by gender ($p=.207$, $n=182$) (See Table 5.2a). Male participants had nearly identical mean scores (23.02, $n=105$) to females (22.37, $n=76$). Furthermore, males had a higher maximum score (36.00, the maximum possible) than females (34.00). However, females had a slightly higher minimum score (15.00) than males (13.00). Based on these scores, females seem to be more tightly grouped into a narrower deviation from the mean, while males have a slightly broader range of scores. Males also had a slightly higher median score (23.00) than females (21.50). Based on visual interpretation of the distribution graph, the distribution of GSES summary scores were normal.

Table 5.2a

Self-Efficacy Scale by Gender – Mann Whitney U-test

	Self-Efficacy Summary Scale
Mann-Whitney U	3552.500
Wilcoxon W	6478.500
Z	-1.261
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.207

a. Grouping Variable: Gender

Table 5.2b

Self-Efficacy Summary Scale by Gender

Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Male	105	23.0190	4.49568	23.0000	13.00	36.00
Female	76	22.3684	4.60389	21.5000	15.00	34.00
Total	181	22.7418	4.52791	22.5000	13.00	36.00

Tables 5.2c and 5.2d show the comparison between control groups participants and programme participants¹², distribution of scores produced no statistically significant differences ($p=.092$, $n=183$). Non-participants had a slightly higher mean score (23.35, $n=69$) than programme participants (22.38, $n=114$). The control groups also had a higher median (24.00) than the programme participants (22.00). While programme participants had a higher maximum score (36.00) than non-participants (34.00), they also had a lower minimum score (13.00) than the non-participants (15.00).

The lower median score among programme participants may reflect the nature of the participants in this sample. These programmes are targeted “at risk” or “disadvantaged” students, generally identified as such by teachers, parents, or (in some cases) law enforcement officials. While the control groups are often also “at risk,” and are from comparably disadvantaged schools and neighbourhoods, they may enjoy some overall advantages in comparison to programme participants. Furthermore, they may not experience the stigma associated with the clear label of “at risk” that programme participants inherently carry.

¹² The number of participants in the GSES summary scale analyses (Table 5.2b and Table 5.2d) include only participants who completed each of the 12 questions for the GSES section of the survey.

Participants considered more “at risk” may have lower self-efficacy measures in general, although as discussed above, one must be careful to make this assumption as life disadvantages can actually foster self-efficacy in some ways. One explanation of the slightly lower scores (though not significant) for programme participants may be the lower scores from the Court Diversion programme. This group is the most “at risk” of all, as they are adolescents already funnelled into the juvenile delinquent correctional system in St. Lucia (n=8). They had the lowest mean score (20.63) amongst all programme and control groups. The Court Diversion programme also had the lowest minimum score (tied with A Ganar at 13.00) and lowest maximum score at 27.00 (the next lowest was 30.00). Even with this group weighing down the programme scores, there was still no significant difference between the control and participant groups, indicating that levels of self-efficacy are seemingly normal in each group, despite their disadvantaged status.

Table 5.2c

Self-Efficacy Scale by Programme and Control – Mann Whitney U-test

	Self-Efficacy Summary Scale
Mann-Whitney U	3350.000
Wilcoxon W	9905.000
Z	-1.683
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.092

a. Grouping Variable: Programme participant

Table 5.2d

Self Efficacy Scale Summary by Programme and Control

Programme participant	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Non participant (Control)	23.3478	69	4.14028	24.0000	15.00	34.00
Participant in a programme	22.3772	114	4.70810	22.0000	13.00	36.00
Total	22.7432	183	4.51550	23.0000	13.00	36.00

5.3 Self-efficacy qualitative results

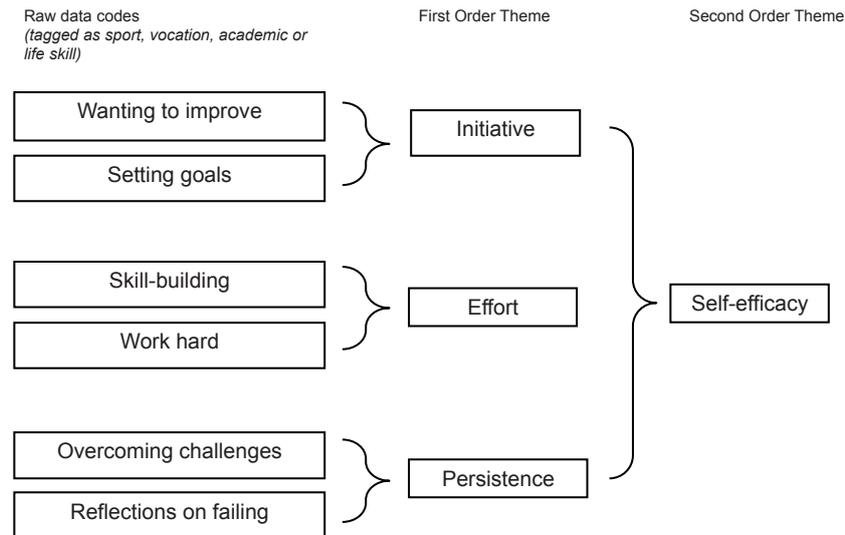
The GSES survey results examine self-efficacy in a broad way, without specific context or activity. While this provides valuable input on its own accord, we can better understand the true measure of perceived self-efficacy by supporting this survey data with qualitative information. In this section, we will discuss the entire theme of self-efficacy and use the language of the individual coding to further explore how the experiences of the participants contribute toward this capability (or not) and how differences in programme type and gender influence the development of self-efficacy in this study. To that end, focus group discussions, interviews and journals included questions and guided discussion on aspects of self-efficacy within specific contexts. Namely, self-efficacy was examined in the realm of sport, vocation, academics and life skills (such as attitude, health, outlook on life, etc.).

As explained in chapter two, self-efficacy can be broken down into three components: initiative, effort and persistence (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Sherer, et al., 1982). Initiative is defined as a “willingness to initiate behaviour,” effort as “willingness to expend effort in completing behaviour,” and persistence as “persistence in the face of adversity,” (Sherer, et al., 1982, p. 665). During qualitative analysis codes were developed to reflect these three components. Data speaking to these three components was adapted to more closely mirror the actual statements from participants. As they did not directly use terms such as initiative, effort and persistence, but, rather, spoke in terms that more directly related to their experiences. Statements about “wanting to improve” or “setting goals” were coded as such and grouped under the first order theme of “initiative.” These data indicate a willingness to make change and seek improvement in their lives, a key first step in self-efficacy formation as it speaks to a *willingness to initiate behaviour*. Data reflecting effort was coded as “skill-building” because in the context of these programmes, willingness to learn, practice and try new skills was the primary method by which participants could express effort, or the *willingness to exert effort to complete a behaviour*. To further clarify the data, skill-building is broken down into several aspects. Skill-building in sport (drill work, game, play), academics (lessons, tutoring, grades), vocation (career exploration, training, certification, job placement) and life skills (healthy lifestyles (nutrition, exercise, drug and crime prevention and sexual health)) as a capability developed through the sport programmes is the focus of this analysis. Passages which included references to “working hard” or requiring “hard work” to achieve goals were coded as “work hard” and also grouped within “effort.” Finally, participants talked and wrote about facing and overcoming challenges, obstacles and adversities. They also reflected on their own experiences of failure and the lessons they have learned through failing. These data speak to persistence, or the *willingness to keep trying in the face of adversity* and were coded as “overcoming challenges.”

As these raw data codes were grouped into their first order themes, they were also tagged as sport, vocation, academic or life skill. The tagging of these codes allows for further analysis within the relevant context of the experience. These three first order themes were then grouped together under the higher order theme of self-efficacy (see Figure 5.3a). By examining the specific activities or experiences described in these statements on self-efficacy, the relationship between context specific self-efficacy and broader, more general perception of self-efficacy may be

analysed. In other words, through this method we can begin to explore if building self-efficacy in sport transfers into the more vital aspects of youth development, such as education, economic empowerment and health and well-being.

Figure 5.3a Thematic coding of Self-Efficacy



Initiative

To examine the component of self-efficacy related to initiative, statements speaking most directly to wanting or taking steps to improve, make changes or seek growth along with those regarding goal setting were coded under the first order theme of “initiative.” The initiative theme was constructed from two raw codes; setting goals and wanting to improve. These codes reflect the initiative component of self-efficacy as they indicate a thoughtfulness and willingness to pursue a course of action or activity. Here, as throughout this study the focus is on the capability of self-efficacy, rather than the result. I am less interested in whether or not they achieve these goals (for this research) than the fact that they have goals and are seeking to improve.

These passages, from interviews, focus groups and journal entries, were also tagged as sport, academic, vocation or life skills focused. However, in the category of initiative, such tagging was less notable than in the section below on effort. Most responses were on goal setting were about vocation, as they were direct responses to questions about career and future. Most responses on wanting to improve were focused on life skills, as those questions tended to be about broader life issues. None of the questions directly on initiative were about sport.

Setting Goals

By examining the participants' interest and ability in setting goals, one can detect, to a degree, their willingness to try or to initiate behaviour. Goal setting reflects a sense of agency, that one's actions do matter and can direct one's life course. The focus of this line of questioning, therefore, was not to evaluate their goals or whether they were achievable, but rather to understand if they had goals and some kind of concept on how to pursue them. In order to open up discussion on goals, plans and ambitions, participants were asked a question regarding these items. Typically, the question was something like "what do you want to do after you finish school/this programme?" Their responses helped determine, first, if they had clear goals or were interested in goal setting in their lives. Secondly, what types of goals they had for themselves. This question was then followed-up with a question about how they could achieve their goal, such as "how will you do that?" This method was simple and accessible to the participants, making it easy to enter into a conversation about their goals. As the questions themselves are geared toward vocation and career, most of the responses are tagged as "vocation." Although, at times, the conversations ventured into more abstract goals that were more relevantly tagged as "life skills." Finally, some of the goals were clearly "academic" in nature.

Responses varied across participants and programmes, with most centred on the tourist and hospitality industry (hotel worker, housekeeper, massage therapist, bartender hair stylist, cosmetology, etc.). Many participants also aspired to become future teachers, nurses, construction workers, auto mechanics, accountants, computer technicians, paediatricians, veterinarians and more. The NSDC group was clearly in training toward careers as sport coaches and/or physical education teachers. Girls tended to favour traditionally feminine roles, such as cosmetology, massage therapist, etc. Boys tended more toward roles in construction, tiling, and other forms of manual labour than females. However, professional careers such as accountant, teacher or health care worker were more emphasised by female participants. Chapter five provides a more in depth analysis of the gender influences on career aspirations.

At SFL, the participants discussed life after their exams and completion of secondary school. In a focus group of four boys, one wanted to become a (math) teacher or paediatrician. "So I got to do math to be a teacher. And for a paediatrician I have to do science. I would go to UWI (University of West Indies) or BCC (Barbados Community College). He had a clear concept of what he wanted to be (set goal) and had reflected on his goal(s) enough to consider the steps he needed to take to achieve them. These statements, therefore, seem to reflect a willingness to initiate behaviour. His fellow group mates had similar responses, though in less detail. A second boy wanted to become a veterinarian and echoed that he, too, would have to "go to school" to achieve this goal.

Another boy wanted to become a police officer. When asked how he could do this, he replied "don't let nobody get bullied." He was unable to provide a solid answer on the pathway to becoming a police officer, such as education or training, as the others had. At this point in the focus group, there was a commotion in the background and the participants were quite restless and inattentive. The all-girls focus group had different responses with less clear ideas about how to achieve their goals. They wanted to become a chef, housekeeper, babysitter and one girl was too unsure to give a response. They did not specify a concrete step or activity to progress toward these goals. They did state that they had to "work hard" and the potential chef was working

in a kitchen for training. Overall, their responses indicated that they had generally set goals and considered how to achieve, though with varying detail and consideration.

Elsewhere in Barbados, the students in one of the A Ganar schools had their own plans. A group of five boys discussed their future plans. Three of them explained that they wanted to become a mechanic, construction worker or chef and a soldier. They agreed that they had training to do first, then they could seek employment. The potential soldier also mentioned taking a specific class first. The female focus group at this A Ganar school programme had very different goals. Two of them wanted to work in the cosmetology field, doing “aesthetics” such as full body waxing, grooming, etc. The other wanted to become a pastry chef. All agreed they needed to pass their exams to progress toward these goals. In each case, they clearly outlined a set goal (or goals) and steps to take to initiate the outcome they desired.

The programme coaches, mentors and facilitators provide insight into the development of self-efficacy amongst their participants. One such facilitator at the A Ganar programme in Barbados, “Addy,” discussed how the participants in the vocational training at BVTB selected their programmes and set goals. When asked why she thought they joined this vocational training, she replied;

I think because we are in the lower (ranking) secondary schools that these kids are uncomfortable with bookwork. So I don't think they would want to say that, they just don't want to do something that is reading and writing because those are not their strong areas so they are going to learn a skill or a trade so that they can use to get employment so that they can get away from where they come from. Some of my students were like ‘I don't’ want to leave here, I don't want to become a plumber.’ But this is just a stepping stone to a better life.

Her description indicates that the students are setting goals for themselves that they find achievable within the confines of their social setting. The social influences on their goal setting and preference formation are reflections of the macro and micro environmental influences as conversion factors in the HCA framework. These will be further discussed in chapters six and seven. For now, suffice to say that they are indeed setting goals and these students have already taken the initiative to join the BVTB programme to achieve such goals, a clear demonstration of their sense of self-efficacy.

Among the NSDC coaches, the female coach, “Jackie,” had her own story of goals, setting and changing her vocational goals. “So I want for that where I did carpentry. Something about me I didn't like working in offices. I wanted to do something with my hands. So I changed. So you never know what you want to be until you're like 17. I wanted to be a woodworker or carpenter. So now I think that I have a good idea.” Her story demonstrates that she set a goal, initiated steps to achieve it, then changed her goal (to become a football/dance coach and PE teacher) and took further steps to achieve the new goal (joining NSDC).

On the contrary, the participants at the Court Diversion programme in St. Lucia were largely unable to articulate solid career goals. It is unclear whether or not they had such goals or if they were unwilling to discuss them. Based on the data

collected in their focus group discussion, these students were the least likely to have developed a pathway towards professional development or career. Again, this particular group struggled in comparison to all other groups, which is not surprising as they were the most clearly “at risk” among all participants.

Wanting to Improve

In addition to setting goals, initiative in self-efficacy can be examined as a wanting to improve, seek change or grow. Qualitative data were analysed for passages reflecting these concepts and coded as “wanting to improve.” Here, as in goal setting, the primary finding is that the participants generally feel a sense that they want to and can improve in some way on their lives and future. It is not within the realm of this study to examine whether they achieve such a goal or functioning, but rather to see if they perceive it to be possible and feel a sense of control over their ability to reach these objective, as this is the essence of self-efficacy.

To begin, one of the adult, male coaching trainees at the NSDC programme in St. Lucia offers this narrative;

But people my age now, we only watching life like, alright, there are two sides. The ghetto side and some people that want to make it through life . . . So, someone who is like, people my age right now, you watching it like you want to be the peak of the mountain, you are always watching society . . . There’s the ghetto side and people that want to change and to do better. Like some of us will volunteer to do things even though it doesn’t make money. That’s how we operate. . . It’s like we kind of like we knew, we all grew up together and we want to be the role model. Like if a person is an accountant, we want to hang out with that person because that person is bringing out the good vibes, you know? And they can teach us. That’s how we operate.

His story outlines a tension young people feel in his community. He positions this struggle against the “ghetto” side of society, the side that calls for degeneration and regression. He, and his friends, are on the other side, amongst those who “want to change and to do better.” They have goals, dreams, visions of a better life at the “peak of the mountain” and strive to contribute to their communities even if there is no monetary reward. Clearly, his words explicitly state a desire to change, improve and a willingness to take initiative. Furthermore, he speaks to concepts of social affiliation and role modelling to be discussed in chapter four.

It is not surprising that the students in this programme have a fairly high sense of self-efficacy and, particularly, initiative. They took the steps to seek out, enrol in and then complete the NSDC training programme on their own. When asked why they chose this programme, they talked about their interest in sports and, more importantly, their desire to learn and grow. Certainly, they have hopes of career advancement, job training and employment counselling through this programme. But they also spoke of selecting sport coaching out as a way to contribute to their communities. “I chose this one because I wanted to help my community and give back. And also I wanted to get a job,” one participant stated, summing up the motivations of many of his classmates. Here, they are not only seeking to improve

themselves, but their communities as well. And they took concrete steps toward achieving those goals.

Still, their views were not without contradiction. While they sought to improve, not all participants were convinced they had full control, or agency, over the outcomes for their future careers. When asked if they felt they could get jobs through their training, they felt mixed. “It’s a bit of luck. It goes both ways . . . Some people just don’t try. But others try and they don’t get it, it comes harder. It’s more like who knows you and who you know,” one of the male coaching trainees stated. They all agreed that they did not feel “linked in” enough to benefit in the job market. This hesitation about their own agency to find a job speaks to the limitations of their self-efficacy in this realm. They recognize that they must take action to improve themselves and reach their goals, but also that, to some extent, their future is beyond their control.

In regards to their own adolescent participants in the NSDC programmes, the coaching trainees discussed initiative, in the context of demonstrating change and improvement over time. One NSDC coaching trainee described a participant from the Court Diversion Programme, a particularly ‘at risk’ group of young people in the juvenile justice and corrections system. When asked if he was learning to respond to difficult situations, he claimed he was and expanded on this with an example.

Yeah, yeah. Especially with the diversion kids. (Researcher: ‘Yeah, it’s tough?’) Yeah, really really. But it’s fun, so fun. (Researcher: ‘Do you think they are benefitting?’) Yes, oh yes. One, one, child in particular. He would be the person (with) all the comments. Well, it wouldn’t be all the negative remarks but really troublesome. Now I seem him, he’s always around helping people, he is from my community, always helping people and having chats with people. He is always the elder among a group of little children. And he doesn’t get in trouble like he used to. He’s occupied in little jobs like . . . and stuff like that. So you can see progress.

In the A Ganar programme, facilitator “Addy,” once again provides an example of initiative. This time, her story from one of the interviews reflects on the willingness to change of one particular student.

I can you give an example – one of the guys in my class he was from a tough area, so when he first came into the classroom, he showed interest, he wasn’t too bad. But once we go out on the field, and those from his neighbourhood saw and they wanted to come in and then, his attitude would be like he don’t want his friends seeing him being a part of this program. I thought he was gonna be one of the most challenging students, but once we got into the program and got working with him in the classroom. But he never wanted to participate in the field, whenever we went out in the field he would go and sit under a tree and say ‘it’s too hot’ or whatever and not participate and he wanted to be a bully.

I’m not sure if he didn’t want his friends to see him participate or what in the neighbourhood. He was really a challenge on the field sessions, but at the end of the program he was actually one of the leaders within the group. I mean in a

positive way. We were doing a football session, and I can't remember which area, but two of the boys, I think it was rules or something like that. So they had 5 minutes where there were no rules. So some of the guys started getting really aggressive and then some guys got mad and walked off the field. And he was one of the guys that stood on the field and encouraged the fellas to come back and finish it and stuff like that. Initially, he was always the first off the field and never wanted to participate, but later he was better.

We had a discipline chart – for not cussing, attendance, dress, participating, bringing manuals, so if you did it you get a star and if you don't they get removed. He was one that he would come after class and look at the chart and see where he needs to improve. Just changed completely from the start.

Her story about this one participant reveals how he wanted to improve and took the steps to make improvements. It is difficult here to draw a line where this passage might move from initiative toward effort and persistence on the self-efficacy spectrum. But it certainly works here in initiative as told through the eyes of Addy. What she is most struck by is his willingness to improve. He is facing some kind of unknown struggle regarding on field play, but he clearly has underlying motives to make change and improve. In particular, checking the discipline chart for areas he can improve speaks to his interest in developing himself. In turn, it demonstrates that he recognizes his own control, agency and freedom to make changes in his life.

Addy went on to describe how other participants sought growth and made improvements during their time with A Ganar. Her descriptions came from email correspondence in which she was asked to review the experience of individual participants. The aim of this method was to examine specific examples and draw out themes or common experiences among the participants. She provided the following examples:

I think out of everyone in the class "Kate" has improved the most. Before she was loud and quick to shout. Now she still is, but she realizes it more and stops herself from making certain comments or doing certain things. She is very participative and helpful. She can be distracted by "Sheena," who is her best friend. When she isn't there, everything runs smoothly and she is fully engaged.

"Robert" joined the program late, but I would say he has improved much more than many than those that were there before him. He is attentive, very helpful and encouraging. He is a great team-player, he participates regularly and has never missed a session since he joined. Hands down he is one of the top males. Sometimes I wonder why he is in the program because I am yet to see anything that puts him in the category of being 'at risk'.

Figure 5.3b Photo of A Ganar participants at FSSS



Other facilitators shared their reviews on participants as well. At the Saturday SFL programme in Barbados, an interview with two teacher/mentors included a discussion on how the participants were progressing. The mentors, “Becky” and “Tonya,” talked about witnessing improvements. These mentors are also teachers at local schools, and spoke about seeing carry-over from SFL to school performance.

I can see the ones at my school in terms of the information being transferred to at school instead of just at SFL. Right so, generally, we seen an improvement. In some groups we started with some very basic stuff. They couldn't construct sentences, we were asking them to write stories. Very simple. They're not perfect, but if you see where they started.

When asked about one particular participant who seemed to be particularly engaged in the programme, they responded as follows;

Tonya: Yeah, “Jason.” I can speak to him personally because he goes to my school. He and “Corey” have improved tremendously after this program. When Corey first came into school, he, he could not read. My thing is, since I've seen so much here. He couldn't read. I think he was just intimidated, by the system. Because we found that Corey was able to give you words that others could not give. His vocabulary was not that limited, but at school he was very reserved and not willing to open up. But here it's like his comfort zone, he's eager. I find that now at school it's a lot different. He actually got a certificate at school for getting (good marks)

Becky: his mother says she is grateful because ...

Tonya: He and Jason. Jason improved so much. But keeping up the standard, no. because the first team he was at SFL, his report from school improved tremendously ...

Becky: Yeah, and I know and even like some of them ... Jason, he has improved so much.

Tonya: And this is his second year. If you'd seen him his first year. I mean, he was not even interested. You couldn't get him to do things like do work. And now, you could just give him work.

Becky: I think as they see themselves improving they become encouraged. Like Jason is encouraged by himself. Cause he realized that I'm improving. Like today, I was correcting his spelling. And he spelled 'when' wrong. And I was like, how do you spell 'when?' And he said 'W-H-E-N, ma'am.' And he was like, 'I know these things ma'am...

Becky and Tonya had numerous stories of improvement. They also had stories of kids who improved, but still faced challenges in converting their initiative into tangible outcomes. Tonya tells the story of “Thomas,” a boy who, although improving in her eyes, has been unable to keep up with his school standards.

They are definitely improving. Even, like “Thomas.” He is one of the older boys. He’s 16, he stopped going to school. He repeated twice in junior school, so he is in 3rd form. His problem is more behavioural, it’s not that he can’t get the work done . . . And you’re talking to him and he did get back into school that first term but then he got into some incident. And then it just went right back down because he knows his time is up. So he’s like mostly, he had that wall, he build a wall, something happened. He’s an athlete. You try to talk to him, encourage him.

Thomas was not able to go forward in school to complete earn his secondary diploma. Tonya explained that because he was 16, the maximum age for mandatory schooling, but was failing too many classes and “giving trouble,” that he would not be allowed back. He could be allowed to return to SFL, but only as a peer leader. Tonya stated that he would likely not return because they would not want him to serve as a peer leader after being dropped from school. It would give the wrong “impression” to the other participants.

Becky and Tonya shared another experience about a young woman, “Kathy.” They described Kathy as either 16 or 17 and very interested in the programme. She was particularly interested in playing cricket, based on her responses during the focus group discussions. However, Becky and Tonya claimed that she was not inclined academically and was not doing well in school. Still, she was placed in Group 1, which is the highest level among the participants. “We find that Group 1 is the most interesting and interested. They want to learn. They are willing. The others, we’re just helping them along the way.”

These final remarks from Becky and Tonya indicate that although they see great improvements in the performance of their students at SFL, in their life skills and academics, simply making improvements is not always enough to propel them to their goals or aspirations. This aspect will be further discussed in the functionings section below.

Through the eyes of the participants themselves, the coaching trainees and the programme facilitators, it is clear that many participants demonstrate a strong sense of initiative as defined within the self-efficacy concept. Again and again, participants are setting goals and taking steps to achieve the, a clear mark of initiative. In the next section, their willingness to expend effort to pursue these goals is explored.

Effort

In this analysis, effort consists of two raw codes; “skill-building” and “work hard.” Here, I focus on items referring to skill development and hard work in sport, vocation, academics and general “life skills.” Often, the line between coding as skill-building and work hard was blurred as both aspects of effort are deeply intertwined. In this section, therefore, the raw codes are grouped in together in relation to the context by which they were discussed (sport, vocation, academics, and life skills). Most of these data were obtained through focus group discussions with adolescent participants, although some passages came from the adult NSDC coaches in training group and some from the perspective of adult coaches/mentors/administrators at the programmes or at national governing bodies of sport (as identified below).

Sport related effort

One of the core questions asked in each focus group discussion with adolescent participants was “what is your favourite part of this programme?” According to researcher notes, the most common response was about learning new sport skills. This aspect of the programmes was clearly a priority to the participants. At the Junior Visionaries programme in St. Lucia, each focus group explained that learning skills was a key draw to the programme. The first group (n=5) stated they came to this voluntary after school programme to improve on their football skills. One boy noted that he began coming because, “I can’t play football properly.” He said that he was learning new skills through the programme and staying “fit.” As a group, they agreed the best parts of the programme were “just playing,” “learning new skills,” and “winning matches.” They also spoke of making and meeting new friends (to be discussed in the social affiliation section). The second focus group (n=5) had a similar response and noted that they like that the coaches “teach new techniques.” A third group (n=5) agreed that they all came because they were “interested in football and want to get better.” They further agreed that they think football is fun and that they are improving their skills. A third group (n=5) spoke directly to drill work as skill-building. Through drills, one boy stated, “I learn to control the ball better, it keeps you moving. The drills make you better.” Others agreed, although most boys in all groups confirmed that free play and matches were preferred to actual drill work.

Clearly, these passages reflect the JV programme as contributing to skill-building in sport, which in turn supports the claim that sport for development can contribute toward the capability of self-efficacy. The boys see a clear connection between learning new techniques, practicing (as free play and drill work) and improvements in their football skill level. These statements fit the narrative proposed in the UK Sport study and other research on sport as a development tool. The physical nature of sport training produces direct and tangible results that can be identified by the participant with clarity. Although these data were coded specifically as skill-building, the full process of self-efficacy is visible in these simple statements. The boys display an interest or wanting to improve (initiative), they engage in practice and training (effort) and they continue their efforts despite challenges (persistence).

Their statements are not without contradiction, however. In the third group, when asked what their least favourite part of the programme was, one boy claimed it was drill work. “He (coach) doesn’t want you to do anything but drills. He is just making us do drills and then we don’t have time to play games at the end.” The group agreed that they preferred playing matches to doing drills, but concluded that drills were probably better for their skill improvement. These notions can be read in several ways. On one hand, as an indication that skill-building is perhaps a secondary to their interest in having fun via free play. Or, as I interpret, that they are showing even greater effort, or willingness to work hard, by enduring the drill work in order to reach their goal of improving their skills.

Similar sentiments were discussed across focus groups in both Barbados and St. Lucia. Participants talked about the joy of learning new moves and gaining skills, something they feel is distinctly different from learning in the classroom. Focus groups from the other strictly voluntary programme for adolescents echoed similar

thoughts regarding skill building through sport. At Sport for Life in Barbados, four of five focus groups saw improving their cricket skills as a primary draw to joining the programme. The fifth group was made up entirely of girls and did not demonstrate a strong interest in sport skill-building. Overall, girls expressed much less interest in sport skill-building than boys. These differences are discussed at length below, in the concluding remarks on self-efficacy. For the boys, however, cricket skills were a primary draw to the programme and the most often cited benefit of the programme. In their journals (n=13 total; boys n=10), the boys also wrote about building sport skills as a priority in their lives and that they were attracted to the SFL programme in order to improve their sport skills. In a focus group discussion, four boys and one girl agreed that cricket is fun and being good at a sport, especially cricket, is important to them. The one girl was “Kate” and she was an outlier among the girls repeatedly in her interest and talent in cricket. Overall, the boys’ and Kate’s statements indicate that they had a willingness to better themselves by building cricket skills (initiative). They felt it was fun to improve their cricket skills and agreed that the coaches helped them learn new techniques, such as “widget keeping skills.” Widget keeping refers to a specific position for a cricket player. The level of agreement regarding skill-building and their ability to point to specific techniques validates the claim that sport provides a unique mix of physical, tangible skill-building opportunities in an activity with great appeal to adolescents.

Sport skill-building was discussed at length by adult participants in the vocational training centre at the NSDC in St. Lucia, but in regards to their observations and experiences as coaching children rather than improving their own sport skills. For some male NSDC trainees who were coaching youth football in their communities, the concepts of self-efficacy and social affiliation became apparent. In this group, four male trainees/coaches discussed their experiences coaching adolescent kids in football. They coached in two different communities, with mostly male participants.

In this focus group, one young man discussed how kids in his programme rallied around a new, foreign participant to help him overcome struggles and feel welcome in the programme.

In my community, we had this one little boy that came from overseas. He could not kick a ball. But none of the kids were like, ‘coach he cannot kick the ball. I don’t want him on our team.’ Everybody would be like, ‘send him on our team instead, Coach. Let him be on our team.’ Sometimes he would play in the goal, sometimes in the middle of the field. Sometimes we would say before you score a goal you have to let him touch it. Yeah. And now, if you see him now, he is better. He can control it. He can pass. But at first he couldn’t kick the ball at all. He was watching everybody, feeling down on himself. But now he sees that everybody is his friend and everybody loves him. They act like brothers around him. He’s getting better now.

This passage points to the power of sport to foster both self-efficacy and social affiliation and how the two elements are interdependent. In this section, I will unpack the indications toward self-efficacy. Clearly, the boy gained a sense of self-efficacy through improving his skill level and felt a sense of community through these peer relationships. He was able to progress from inability (to kick the ball) to ability (to

kick the ball and play). The boy's reaction is very telling. He went from "feeling down on himself" to feeling better after learning better football skills. Clearly, in this case, skill acquisition contributed toward his overall self-image and his social standing. His story demonstrates all three facets of self-efficacy; initiative, effort and persistence. Other NSDC coaches told similar stories about their experiences coaching children football.

Another coaching trainee talked about how the students were retaining techniques, such as which side of the foot to use when kicking a ball into the goal from close range. He was able to discern between when they made mistakes and when they couldn't remember technique. "So they are pickup up stuff from this, they are learning. They are being intelligent and that's really good," he stated. "Most of them, you can see they develop properly lots of skills. (They can) pass the ball . . ."

A third coaching trainee, "Randall," described his participants in a similar way. At the beginning of the programme, he says;

They cannot play football at all. They get criticised a lot. I treat them like family, like they are my kids. And it's been like 3 years now and a number are star players for their school, their community. They only just started, but there's some sense of development. You don't go pro(fessional) in a couple of years. It's really nice to see them. They appreciate it. They appreciate it. They don't go, 'I'm the best in the community.' They know that. When they go, they go 'coach, just watch me. I'm doing that that that.' Most of the times, they do it and it's really nice to see.

His statement shows a clear progression in their sport skill-building over time, emphasising the important facet of effort in self-efficacy (the willingness to continue trying by engaging in practice and training). Furthermore, he indicates that they (the participants) understand that it takes time to develop one's skills. They are proud to show their coach the incremental improvements they make along the way. They are not reliant on big leaps of improvement or overblown expectations about their skill development. He, as their coach, is able to encourage them with each skill improvement. Again, this reflects the nature of sport as a tangible tool for children to see personal improvements in skill directly. In this case, the children recognize their skill-building and share it with their coach. The coaching trainee's statement also reflects the depth of the social relationships he develops with the players, which will be discussed in the Social Affiliation section of this chapter.

Randall also compared his students to himself at a younger age. He, too, went on a similar journey from lack of skill to more skill in football and other sports. He said he was "fat" as until he was sixteen and then he began to play well. He noted that he stuck with his training despite the challenges. His story reflects his own progression in skill-building. He explains his story in context of how he feels about his own participants now. He recognises his own journey and wants to recreate these learning experiences for his players. His statement also relates to sport, health and body image, which will be discussed in chapter five.

Vocational related effort

Following sport, effort in vocation was the next common theme of discussion regarding effort within self-efficacy. Questions regarding vocation were included in the focus groups, guided interviews and journals. In the focus group discussions, questions regarding career goals were included, prompting participants to consider their vocational goals and pathway to reach them. To begin the conversation, participants were asked what they wanted to do or be when they grew up. The most common answers revolved around the tourist industry and its ancillary fields. Boys tended to have different answers from girls. During focus groups girls were oriented toward occupations such as beautician, massage therapist, waitress and housekeeper. They also discussed teaching as a popular career option, along with becoming a paediatrician or veterinarian. In the journals from the Upton Garden Girls Centre, their responses were beautician (3), massage therapist, waitress, model, teacher, air hostess (stewardess), teacher, dancer, doctor or lawyer, accountant and nurse. Boys responded with a similar focus on tourist and hospitality industry careers, although with different specific careers. Their focus group responses included being a chef, bartender or other type of hotel/hospitality worker. Outside of tourist and hospitality careers, they mentioned becoming a teacher, police officer, auto mechanic, construction worker, IT specialist (various iterations of technology work) and a range of business fields such as accountant, bank worker, etc. Further discussion on gender divisions regarding vocational aspirations are discussed in chapter five below. NSDC coaches/trainees all discussed going into coaching and/or teaching physical education, a logical pathway as they were in training for such careers. Other participants in A Ganar control groups had already selected for vocational training through the Barbados Vocational Training Board (one group training in auto mechanics (mostly male) and another training in cosmetology (all female).

More important to self-efficacy development than their choice of careers, however, is their sense of efficacy over pursuing and achieving their vocational goals. To that end, they were asked about how they could achieve their dream careers. Overwhelmingly, they were confident they do it and they focused on the skills they would need to build to meet their goals.

At the Upton Garden Girls Centre, focus groups discussed such steps to take to build necessary skills. One ambitious girl wants to become a veterinarian. She noted that she would need to study hard. "A lot of science, biology. Science, science, science. Being a vet, you're not just working with animals but with what people bring in from different countries (e.g. plants, food, other animals) . . . I went to training. Before (that) I thought it was just about animals." She described a one-day training session she attended at a local grocery store. At the training, they "had farm animals too. I love, love animals. I used to be afraid of them. But when I think about it there is nothing else I want to be. I can feel confident. My heart is with animals. I could do accounting if I wanted to, but my heart is with animals." Her story demonstrates that she has set a goal and sought knowledge (initiative), but more so that she recognizes the necessary education needed and has begun the effort to gain such skills by attending the training seminar. She is also "confident" that she can gain the skills needed to pursue her craft.

The other girls echoed such need to build skills in their respective vocations. One aiming to become a nurse said she would need to go to nursing school and felt she was able to do so. Another knew she had to attend further schooling to become a

teacher and was also confident she could obtain such schooling. A third wanted “to study and get my accounting and be my own boss.” She, too, believed in her ability to achieve this goal. On the other hand, the fourth participant was less sure of her pathway. She wanted to work in cosmetology, doing hair and nails on clients. But she was not certain of how to pursue such a career. She thought she would go to schooling, but was not sure. She did, however, think she could fulfil her dream if she could put her mind to it. She said she would need to “work at it to prepare myself.”

Other participants talked about skill building in broader ways. At the NSDC, the participants spoke of the programme increasing their skills in coaching and communication, which will help them on their career pathways. Jackie talked about learning communication skills and how those skills would support her career goals to become a coach and teacher.

I would say the first thing we learned is communication. We learned how to communicate with teammates, with each other. And with who we are instructing. Now, with that, you got to the communities for the various projects and what you are taking to the programme. Take it up there and then they give us the scenarios where you are put in that situation and then we got a chance to say what we think was right and how to avoid and stuff like that. First, communicating with each other or to kids in programme. They put us in pretend scenarios and then asked us how we would respond to it. Some of the scenarios are from their own experience.

Clearly, the training she was experiencing helped her gain skills in communication, a key component to success for her work as a coach or teacher. She also pointed out the specific activities from NSDC that helped her obtain these necessary skills. She went on to discuss some specific aspects of coaching she was learning, such as using different sizes of balls for younger kids, how long to hold training sessions and how much conditioning should be allowed for young children. She said that one of the most powerful learning experiences was a training session on child abuse and how to handle situations when a participant is being abused or is at risk of abuse. This session was taught by the director of the Upton Gardens Girls Centre, a certified teacher and child rights expert. Finally, Jackie discussed her increasing skill in football in relation to her career as a dancer. “Dancing makes a (me) a better football player. Dancing on the ball. Football makes me a better dancer,” she said. This aspect is important because although she did not earn income via NSDC, she did have paid work through dancing. She attributed this increase in skills and knowledge directly to the NSDC training programme.

Back in Barbados, Addy explained some of the vocational skills participants at A Ganar were gaining. She felt her students were learning key skills to prepare them for careers, such as “respect, teamwork, communication, discipline, focusing on results, (and) self-improvement.” When asked what skills or strengths she felt would be retained by her students, she said;

I would say – teamwork first . . . To me one of the areas that the students did well in was, even, say we did communication and we fight. I wouldn't say that at the end of that session their communication skills what as it peak. At the end of the program. Not at the end of the teaching skill, but at the end of

the overall program. So I guess it's not like communication here, discipline here. When you do one you might not see a peak in that particular skill, but when you cover one and another, it kind of builds on each other. But I would say that communication is one area where improvement was significant. And I think teamwork would stick.

So when they want to keep communication or discipline in a box or whatever, these are skills that employers and teachers wanna see. So you could see it a teaching area, but at the end of the day, it's a job.

So like in the computer applications, at the end they develop a video. So you have to show up on time and dress professionally. Where it is, it's not at a school, it's in an office. So you have to dress appropriate. And you have to respect. And all of these skills that we taught. We are expecting you to use these skills and foster and build on these skills. In that setting, where you're not at your school, you're not wearing your school uniform or a Ganar t-shirt, you're wearing your uniform for work. So for food and beverage, they have to wear the black and white catering uniform. They have to get it on their own. We help them if there are circumstances when they can't afford it. So we teach that discipline is what is the beginning – it's what everything depends on.

In this passage, the participants are learning professional orientation skills, such as professional communication and dress that will be positive attributes in their careers. She goes on to describe a role-play activity with the participants as interviewee for a job.

They had time to prep for this job. And then we conducted the interview like a panel. And then within the last week of our sessions, we conducted a second interview. I told them to write their CVs and they could apply for any job you wanted. I didn't give them a job. Myself and my facilitator got someone else to conduct the interview. I sat in and did my evaluation, I was not expecting him (a particular participant who was struggling in the programme), he was just a good surprise. He was able to negotiate salary, his hours, he asked questions when the interviewer asked if he had any questions for me. When he came in he knocked first and he was well dressed. And it was just a surprise. He actually engaged her in conversation. From the beginning from his first interview to his last, he was totally different. And when the interview finished, I guess he knew he did well, he just had this air of confidence when he came back into class. He just seemed like 'yes, I finally did something right' and he was just on cloud nine! That air of confidence came over him. That's when I saw it and that was only in the last week. Something clicked there!

Her description of this project and the experience of the participant is very revealing. The interview project placed him a new type of setting, one he could expect as a young professional. He rose to the occasion and assumed a professional demeanour. Furthermore, he took pride in his achievement during the interview and gained a sense of self-confidence from gaining such skill.

Addy also provided an example of how they use sports to educate participants on a range of issues, including working together as a team.

Using sports, team sports especially like basketball, football, cricket, stuff like that. Where you have to work in a team so we like to have a lot of teachable moments that come up in the game or activity that we like to connect to work or to school or, you know, just to life in general. We have activities like football, but we put a twist to it where you have to hold hands. So being in a group with all males, some tend to be very, I want to use the word homophobic. So just trying to respect others and knowing when you are invading people's personal space and stuff like that. At the end of the day when you go into the workforce, most of it, a lot of it is teamwork.

Here, they employ sport activities to instil lessons on social interaction and working in groups. Addy believes that learning to work in a team is directly transferrable to working with colleagues in a work environment. She also includes larger life and social skills in her reflection of the programme. Teamwork was often cited as a "skill" gained in these programmes. In this passage, it is applied to employability skills. Other aspects of teamwork discussed during focus groups and interviews was emphasized within the context of peer connectedness and will be discussed later in this chapter under social affiliation.

A different A Ganar facilitator, one who worked with students at the BVTB, offered further confirmation that they were gaining vocational skills. She spoke about employment training and attachment programmes, such as apprenticeships and internships through the vocational centre. The programme includes tutors and networking with local employers. It is important to note, however, that her focus was on curricula of the BVTB, not the A Ganar sports-based programme. She did not provide specific examples of how the A Ganar curriculum contributed toward vocational skill training.

A programme director at NSDC gave his perspective on skill-building amongst the coach trainees:

The benefits for the group have been amazing . . . We had a child rights program. We got RISE, a local NGO, to do some work with the group on the UN Convention for Child Rights. Just to sort of step it up, because we've been doing gradual work and we keep needing to up-skill them. So yes, some of them are still young, that it might not be a perfect delivery, but over time they acquire more skills then things get more solid.

He explained the programme goal of continually "up-skilling" the trainees. These skills directly feed into the career aspirations of the participants and support their career development.

Another facilitator at NSDC provided an example of the coach trainees in action. "Alex" beamed with pride whilst describing an event the coach trainees put on for children with mental disabilities. "I was so impressed with (the event) my kids put on. (It was) so professional. Kids seated, water, etc. Talking about respect, diversity." He noted that this was the type of event they were training them for and

that learning to put together such a project is exactly what they will do in their intended careers.

An administrator at the Barbados Sports Council, which is not a specific programme with participants included in focus groups, but a national council that governs sports programmes and leagues, elaborated on recent efforts of the council to engage sports participants in vocational training through sport. Through the council, they offer training and opportunities for participants to learn professional skills that support sport activities.

At the competition level, they have an opportunity to help score, etc. So things like that they are participating in. So, as I can say to them ‘you may not be a player but you can be an official.’ And the official does not need to be able to play the game. That’s the good thing about it. The official needs to know that area they are responsible for. And we need a lot of that. I really love that because in most disciplines we have a lot of players and not a lot of officials . . . A lot of people don’t want to take the time to learn and watch the game and administer.

She explained that the council made an effort to encourage young players who loved sport to explore career opportunities in administrative or support roles within the national sport system. Although she noted the need for such officials, it was unclear if this type of work was sustainable for a career path. One of her colleagues at the council, “Nathan,” offered a similar concept, but included a fundamental flaw regarding the larger system. He agreed that the participants were able to gain further skills that could translate to sport-related careers, namely coaching. He felt that there were valuable aspects of their sport programmes. However, he claimed that there was a lack of support for enabling players to convert their sport skills into careers. His perspective is further discussed in chapter six, regarding support systems.

Life Skills related effort

Nathan’s narrative continues when discussing life skills gained through sport participation at the council. “They gain increased skill. That’s one. Then there is also the personal motivation, personal self-worth. The ability to play, (to) be a part of a team. Some of them gain financial rewards. Some of our young athletes do well. Personal appearance and so on, socially. That comes to a screeching halt when there is no pathway or greater incentive.” While he believes that the life skills regarding personal motivation, self-worth and social ability are important, he is highly concerned with the larger, systematic limitations in the system that lacks a pathway to greater success. Although he indicates that some participants may earn compensation through playing, he accepts that this is a very small number. Furthermore, it is not highly applicable to the sample of participants in this study, who are included in this research based on their participation in programmes that do not emphasize talent development or competition.

Jackie at NSDC also spoke about personal development and building life skills through her programme. “They had a pet programme like how to be assertive and passive and aggressive. They were teaching life skills like how to cope, and if I hadn’t taken those classes . . . Like now I am in a situation and I think back to those

classes and I think about what I learned.” She credited the programme with helping her develop as a whole person, rather than just as a coach. “Because it helps us with our self esteem, leadership skills, because being a coach ...you must learn how to stand out, to say something and it goes. Not shout, but know what you are saying so we learn many other things apart from sports.”

Tonya at SFL helps teach life skills lessons on “leadership and self-esteem” to participants. The environment at SFL emphasises life skills education. Posters on the wall remind students about respect, staying away from gangs and crime and healthy lifestyles. Motivational quotes line the walls and students engage in activities to foster these skills, such as lessons on the dangers of gangs. The SFL motto, “the choices I make today will determine the course my life takes tomorrow” reflects the emphasis on life skills development. The message seems to be received by the participants, who spoke often about learning key skills such as communication, teamwork and having a positive attitude. Below are photos of SFL, including some of the messages on life and academic skills.

Figure 5.3c Photo of SFL at Kensington Oval



Figure 5.3d Photo of poster at SFL on saying no to drugs



As a part of their journaling activity, they were asked to make a drawing. Participant drawings are displayed below. From SFL, they include; an image of the SFL logo and motto (Figure 5.3e), a fictional SFL news television show (Figure 5.3f) Kensington Oval, where SFL takes place (5.3g) and a caped superhero character giving a thumbs up, but with an incomplete head (Figure 5.3h).

Figure 5.3e Drawing of the SFL logo and motto by participant

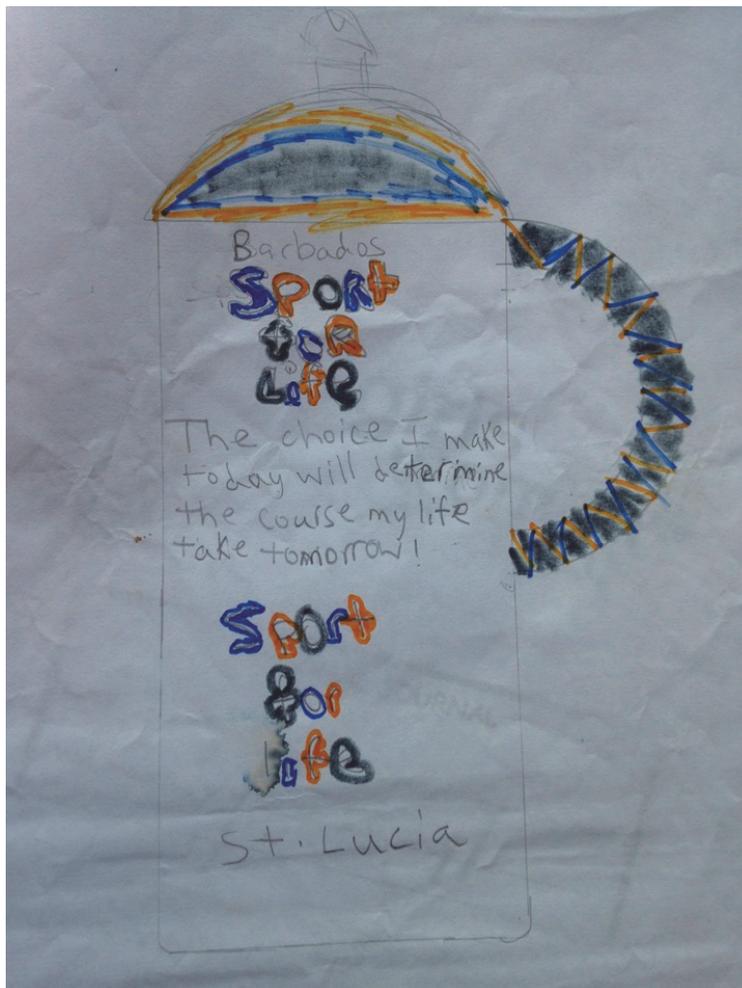


Figure 5.3f Drawing of fictional SFL news show by participant

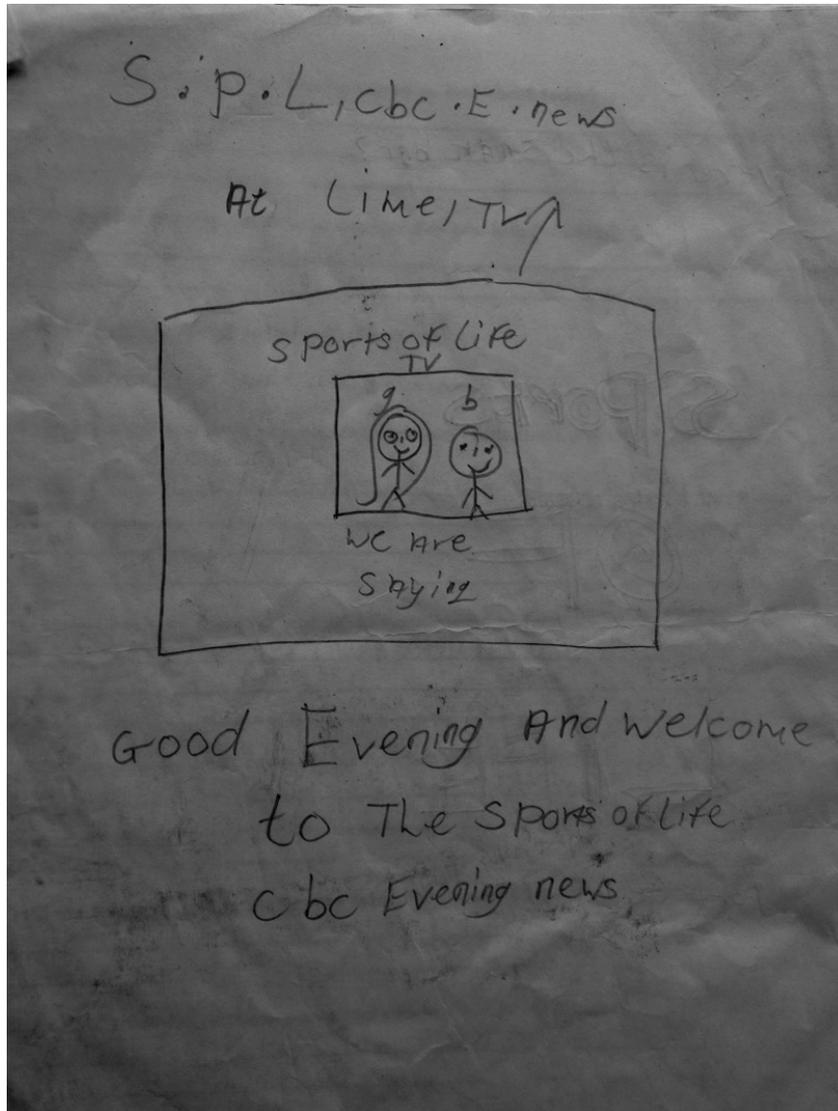


Figure 5.3g Drawing of Kensington Oval by SFL participant



Figure 5.3h Drawing of superhero character by SFL participant



Upton Gardens Girls Centre has a similar environment. Posters about safe sex and HIV/AIDS prevention are a dominant theme in the halls and classrooms. Classroom activities and projects are on display about respect, teamwork and overcoming negative labels and identities. The UGCC director, Pam, explained that they teach sessions on how to “handling conflict, virtue, interpersonal development, mannerism, social skills and things like that.” Her mission is to create a “special intervention for empowerment” for the young women in her care. Her task is deeply challenging, she admitted, as these participants are often from homes with drug use, abuse, violence or extreme poverty.

The messages sent from the programme directors, teachers and facilitators at UGCC on building life skills seems to be received by the participants themselves. In each focus group discussion the girls spoke about learning to improve their attitudes, displaying respect and being responsible. When asked what they wanted to change or improve in their lives, their responses included their “behaviour,” “attitude,” and “aggressiveness.” One girl noted that she wanted to “stay positive, keep order and treat others the way I want to be treated . . . the Golden Rule. And my aggressive tone.” When asked how they could achieve these changes, they collectively replied that they needed to “work hard,” “do your best,” “study,” “show respect and be responsible,” “focus and put your mind to it,” and “have a positive attitude.” They stressed that making these changes required hard work and that their efforts would impact their ability to gain important life skills. They all felt confident that they could make these changes if they tried hard enough and noted that the facilitators at UGCC were supporting them.

Figure 5.3i The Upton Gardens Girls Centre – view from street



Figure 5.3j Posters of activities at UGGC



Figure 5.3k Chart on “Skills Training” at UGGC

EXPECT THE BEST FROM A GIRL. THAT'S WHAT YOU'LL GET.

Skills Training **May - August**

SUBJECT	GROUP ONE		GROUP TWO	
	Most Improved	Outstanding	Most Improved	Outstanding
Computers	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Arts & Craft	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Remedial	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Pottery	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Food & Nutrition	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Dance	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Life Skills	Shana	Shana	Shana	Shana
Other:				

UPSON GARDING NURSERY CENTER
HOUND OF THE WISE AWAY

Figure 5.31 Poster about “Tearing Off Your Label” at UGGC



Their journals were also filled with statements about life skill development regarding respect, communication, cooperation and overall attitude. They wrote that they were learning to improve on these aspects of their lives at UGGC, sometimes citing specific teachers that helped them along the way. They were also asked to include drawings in their journals and/or survey questionnaires. Below is a sample of pictures they drew (Figures 5.3m, 5.3n, 5.3o). Others wrote notes on their journals and added comments. One of the notes/drawings was in the form of a puzzle and read, "Love is something you give away. The good Lord Bless you and your family . . . Thank you, for coming and thank you for your programme." (See Figure 5.3n). It was a message, I assume, to me. I think that it indicates that we made a strong connection, had a good rapport and that she enjoyed participating in the research project. Others wrote messages like "peace" (Figure 5.3m) and "God only child." One message read "Love are broken." (See Figure 5.3o). It is unclear what she is referring to exactly. Earlier in her journal, she wrote that she "felt like a queen today" and much of her journaling was very positive and encouraging. However, she did feel stressed and unhappy when her family was "quarrelling." Another drawing depicts two hands, in bright colours (Figure 5.3p).

I find it difficult to interpret too much from their drawings, as the activity was intended to be a fun, creative aspect of the research so that the participants could enjoy being a part of the project. I think their drawings indicate that they did enjoy, at least this aspect, of being participants in the study and that we developed a good rapport during the fieldwork. I have placed these samples here, under "life skills" because I think they speak to the lessons on respect, gratitude and religious beliefs that are taught in the UGGC programme.

Figure 5.3m Drawing by UGGC participant of "Peace"



Figure 5.3n Drawing by UGGC participant as puzzle message



Figure 5.3o Drawing from UGGC participant of “Love are broken”

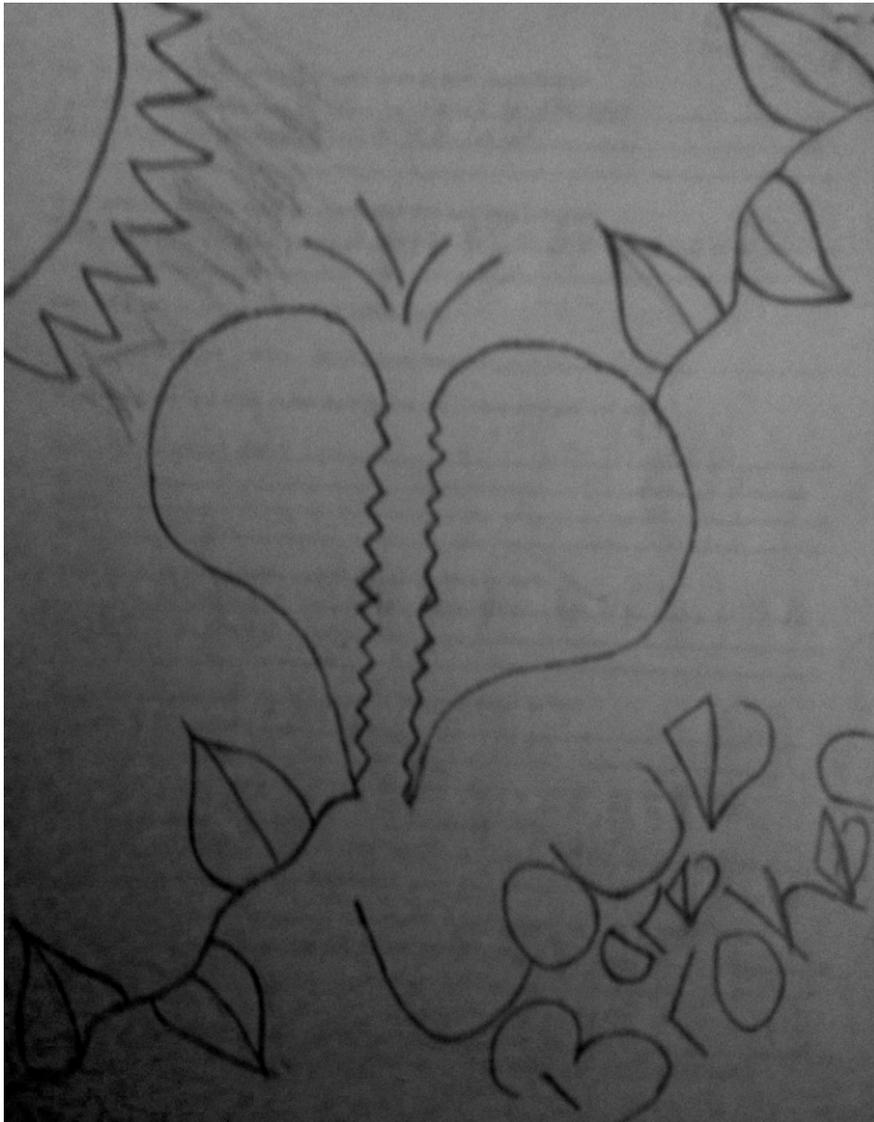


Figure 5.3p Drawing from UGGC participant of colourful hands



Academic related effort

Each programme contains a strong focus on supporting academic learning and development. At A Ganar, the participants had to complete the programme to stay in their school, so success within the programme was intimately tied to school success. The lessons there also included academic support on reading and writing. The SFL programme, in particular, was designed specifically to support students who need help in maths and literacy. They also provide computer education in their on site computer lab. Tonya, one of the teachers there, felt the programme was having a positive impact regarding academic skill-building.

I can speak for here, when they're here. And for the ones who are at my school . . . I can see the ones at my school in terms of the information being transferred to at school instead of just at SFL. Right so, generally, we seen an improvement. In some groups we started with some very basic stuff. They couldn't construct sentences. We were asking them to write stories. Very simple. They're not perfect, but if you see where they started.

At the JV programme in St. Lucia, Alex related a similar scenario. He felt certain that many of his participants were struggling in school. They were attending one of the lower ranking secondary schools in the country. He described them as "late bloomers" who tended to lack focus and were likely dealing with attention deficit and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). "It's hard to identify one that isn't ADHD." Although he is not a teacher and could not verify this claim, he has worked with this programme on a weekly basis over several years and has a lot of experience coaching adolescents. He was confident that sports helped build thinking skills that could be transferred to academic work. "They need to understand positions and movement to be good . . . The issue is understanding football as a subject." As a coach, he aimed to help them "think" football, rather than just run around playing. He taught the players that their physical skill can only take them so far, but if they understand the game from a logical perspective, they can improve their playing skills. During the focus groups, as discussed above, improving football skills was their primary goal. Alex tries to use this motivation to improve in football to motivate them to engage in critical thinking about movements, strategy and positioning. He felt the JV programme could have an impact in this way, particularly because "they don't like formal, sitting in a classroom learning." They prefer learning by doing, on the pitch. The participants reinforced this with their collective agreement that they were learning skills through the programme. Although, Alex noted that they also don't like "taking the time to learn the basics of the game." Again, the participants echoed this statement in their own discussion about frustration over doing drill work rather than playing. In sum, it seems that Alex has a good read on the motivations and challenges of his players and that his players recognize their own challenge to suffer through learning the game in order to improve their performance.

From the perspective of the participants themselves, they often recognised the need to exert effort, build skills and work hard toward their academic goals. Many of these passages are discussed above in terms of schooling and education in relation to meeting their career goals. On occasion, they included remarks focused entirely on academics. At the SFL programme in Barbados, a group of boys shared their

concerns about passing their CXE exams in the coming year. Although they were “nervous,” they also felt that they had agency over their results. One boy claimed he felt he would do well. “I know how to study a lot . . . So I try real hard at school,” he stated. This discussion emphasises the element of hard work associated with building the skills needed to succeed academically.

Persistence

The third and final component of self-efficacy is persistence. Sherer et al. describe persistence as “persistence in the face of adversity,” (1982, p. 665). A more robust definition from the UK Sport Study states that persistence is an “ability to deal with unexpected issues,” (Coalter & Taylor, 2010, p. 20). For the purpose of this study, persistence serves as a first order theme, which includes two raw codes; overcoming challenges and reflecting on failing. Through interviews, focus groups and journals, the narrative of how these young people face and overcome adversity is demonstrated. This process sheds light on how they develop (or fail to develop) this component of self-efficacy within the context of these sport for development programmes.

Here, as in the skill-building section, the sporting experience is a key factor. Sport situations and scenarios provide a tangible and direct opportunity for obstacles, challenges and adversities. The clarity of facing, literally, an opponent or trial, generates a unique laboratory to examine how these situations are handled. Although much of the emphasis was on sport, data is also presented on academic, vocational and life skills.

Overcoming challenges

Thus far, the discussion on skill-building as a pathway toward self-efficacy is largely supported through experiences of male participants in sport programmes, with an emphasis on building sport-related skills. The qualitative data reveals that sport skill-building is a lower priority among female participants. It does not, however, mean that the female participants do not access other aspects of self-efficacy through sport programmes. In fact, the data imply that they do, just in a distinctly different way than their male counterparts. While the males tend to focus on wanting to improve skills (initiative) and a willingness to try and practice (effort), the female participants place more emphasis on the facing and overcoming challenges (persistence). In focus groups, interviews and journals, female participants often referred to playing sport as a “challenge.” Their narrative tended to focus on obstacles, barriers and restrictions they felt and how they took action to overcome such problems. This approach seems fitting, as the girls faced social norm limitations in accessing and being fully accepted into sport. Furthermore, the theme of overcoming challenges was more prevalent when girls spoke of playing sport with and against boys. In this mixed gender context, overcoming challenges was the key. By contrast, in girls-only sport, their focus tended toward social affiliation, which will be discussed further below.

In the all female Upton Gardens programme, the girls discussed the joy in facing and overcoming the “challenge” of playing football against boys. These young women relished in the process of improving themselves and proving themselves to the boys they played against. Although many discussed playing football, the organized football programme at Upton Gardens was rarely mentioned. Instead, they focused on

neighbourhood and less organised forms of mixed gender football. In discussing this sport, the girls focused on how football playing was tough, challenging and presented an opportunity to be aggressive, especially when playing with boys. One participant, “Jenni,” who took a leadership role throughout the discussion, stated:

It can be fun and challenging to play them with those boys. But some boys are rough and when you play football you have to bounce them. But I enjoy bouncing the boys . . . It makes you find that it is more challenging and it is more difficult to score so that makes it fun.

In this quote, she directly addresses the idea of facing a challenge. More precisely, she references the enjoyment or satisfaction gained from this specific type of sport challenge. Facing and overcoming challenges is an important avenue in building self-efficacy (Coalter & Taylor, 2010; Bandura, 1997). Her response also demonstrated a nature of competitiveness and aggressiveness found among these girls that is not in sync with gender norms in St. Lucia, as discussed in below in chapter five. The other girls in the group seemed to approve and agree with her response, though they did not readily contribute their opinions.

Here, football serves as a unique challenge in many ways. She acknowledges the social norm that has historically and still today drives girls away from playing football. Because football is commonly reserved for boys and males are assumed to be better suited for the sport, girls competing against boys face an additional challenge beyond that inherent in the sport activity (see further discussion on gender roles and attitudes in chapter five). They strive not only to play well, but to prove the prowess of their gender. Facing and overcoming this challenge can enhance the self-efficacy of these young women. Notably, none of the participants discussed falling short of proving themselves on the pitch against boys. Whether they always achieved their goals is unclear, but it did not seem relevant to the conversation. Their focus was instead on the opportunity for the challenge and their fondness in engaging in these sporting experiences. In other words, the *perceived* self-efficacy gained through these encounters was abundantly clear, whether or not the actual skill-building took place or not.

Anna at Upton Gardens discussed perseverance in reference to life skills:

Anna: “I’ve got people telling me ‘you can’t do that.’ It’s not too easy so you won’t do it. Your friends and strangers tell you that. Telling me ‘you can’t do that’. That’s not for you.”

Researcher: “Why do you think people say that?”

Anna: “Because they don’t know me. They don’t want to see me as a good person. They always want to see the bad first. A bad place.”

Researcher: “Why?”

Anna: “It’s just jealous. They judge you . . . “

Researcher: "Does that affect you? Or do you hear that and think, 'I don't care I'm going to do what I want to do?'"

Anna: "Yeah. Sometimes it's hard. Sometimes it will be hard and sometimes you can just don't worry about it. You ignore them."

Her statement reflects the experience of a young woman who faces the challenges of being labelled and judged. It is unclear if the other people doubting and judging her are peers, family members, teachers or others. Clearly, she struggles to get past these negative comments, but recognises that it is necessary. As she told her story, the others nodded in agreement. At the end, as she said that sometimes she was able to ignore them, some of the others laughed.

Overcoming challenges came through strongly in the journals from UGGC as well. They wrote again and again about changing their attitude, behaviour, aggressiveness and learning to show respect. In response to the question "If you could change anything about your life, what would it be," one girl wrote that she wanted to "change my attitude" and another wrote "attitude towards authority." To the question, "what do you hope to learn from this programme," another stated that through UGGC she was learning "that I have to change my behaviour so I can get back to school." In response to the question, "what are you most proud of in your life," one girl answered "changing my bad life to a new and improved one." Another responded "to add value to myself." While another wrote "I am proud that I am going to the Upton Garden Girls Centre to change my attitude and behaviour." Others wrote about learning to "stop being disobedient" and to "cooperate with each other."

They were asked "what are my biggest struggles or challenges?" Responses focused on attitude and behaviour, much like discussed above regarding life skills. Topics ranged from fighting with friends, disrespecting teachers and drinking rum. Another question from the journals was "what did I do that I didn't think I could?" These answers varied wildly, though they mostly focused on improving life skills as discussed above. Other responses included getting and keeping a job and yet others were focused on playing sports, mostly football and running. However, some stood out, such as "my abuse with my grandfather." It is unclear what she means here, but one interpretation is that this young woman overcome the tremendous adversity of surviving domestic abuse. While another participant said she was able to "disrespect a teacher on her mother." Again, this is unclear but seems to indicate that she insulted a teacher. In summary, these statements demonstrate that these girls face tremendous challenges and are, in general, very focused on overcoming these obstacles and improving themselves.

Persistence also came through strongly in an interview with the female coaching trainee at NSDC, "Jackie." She had competed at a national level in football and felt that playing organised sport helped participants develop perseverance. She spoke of a teenage girl who she had played with once. The girl was cut from the St. Lucian Under 20 national team (i.e. she wasn't included in the roster or allowed to play with the team based on her performance). She continued to train with the team for nearly 10 years until she finally made the national team. Her ability to commit to a goal and continue trying is a clear indication of perseverance and the belief that she can influence her future.

Jackie also shared her own story of perseverance. When asked if she could recall a time she had to overcome a challenge, she recounted a story about a dance competition. Jackie, in addition to being a football player, coach and trainee, is also a competitive dancer. She dances in different styles at competitions, festivals and events in St. Lucia and across the Eastern Caribbean. She is a leader in her dance group, serving as a sort of coach and manager. They were in the quarter-finals and semi-finals of a dance competition and the genre was contemporary and African dance. One of the dancers, a male who is younger than Jackie was unfamiliar with these styles. "So, I had to take him on his own and teach him how to do it because he was more of a break dancer," she said. Although this is a very unique and circumstantial experience, it seems to reflect a quality of leadership and calmness under pressure that can be honed through athletic and sport competition. She was able to manage the stress of the "unforeseen issue," as Coalter and Taylor persistence within self-efficacy.

Females were not the only participants discussing overcoming challenges. In a focus group discussion with four boys at SFL in Barbados, they talked about how they planned to achieve their vocational and academic goals. They agreed that it was important to get good marks and that they were capable of doing just that. The did feel, however, that their motivation was weak on "some days." Still, they felt confident they could pass secondary school and pursue careers, which included becoming a teacher and a paediatrician, despite the difficulty. When asked what happens when it gets "really hard," they replied that they would "keep trying" and "don't give up." All participants agreed that they would keep trying even if it gets really hard.

At A Ganar in Barbados, facilitator Addy had another story to tell about a participant in her group. She described how "Andrew," a boy who faced adversity at home, lashed out in anger at the programme and found a way to reconcile his turmoil and become a positive contributor to the programme. She described Andrew's situation:

On the first day, I can be honest, we are not supposed to have a favourite, but I consider him a favourite. The first day of class he flipped out on me. He didn't want to do nothing in class. He had personal issues at home. I think his brother was arrested, police were at his home and he was taking it out on the class. After I had a firm talk with him and told him 'if you don't want to be here.' I gave him a firm talk. He came around and became a mediator in class. With all the males there is a lot of drama at times and he was one that would diffuse the situation. He was flustered and bothered about the arrest and wanted to speak about it but didn't know how to, so he shut down in the beginning but when we proved the situation it all came out. I wouldn't say he was from a poor background. I would consider him middle class.

Addy's colleague at A Ganar offered the following descriptions of two participants overcoming challenges:

(He) is one of the top students in the class. I never had any problem with (him). He attends often and he participates in any and every activity without

any issues. He is well liked and gets along with all the members of the group. He had definitely improved in some of the modules such as communication and self-improvement. He isn't shy and is willing to talk and ask questions. He is a great role player when it comes to acting, despite the role. He can put himself in any situation and adapt to it well. He is a great listener and understands instructions easily. He can be easily distracted at times, but he always comes ready to learn and doesn't give up without a fight.

Clearly, this participant is performing well and contributing positively to the programme. He has shown improvement during this time with A Ganar and is engaged. Most relevant to persistence is the last line of this statement, that he continues to "fight" through challenges despite difficulty.

Another A Ganar participant, is described from a different standpoint. He, by contrast, seems to lack persistence. Addy stated:

When he can't get something done, he gives up rather quickly and when the group finds it hard to do something or some members don't participate it really annoys him. He is very outlandish and talks quite hard. We have been continuously working with him on his communication skills, he knows what to do, but he finds difficulty expressing himself in a respectable tone. I am yet to see improvement in this area but he has improved in other areas with respect to his anger issues, and not letting people bother him like before.

This student clearly struggles in staying on task and managing obstacles. His tendency to "give up rather quickly" shows that not all participants are successfully honing the capability of persistence toward self-efficacy.

In another focus group discussion, this one with the very 'at risk' group of teenagers at the Court Diversion Programme in St. Lucia, participants spoke about dealing with adversity and mistakes. This group was not able to articulate their goals very well, as discussed above. However, some participants responded that they felt it was important to "work hard" and "keep moving forward when you mess up." Only two of the participants vocalised these notions, while a few others nodded in agreement. The rest of the group either did not respond or were joking about other topics during the discussion.

Elsewhere in St. Lucia, the NSDC coaching trainees offered a different perspective of the Court Diversion Programme participants. After working with them on a weekly basis over the course of nine months, they were able to share a different side of the story from what was witnessed during the focus group discussion. One of the male coaching trainees took the lead in describing his experience with this programme. While he spoke, the others nodded and the female coaching trainee, Janet, verbalised agreement with his viewpoint. "And right now we are doing the most beautiful working with some kids on Court Diversion programme. And we are just watching them enjoy themselves. Giving them little challenges and that makes us happy. I really appreciate it."

During this passage, “Jackie” added that the kids in the programme were “troubled youth.” Here, he, with the others in agreement, spoke about providing “little challenges” to these “troubled youth,” allowing them to face small adversities in controlled circumstances. It is this process that can foster the capability of self-efficacy, particularly the overcoming of challenges.

These coaching trainees were very engaged in the topic of persistence and overcoming challenges. They were eager to share stories about witnessing their own youth players face adversity and overcome it. During an early focus group in the fall, they were asked if they felt it was possible for the very ‘at risk’ adolescent participants they work with to succeed in academics and pursue their vocational and career goals. They were provided with an analogy – the English Premier League in football. In the Premier League, the same three or four clubs tend to stay at the top, while different clubs languish at the bottom year after year (although those at the bottom are sometimes relegated to a lower league). The education system in St. Lucia felt similar, that the same schools stayed at the top, in terms of academic performance, while others were at the bottom of the scale. Therefore, the coaching trainees were asked if they felt it was impossible for students getting low marks, in low-ranked schools or those who were poor could overcome their situation and achieve academic and professional success. In response, “Jackie” stated that; “Well, it is, (impossible) but, well, I know this one guy. He was poor and when he was younger he would get D’s, E’s stuff and then he started getting help in primary school and then he went up and C, B, and then A and now he’s doing well. So, you can, you really can.” Another (male) coaching trainee standing by agreed and added that; “you need to know the correct people.” They both acknowledged that it was only somewhat within the power of the individual, and the rest was “luck.”

Here, again, their perspectives demonstrate a sense of self-efficacy, even in the face of harsh challenges. Their optimism is muted, however, and they recognise that those from poor backgrounds or funnelled into troubled schools are deeply disadvantaged. The condition of the education system and other macro support factors will be further explored in chapter six. For the purpose of this section, it is clear that there is a tempered belief that these coaching trainees and their “students” are capable of overcoming challenges and adversity.

Another coaching trainee, “Randall,” shared his own experience with overcoming challenges. He is not only training as a coach, but continues to compete at a national and regional level in the West Indies. “On my side, I can share from playing experience. I’ll play for Canaries (his hometown) today. I’ll score the winning goal in the first round of a knock off tournament. The next round, the minute I throw, the first attempt I get, I go from hero to zero. So it’s sort of like that with the kids as well. They get teased a lot. They get put down by the older players ya know.”

This statement reveals a great deal about Randall himself, his experience in sport and his experience as a coach. Going from “hero to zero” with each new game is a powerful analogy for life, especially as an adolescent. As discussed above, adolescence is a time of constant change and growth. Each new day brings with it a new set of challenges. And, although yesterday’s successes can support future success, to a certain extent, these youth begin each day with zero points on the

scoreboard. The daily rigours and struggles of life, at school, at home and on the fields of play are always waiting no matter how well yesterday's performance went. Facing new, although sometimes repetitive, obstacles day after day can be exhausting. Finding the willingness and strength to engage in those struggles is a clear demonstration of persistence. Furthermore, Randall sees that his "kids" face similar challenges and can learn from his example. He sees that not only do they face the physical challenges of playing football, but they must also overcome emotional challenges from teasing by older players. As adolescents, this type of peer to peer conflict is common. Randall described his programme and students as particularly troublesome and challenging in this way. The other coaching trainees in this focus group discussion did not agree that their programmes had such conflict. In fact, they noted that their players supported each other greatly to help overcome difficulties.

Beyond witnessing challenges overcome by the youth in their programmes, the NSDC coaching trainees also discussed their own development of persistence through facing adversity. One male noted that; "You got to build leadership in all of us, you know. Being responsible. And we were just talking about it like, never give up. When we are coaching, you are being responsible, taking charge, not giving up so easy, being a good motivator."

Reflecting on failing

While most of the aspects of persistence focused on overcoming challenges, other discussions were more relevantly coded as reflecting on failing. Encountering failure is an inevitable part of anyone's life and the capability to reflect on these experiences and gain a better understanding about oneself is one way to demonstrate the capability of persistence, a key building block in self-efficacy development.

At the SFL programme in Barbados, a focus group of boys discussed their experiences with failure. One boy recounted his experience failing an exam at school. "When I failed my exam . . . I knew I had to learn to study harder to get to fourth form (the final stage of secondary school). . . I failed my test and I didn't feel really good because all of my friends passed and I was the only person." When asked if he felt this failure would affect his future prospects, he said "no."

Failing an exam can be a very stressful event, especially when the consequences are high, as in his case. His friends passed and were able to progress to fourth form. But he did not see his failure as an endpoint. Rather, he learned from this experience and made the choice to persevere, by vowing to improve his study habits in order to succeed in future exams. He was also confident that this failure was not going to keep him from future success.

On the contrary, a girl at SFL felt that failing exams was a chronic problem for her and she was unable to resolve this issue. "At test time, I revise the night before, but then in the morning . . . at school everything is blank in my mind. Everything is gone." Here, as opposed to the boy at SFL, she feels that failure is a common condition in her life. She cannot find a way to cope or overcome this problem and offers no solution to change the situation.

5.4 Concluding remarks on self-efficacy

Particularly for the boys involved in the SFL programme in Barbados and the Junior Visionaries programme in St. Lucia, gaining skill in sport was a high priority. One of the girls at JV did express a keen interest in football and improving her skills, as well. They made a clear connection between practicing and influencing their ability to improve skill. Their experience of these sport programmes supports prior claims that the nature of sport as a tangible skill-building activity aligns with the development of self-efficacy. The results were less clear in the A Ganar programme, which students are required to complete in order to continue on at their secondary school. There, sport was a lower priority for both male and female participants, with the primary goal of completing the programme and staying at their school as a top priority. Although they enjoyed the sport element, they did not express skill development through sport as a direct impact toward their overall development. However, they did make the connection between playing on a team and learning to work together in social settings, which is further discussed below.

In the other mixed-gender programme, SFL in Barbados, however, girls generally placed less emphasis on sport skill building. At SFL, for example, computer training and social aspects were the primary draw, not cricket. In fact, only one of the girls demonstrated any interest in cricket. The others openly shared their disinterest in the sport and their motivation for attending the programme as unrelated to sport. They did discuss skill building, but mostly regarding their training in computer skills. The girls uninterested in cricket did have other sporting interests, such as football, netball and skipping rope. They did not, however, draw a direct connection between sport and larger skill development or self-efficacy. Interestingly, in the adolescent programmes that were not entirely voluntary (A Ganar, Upton Gardens Girls Center, Court Diversion) skill-building in sport did not emerge as such a strong theme among either gender as it did among males in the fully voluntary programmes.

Why do girls place a lower emphasis on sport skill-building than boys? The answer appears to lie in the social norms regarding sport and adaptive preference formation. As stated above, football and cricket, the most used sports in these programmes, are both highly masculinised sports in the Caribbean (Lewis, 2003). Boys may be more socialised to become sportsmen, which requires them to build their sport skills. Through building their sport skills, they access the capability of self-efficacy. Within the framework proposed in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.5) this social norm would be considered a macro-environmental conversion factor. For girls, this factor serves as a risk factor, as it creates a social barrier or restriction for girls to build sport skills, which in turn may prevent them from this self-efficacy building opportunity. On the other hand, it seems that girls have adapted their preferences toward skill building of other types, namely academic, life and vocational. These skill-building approaches are discussed below. Because these girls are denied the social encouragement to engage in sport, they have not developed preferences to play sport and therefore have less desire or motivation to develop sport skills. As Nussbaum points out, when women (or girls, in this case) are habitually denied access to something, they cannot develop a fully informed set of preferences and therefore adapt to those preferences most available to them within their social context (Nussbaum, 2001). There is ample research, particularly regarding gender equality in sport in the United States, to support the claim that girls have different preferences

regarding sport participation and interest in large part due to the social norms and historical exclusion from sport (Acosta and Carpenter, 2014; Breuning and Dixon, 2008).

Overall, the participants demonstrated a relatively “normal” level of self-efficacy based on both forms of data; the GSES survey and in their focus group discussions, interviews and journals. They were able to articulate the specific ways their respective programmes supported self-efficacy, particularly by helping them build skills. From the perspective of the adolescent participants, they seemed overwhelmingly optimistic and earnestly committed to taking initiative, expressing effort and persisting through adversity to meet their goals in sport, vocation, academics and general personal development through life skills. Occasionally, some of the adolescent participants disagreed or expressed feelings of frustration and being overwhelmed by the challenges they faced or the loftiness of their goals. Some expressed the concern that it didn’t matter what they did or that their efforts were only partially effective. They spoke about how they would have to rely on good luck or resources they did not currently have, mainly networks of support. These statements, though minimal in number, speak to an underlying concern they felt about their capability to determine their futures for themselves.

Their programme coaches, teachers, mentors, facilitators and administrators echoed this apprehension about the limitations of SDP to address the fundamental flaws or weaknesses in the larger environment for these young people. Although they discussed at length how they felt the programme curricula were able to foster aspects of self-efficacy, they repeatedly noted their worries that the lessons taught in the programme might not “stick” or transfer to the greater challenges in youth development. Clearly, none of the participants claimed that these SDP programmes were a panacea for the extensive obstacles faced by at risk adolescents in Barbados and St. Lucia. These underlying macro-level factors will be further discussed in chapter six. Still, they felt they played a positive role in the overall capability development of the participants.

In conclusion, the collective data indicate that these programmes do indeed contribute to the capability development of self-efficacy. While the quantitative data is inconclusive, indicating no significant differences by programme and control but resulting in relatively strong scores overall, the qualitative data reveals that sport and skilled activity experiences through these programmes support self-efficacy development. I argue here that these programmes serve as a strong protective factor within the proposed HCA and youth development framework for SDP. Through these programmes, participants are capable and encouraged to set and pursue goals, build skills and engage with challenges that help develop the fundamental capability of self-efficacy. On the other hand, it is difficult to point out significant risk factors presented by the SDP programmes toward self-efficacy development. The greatest risk factor, it appears, is that participants would try to improve skills, fail, and then feel that their efforts were pointless. However, this possibility was not discussed by any participants. In fact, they were more likely to discuss failure as a part of a larger process of learning rather than an endpoint. It may be that the unique environment of sport fosters this kind of approach. As the NSDC coaching trainees made clear, they failed often in front of their players and used those experiences as “teachable moments.” The contained laboratory of sport, at this level, allows for failure without

heavy consequences. Or, as Randal from NSDC reminds his young players, every game starts anew with a score of zero to zero.

5.5 Social affiliation overview

Closely related to self-efficacy, is the development of social affiliations toward positive youth development. Human capability literature and SDP research refer to social bonding and positive peer and mentor relationships as critical contributors toward overall personal development (Coalter, 2010; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Brady, 2005; Nussbaum, 1999). In this section, the theme of social affiliation as a capability through SDP programmes is explored. As noted in Blum's work, social connectedness is a powerful protective factor for young people in the Caribbean (2006). Social affiliation, like self-efficacy, is positioned as a capability set within the theoretical framework proposed for HCA and youth development in SDP (see figure 2.5). The overarching question, therefore, is; *do these sport-based interventions serve as a risk or protective factor toward the capability development of social affiliation? How and why?* I will also discuss the risks, drawbacks and limitations of these interventions to have a lasting impact on social affiliation of at risk adolescents in these populations. The quantitative and qualitative data are analysed based on elements adapted from Blum's life domains of adolescence; family/home, school/community and mentor/peer connectedness.

To begin, the survey results on social affiliation are analysed in relation to gender and participant/control groups. Based on these data, the SDP programmes can create pathways to socialisation and networks for young people, but that family situation and gender are strong mitigating characteristics. To follow, the qualitative data for social affiliation are examined. Again, gender and programme participation are explored. In the qualitative data; which includes focus group discussions, interviews, journals and participant observations, we can see in greater detail how and why certain sport-based interventions foster specific types of connectedness.

5.6 Social affiliation survey results

Eleven questions were included in the survey to address the connectedness of participants to family members, school and community. These questions were drawn from Blum and Cunningham's work on risk and protective factors for adolescents in the West Indies. However, several questions were written by the author and there is no verification of this scale. Therefore, the questions were analysed individually, rather than as a summary (as seen in GSES).

Again, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was conducted in order to appropriately examine these questions, which are coded on a scale (from a 5-point Likert scale). Because the scale cannot be interpreted as an interval variable, non-parametric tests were conducted. The 5-point Likert scale is the same as above (ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree) with the addition of a "does not apply" category. The "does not apply" option was added because some of the questions specifically ask about programme participation and not all survey participants were involved in a programme (i.e. the control groups). However, this option seemed to create confusion as some survey participants selected "does not apply" for other questions (i.e. I feel close to my mother) as well. Furthermore,

because the programme participants were just beginning their time in the programmes and were therefore unsure how they felt about them, they occasionally selected “does not apply” for questions related to programme participation. The responses were coded from 0-4, with 0 representing the “does not apply” option. Questions coded 1-4 were based on the scale from strongly disagree, disagree, agree to strongly agree.

By gender, there were five statistically significant differences indicated through Mann-Whitney U-tests. For the statement “I feel close to my mother,” the distribution of responses was significantly different by gender ($p=.003$, $n=206$). Females had a lower mean score (2.77, $n=87$) than males (3.24, $n=119$). The standard deviation was higher for girls (1.22) than boys (1.04). Females also had significantly different distribution of scores than males for the statement “I feel close to my father,” ($p=.001$, $n=206$). The mean female response was 2.19 ($n=86$) while the male mean was 2.76 ($n=118$). Again, the standard deviation for girls was larger, at 1.27, while the boys were at 1.19. These variations in distribution indicate that female participants have lower levels of connectedness to their parents than male participants. It is challenging to make a strong interpretation of these results, as they may have many associated factors. Qualitative data does not confirm nor refute that the girls in this study have less connectedness to their parents. This topic was rarely discussed in focus groups, journals and interviews.

The other three statements in which distribution of scores were significantly different were about connectedness to sport and sport programmes. Females indicated lower levels of connectedness in these categories as well. Results for the statement “I feel close to my sport coaches” were $p<.001$ ($n=179$). Here the girls’ mean response was merely 1.68 ($n=71$) while the boys’ mean response was 2.43 ($n=108$). The standard deviation of responses for girls was higher, at 1.39, while boys were at 1.26. The distribution was also not normal for the statement “I feel close to people at my sport programme.” Here the girls’ mean score was 1.82 ($n=72$) while the boys’ mean score was 2.61 ($n=105$). For the statement “I am happy to be a part of my sport programme,” the boys’ mean result was again higher (2.79, $n=104$). The girls’ mean result was 2.07 ($n=73$). However, on these last two sport statements, the standard deviation was higher among boys than girls, indicating less of a variation in responses than in the other results with significant differences in distribution.

A clear interpretation of these results alone is difficult. However, in conjunction with the focus group discussions, interviews and journals these survey results help confirm the hypothesis that female participants feel less connected, involved or influenced by sport in their lives. Sport programmes and coaches may have a more limited capacity to impact the development of these girls.

Table 5.6a Social Affiliation by Gender

Social Affiliation by Gender											
Gender	I feel close to my mother	I feel close to my father	I feel close to my teachers	I feel close to my sport coaches	I feel close to people at my school	I feel close to people at my sport programme	I have at least one trusting adult in my life	I can share my ideas, worries and concerns with a trusted adult	I am happy to be a part of my family	I am happy to be a part of my school	I am happy to be a part of my sport programme
Male	N	119	118	117	108	105	116	111	114	115	104
	Mean	3.24	2.76	2.128	2.45	2.43	2.80	2.73	3.00	2.75	2.79
	Std. Deviation	1.039	1.189	1.2073	1.256	1.158	1.239	1.265	1.182	1.138	1.204
	Median	4.00	3.00	2.000	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Female	N	87	86	86	71	85	85	87	88	88	73
	Mean	2.77	2.19	2.023	1.68	2.14	2.76	2.72	2.93	2.53	2.07
	Std. Deviation	1.217	1.270	1.2740	1.392	1.177	1.043	1.168	.992	1.164	1.398
	Median	3.00	2.00	2.000	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Total	N	206	204	203	179	203	201	198	202	203	177
	Mean	3.04	2.52	2.084	2.15	2.31	2.79	2.73	2.97	2.66	2.49
	Std. Deviation	1.138	1.253	1.2340	1.362	1.172	1.157	1.220	1.101	1.152	1.332
	Median	3.00	3.00	2.000	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00

Social affiliation was also examined by programme participation versus control groups (See Table 5.6a). Three statements yielded statistically significant results in the Mann-Whitney U tests. The statement “I feel close to people at my school,” had a different distribution between programme participants and the control group ($p=.038$, $n=204$). Here the mean score for the control group was lower (2.09, $n=74$) than for sport programme participants (2.44, $n=130$). The null hypothesis can be rejected and this particular result may reflect the fact that many of the sport programmes are held at the participants’ school. Blum’s studies note that connectedness to school is the most important indicator of positive youth development. It is possible that these school-based sport programmes can promote connectedness to school and contribute toward the development of these young participants.

The other two significant results were both related to affiliation with sport and sport programmes, so these results are not surprising. For the statement “I feel close to people at my sport programme,” the distribution of results was abnormal ($p=.023$, $n=178$). Sport programme participants felt closer to people at their sport programmes, with a mean score of 2.48 ($n=129$) while non-sport programme participants had a mean score of 1.73 ($n=49$). Finally, distribution of results for the statement “I am happy to be a part of my sport programme” was significantly different ($p=.002$, $n=178$). Sport programme participants had a higher mean (2.68, $n=130$) than their control group counterparts (1.94, $n=48$). Clearly, sport programme participants are more likely to agree with these statements because they are certain to be involved in such sport programs. However, it is important to note that in another sport related statement, “I feel close to my sport coaches,” the distribution of responses was normal between the sport programme participants and control group. It is also worth noting that there was a “does not apply” option for these responses, which was a more likely choice for the control group participants. Finally, the response rate on these three sport programme related questions was much lower for control group participants than on the other social affiliation questions.

Table 5.6b Social affiliation by programme and control

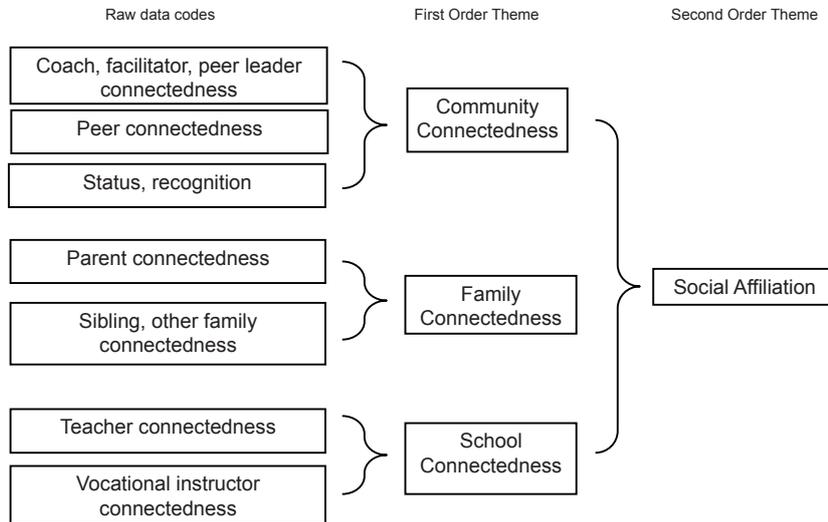
Social Affiliation by Programme and Control											
Programme participant	I feel close to my mother	I feel close to my father	I feel close to my teachers	I feel close to my sport coaches	I feel close to people at my school	I feel close to people at my sport programme	I have at least one trusting adult in my life	I can share my ideas, worries and concerns with a trusted adult	I am happy to be a part of my family	I am happy to be a part of my school	I am happy to be a part of my sport programme
Non participant (Control)	N 75	74	75	48	74	49	73	73	74	73	48
	Mean 3.07	2.55	2.080	1.90	2.09	1.73	2.75	2.63	2.89	2.66	1.94
	Std. Deviation 1.095	1.273	1.1828	1.418	1.137	1.411	1.164	1.307	1.142	1.157	1.479
	Median 3.00	3.00	2.000	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
Participant in a programme	N 133	132	130	132	130	129	130	126	130	132	130
	Mean 3.02	2.49	2.092	2.23	2.44	2.48	2.78	2.79	3.00	2.64	2.68
	Std. Deviation 1.161	1.245	1.2603	1.330	1.175	3.003	1.175	1.163	1.085	1.154	1.220
	Median 3.00	3.00	2.000	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Total	N 208	206	205	180	204	178	203	199	204	205	178
	Mean 3.03	2.51	2.088	2.14	2.31	2.28	2.77	2.73	2.96	2.64	2.48
	Std. Deviation 1.135	1.252	1.2296	1.358	1.170	2.678	1.168	1.217	1.105	1.153	1.333
	Median 3.00	3.00	2.000	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00

5.7 Social affiliation qualitative results

Through focus group discussions, interviews and journals, data on social affiliation was collected. Programme participants were asked numerous questions regarding how they relate to coaches, mentors, peer leaders and peers related to their sport programmes. Furthermore, the participants were guided in discussing their relationships with family members, teachers and other adults and peers in their community. The purpose of these questions and guided discussions was to examine how the participants interacted and connected to peers, mentors and family within the life domains of youth development. The following section describes and analyses the results from each domain within the particular context of the data.

As in the analysis of self-efficacy, raw codes were grouped into first order themes reflective of the theoretical frameworks. Here, the framework applied is drawn directly from the youth development framework of Blum's World Bank study at the micro-environment level. These are positioned within the social conversion factors as outlined in figure 2.5. A breakdown of raw codes and first order themes within the second order theme of "social affiliation" is displayed in figure 5.7. Peer and mentor connectedness overlaps the domains of school and community, as many of the SDP programmes were conducted at or in relation to schools, academic support or vocational training. Peers and mentors are limited to those related to the sport for development programme in the study. Raw codes of "coach, facilitator, peer leader connectedness" and "peer connectedness" constitute the first order theme of "peer/mentor connectedness." Within the family domain, quotations were coded as "parent connectedness" or "sibling, other family connectedness." Finally, statements which were coded as "teacher connectedness" or "community activities/interest" were grouped within the first order theme of "community/school connectedness."

Figure 5.7 Thematic coding of social affiliation



Community connectedness*Coach, facilitator, peer leader connectedness*

SDP advocates often tout the benefits of building positive mentor relationships through sport. Across all programmes in this study, participants indicated that the leaders, coaches or teachers in their programmes provided a positive influence, guidance and support. Overwhelmingly, participants felt that they could trust their sport programme mentors and that these leaders provided support and encouragement. There were some contradictory statements about coaches not listening well to the players' concerns, but these were rare and seemingly isolated incidents. In general, they tended to claim that the sport programmes provided a more casual atmosphere than school, allowing their relationships with adult mentors to be more open and friendly than their relationships with teachers at school.

At the NSDC training centre, adult coaching trainees were asked to describe what makes a "good coach" in terms of positive impact for young players. "They need to be oriented for the player and listen to the player. A good coach is a disciplined coach and a mentor. They need to be disciplined, (have a) level of education and knowledge of the game," replied one of the coaching trainees. Another coaching trainee gave his perspective. "So, right now, I try to motivate. Some of us, we talk to the younger kids and it's not only drugs, you can make it through sports or you can still continue through school and make it academically you know," he said.

In general, they talked about supporting and encouraging the kids in their respective programmes. They also discussed at length the importance of setting a good example as a role model. A programme administrator at NSDC, "Daniel," explained further. "The trainees can reach the kids in a better way because they have been there and understand," he stated. Daniel is a generation older than the coaching trainees and emphasised that it was important to train younger coaches who could better relate to youth players.

In each of these responses, the coaching trainees and Daniel emphasised the mentoring and motivational aspect of coaching over the technical knowledge of the game. Other participants agreed with these notions and felt that building trust-based relationships and serving as a role model were primary aspects of being a good coach. It was clear that at NSDC, building participant and mentor connectedness was a primary goal of the programme. The reflections from the coaching trainees support Daniel's belief that they have a unique opportunity to bond with young players.

Randall at NSDC shared his personal experience in connecting to his players. "The kids I teach, it's not wise to have preference in the programmes, but the kids I treat the most are the ones coming up like me, kind of difficult. Some kids, 13, started out just like me. Cannot play football at all. They get criticised a lot. I treat them like family, like they are my kids," he stated. He also discussed how much he enjoyed just "socialising" with the kids and playing along with them. His sense of pride in the kids and affection toward them was clear. The other coaches agreed that they felt very connected to their participants and strived to relate to them on a personal level. The other coaches remarked that they felt they understood some of the

trials these young kids were going through, as they, too, had to overcome similar issues like poverty, trouble in school and family instability.

Randall continued explaining that his approach to coaching was different, more about relationship building, than the coaches he had as a child. “Yeah, there was more running like the coach always used to put you down and everything if your calf was hurting or something. But now I don’t put them down. And even if they can’t do like, chopping and everything, I show them everything. Well, I needed that and I didn’t get it so I try to do it,” he explained. Again, his focus is on establishing a positive relationship with his players over teaching technical skills. He also explained that he learned more about this style of coaching through NSDC and was pleased to engage with his players in this way.

He continued on, explaining how he engaged with his players beyond the training time they had at the programme. His goal is to serve as a role model for them as a player and person. In the context of football, he can also teach the kids about making mistakes and reflecting on failure (as discussed above in self-efficacy). Randall stated:

What my kids specialise in is that, they learn from me. I play at a number of different leagues and sometimes when I play outside of Canaries, in a super league, I bring kids with me. And sometimes when I’m playing, I do a lot of errors in the game. So sometimes at halftime they say, ‘Coach, you’re always telling us to . . . but you did that! Or #11 was open to a great pass, you should’ve done it!’ . . . And it’s really cool to see that they think about it that way.

Another NSDC coaching trainee, “Darren,” contributed how he role models through football to his players:

Well, you see, I’m a goalkeeper in their community, they would say they want to be like me or be a good goalkeeper when they grow up. So when I’m in the goal and make a mistake, I get a lot of critics and coaching...(laughter) ...so when I come back from training, I say I did my best now it’s up to you all to do your best for coach.

In both cases, Randall and Darren serve as role models not despite their weaknesses or imperfections, but in large part because they can relate their mistakes to their young players and engage in them as teachable moments. As they told these stories, their moods were light-hearted and they laughed about their own shortcomings and the eagerness of their students to become their critics. They enjoyed the process of teaching the kids about overcoming mistakes and failures. While much of the emphasis of the focus group discussions with NSDC coaching trainees was on how they taught their players, in this anecdote the players also have the capacity to teach their coaches, an often-overlooked outcome in research on youth development. The flow of protective factors from a child to a youth mentor or peer leader is not included in Blum’s model, but is noted in the proposed model from this study (figure 2.5). Peer leaders and coaches are a common element in SDP programmes and the benefits of connectedness to children in their programmes can serve as another type of protective factor toward the development of social affiliation.

Another story from Randall explicitly explores how the benefits of connectedness between mentor and mentee are bidirectional:

In the Canaries Grassroots program, there is this kid. He goes to the disability school. He's a bit slow in the mind. He has never played a game. I think only twice, I had him on the bench and put him in. And everybody was like 'why are you playing him?' But I really appreciated his commitment to training. There would be a single team, he would come and train. He can control, he can pass. His thinking is a bit . . . sometimes if you, for example, if you were shooting, in training he would shoot. But when it comes to the game he wouldn't shoot, he would just dribble and tackle. And I just admired, sometimes when I train, no one wants him to play on it because no one likes (it) . . .

Sometimes I come to the pitch . . . (for) training time, I sprint from my home to the pitch. Once I get to the fence, I start walking. When I see him there, I feel a bit happy. Because I feel like I'm not the only person who gets criticized. When I'm playing, everyone hates me because I just smile. Blackout tournament, everyone wants to win it. But not me, I just want to have fun . . .

So, when he comes now, when they expect him to pass the ball, he would never pass the ball, he would continue dribbling and I'd be like, when he dribbles and he takes out one player, then two or three or four and I'm like 'That's it boy, that's it, take him on!' By the time he gets to the corner flank, he can't do anything more. So he'll probably just trap it. But the fact that he took on 3 players, that's brilliant for a guy of his abilities. Doing that. I love that. I love it. That's my amusement when I'm playing.

Here, Randall's story demonstrates that the mentor-mentee relationship is not uni-directional, but is in fact bi-directional. The young boy serves as an inspiration to Randall on the pitch and in his life. The relationship and connectedness between the mentor and mentee can serve as a protective factor for both.

The coaching trainees also discussed handling difficult personal challenges their young players brought to them. As these coaches were trained in child protective services through NSDC, they felt equipped to handle some very serious situations. One male coach described a very concerning experience he faced with one young participant:

Sometimes they come with their own personal issues. I was at Castries Comprehensive (a secondary school). A kid came to me and said, 'coach, my friend, he touched me.' He was a young boy . . . 'So I said what do you mean he touched you? Were you comfortable or uncomfortable when he touched you?' He said 'no coach, I wasn't comfortable.' And I was like, ahhh, I know what to do. And I called the head coach and said to him, 'listen to the little boy.

Following the instruction from his training at NSDC, the coach reported the incident to his supervisor and the report was made to the school administration. He did not know the outcome of the complaint at the time of the focus group. The other three coaches in this focus group agreed this was a very rare and unfortunate incident. No such incident was discussed by any of the fifteen NSDC coaches. They did, however, recall learning about these types of situations from one of their trainers at NSDC:

Ok, um. There was once, coach . . . was telling us that there was this girl who was . . . And this girl would just come up and say ‘my step-daddy is touching me.’ And you know, things like that. So, um, yeah. So he was like . . . So, his resolution for that was, of all the options he had he had to consider, the girls feelings you understand and getting trust from that person. So you wouldn’t want to go just straight to the authority because that puts a stress . . . for that person. So you talk to that person and get that person a counselor and then you know the counselor would go . . . social worker . . . and the authorities get involved. So, you know, you pick up those things and then you get other situations and you can adjust it around that.

Clearly, in these high stakes situations the bond between player/participant and their coach is paramount. The coaching trainees recognised that they needed to have a bond of trust in order for a player to confide in them with such a serious problem. They also understood that as coaches, they could serve as a trusting adult for children in need. In this way, a coach can become part of a support network for his players. Finally, they explained that they now felt confident that they were properly trained on how to manage such a scenario effectively.

Although the discussion on the issues of child abuse was important for the participants, they all agreed that these were very rare circumstances and that most of the time they are called upon to serve their players in peer conflicts. Darren, shared his perspective; “But we don’t really get situations like that. The situations that we normally get are probably like a bit of quarrelling in training, end up as a fight. And then you say, ‘come, why are you fighting today?’ And they say ‘but coach he hit me first. . .’ Yeah, that’s what we normally get.” Darren explained how he handled these more common conflicts:

Sometimes we get it before or after training. If the argument started whilst training, we would pull them out and say ‘today you are going to be a coach. So sit down and have a look today. You are gonna be a coach, you are not going to train.’ So (we) make them look. And then we tell them ‘you are now going to make that team do something really, really fun that day.’ And they’re like ‘coach, come on!’ So they know next time they won’t do that or they’ll miss out on fun.

The others thought this was an interesting approach and some indicated they would like to try it in their programmes. They all agreed that this type of “quarrelling” was quite common and shared their similar experiences. Randall shared his approach:

That's cool. (in response to Darren's method). Once I notice they are arguing, especially if I notice someone couldn't pass the ball, but he tried, and then they're arguing, I say, 'Come, have a seat.' Then we watch, we watch. We laugh about things happening in the game. And I say 'Good. When you go there, just give your best. Just do your best. And if you argue again then the same thing, just come, sit down.'

In both situations, the coaching trainees took similar steps to address the conflict. They removed the kids from the playing field. However, Darren had them re-engage as coaches and miss out on the fun. His approach was more about punishment. Randall took the opportunity to further communicate with the child, laughing and encouraging her. While it is unclear if these methods are effective, it is reasonable to interpret their actions as an engaged and attentive approach. They did not kick the kids out or doll out harsh punishments. Instead, they took actions that created communication pathways that can be interpreted as further connecting to the children.

The group agreed that they learned how to better communicate to children in these situations from their instructors at NSDC. Randall remarked that he "learned from the best," in reference to Daniel and Alex at NSDC. "They share their experiences with you and you get the feeling," he stated. The group agreed with his praise and said that the communication from the NSDC instructors was good. "They taught us the way to deal and make us understand, make it fun . . ." one coaching trainee remarked. They felt like their instructors listened to them if they had questions or problems. Even one coaching trainee who was silent through much of the discussion contributed that the style of communication was "respectful" and he appreciated that. All of the coaching trainees agreed that they learned from that model and tried to emulate it in their own coaching techniques.

In the focus group discussions and journals from adolescent participants in the other programmes, mentor relationships were discussed at length as well. These participants were asked directly about interactions with coaches and facilitators at the programmes, with a focus on how they communicated. Overall, the responses were positive and demonstrated that the participants felt a strong connection and appreciation for the efforts of their mentors. They also had some contradictory statements about mentors being too strict, rude or failed to listen to their concerns.

At the JV programme in St. Lucia, a mixed gender programme, the boys had a particular bond with the cricket coaches. They stated that the coaches "know the game and can teach us the techniques." They felt the communication style from coaches was "fair," "kindly" and "respectful." They noted that the coaches did not yell at them. Several focus groups remarked that the coaches listened to their concerns. In reference to their primary coach, Alex, one participant noted that, "He's fun. He's making us happy, making us laugh." They all agreed that they liked the coaches. On the contrary, one participant felt that they do not always listen. He provided an example when one boy was hurt and wanted to sit out, but the coaches sent him back in to play football. In another group, the boys noted that they did not like it when their coach asked them to do an exercise that involves the running up and down the pitch with their hands over their heads while they shouted "respect." With these two exceptions, the overall feeling was that the coaches were good. The female

participants did not make any specific remarks about their relationship with the coaches.

At SFL in Barbados, which includes academic teachers and coaches, an all boys focus group at commented that they “got people that will listen to you.” In a focus group, one boy said that of all the things he would recall from his time at SFL, the work he did “and all the people who have helped” were among the highlights. All focus groups, both boys and girls, cited that both the teachers and coaches were attentive to their needs and tried to make the programme fun. However, one group commented that the coaches were good, but the teachers were sometimes “rude.” It is important to note that the coaches were male and most of the teachers were female. The comment about mentors being rude was also present in one journal entry from a boy. However, most comments in journals regarding mentors were positive, including one girl who stated that the mentors were “cool and great.” The journals only asked about feedback on “mentors” of the programmes, as not all programmes had the same division of staff between coaches, teachers and mentors. Seven boys wrote positive comments about the mentors in their journals, while only one girl did the same.

Overall, the feedback on all mentors within SFL was positive. However, it appears that the boys had a stronger connectedness to the coaches, who were male and focused on the sport aspect of the programme rather than the academics. This phenomenon may reflect that the boys a) have a stronger bond toward male role models and b) make a stronger connection through sport than academics. Relating these results to the previously discussed emphasis on sport skill development for boys at SFL, I interpret that mentor connectedness may be better developed through same gendered mentor-mentee relationships in activities that more directly interest the participants.

Elsewhere, at the UGGC in St. Lucia, the participants overwhelmingly agreed that sport participation, especially within the Girls2Women salsa dance programme at Upton Gardens, helped them build healthy bonds with peers and mentors. Most of the participants participated in the salsa dancing sessions, which took place at the Upton Gardens facility and included only female participants (from Upton Gardens) and a female instructor. The programme had been cancelled in the spring of 2013, when the instructor left.

One key element discussed at length was their relationship with the instructor, a female named “Karen.” All groups agreed that her communication style was effective and they used words such as “listens” to describe Karen. They also agreed that she was “supportive,” “caring,” “relaxed” and “made us laugh.” “The way she talked to us wasn’t harsh and she was a great salsa teacher,” stated a girl named “Anna.” The girls agreed that she was respectful toward them and listened to their perspectives. Anna continued on to say that, ‘if you, like, forgot the moves the first time, she helped you learn it. If we were behind the group, she would teach you, but didn’t get frustrated.’ They all agreed that she was ‘patient’ and that her primary goal was for them to enjoy salsa dancing, rather than to be perfect dancers. The girls felt that the Karen was proud of them. ‘She always said that in salsa . . . we are a team and that it wasn’t perfect but that it didn’t have to be,’ stated another participant. When asked if they always got their way with Karen they replied, “no, not always. But we always

enjoyed it and tried it . . . and we were a team.’ The girls went on to discuss the social elements of salsa dancing. They especially enjoyed dancing together with each other and the instructor. The sense of social bonding over this activity was strong, both participant to mentor and peer-to-peer (peer bonding discussed further below).

The UGGC girls filled in a journal question about their coaches and mentors in the programme. They gave positive reviews, describing the coaches as “fine,” “explainable,” “courageous,” “good,” “kind,” and “wonderful.” They wrote about both Karen and their male football coach. When asked about their relationship with teachers at Upton Gardens, their moods seemed to shift. They felt that the teachers had a different role to play and Karen seemed to fill a unique mentor role beyond a teacher or family member. (Their relationship with teachers is discussed below within the context of school connectedness.) The dance lesson context allowed the participants to engage with a trusted mentor in a fun and relaxed setting without the burden of daily disciplinary rules that exist in the classroom setting. Karen, in particular, was adept in creating an environment for these important social bonds to grow (Zipp, 2016).

Overall, the mentor and peer relationships discussed through this sport were overwhelmingly positive. Their instructor was able to lead this group effectively and build unity among the participants to strive for goals as a ‘team.’ However, after about a year of service, Karen moved on and no longer taught dance lessons at Upton Gardens. Like so many others in the lives of young people in St. Lucia, this trusted adult was not a longstanding influence.

From the perspective of programme facilitators, mentor-mentee relationships were further explored. “John,” a sport coach for the Barbados sports council, spoke at length about his connection to the children and youth he has coached for nearly fifteen years. He is an athletics (track and field) coach and also organises programmes, projects and initiatives on behalf of the sports council. John was interviewed over the course of several days while touring the sports council facilities and local schools where he helped support sport programmes. During these interviews, he consistently emphasised the importance of building strong bonds between coach and athlete. He felt that the role of coaches as mentors, role models and support networks was one of the primary outcomes of the sports clubs and programmes run through the council.

As we were touring some of the local sport venues, one young woman approached him to say hello and talk casually. She was happy to see him and they shared updates on their current activities. John said that he used to coach her. “See what I mean, it just don’t stop. The children come to me and they are always my children.” When asked what happens when his athletes drop out, he replied; “Yeah, I still see them and ask how they are doing and why they don’t run no more.” At other venues, current and former athletes of John’s also approached him to talk. His commitment to building a bond with his athletes was clear, and the interactions he had with the children at the sport venues confirmed his assertions.

Another mentor and facilitator, Janet at SFL in Barbados, shared her perspective. She reflected on the “personal challenges” so many of the children at SFL faced and how she could serve as a mentor to help them deal with difficulties in their lives. In her statements, she refers to the unique positioning of a mentor at SFL

outside of the home domain (family) and school domain (teachers). The role of an SFL mentor has specific challenges and advantages to these other roles.

In the home domain, she noted that it can be difficult to gain trust and form a strong bond with a child from a troubled family environment. Janet stated:

Some come from foster parents or a children's home. Not coming from an ideal situation with natural parents. Some of them may very well not be, not feel affection and love as a child who lives in a home with a parent might feel. They may respond differently or (find it) difficult to accept that we genuinely care and love them. When you try to extend that care, love, affection they may not know how to deal with that. You have to first break down that barrier then work on trying to actually teach them. Otherwise, they say 'I don't understand' or 'I am not happy today,' or 'I don't want to.' The emotional challenge comes from there. You have to place yourself in that situation to be available.

While a troubled home environment poses a challenge to building a relationship with mentees, she also emphasised that SFL mentors have a clear advantage over school teachers in connecting with students and participants. Janet, herself, is a school teacher in Barbados outside of her work with SFL. Janet said:

The programme is unique in itself because the teacher goes to school and there is 30 children to one teacher. So you would not be able to deal with each child individually. But in SFL, we break down into groups to know exactly where each student is at. The programme allows for each child to get that one on one interaction and coaching and teaching. So if the group is ten and realize that two within the group are much slower, then, in SFL, we can pull those two kids and work with them individually. They are given that individual attention that they couldn't get in a classroom. If it's one-on-one it is easier for them to say they can't understand it or struggle to read in front of you and not be afraid of being laughed at.

The opportunity to give closer attention to students who are struggling is more available to SFL mentors than to school teachers, according to Janet. She elaborated with a story about one female participant, Tasha. While Tasha is a good participant based on behaviour, she struggles academically to keep up with the reading and maths work. Janet noted that Tasha tends "often needs encouragement from the mentor to pull through." Such individual attention and encouragement is more readily available at SFL than for teachers who are responsible for larger groups of students.

Addy from A Ganar echoed Janet's perspective on overcoming disruptive home environments as a mentor. She, too, felt that the mentors at A Ganar could fill a void left by strained or absent relationships with family members. In a way, the mentor substitutes in as a positive, trusted adult mentor. This process is described through her stories of two A Ganar participants:

On the first day, I can be honest, we are not supposed to have a favourite, but I consider him a favourite. The first day of class he flipped out on me, he didn't want to do nothing in class he had personal issues from home, I think his

brother was arrested, police were at his home, and he was taking it out on the class. After I had a firm talk with him and told him if you don't want to be here, I gave him a firm talk he came around and became a mediator in class. With all males (in this specific class) there is a lot of drama at times and he was one that would diffuse the situation. He was flustered and bothered about the arrest and wanted to speak about it, but didn't know how to, so he shut down in the beginning but when we probed the situation it all came out.

Her story reflects that the participants are often faced with severe challenges at home and those struggles can disturb their engagement in the programme. This student, she noted, was from a middle class background and was not amongst the poorest in the group. Other students brought in difficulties often related to poverty, drugs or crime within their families. Furthermore, this anecdote demonstrates that a mentor has the capacity to overcome these challenges and develop a strong bond with the mentee. In fact, it may be such adversities that allow a mentor to relate to such a student or mentee. Furthermore, this story sets up a new mentor-mentee scenario than previous discussions. Addy is a female mentor and the troubled student is male. In discussions and journals from participants at SFL and JV, the young male participants did not seem to form a connection to female mentors. Here, however, Addy is bonded to her "favourite" student, a male. It is important to understand that this student was in a BVTB training course for youth and was at least 16 years of age. On the contrary, the participants at SFL and JV were between the ages of 12 and 16.

Regarding a different participant, she described his lack of family connectedness and her efforts to fill in as a positive mentor and role model:

He definitely has some home issues. Definitely, definitely. When we did our baseline survey, one of the questions was 'who is the closest adult?' I find that the majority of my guys and the others said their mother, a few were grandmother, less than, I wanna say 10, had fathers (as their closest adult). However, "Zach" had his coach. So he doesn't have a close relationship with his mother at all, his relationship with his mother is gone. His father passed away recently so I'm not sure if he had a good relationship but now he is passed. I'm not sure if he has issues with females in authority because whenever I had to tell him something, he always said I am picking on him no matter if I am firm, aggressive or friendly. He just had problems with females speaking to him in an authoritative manner.

Addy explains the difficulties of Zach's home situation; his father has passed away and he does not list his mother as a closest adult. She recognised the situation and felt compelled to step in as a mentor to him, but he tends to reject her attempts to guide him. In contrast to Janet's story, Addy is unable to effectively connect with Zach and feels that her gender is a contributing factor. Again, it appears that the gender of the mentor is a mitigating factor in establishing mentor connectedness.

In reference to two groups of BVTB participants through A Ganar, Addy explained how a mentor relationship to participants was complicated by their simultaneous relationship with a vocational instructor (teacher). A Ganar was running programmes through the BVTB for two classes at one location; a computer training class and a plumbing class. The students took technical lessons through the BVTB on

their vocational interests while at the same time engaging in A Ganar support programmes on sports and life skills. She stated:

The computer class and A Ganar started at the same time, so this batch met the facilitator from A Ganar and the instructor at the same time so the rules . . . they were the same and they were cohesive. Our group (plumbing), we had a challenge where the A Ganar class have slightly different rules to the plumbing class. So when we started we had our fixed rules so we got accustomed to, but the instructor (from BVTB) had a different set of rules that were more strict. And I guess how he approached the class to it, they took offense to it so they had a little tension, a bit of conflict.

As an example, she spoke about a time when she allowed students to wear short pants because they were going out on a field to play and do activities. However, the BVTB had a dress code that prohibited short pants and the plumbing instructor was upset about the violation. She felt that these types of conflicts negatively affected how the students interacted with the plumbing instructor. She felt that they preferred the A Ganar mentors because they were more relaxed and had looser rules. Again, the unique positioning of a sport programme mentor is recognised, but in this scenario, it is not necessarily a positive factor. By confusing the rules and being better liked by the students, the A Ganar mentors may actually undermine the efforts of the instructor to establish bonds with students and teach effectively.

Peer connectedness

Mentor to mentee relationships are only one piece of the puzzle in developing social affiliation. Peer to peer relationships are also key elements explored in this study. Participants were asked numerous questions in focus group discussions and journals about how they related to their peers in their sport programmes, schools and wider community. Programme mentors, coaches and facilitators were also asked to describe peer to peer interactions among their participants. Overall, the data support the claim that sport programmes can serve as a protective factor toward the development of positive peer relationships. The programme participant expressed a sense of connectedness, bonding and friendship with their programme peers. They explained that spending time with their friends in the programmes was one of the attractions to joining and attending the activities. They also related that their relationships had grown through the experience of participating in the programme together. The programme mentors and facilitators echoed these statements in their observations of the participants. However, there were contradictory statements as well. Both the participants and the mentors discussed incidents of fighting and conflict. Although these situations were relatively minor and often included discussion of how the tensions were overcome for even stronger bonding.

In an interview with an NSDC coaching trainee named “Mike” explained that his players are friends on and off the pitch. “Yeah, they are friends. Everybody is together. The whole team from girls to boys, all 173 of them.” At a later focus group discussion with four male coaching trainees (“Darren,” “Randall,” “Mike” and “Brian”), they all agreed that the participants in their programmes had also become friends who socialised outside of the programme setting.

Another coaching trainee, Darren, described how his players had bonded through the programme even on non-training days. He remarked that even though they trained officially on Saturdays, he invited his players to come to a field to play all types of games and activities on Tuesdays after school. They often joined in on this extra outing. Darren stated:

They go to play together, walk together, run their kites, just be together because we always teach them to be together as one. So, most of the times, you find them together. They don't quarrel with each other . . . If he (one of the participants) do make a mistake, that's not a problem. All of us will help him. Yeah, so you always find them together. Training, not training, but always together.

While these passages reflect the quantity of social bonding that occurs in the programmes and beyond, other statements from coaching trainees indicate that the nature of playing sport contributes to peer bonding. Essentially, the act of playing on a team together enables the players to interact in a social way that fosters communication, empathy and encouragement. In particular, the ups and downs of playing sport gives the players an opportunity to support each other.

Another coaching trainee, "Brian," described his programme's approach. "Today, I'm on your team, but tomorrow I may not be on your team. But everyday there's a spirit and cheering everyone on, yelling, shouting each other's name. And every time somebody misses a goal we go and give him a hug and give him a high five. (We) develop team play. By the time they are 15 (years old) that's gone, but at least at they're age they're doing it."

Darren explained that "our goal is, it doesn't matter if you score the goal or not. It's probably how you play the game, even if you lose. You're gonna get a little bit of critics, but we are gonna tell you next time 'that's ok.' Yeah, we tend to get everyone in our community working as one. We don't tell anyone, 'you ain't got nothing' or 'you can't play.' We just say, 'next time, you shouldn't done that or do it better than that.'" He also added that seeing his players help each other after making a mistake or losing a game "is really nice to see, but sometimes you see when they lose some of them are crying. That's why we try to work on even if we lose we are gonna be a team as one because we are from Dennery. And our goal is to try and make the Dennery team before we gonna try and make the national team and probably onwards. So even if we lose today, we not supposed to cry because it's the same people from Dennery. So we just try to get them to walk around with each other."

His message relates to several ideas. First, his players are bonded through helping each other out individually, especially through trials of playing sport. He related a similar message that was discussed in the self-efficacy sport skill-building section about the foreign boy who dramatically increased his skills, with the help of his teammates encouraging him and cheering him on. Furthermore, he believes that his efforts have a larger purpose towards community building. He sees the role of this sport programme as building peer-to-peer bonds. The data, indeed, do indicate a strong presence of peer bonding toward social affiliation.

Participants in other programmes expressed similar stories of bonding and friendship. At the JV programme in St. Lucia, a focus group of boys explained that they had each had several friends in the group and that some of them decided together to join this after school programme so they could play football together. Another group stated that “making new friends” and “meeting new people” were an appealing part of the programme. They agreed that a lot of the participants in the programme considered each other friends.

At SFL in Barbados, a focus group of boys teased each other as they explained how they enjoyed seeing each other at the programme. When asked why they joined and attended this voluntary programme, they had a variety of answers. “Sometimes I feel like I ain’t got nothin’ better to do,” said one boy. Another said “to eat,” and the others erupted into a chorus of laughter. He was referring to the free lunch they are served during the 5 hour programme. He then said, “I guess to see some of these miserable faces . . . “Sean’s” miserable face.” The group laughed again and “Sean” responded that the other boy was “miserable too.” Another boy added that he came for the food and, “the people.” When asked if he meant friends or coaches he nodded and they all began joking that he was present in order to see one of the girls in the programme.

It is a bit difficult to interpret their exact meaning, as these boys were laughing, amicably teasing each other and sharing inside jokes. But it is clear that seeing each other and meeting up with their friends was a draw of the programme. It was also clear by their friendly interaction that these boys felt close to each other as friends. They were comfortable with each other and had jokes to share over their shared experience at SFL.

Teachers at SFL, Becky and Tonya, provided further context in their joint interview. Becky discussed how some of the kids join the programme in pairs or groups. “We have circles. The boys tend to group (with other boys).” Tonya and another teacher, Janet (in a separate interview) discussed some of the participants who have taken leadership roles, bridging the gap between peer and mentor, essentially serving as peer leaders, though informally. Janet spoke of one girl, “Kate,” who went through the programme and came back as a peer leader, or “junior mentor.” Janet felt that Kate was contributing in her role as a peer leader. Tonya spoke about a boy who took a less formal peer leadership role. “This one kid looks after some of the girls, like he is a big brother,” stated Tonya.

One of the A Ganar groups, at a low ranking secondary school in Barbados, had mixed discussions on peer bonding and friendships through the programme. This group agreed that they all get along, but that some of it was unauthentic. A boy said that he didn’t like what some people say about others. A girl responded that, in A Ganar, “many people got something to say, but they don’t tell you to your face. They say it behind your back.” Clearly, the peer bonding and friendship among this group was not as strong as the others. They did not talk about some of the common themes from other groups, such as teamwork or friendship. Notably, this is one of the non-voluntary programmes at a secondary school. JV, SFL and the programmes run by the coaching trainees are entirely voluntary.

Addy, a facilitator at A Ganar, saw similar troubles in this group and other A Ganar programmes in the secondary schools of Barbados. She mentioned that some of the participants struggled to get along with each other. One boy in particular was relatively isolated among his peers, although she felt that they had become more “comfortable” during the course of the programme. “So some stuff I didn’t see before I started to see creeping in. So now . . . while they are in session with their practical teacher, I see how they interact with him. I know a lot of the boys don’t take to him or like his personality but they still work with him.” Although they do not have a bond of friendship, she recognised that they are becoming more capable of working together. This improvement implies a sense of peer connectedness developed through the programme, however limited.

When asked if all of the participants had made it to the current stage of the programme (the final month of the school year), Addy told the story of one participant who dropped out due to peer conflicts. “One of the boys got in an altercation with the same guy from Deacon’s (a neighbourhood renown for poverty and violence). Because the guy lived there and he said he don’t feel comfortable (going there during the A Ganar programme) or feel safe coming to Deacon’s. So we had a talk in class and the guy says ‘he ain’t squash.’ But the other was hell bent on how he doesn’t feel safe and doesn’t wanna come back in this area, so both his parents . . . said he doesn’t wanna come back. So we got him transferred to another program that had plumbing.” In this case, the participants could not rise above their peer conflict and find a way to work together. Despite the efforts of Addy and other A Ganar leaders, the tension could not be resolved.

Social affiliation, however, is not developed the same way for boys and girls in these sport programmes. In these examples, boys were the majority of the participants and girls were only mentioned once (by an NSDC coach). Still, from the perspective of the NSDC coaching trainees, social affiliations through these sport programmes does cross gender boundaries. The boys and girls play together as a team and do not “quarrel.” However, a difference in relationships exist, as pointed out in the chapter five, when boys adjust their style of play against girls (in an attempt to avoid hurting them). Interestingly, family terms are often employed here in a positive way. The first coach here describes the relationships as “brothers” and he later noted that the boys treat the girls like “sisters.” Although these relationships may be couched in cultural concepts regarding gender, they are clearly close relationships that bind these young people together and create a sense of social affiliation.

Another example of social affiliation came from the (only) female to complete the NSDC training programme, Jackie. In an interview, she stated that playing sport, especially football for girls, created “long-term friendships.” She felt this was an important benefit to playing sport. She described how two teammates overcame social tensions through playing together on a football team:

It helps you make friends and trust one another. I know two girls on my team. Before they joined they were not speaking, they always used to quarrel and for a while they weren’t speaking at first. But in a game, you always have to speak to each other. ‘Pass the ball. Go here or do this.’ So, you after awhile

you will speak to them. At first it is only on the pitch, but after awhile it spills over to life.

Her story explains how the unique situation of being teammates can bridge tensions by requiring some form of communication between two people. In this case, once that barrier was broken for the purpose of playing the game, it became easier for the girls to communicate off the pitch.

Peer bonding was a very strong theme from the participants at the UGGC. Again and again, in discussions and in their journals, the girls expressed a strong sense of bonding and friendship, especially in relation to the dance class. In dance class, they bonded over the challenge of learning steps and the joy of achieving their goals. Those that had participated noted that it was it was “fun,” “relaxing,” and provided them with a unique opportunity to work together as a team. They placed a strong emphasis on how important it was for them to be, literally, in sync with one another to dance well. They had to choreograph their movements, a process that required a lot of communication and understanding. They felt closer as a group through dance. Those that were not at UGGC during the dance sessions felt they had missed out on an important opportunity to bond with their peers. All the girls were eager for the dance lessons to begin again.

Beyond the dance classes, the girls mentioned their weekly football sessions at UGGC. These sessions were limited to only UGGC girls, unlike the open football play with boys that was discussed in the self-efficacy section. In the girls-only football, they did not emphasize overcoming challenges or learning skills. Rather, they focused on working together. “Football is a very good sport and it makes you to work with each other and to work as a team,” wrote one girl in her journal.

Although their responses focused on elements of self-efficacy in mixed gender football, the bonding that took place was a priority for the participants in the all-girls sport. The discussions on the dance class were centred on social aspects, as opposed to the conversations on football, which focused on physicality and overcoming challenge. The all-female dance and football sessions seemed to create a safe environment for them to learn and bond outside of normal classroom activities. On the contrary, the discussions they had regarding football were much more oriented toward skill-building and overcoming challenges. In analysing these data, it seems that the type of sport and peers has a profound influence on the types of capabilities accessed. In mixed gender football, these girls tapped into feelings of self-efficacy, particularly persistence through overcoming challenges. All female dance seemed to foster social affiliation in the form of peer connectedness and mentor connectedness.

Status and recognition

One additional social affiliation element in the community domain found was status or reputation through sport. This came through strongly in interviews and FGD’s with the NSDC coaches. They felt that they were respected and admired in their community because of their ability to play football. Just as their players felt proud to wear uniforms, they too, felt a sense of status in their communities about being a football player and/or coach. The same came through in the FGD’s of adolescent participants in the Junior Visionaries programme and Sport for Life. They felt that

playing sport carried with it a social currency. It is important to note, however, that this benefit is only derived when the participant excels in his or her sport. The higher the skill level, it seems, the greater the social status. This seemed to be a more important result for a broader scope of male participants. A narrower range of females seemed to enjoy this benefit. Only those who were particularly strong in their sports (i.e. Cora from SFL and Jackie, the female from NSDC) seemed interested in the social status benefits from playing sport.

School connectedness

Teacher and vocational instructor connectedness

While the majority of the discussions focused on mentor relationships with sport programme coaches and facilitators, others included discussion on the school domain, namely connectedness to teachers. As Addy from A Ganar explained, “at 16 (years old) your world is the school. You’re not thinking about anything except school life . . . and then you have home which is another concern altogether, you know.” The school domain is one of the four domains of youth development and school connectedness was the most influential protective factor in Blum’s World Bank research (2006).

At UGGC, as discussed briefly above, several girls felt that they had a better relationship with their dance coach, Karen, than their teachers. While they found Karen patient, caring and supportive, one focus group agreed that they do not get the same feeling from teachers at UGGC. “They don’t listen, but they don’t understand,” said one girl. Although they agreed that they had positive relationships with the teachers, they acknowledged more strains in these mentor relationships. They described the role of teachers with terms like “discipline,” and “control.” Although they also described their teachers as “caring” and “supportive.” When comparing their relationship to Karen with their relationship to their teachers, this group agreed that the teachers had a different role to fill that required more strictness than Karen. The dance instructor seemed to fill a unique mentor role beyond a teacher or family member. The dance lesson context allowed the participants to engage with a trusted mentor in a fun and relaxed setting without the burden of daily disciplinary rules that exist in the classroom setting. Karen, in particular, was adept in creating an environment for these important social bonds to grow.

At SFL, as noted above, the participants, particularly boys, felt a much stronger connection to their coaches than teachers. They described the teachers as sometimes being rude or too strict. One boy stated that teachers sometimes encouraged, but sometimes made him feel worse. Certainly, during the four sessions observed, teachers were much more likely to yell, correct or discipline the children than the cricket coaches. Several factors are important to consider here. First, the teachers at SFL were teaching maths, reading and computers, subjects that required the students to often sit quietly and pay attention for hours on hot Saturdays in outdoor classrooms. By contrast, the coaches led the kids in activities like running, jumping and catching. They were allowed to talk, laugh and make noise while playing cricket. The participants had much more freedom, and therefore required much less disciplining, in cricket than in the academic subjects. Secondly, the boys, which made up the vast majority of the participants, were more interested in learning cricket

than academic topics (as discussed in the self-efficacy section on skill-building as effort). Therefore, they may form stronger bonds with the mentors teaching the topics they enjoyed. Finally, once again, the teachers were predominantly female (only two of the teachers were male out of ten that were present at most sessions), while both cricket coaches were male (although one female teacher did assist once in cricket). The bond between mentor and mentee is again mitigated by gender.

At JV in St. Lucia, the boys had a similar response. One boy said that the teachers were not as kind as their coaches in their interactions and communication. But even as these kids felt their teachers were harsh and disciplined, Addy from A Ganar provided context and history on discipline in schools in Barbados:

Right now, within secondary schools, when my mother or I was at school, lashes (hitting) were normal. You get more licks. Now at school, I think you have to be a senior teacher or principal or something like that. So, now you are in class, you disturb a class, all the teacher can really do is tell you to go to the principal. Step out of class. So there is not much the teachers can say they will do, disciplinary wise. Send them home? So, that's not really a punishment. But say I'm not feeling the class, so I'm troubling, so I am able to leave. So, it's . . . developing or morphing into a total different problem for this child. For this child in terms of social life, when they don't feel comfortable in this setting, I get in trouble and then I get to leave. I don't know how to answer that question.

Addy's description of the situation is telling. She recognises that the participants in her programmes can use the disciplinary system at school to get themselves out of uncomfortable social situations or free them from routine school days.

Overall, there was very little direct discussion about relationships with teachers in comparison to the discussion on relationships with sport programme mentors. This is not necessarily an indication that participants did not feel connected to teachers. They were not asked to engage in much discussion about teachers and there were no direct questions in their journals about teachers. However, the data point to the unique positioning of sport mentors to build bonds and fill a void that teachers may not have access to during the busy days of school, within the confines of stricter school rules and with more students demanding their attention.

Family connectedness

Connectedness to family members is another important aspect of social affiliation. However, in this study it was secondary to better understanding community and school connectedness. Although the participants were not directly asked about family relationships in the focus groups or journals, however, they spoke and wrote about family members. Most notably, the journals at UGGC included ten responses about parents and family member as supportive to their sport and life goals, while only one response said her family does not support goals in sport. They were asked "who encourages me to play sport?" Four of the seven who answered this question wrote about their mothers, along with other family members. All together, they wrote in sisters, brothers, "aunty," family, teachers, friends and boyfriend.

Another question that included many family response was “who is your hero?” The girls responded included mother (twice), father, sister, family, teachers, friends, counsellor, Jesus, God and Usain Bolt (famous track athlete from Jamaica). Notably, one of the girls wrote that her mother was her inspiration “because she always tell me do not do what she has done in life.” While this girl felt very close to her mother and admired her, her connection seems based on learning the lessons from her mother’s own mistakes. Another wrote that her sister was her biggest hero because, “I didn’t want to stay at my mother’s home. If I stayed there I would be in jail because of her man.” Another girl wrote in her journal that her grandfather had abused her.

Clearly, these girls have strong and emotionally complicated relationships with family members. During focus group discussions, these girls opened up further about their family situations. When asked if they had trusted adults in their lives who listened to their concerns, they first spoke about mentors and teachers. Some felt that they could trust family members, namely brothers and sisters, parents and a grandmother. But two girls disagreed, saying they could not trust family at all or only sometimes.

In other programmes, the responses varied as well. At SFL, three boys who completed the journals named their fathers as their hero. Boys at SFL also listed fathers as people who they are “proud of” or “make them happy.” One boy at SFL talked about dealing with the breakup of his parents, recognising that they will not get back together in the future. He said he has other family members that support him. Participants at A Ganar programmes also indicated that their family members were supportive of their career, life and sport goals. Addy at A Ganar described one boy as very “family-oriented” and a person who has a “strong family network” even though his father was absent from the home. “I think he wants to take up the father role in his household,” she stated.

The absence of fathers came up again with Jackie at NSDC. She said she did not finish secondary school because her father “didn’t spend money properly.” Jackie made the decision, along with her mother, to leave school and enrol in a vocational training centre for carpentry. She did not feel a close connection to her father, but did feel bonded to her mother. Her story reflects back to Addy’s statements on mentor relationships about how the mentors at A Ganar sometimes felt they were stepping in to fill the role of absent or disconnected parents, particularly fathers. Notably, Jackie mentioned that the male facilitators at NSDC were people she admired as mentors. In this way, these men were perhaps serving as a substitute for her absent father.

As family connectedness was not the primary domain explored in this study, it was less visible than community connectedness through sport programme coaches, mentors and peers. Still, family relationships did come through in the qualitative data. As in the mentor relationships, gender plays a role. Boys were more likely than girls to discuss their fathers as role models, heroes or people they could trust for support. Both boys and girls tended to include their mothers in these roles. However, the data was inconclusive due to low response rates in the journals. In conjunction with the survey data, which indicate that girls have lower levels of connectedness with parents than boys, it seems that family connectedness is more problematic for girls than boys. Some statements expressed tension amongst family members and others described absence altogether. In particular, two girls wrote in their journals about conflicts with

adult males in their household. One girl wrote about abuse from her grandfather, while another wrote about moving out of her mother's house to do her mother's male partner. These types of extreme situations were not present in the journals and discussions from boys.

5.8 Concluding remarks on social affiliation

Three domains of social affiliation were examined in this study; community, school and family. Of those domains, community was the primary area examined, as it included the mentor, coach, peer leader and peer relationships within the sport for development programmes. Three main themes are indicated by the data. First, that mentor-mentee relationships are highly gendered. In all three domains, but especially in the community domain (i.e. coaches and programme mentors), boys emphasised strong connectedness to male sport coaches, mentors and leaders. Girls tended to favour mentorship from other females, notably teachers. Or, in the case of the UGGC, the female dance instructor. Secondly, peer-to-peer connectedness is also gendered. Especially for the UGGC girls, playing sport with other girls shifted the focus of the participants to social bonding, rather than self-efficacy. The context of these relationships may also depend on the type of sport (football or dance). Boys also felt strong social bonds through sport, but their primary focus was still on self-improvement. Although, the NSDC programmes had a strong emphasis on helping each other improve and taking pride in their community together.

Furthermore, the data indicate that sport coaches, mentors and peer leaders may fill a unique position in the development of adolescents. These mentors are not confined by the stricter rules of teachers nor the constant responsibility of parenthood. Given that teachers in these countries can employ harsh and corporal punishment, but coaches may not, the coaches can establish a more egalitarian relationship. They are less of an authority figure, as the power dynamic is not as disparate as the teacher-student relationship. The same is true of parents, who generally have a more authoritative and controlling position in the lives of these participants. Coaches, especially the younger coaches through the NSDC programmes, have more of a peer-leadership or peer-mentorship role. They have a freedom unavailable to mentors in other life domains. Furthermore, because sport is often a joyous, wanted activity from the participants, the coaching mentors are well positioned to develop positive bonds with their participants.

Perhaps most interesting and unexpected in regards to social affiliation is the clear and consistent affiliation experience of the coaches and mentors themselves. The NSDC coaching trainees, Addy from A Ganar and Becky and Tricia from SFL all spoke at length about their bonding with participants and how they have learned through these experiences. Social affiliation is not unidirectional. The coaches and mentors themselves gained a valuable sense of affiliation and connectedness through their work with these young adolescents and teenagers.

5.9 Related functionings

It is not the purpose of this study to determine or examine the achieved functionings related to the capabilities discussed here. However, I will attempt to

give an indication of how the development of these capabilities might relate to achieved functionings from within the proposed framework (figure 2.5).

Improved labour market position

Improved self-efficacy, in all areas of study (sport, academic, life skills and vocational skill-building) should contribute toward a functioning of an improved labour market position. In theory, participants who are capable of developing self-efficacy in any of these fields through the SDP programmes, she should be in a better position to function within a market economy. For example, a person with self-efficacy in academics or vocational skill-building should be able to achieve education or training goals that further their capital skills for employment.

To better examine this potential functioning, I will focus on three programmes which offer various avenues toward improved labour market positioning; Sport for Life (Barbados), A Ganar (Barbados) and NSDC (St. Lucia). At SFL, the majority of these voluntary, Saturday sessions (5 hour timeframe) is spent on academic skill-building. Certified teachers work in groups with students on maths, reading and computer literacy. Both participants and facilitators stated that academic skills were improved through these sessions. Clearly, improving academic skills and helping enable students to pass secondary school exams will improve their labour positioning. However, this study is not able to determine if students later passed such exams.

A similar situation occurs at A Ganar. The four A Ganar programmes in this study included two secondary school groups and two vocational training groups. In regards to the secondary school groups, their attendance at A Ganar was a requirement for them to remain in their schools. Therefore, regardless of lessons learned through the A Ganar curriculum, the mere fact that the participants did the programme enabled them to stay in school and improve their labour position. The same requirement was in place for the vocational programmes conducted through A Ganar at the Barbados Vocational Training Board. Furthermore, at the BVTB programmes, A Ganar helped support students into job attachments in their chosen work field. Again, whether effective or not, the participant attendance to the A Ganar programme resulted in the opportunity for vocational training that directly improved their labour status.

Similarly, the coaching trainees at the NSDC vocational training programme in St. Lucia had the opportunity to improve their labour market position by completing their coaching certifications. During this process, they also received government approved certifications in child protective services (through the UGGC). While these achievements do represent human capital and capability development, at the time of this writing, they have not resulted in improved employment status for any of the participants. During the discussions, several coaching trainees expressed the intention of coaching for schools or becoming physical education teachers. However, their training did not include a teaching certification nor a job attachment to a school. The participants were deeply disappointed and frustrated that after all their training, which they felt was of very high quality, they still did not have jobs in coaching or teaching physical education. They were serving as coaches in their communities through the NSDC programme, but only receiving small stipends.

The director of the NSDC programme explained that he chose not to create an attachment programme to schools because he wanted to the trainees to start their own company. He had a vision for them to take a more entrepreneurial approach to coaching, and the sport industry in St. Lucia overall. At the time of the study, he was still working on supporting the participants in forming a company. He planned to contract work (coaching and organising local youth sport programmes) to them through his private organisation. One of the NSDC facilitators repeatedly expressed his concerns that the coaching trainees were still without consistent work after the completion of the programme. He would have preferred finding them a job attachment to schools rather than exclusively focusing on them starting their own business. While the coaching trainees understood and appreciated his vision, they were still unhappy at the lack of income they were earning through sport coaching. A group of the male coaching trainees stated that they had wished their training had included more business aspects so that they could better enable themselves to start their own company. The female trainee, Jackie, dropped some of her work as a football coach in order to devote more time to dance, which was an effort she was earning more income from than football.

Overall, these SDP programmes did contribute toward the achieved functioning of improved labour market position in various ways. However, it is clear, especially in the case of the NSDC coaching trainees, that larger support systems and economic concerns play a major factor in realising this functioning. These macro-environmental factors will be further explored in chapter six.

Network of support

In the proposed model, the related functioning to social affiliation is a network of support. As explained above, the SDP programmes are uniquely positioned to provide access to a network of mentors and peers for adolescents. These mentor and peer groups function in the community domain for the participants in their programmes. It was almost universally agreed upon by the participants, the NSDC coaching trainees and the facilitators that sport coaches in SDP programmes serve as positive influences and role models and therefore provided a network of support.

Furthermore, the sport programme mentors fill a void that is not easily attainable from other networks, namely in the school and family domains. In essence, these coaches can support existing mentors and, in some cases, substitute for “missing” mentors. Sport coaches have freedoms that teachers and parents do not generally enjoy. They are able to engage in activities that are fun and appealing to the participants, unlike teachers who may struggle to get students excited about academic work or parents who must guide their children through daily routines. Additionally, sport coaches do not generally have daily contact with their players, allowing both sides of the relationship to have space and time away from each other. The participants themselves, from the UGGC, were able to recognise that teachers may have an easier task at building bonds with students than coaches do with participants. In all groups, participants generally felt that their sport coaches and mentors listened to them and supported them in words and action.

While the coaches and mentors themselves serve as a support network, the stories regarding child protective services from the NSDC coaching trainees

demonstrate that these mentors can also link vulnerable adolescents to larger support networks. In two separate incidents, participants confided to a sport coach that they were being abused. In both cases, the coach was able to refer the child to a person in a larger network more capable of managing such a serious issue. This is a clear and indisputable indication that the sport coaches at NSDC are able, and have, achieved the functioning of a network of support.



CHAPTER VI: GENDER ROLE ATTITUDES, PHYSICAL ACTIVITY AND BODY IMAGE¹³

6.1 Gender role attitudes overview

To assess gender role attitudes, participants were engaged in survey questions, focus group discussions and interviews regarding gender norms and expectations. Data on gender role attitudes was grouped into different domains, similar to the approach to self-efficacy. The domains were gender roles in sport, work/career and domestic life. Overall, the combined data speaks to the idea that participants had the most restrictive gender role attitudes regarding sport, then domestic life. In terms of work and career, their views were more open and progressive, although they generally preferred to pursue vocational paths that align with traditional gender norms.

Here gender role attitudes regarding sport served as the foundation to discussions. In particular, the types of sports typically played by males and females. This entry into the discussions of gender norms was very fruitful and brought about a main conclusion that there are certain fixed expectations of masculinity that prevent boys from taking an interest in the “feminine” sport of netball. On the contrary, there were fewer restriction for girls playing sport, although certain contact sports were deemed physically rough for female bodies. Furthermore, the boys had more rigid gender role expectations overall than the girls.

Beyond types of sport, the way boys and girls play sport different was a major topic of discussion. From the girls’ perspective, playing “tough” and displaying physical strength in sport, especially when sporting with boys, was a performance of their own identity as strong girls on the verge of womanhood. However, the boys had a different interpretation. They experienced this style of play as an indication that girls were inferior in sport.

In terms of vocation and domestic gender role attitudes, few hard restrictions were expressed in the surveys or discussions. They generally had open perspectives and felt that gender should not play a restrictive role in one’s life decisions in these domains. However, they expressed an adaptive preference or bias toward career orientations that fall within traditional gender roles, such as girls choosing to work in beauty therapy, cosmetology, etc. In domestic roles, attitudes were also generally progressive. However, here, once again, the most stringent restriction was placed on men rather than women. In one discussion, it was made clear that it was a man’s role to work outside the home and provide for the family, rather than to stay home and serve as a caregiver.

6.2 Gender role attitudes survey results

The survey questionnaire included a set of 16 statements intended to gather data on gender attitudes, expectations and norms. The first eight statements (Part I) were borrowed from the 2010 UK Sport study and include statements regarding gender

¹³ Parts of this chapter were published in: Zipp, S. (2016). Sport for development with ‘at risk’ girls in St. Lucia. *Sport in Society*, 1-15.

roles in sex, marriage, politics, domestic work, business, higher education, and in the home. I independently created the last eight statements (Part II) based on the results of the UK Sport study and other prior research from Levermore, Beacom and others cited above. These original statements for this study focus on gender in sports and body image. The statement responses were coded 1-4 based on the 4-point Likert scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). Because this group of statements is not a verified scale, no summary scores were calculated and no reverse-coding was necessary. Non-parametric Mann-Whitney U tests were conducted on all statements.

When analysing the gender statements by gender, several significant results were found (See Tables 6.2a, 6.2b, 6.2c and 6.2d). The first statement, "It's a girls' responsibility to avoid getting pregnant," had significantly different distribution by gender ($p < .001$, $n=138$). The mean score for males was 1.87 while for females it was 2.52. Boys tended to disagree more strongly with this statement than girls. But this question created some confusion among participants. Participants were unsure if this question asked if it was solely the girls' responsibility to avoid pregnancy or if both partners (including the female) bore the responsibility to prevent pregnancy. Professor Fred Coalter, the author of the UK Sport Study, had a similar experience with this question. The question was therefore omitted in the second round of surveys and is not included in this analysis. The other 15 statements provide sufficient evidence to examine gender role attitudes.

The next statement, "Girls should decide when and who they want to marry," significant differences in distribution were also identified ($p = .001$, $n=138$). Here females more strongly agreed with the statement (mean score = 2.60) than males (mean score = 2.12).

On the statement "Boys should do the same amount of housework as girls," the distribution of results was significantly different by gender ($p < .001$, $n=196$). Girls had a higher mean score, at 2.54 ($n=87$) than the boys at 1.49 ($n=109$). The statement "A man should have the last word about decisions in the household" yielded a significant result as well ($p = .002$, $n=199$). Here the girls had a lower mean score of 1.20 ($n=86$) while boys had a mean result of 1.66 ($n=113$). Finally, the statement "Taking part in business affairs is not suitable for girls" resulted in a different distribution of results ($p = .020$, $n=197$). The mean score for boys was higher at 1.06 ($n=112$) while the girls mean score was only 0.78 ($n=85$).

Based on these results, I can reject the null hypothesis on all four statements. These data indicate more restrictive gender role attitudes from male participants than female participants. Interestingly, three of the four statements are focused on gender roles in the domestic sphere. Only the question about girls taking part in business steps outside of the home and family domain and into the public realm. While these quantitative results give us some indication of gender role attitudes within different life domains; home/family, school and community, the qualitative data (below) provides a fuller perspective to better understand these results.

Those results that were not statistically significant also have meaning. The two most closely aligned results were about a girls' role in politics in education. "Being active in politics is not suitable for girls," yielded a very similar result across genders. Boys ($n=109$) and girls ($n=83$) had the same mean (1.07) and median (1.00)

results, both indicating they disagree with this statement. Similarly, the statement “girls have the same right to university education as boys” was supported by both genders. The median score was the same, as they both strongly agreed. The means were also quite close with boys (n=94) at 2.38 and girls (n=47) at 2.60. Based on these results, it seems that boys tend to have more progressive gender role attitudes for females in public domains than in the domestic sphere. In conjunction with the qualitative data discussed below, the boys in this study consistently reflect such perspectives. While they have differing attitudes depending on the specific context of gender (at home, in business, at school or in governance), overall they are more likely to hold fast to the traditional gender role attitudes common in the Eastern Caribbean than girls.

Table 6.2a

Gender Role Attitudes by Gender - Part I

Gender		Girls should decide when and who they want to marry	Being active in politics is not suitable for girls	Boys should do the same amount of housework as girls	A man should have the last word about decisions in the household	Taking part in business affairs is not suitable for girls	Girls have the same right to university education as boys	The most important role for a woman is to take care of the household
Male	N	91	109	109	113	112	94	114
	Mean	2.12	1.07	1.49	1.66	1.06	2.38	1.97
	Std. Deviation	1.009	.910	1.068	.997	.961	.831	.973
	Median	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00
Female	N	47	83	87	86	85	47	87
	Mean	2.60	1.07	2.54	1.20	.78	2.60	2.13
	Std. Deviation	.876	.960	.790	1.104	.918	.742	.887
	Median	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	2.00
Total	N	138	192	196	199	197	141	201
	Mean	2.28	1.07	1.95	1.46	.94	2.45	2.04
	Std. Deviation	.989	.929	1.087	1.067	.951	.806	.937
	Median	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00

The next set of gender role statements are specific to sport. They also yielded statistically significant distributions by gender. For the statement "Men are better sport coaches and referees than woman," the males had a mean score of 2.05 (n=114) and females 1.19 (n=86). The results were distributed with significant difference by gender ($p < .001$, $n=200$). Therefore, the boys were more likely to agree that with this statement. While the results for this statement indicate a more restrictive attitude towards females in sport, it is interesting to note that it refers to coaches and referees. By contrast, the statements regarding females participating in sports did not result in any significant differences.

Table 6.2b

		Gender Role Attitudes by Gender - Part II					
Gender		Men are better sport coaches and referees than women	Taking part in sport makes girls less attractive	Girls have less talent for sport than boys	Contact team sports like football and rugby are not suitable for girls	Girls can play cricket well	Boys are less likely to get hurt playing sport than girls
Male	N	114	91	111	113	93	92
	Mean	2.05	1.08	1.49	1.40	1.76	1.74
	Std. Deviation	.958	1.035	1.052	1.040	.971	1.057
	Median	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Female	N	86	44	86	85	46	42
	Mean	1.19	.93	.97	.99	1.98	1.67
	Std. Deviation	.927	1.065	.939	1.018	.906	.979
	Median	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.50
Total	N	200	135	197	198	139	134
	Mean	1.68	1.03	1.26	1.22	1.83	1.72
	Std. Deviation	1.036	1.043	1.035	1.048	.952	1.030
	Median	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00

Further examination of the gender statements demonstrated significant differences between programme participants and the control groups (See Tables 6.2c and 6.2d). Again, the first statement regarding pregnancy was omitted from this analysis. In each statement with an abnormal distribution of responses, the control group was more likely to agree with statements that demonstrated a less restrictive gender role attitude or more likely to disagree with a statement indicating a traditional and restrictive gender role attitude.

For the statement "Being active in politics is not suitable for girls" the distribution of results was significantly different ($p=.034$, $n=194$). Sport programme participants were more likely to agree with this statement, with a mean result of 1.17 ($n=121$) while control groups had a mean result of 0.89 ($n=73$). For the statement "Boys should do the same amount of housework as girls," the control group had a higher mean score (2.29, $n=73$) than the sport programme participants (1.76, $n=125$). This time the control group was more likely to agree with this statement, indicating a less restrictive gender role attitude. The results for the statement "A man should have the last word about decisions in the household" continue the trend. The sport programme participants were more likely to agree than the control group ($p=.001$, $n=201$). The mean score for the sport programme participants was 1.65 ($n=127$) and the mean result for the control group was 1.12 ($n=74$).

Finally, the statement “The most important role for a woman is to take care of the house and family,” yielded significant differences of distribution ($p=.026$, $n=203$). The control group participants had a mean score of 1.81 ($n=74$) while the programme participants had a mean of 2.18 ($n=129$).

Again, these results indicate that boys tend to more strongly adhere to more restrictive gender roles, particularly in the domestic domain. Again, the biggest gaps came on statements centred on domestic gender roles, while the statements on education, business and politics and gender yielded no significant differences.

Table 6.2c

Gender Role Attitudes by Programme and Control - Part I

Programme participant		Girls should decide when and who they want to marry	Being active in politics is not suitable for girls	Boys should do the same amount of housework as girls	A man should have the last word about decisions in the household	Taking part in business affairs is not suitable for girls	Girls have the same right to university education as boys	The most important role for a woman is to take care of the household
Non participant (Control)	N	41	73	73	74	73	43	74
	Mean	2.32	.89	2.29	1.12	.88	2.49	1.81
	Std. Deviation	1.011	.906	.905	1.046	.999	.910	1.069
	Median	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	2.00
Participant in a programme	N	97	121	125	127	126	98	129
	Mean	2.27	1.17	1.76	1.65	.98	2.44	2.18
	Std. Deviation	.984	.928	1.132	1.035	.925	.761	.824
	Median	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00
Total	N	138	194	198	201	199	141	203
	Mean	2.28	1.07	1.95	1.45	.94	2.45	2.04
	Std. Deviation	.989	.928	1.082	1.067	.952	.806	.935
	Median	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00

Interestingly, the results on the second set of gender role attitudes yielded no significant differences in distribution of responses. These questions regarding gender roles in sport were perceived similarly by the participants in sport programmes and their control group counterparts. Although it is difficult to interpret these results, in conjunction with the results from Part I and the qualitative data, I argue that these sport programmes do not always encourage progressive gender role attitudes, even in regards to sport. Focus group discussions, interviews and journals further support this contention.

Table 6.2d

		Gender Role Attitudes by Programme and Control - Part II					
Programme participant		Men are better sport coaches and referees than women	Taking part in sport makes girls less attractive	Girls have less talent for sport than boys	Contact team sports like football and rugby are not suitable for girls	Girls can play cricket well	Boys are less likely to get hurt playing sport than girls
Non participant (Control)	N	73	39	72	74	41	38
	Mean	1.62	.90	1.06	1.27	1.73	1.76
	Std. Deviation	1.009	1.046	.977	1.051	1.049	1.125
	Median	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Participant in a programme	N	129	96	127	126	98	96
	Mean	1.72	1.08	1.37	1.19	1.88	1.70
	Std. Deviation	1.046	1.043	1.053	1.049	.911	.996
	Median	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Total	N	202	135	199	200	139	134
	Mean	1.68	1.03	1.26	1.22	1.83	1.72
	Std. Deviation	1.031	1.043	1.035	1.047	.952	1.030
	Median	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00

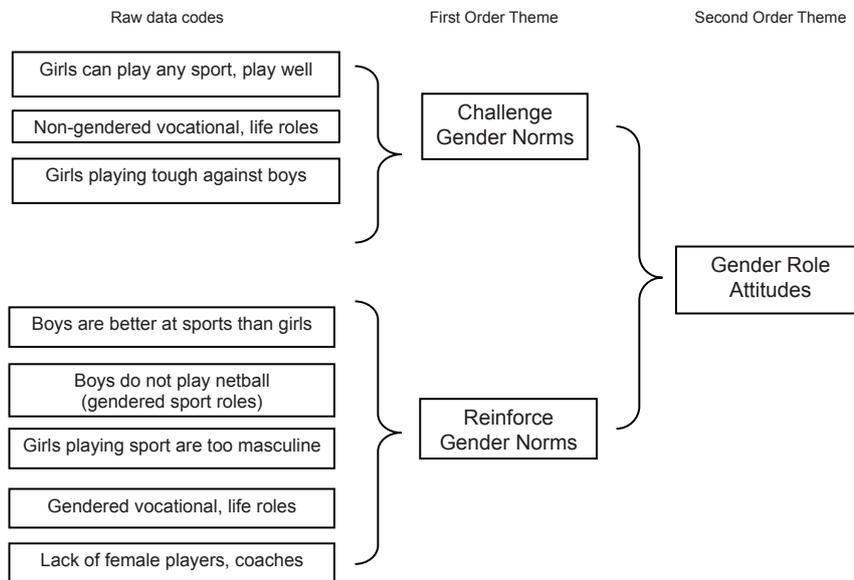
6.3 Gender role attitudes qualitative results

Gender norms and assumptions were clearly evident in the interviews, focus groups and journals of participants. Many of the opinions expressed here mirror those highlighted in the survey data. Namely, boys tend to have more restrictive or traditional gender role attitudes than girls. Furthermore, while sport and vocational roles are fairly open, domestic roles tend to be more restrictive. Finally, both boys and girls seem to have one common and steadfast gender role restriction – that boys do not play the sport of netball.

Overall, it seems, again, that simply integrating girls and women into existing sport structures is problematic. This strategy is of an integrative model, rather than Boserup's proposed transformative model for gender and development. It seems that by integrating girls into existing hegemonic models, there is a risk to reinforcing traditional gender roles. As discussed in the previous chapter regarding self-efficacy, girls may not be as adept at certain sports than boys due to more limited access and cultural expectations of their gender. Placing girls into sport models in which they are less familiar than the boys, especially when there are very few girls so those in the programmes feel less at ease and become representatives of their gender, may lead to conflict and frustration for all participants. Although boys, in general, agree that girls should have access to sports, they tend to dislike playing with them and find their style of less skilled. Finally, both boys and girls adhered tightly to gender norms for boys, claiming that the "girls' sport" of netball was strictly off-limits for boys to participate in, often drifting into homophobic comments about boys who do play netball.

In this section, I will explore these concepts and unpack their meanings. As in the previous sections, qualitative data were coded and then grouped into first and second order themes. Under the first order theme of "challenging gender norms," the codes were "girls can play any sport, play well;" "non-gendered vocational, life roles;" and "girls playing tough against boys." Under the first order theme of "reinforcing gender norms," the codes were "boys are better at sports than girls;" "boys do not play netball (gendered sport roles);" "girls playing sport are too masculine;" "gendered vocational, life roles;" and "lack of female players, coaches." These theme groups were then categorised under the second order theme of "gender role attitudes." See Figure 6.3.

Figure 6.3



Challenging gender roles

“Girls can play any sport, play it well”

In a focus group of four adolescent girls in Barbados (Sport for Life), gender roles in sport were discussed. First, the girls made it clear that they felt it was acceptable and even good for girls to have the opportunity to play any sport they chose. “I think every sport is for girls to play too,” said “Cora.” However, they agreed that many people in Barbados felt differently. In particular, they noted that boys were more inclined to play cricket than girls. They made it clear that although no clear restrictions were in place, culturally it was more normal or acceptable for boys to play this historic sport. Although the programme they were in was focused on the sport of cricket and was held in the nation’s premier cricket stadium (Kensington Oval), only one of the girls (“Tasha”) in this group were very interested in actually playing cricket. Cora stated, “I don’t like cricket, but that’s just because I don’t like it,” not because it was a boys’ sport. They all agreed that the primary draw to this programme was not sport at all, and definitely not cricket. As discussed in chapter 4 regarding self-efficacy through skill development, these participants were attracted to SFL to access the computers and learn new technology skills (typing, design, etc.) that were not available in their schools.

Boys’ focus groups at SFL agreed, noting that girls should have access to sports just the same as boys. “A girl can play a ‘man’s sport,’ it’s all the same,” one boy stated. They rejected the notion that any sport was off limits for girls in their country. In their journals, boys and girls alike mentioned that they were encouraged to play sport by family and friends. Even in the hyper-masculinised sport of cricket, they agreed that women have the right to play just as much as men. They felt the same about football. Another focus group of boys felt similarly. They disagreed with the statement that there was a sport “just for guys or one that girls shouldn’t play.” One boy replied, “I don’t think so, because whatever the boys are playing the girls can play. If a boy play a girls’ sport then he would get a bad name, but a girl wouldn’t really get a bad name.” Here, it seems that these participants feel sport is open to girls without restriction. However, boys may face some cultural restrictions in choosing a sport to play. Furthermore, when asked if they would prefer a male or female coach, they said female. Explaining his choice, a boy said; “Some girl coaches are more stricter than men. Girls can control it . . . like a teacher. If a woman shout at you, you listen!” He said he liked that level of strictness. Overall, the boys at SFL agreed that girls and women should have access to sport as freely as boys and men. However, they felt mixed about the sporting ability of girls and placed restrictions on sport access for boys, which will be discussed below in the reinforcing gender roles section.

Other mixed gender groups had similar attitudes. At the co-ed JV programme in St. Lucia, a boys’ focus group felt that girls should be able to play football and that some girls were good players while some were not good, just the same as boys. When asked if they liked playing football with the two girls in their programme, they replied positively. One boy noted that having two girls is key because they can substitute or rotate in for each other. He also said that “we can teach them new things and they can teach us new things.” He reiterated this concept again later in the discussion. These

groups generally felt that sport should be accessible to girls just the same as to boys. The boys groups at A Ganar felt the same. Namely, that girls could play any sport and some could be good at it. One boy noted that they saw girls playing basketball on TV, and that this kind of sport activity for girls was acceptable. Both programmes, like the SFL groups, have contradictory statements regarding gender roles for boys in sport that will be discussed below.

At the all-female Upton Garden Girls' Centre, the young women participated in a variety of sport activities in organized and casual forums. They unanimously and enthusiastically agreed that both boys and girls should have access to sport of any choice. As empowerment refers to the opportunity to make choices (Kabeer, 2001), their assertion represents a sense of empowerment regarding for girls in sport. Additionally, their participation habits generally reflected a rejection of conscribed gender roles in sport. However, regarding the most masculinized and feminized sports, they tended to follow gender norms of the Caribbean. Furthermore, their attitudes regarding girls' ability to compete well in sports and their assertion that girls were just as good at sports demonstrated a rejection of common cultural assumptions that boys are better suited for sport than girls.

Football, running (athletics), swimming, netball, volleyball, gymnastics, and skipping rope were the sports they played the most. Although cricket is a very popular sport in this country, only one of the girls discussed having played cricket. As a social norm, this sport is generally reserved for males in the Eastern Caribbean (Lewis, 2003). Football, though played across genders, is still considered a masculine sport form here as well. By contrast, non-contact sports such as volleyball, gymnastics and skipping rope tend to be considered more feminine in the Caribbean (Sutherland, 2012). In a journal entry, one girl explained that her family encouraged her to play sport, especially her brother. But the sport she wanted to play was swimming, which has not been encouraged by her family because it is too expensive.

Their strong and unanimous belief that both girls and boys should have equal access to all sports reflects a challenging to the gender norms in this region and a sense of empowerment. In this way, sport in general seems to provide these girls with an outlet to dispute restrictive cultural expectations. Additionally, their participation in football, a masculinised sport, demonstrates their own agency and empowerment to take action outside of traditional gender roles. Their conviction in challenging such norms is reinforced by the fact that most of their football participation falls outside of the organized programme at Upton Gardens. In other words, they actively seek out opportunities to engage in football play despite the fact that this sport is considered more suitable for boys than girls. They feel empowered to step outside of gender norms and pursue their own interests. In their journals, they frequently mentioned that friends and family members were supportive of their efforts in sport, indicating that they have a support network that encourages them to challenge traditional gender norms regarding sport participation.

On the other hand, only one girl discussed cricket, the iconic sport of the region and one that is widely reserved for boys and men. Above all other sports, cricket represents the male hegemonic sporting ideal in the Eastern Caribbean (Sutherland, 2012; Lewis, 2003). Their lack of participation in cricket reflects limitation in the power of sport to break down gender barriers. However, all

participants agreed that girls do have the right to play cricket and should be granted access to the sport.

Their responses also reflected a challenging of gender norms in *how* girls and boys played sports. They felt strongly that boys were not inherently better at sports than girls. Anna stated that:

Because girls used to be told and are sometimes still are told that they shouldn't play football. But then they started playing and if the girls were really good then that would show boys that they could really play. And then you're saying that a team of girls might feel more ambitious because they have to prove themselves. So the boys would take it for granted but the girls have something to prove.

All five participants from this discussion agreed with her perspective. Their views indicated a rejection of cultural expectations that boys are better suited for sport than girls (Sutherland, 2012). In this quotation, the girls are rejecting their prescribed gender roles and "proving" themselves in football. They are, essentially, constructing a new narrative in which girls are strong and capable in football.

At times, the boys also expressed the notion that *how* females play a sport may have an impact on whether or not it challenges gender roles and attitudes. As discussed above, the SFL programme is hosted at the famous Kensington Oval cricket grounds in Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados. On one of the data collection days, there were two women's elite national women's teams practicing on the grounds in preparation for a match that evening. The teams were the West Indies, or "Windies," women's team. The Windies are a combined team of the top cricketers from the West Indies islands, including Barbados. The opposing team was the English national women's team. During several focus group discussions just outside of the pitch, the English women's bowlers were practicing nearby. Bowlers are the players who pitch the ball toward the batter who is protecting the wicket during the game. When asked about the calibre of play from these women two focus groups agreed that they were very good. One group agreed that they would like to watch them play a match. In another group, however, the boys said they would not watch women's cricket over a men's cricket game. It seems that these boys recognised, however, that female cricketers could be very talented and adept at this masculine sport. They were impressed with the talent on display from these elite athletes, regardless of their gender. It seems that their exposure to high quality sport from women had the capacity to alter their perspectives on female athletes. They were more open to women playing sport, so long as the women were talented.

Jackie from NSDC echoed these thoughts about elite women's sport and the power to challenge gender norms. As a high performance footballer and dancer, Jackie had observed changes in how she is perceived by male teammates and competitors, as well as the larger community. She claimed to get a lot of "respect" from her community (Ans Del Rey, St. Lucia) for playing football well. "They used to call me Beckham (after famous English footballer, David Beckham), but now they say I'm better than Beckham. Lime him, he's real creative. That's how I play. I'm a creator . . . I give them the ball . . . if they can't do it, then I'll do it," she said. Here, again, it seems that when females play their sport well, the potential to challenge

gender norms is increased. By contrast, girls simply playing sport only has mixed results in challenging gender stereotypes held by boys. And, as described in the opening story of this thesis, girls playing sport poorly may actually reinforce such restrictive gender roles.

From an administrative and facilitator perspective, the programmes claim to promote the concept that girls can play any sport and play it well. A former (retired) director of sports in St. Lucia, "Matthew," discussed the integration of athletics and running following a directive from the international federation (IF) governing the sport of athletics. "The IF has allowed competitions where both the boys and girls could run together, so that's a step in the right direction," he stated. He felt this was a positive development because it put boys and girls sport on the same level of play. He also felt that both genders could benefit equally from sport participation. Matthew even pointed out that women have an athletic advantage in endurance sport. Noting that the female body is designed to endure the pain and stress of childbirth (a claim which is disputed in sports studies), he explained that this related to the fact that females could endure longer distance races better than men. His point is scientifically valid, according to researchers (Hammermeister & Burton, 2004). He expanded on this point, arguing that women, in general, are "tougher" than men.

Non-gendered vocational and life roles

Building on this concept, the discussions, interviews and journals were guided into the larger application of progressive gender roles regarding sport. Essentially, does a progressive attitude toward girls and women in sport translate to a similarly open attitude about gender roles in career and family life? As I have already positioned sport participation within the community domain of the micro-environment social conversion factors of the proposed model (Figure 2.5), vocation/career roles fall within community as well. Meanwhile, gender roles within the home or household fit within the family level in the proposed theory.

Participants from all programmes were overwhelmingly progressive regarding vocational roles. No single participant felt that certain careers or jobs were off limits for either gender, although many agreed that there are cultural stereotypes and norms that still exist. Participants of both genders consistently explained that girls and women should have the freedom to pursue non-traditional jobs in construction, plumbing, carpentry, woodwork, business and other traditionally feminine vocations. They were equally supportive of boys and men pursuing traditionally feminine careers, such as those in cosmetology, aesthetics or other beauty/spa-related fields. In all male focus groups at A Ganar and SFL, the boys discussed traditional roles, such as those listed above. At SFL, one boy mentioned auto mechanics as a job women do not generally hold. Another boy responded by saying that he "knew girls that are mechanics. But, yeah, that is mostly just for men." This example was typical of these discussions. The groups thoughtfully listed or described types of career roles typical for each gender and then explained that although those stereotypes exist, they are not hard restrictions and they felt that every person was entitled to pick their career path, regardless of gender. They did not think that a person who challenged the gender norms in his career choice would be mocked or teased. Another boy from SFL said, "It's all the same. If you go get a job, it's all the same." These boys agreed that a woman could be anything – a doctor, politician, prime minister or business owner.

On one occasion, some SFL boys digressed into a humorous chat about whether males can be models or exotic dancers and eventually concluded that that was possible too.

Girls' focus groups concurred. They drafted similar lists of careers typical for males and females and proceeded to debunk them by offering anecdotes or arguments about people crossing the gender boundaries in these fields. Regarding male cosmetologists, several female participants at A Ganar discussed how they preferred male hair dressers and stylists to female. They also seemed to embrace the idea of girls and women pushing boundaries in careers in business, politics and medicine. At both SFL and UGGC, the girls included careers as doctors, teachers, accountants and veterinarians as among their inspirations. However, they did mention labour intensive jobs such as construction or woodworking. Still, while most of the girls expressed progressive views on gender roles in vocation, they seemed to abide by typical norms. Overwhelmingly, these girls preferred career traditionally feminine career paths in cosmetology, aesthetics and the larger beauty/spa industry.

Unlike the survey data, these progressive views seemed to carry over to the domestic sphere in the focus group discussions. Boys and girls alike felt that men and women should enjoy equality at home as well as at work. However, they tended to agree that in the larger society, this was not always the case. "Well, some people think that boys and girls or men and women should only do this or that . . . When they are kids they can do it, but when they grow up they can't," said one boy at SFL. He continued on to say that he thought men and women should be equal, even agreeing that they should take equal responsibility for raising children. But, "not everybody (in Barbados) thinks so," he said. These views were commonly stated in focus groups by boys and girls. Although the surveys also suggest most participants support equal gender roles in the home, the survey responses included more indication of restrictive gender role attitudes. Participants, particularly boys, may have been hesitant to state their true views on gender and equality in the focus groups with a female researcher guiding the discussions. The confidentiality of the surveys may have encouraged them to provide more honest answers and to feel less obligated to give socially desirable responses.

"Girls playing tough against boys"

Another theme that came through strongly as a challenge to traditional gender role attitudes was girls "playing tough" against boys in sport. Traditional masculinity in the Caribbean prides men and boys as being physically dominant, strong and overpowering to female counterparts (Sutherland, 2012; Lewis, 2003). Therefore, girls displaying physical strength on the pitch or field of play against boys is a challenge to those restrictive roles and social norms. Several statements in focus group discussions, from both sexes, and journal entries describe girls playing sport against boys with aggression and physicality, not shying away from contact. Such statements were coded as "girls playing tough against boys" and grouped under the first order theme of challenging gender roles.

One of the UGGC girls, "Jenni," placed a high emphasis on this concept. In their focus groups and journals, they discussed how important it was for them to be "tough" and "bounce" the boys when they played football with them outside of the UGGC programme. As noted above, in the overcoming challenges section of self-

efficacy, Jenni enjoyed “bouncing” the boys in football (pushing or making physical contact during the course of the game). Others agreed and added that they felt compelled to be strong against the boys, who tended to play “rough.” Jenni continued on saying that she thought the boys liked playing football with girls who were tough. When asked if they would like being “bounced” by girls, she said, “They have to, because that’s how football is.” While the other girls seemed to agree, none were so vocal as Jenni about this assertion. Although their journals included references to playing sports and football, they were mostly about playing with other girls (including the Friday football sessions at UGGC) and none mentioned playing tough or rough. Still, it is clear that these girls, especially Jenni, are interested in challenging gender norms by displaying strength, aggressiveness and athletic prowess against boys.

Jackie from NSDC echoed their statements. She spoke about her career playing football and how she had to continually prove herself against the boys by playing strong and enduring their physical play. She stated:

Cause when I was younger, I would play some of the guys and they were like, ‘move there, move there. You are good. You are good.’ Some of them would say, ‘you are good. You’re not supposed to play with the boys.’ So, especially when I was better than them, they would try to break my leg . . . I still play with them. They don’t try to break my legs now. They respect me. They know me now.

Jackie explained how she spent years proving herself to be just as good, and strong, as the boys she played against. She directly challenged their perceived notions of femininity – claiming she was out of place by playing with the boys *and* by being good at football. They were seemingly trying to intimidate her by being especially tough, trying to break her legs. But she endured and earned their respect, eventually.

At the JV programme in St. Lucia, only one girl, Iris, regularly attended. According to the coach, Alex, she was a tough footballer who played in an “aggressive” manner. He felt that her tough exterior was a “front.” He was not sure why she attended, but did not think she was very interested in learning football skills, though he noted that she seemed to have been an experienced player. Alex claimed that she had an older, adult boyfriend of more than 30 years old and lived in a household with only one parent. He noted that she was often in trouble at school as well. He guessed that she attended the JV programme as an outlet or escape from her life. “For an hour (at JV), she doesn’t have to be a grown up. She can just be a girl,” he stated.

Other NSDC coaching trainees had similar stories of girls trying play tough against the boys in their programmes. According to “Ryan,” “sometimes the girls like to play the boys, just so, you know, to show off really.” Darren has had similar experiences:

That’s what we don’t get much, girls. We have some girls, but they are from last year. It’s the same set of girls. Three or four, sometimes five girls out of like 65 (kids). So, when the girls are there, the boys treat them like they are their sister. They tend to play them the same way, sometimes the girls play harder than the boys. But the boys don’t quarrel, they know this is their

teammate. Everybody is on your team, black, white, big, small, girl, boy, everybody is just one.

Again, the lack of girls participating in this sport may reinforce the notion that football, as a contact sport, is not appropriate for girls. Although both boys and girls are observed playing hard, the girls may feel a burden to represent their gender on the pitch and prove their worthiness to play, hence they “play harder” than the boys sometimes. As in the previous example, the boys may feel a burden to uphold traditional gender norms and protect the girls from harm, thus treating them like a sister. While at the same time, they play hard, a sign of respect on the football pitch. Interestingly, the social affiliation generated through this play seems to cut across gender lines and bring both the boys and girls together as a team, or, perhaps, a family (brother and sister).

Reinforcing gender roles

The above example reflects a dichotomy of experiences regarding girls playing tough against boys. How do the boys react? In large part, they did not react positively. While the girls appeared to be challenging gender norms, and in their minds they generally did this successfully, the boys had a very different perception of this experience. In fact, despite the masculinity displayed by the girls, such as aggressive pushing and competitive play, their actions may in some ways reinforce restrictive gender stereotypes. At this point, the discussion on gender role attitudes moves away from the theme of challenging gender roles to the opposing theme of reinforcing gender roles. Within this theme, several codes are grouped; boys are better at sport than girls, boys do not play netball (gendered sport roles), girls playing sport are too masculine and lack of female players/coaches.

“Boys are better at sport than girls”

To begin, we explore the notion that boys felt the girls played sport differently, and, most notably, in a way that they disliked. This idea recurred at several discussion groups. Boys felt that girls were either too aggressive, complained or yelled too much or were too “soft” in their style of play. The common thread among these concerns is that boys did not like playing sport with girls, a view underlined by the belief that the way girls played was inferior to the way boys played.

Coach Alex noted that he felt the school he worked with actively encouraged boys to join the Junior Visionaries football programme, but “steered girls towards other programmes,” such as art and music. Throughout the study, participants and coaches discussed the traditional gender roles in the region and how they were changing toward more equality. There was overwhelming agreement, however, that sports in Barbados and St. Lucia were still deeply rooted in more restrictive gender assumptions. However, systematic changes to encourage more female participants and attitudes towards girls and sport were progressing.

During a focus group of four young men who had just completed the NSDC training certification in St. Lucia and were then serving as football coaches in their communities, the discussion turned to how boys and girls interact during football play. One participant stated:

They (the boys) do their training with the guys, but when they play, I have them to play with the girls. The guys cry a lot. The guys cry a lot. Coach, coach! Some girls will just look, like if they cannot get the ball they will just slide tackle you. That's, the girls are aggressive. They are really aggressive. ... It's not like they (the boys) don't know how to handle it. Because they play aggressive as well. They just bear in mind that it's a girl. So sometimes, some of them get angry. And they say, 'So they playing, don't worry, don't worry, I'll play like that too ya know.'"

In this description, some conflicting elements emerge. First, the girls seem to demonstrate a challenging of gender norms by playing aggressively, such as instigating physical contact (slide tackling). The boys respond by, in some respects, counter to gender norms. They "cry," although the meaning of crying here was interpreted as complaining, rather than shedding tears. The boys also respond to the masculinized style of play from the girls by also playing aggressively. However, the coach implies that they hold back or temper their play because they don't want to hurt the girls. This response then reinforces the traditional gender roles of strong male and weaker, more fragile females.

The boys at JV in St. Lucia had some similar discussions. While they only had one girl, Iris, who consistently attending their football programme, they all played together without any outward tensions or disputes. But when a focus group of all boys was asked whether or not they would like more girls to join JV and play, they issued their complaints about girls playing football. "Less... it depends. They can be bossy and tell us what to do. 'Pass the ball, pass the ball.' If you have the ball and they want it even before you have the ball they are saying 'pass it, pass it,' and they are calling you... if you don't... oh, it's a problem!... But if she has the ball, she won't pass it." The other boys in this group agreed to this description.

In this passage, the boys are complaining about the girls, especially Iris, being "bossy" or demanding while playing football. They do not like being told what to do, but it is unclear if they are upset specifically because the person telling them what to do is a girl or if they just dislike being told what to do in general. They are also annoyed that this girl did not share the ball with them. Here, the emphasis is on the seemingly selfish play displayed by this girl. They spoke in specific reference to Iris, who is described in the above section by her coach, Alex. However, they seemed to assume that Iris was a representative of how girls play football. The original question asked was, "would you like it if more girls were playing here?" They responded by projecting Iris' style of play to other girls that might join the programme. They did not like playing with Iris and assumed they would also dislike playing with other girls.

In another focus group of five adolescent boys in the cricket programme at Sport for Life, they supported some of the same notions the coaches (the above coaches did not coach these particular kids) mentioned above. I asked them if they liked playing cricket with girls (there were only 4 to 6 girls in regular attendance out of 35 participants). They responded with "No. They're too soft. And I like a man to do his work and hit the ball hard." I asked this boy if he was afraid to hit the ball hard when the girls were playing. He said yes. Although he was serious in his response,

the group laughed a bit and joked that he maybe he wasn't able to hit the ball any harder and that he was using the presence of girls as his excuse.

A different SFL group of four boys and one girl, Cora, went on to discuss how girls should not play in rough, contact sports like football and rugby. One boy, Curtis, said, "if you kick a ball and miss and kick the girl, you could hit her and she couldn't get back up." At this statement, Cora interjected. "That's why they have girls' teams. And you would not make it there!" she said. Again, in this example Curtis explains why he does not like playing with girls. In his case, he, like the boy in the previous example, was concerned that he would accidentally hurt a girl playing sport. Cora retorted that this is not a real problem and implied that he would not be good enough to play on a girls' team. This was one of only two focus groups that included mixed genders (the other was an A Ganar group at Frederick Smith Secondary School in Barbados). These participants also had the opportunity to join focus groups that were only of their own gender as well (Cora was also in an all girls' focus group).

This unique situation allowed for a dialogue between boys and a girl regarding gender in sport. It reveals a playful tension between them. Curtis seemed to hold his beliefs sincerely, but also enjoyed teasing Cora a bit. Cora, for her part, was passionate about her response, but did not seem angry or upset. Overall, it was quite a positive exchange and they both continued on discussing other issues and later played on the pitch in the cricket sessions without any incident. However, neither side seemed swayed in their positions regarding gender, ability, toughness and sport.

Randall at NSDC saw similar problems in his programme between boys and girls playing football together. He felt that overall, the girls had the same experience as the boys because "the girls are as competitive as the boys." However, he noticed that they did not always play well together. "Because sometimes, the girls just walk off because sometimes the girls feel better than the boys . . . and then the boys act tough and then, you know, the girls are more nervous," he stated. "The girls we have, around 10 to 15, and they play sometimes better than the guys, so the guys get jealous because they see the girls playing better than them." When asked how the girls responded, he claimed that they seemed to feel "joyous" and thought it was "funny" when they played better than the boys. He continued to explain that the boys and girls tended to tease each other, but noted that, "the next day, it doesn't matter. It just doesn't."

This experience reflects the teasing between Cora and Curtis at SFL very closely. The boys are feeling upset or may have their pride wounded when the girls play better. But in the end, both genders seem on relatively equal footing when it comes to teasing or joking with each other about their play. Randall's story echoed the observation of the SFL focus group – although boys and girls could display tension or even argue, they did not seem to hold tightly to these problems and were able to move past them.

Becky and Tonya, teachers at SFL, also saw this kind of tension, especially regarding Cora. "She is very different from the others. She is very vocal," stated Becky. According to Tonya:

The boys seem to be getting to close to her in terms of touching her, hitting her and she seems not to like it. So she's taking it on a bit. You know. At first she was all into things, like she was just one of the guys. But now she is like 'stand off.' Now, she is like 'he is hitting me.' But we had to have a conversation with them (the boys) like 'she's a girl and she does not like your rough play' . . . "But in terms of performance, cause there's not much of them (girls), the boys feel comfortable to work. They don't feel intimidated by girls. Because they are with the girls and in competition with them.

In their opinions, Cora's vocal nature has engaged her into the rough play and teasing of the boys. However, over the course of the programme, she has pulled back on her approach as "just one of the guys." The teachers intervened to warn the girls that she does not like their rough play, "because she is a girl." It is unclear how the boys interpreted this, but this passage was coded under "boys dislike playing with girls," because the boys were corrected by their teacher on how they interacted with a girl in the programme.

Another SFL teacher, Janet, also spoke about how the boys and girls played cricket together. In her example, the cricket coaches and mentors made special rules to the game to ensure that girls were involved:

We have discussion about gender roles. I think that a lot of them have been able to embrace that. Some boys might think that girls should not play cricket. Over time they come to understand that (is) what society thinks and how they are socialised. They come to understand that is their specific role, (and they) don't have to stay in it. For jobs, they don't see it as a male does this job and a female does this job. We had a session where we try to put this into reality, into every day scenarios. When we put things into scenarios, like a girl playing cricket, we make sure that the girls are involved in activity. We would say, 'each team will have one girl on the team and only the girl can score.' So that helps break down that a woman can't play and they have to work with her to get to score. We are trying to open their minds to realize that it's something to embrace.

In Janet's view, SFL mentors try to engage their young participants with ideas about gender roles, educating and empowering them to challenge prescribed cultural stereotypes. To illustrate this concept, they play cricket and force the inclusion of girls into the game on each team. Furthermore, they force the boys to include girls in scoring. On the surface, this would seem to promote the attitude that girls can play any sport and, to the larger point, that both genders should have equal opportunity. However, the response from the boys throws the effectiveness of this approach into question. When asked how the boys felt about their team only being able to score if a girl made the point, she explained that they struggled with accepting this exercise. "Sometimes they were so upset because the team didn't score. Then, someone talked back saying 'if you had passed properly, she would have scored. Some people said that it was the girls' fault, but others said the team was responsible. Other guys would embrace it and dribble and just make sure she was there to score. Others had to warm up to the idea." As a note, it seems she must be talking about football in this example, as dribbling is not a skill in cricket. Either way, at least some of the boys disliked playing with the girls in this way. Interpreting this story in conjunction with some of

the statements made by boys at SFL, I believe it is possible that an exercise like this may contribute to gender divisions, especially in sport. After all, if the girls are just as skilled, why should they get preferential treatment? This concept will be further discussed in the concluding remarks of this chapter.

Several points of discussion revealed that many boy participants felt that girls were simply less adept at sport. When I asked one group of boys at the JV programme if they thought girls played differently, they collectively agreed that “yes, sometimes.” They said “not all” girl players were as good as boys. “Some of them are too ‘fresh.’ They don’t want to get sweaty or mess up their hair or fall down,” one boy commented. This group, like others discussed above, was also concerned that they could hurt one of the girls if they played too hard. “If one of them is trying to tackle me (in football), I just let them tackle me. I don’t play them hard.” He and the rest of the group claimed that the girls played “soft,” but noted that “they get mad if you don’t pass to them.” Another boys’ focus group at JV stated that the girls did not pass or score as well as the boys. Some argued that the girls were “slower,” but others contended that it depends on which girl. They mostly agreed that girls played “softer.” But one boy countered that some girls were more “aggressive” than the boys. “Because they don’t know how to play it right,” he continued. They collectively agreed that they would prefer for the girls to play separately from the boys and that they would rather have a male coach than a female coach. When asked if they felt it was ok for girls to play football or if they thought girls should play different sports, they responded that girls should play different sports, particularly netball and volleyball.

At SFL, boys focus groups shared similar beliefs. One group laughed when asked if they thought girls were good at cricket. “Well, I never saw them play. They haven’t played much yet,” one boy replied, referring to the girls within the SFL programme. Another group was asked if they would prefer to watch men’s or women’s high level cricket (the national Barbados team or the West Indies team). They had split results, with one boy stating he would prefer to watch the women’s team. Another boy noted that they women did not have as many matches to watch as the men. They all agreed that it was normal for a man to coach a women’s team, but not for a woman to coach a men’s team. “A woman coaching won’t have the sense of cricket as a man coach,” one boy explained. He felt that men had more experience playing and would therefore make better coaches. His logic follows the traditional gender roles regarding cricket, which is largely reserved for male players.

A boy from an A Ganar focus group echoed his remarks, stating that women “don’t understand (cricket) when watching on TV. But you do understand when playing it.” In another A Ganar group, a boy said that cricket was better for men to play. “I don’t know because back in the days, English people started it and it’s based on that. It’s much better for men to play cricket.” These responses underscore the fact that women generally have less history and access to playing cricket, and therefore have less knowledge of playing the game. Interestingly, both boys cite the lack of playing experience as the reason for a woman’s deficiency as a player or coach, not that females are inherently weaker at this sport.

Lack of female players, coaches

The common perception that boys are better at sports than girls is often reinforced by a lack of female role models in sport (Breuning and Dixon, 2008). This notion is caught in a feedback loop – girls have less access to sport and are therefore less present as players, which, in turn, leads to fewer females evolving from players to coaches and serving as role models for future generations. This problem was talked about at length by coaching trainees, coaches, facilitators and other administrators in Barbados and St. Lucia.

One story, from Randall at NSDC illustrates the problem:

Recently, I was training a set of little boys and out of the blue this little girl, skinny as ever, coming on to the field. And she was telling me, sometimes I raise my pants to my waist and when I raise my pants to my waist, they call me Coach Billygoat. So, she's coming to me and telling me, 'Coach Billygoat, I want to play.' So I said, 'where are your shoes?' And she says, 'I don't have any shoes.' 'And you want to play? You think you can handle these guys?' (he asked her). I asked for them to come look at their shoes and they've got these long studs (cleats), but she said, 'I want to play. I want to play.' So I had to readjust the drills I was doing to accommodate her playing.

In order to incorporate her into the play, he had her serve as referee. He went on to explain that she called many fouls and the boys were growing frustrated. But Randall used it as a learning point, teaching the boys that it was their role as players to adjust to how a referee calls a game. The fundamental point of this story is that there are so few girls playing, and often with fewer resources, that it may become difficult to incorporate them into normal play.

Other NSDC coaches agreed that they had far fewer female players. "That's what we don't get much of, girls," stated Darren. They felt they normally had 3-5 girls attend out of about 65 total participants at their training sessions. "Since we don't have many girls, we play them on the male teams. We have probably like six teams, so we have one girl on each team," explained Darren. Randall also noted that there was variation in attendance from girls. "When it's school, most of the girls stay away. But when holidays and things, we have a lot of girls."

Janet from SFL explained that they felt that having more girls improved the experience for their participants. "We think having more girls has really helped to bring a different spin and outlook on the programme," she explained. Her participants had a slightly different take. In the mixed gendered focus group with four boys and Cora, one boy claimed, "(There are) too many boys here, (we) need more girls here Good looking girls." At this comment, Cora interjected, but the boy teased back "don't worry, you can still come. But you won't get put in that category." Getting through the typical joking and teasing between the children is difficult, but their journal entries offer further clarity. The boys tended to include more mention of sport heroes and role models than the girls. In fact, only one girl mentioned a sports figure as a hero. And her hero was Usain Bolt, a male track and field athlete from Jamaica.

Heroes are role models, a role that coaches often fulfil. Daniel, the director of the NSDC coaches training programme, lamented the lack of female coaches in his programme. "It is hard to find female mentors," he said and discussed the need to

“improve outreach to get more girls in programmes as mentors.” He explained the dilemma of attracting female players when there are so few coaches, but needed to get more female players so that they can become coaches in the future. He has a goal of having 50% female trainees in the programme over the next few years. He has begun outlining his strategy to achieve this mark. “And certainly the idea of bringing in a new set of largely girls is great. We can do a couple of things. We can take a couple of kids from areas we are already in and bring those girls in, but also we can go to a new areas and do things that way and expand.” He mentioned recruiting female players from amongst those few female participants in programmes like Randall’s and Darren’s. He also extensively discussed how valuable it was for them to have the one female coaching trainee they did have, Jackie. He had high hopes that she could serve as a role model for players and future coaches. At Darren’s programme, they did have a female assistant, although she was not in the training programme. Her primary role was coaching the “little kids. Because that’s her thing,” Darren explained.

A different administrator at NSDC, one who oversaw all of the vocational programmes, not just the coaching one, felt that women may not be as interested in seeking that type of vocational training. “It may not be as attractive as it would be for the men,” he stated. He cited increasing participation in sport from girls in Barbados and felt that women were also becoming a bigger audience for sport in his country. He believed these changes could propel more interest and appeal in coaching for women. Matthew, the former administrator of sport and physical education in St. Lucia agreed. “It is changing. I must say that you have more football clubs, more female football clubs in St. Lucia. But for them to be sustainable, you have to have persons coming up through the school systems to feed the clubs,” he said. Finally, Melly, the national sports council administrator in Barbados, explained that it was paramount for a council like hers to support the development of young female players in order to build toward a more equitable future of sport coaching. “Talent development feeds growth of sport and challenges gender norms, so that’s why any of this chatter matters,” she claimed. She made this statement within the context of her struggle to generate more opportunities for girls to access sport at all levels, and especially for female national teams to get similar opportunities that their male counterpart teams already had, such as international travel for competition. Her views on this situation are more thoroughly explored in the next chapter, on support systems.

In general, it seems apparent from players, coaches, coaching trainees and administrators that there is an overall lack of female coaches in sport and this is a reflection of traditional gender role attitudes that men are better suited for sport than women. It is also clear that female coaches are a necessity to breaking down the rigid gender role attitudes surrounding sport in Barbados and St. Lucia.

Gendered vocational and life roles

The gender role attitudes toward sport may also reflect relevant attitudes and expectations about gender roles in vocation and life. Such attitudes that challenge gender norms were discussed above and here I discuss participants’ perception of vocational and life roles that reinforce gender norms. As noted above, most participants held open and progressive ideas regarding gender roles in vocation, advocating for gender equality in this sphere. Domestically, they were slightly more

restrictive. Here, I explore the contradictions to those statements that challenged gender norms.

A boys focus group at SFL explained that there are jobs that are only for men. “Banking” and “commentating (on a cricket match)” were their only strictly male careers. For men, the primary restriction was being a “housewife.” Even if his wife has a job that supports the household, they claimed that “he still got to get a job.” They also included “dressmaking” as a female only vocation. Again, as reflected in the surveys and in the above section, the main restriction is about domestic roles rather than vocational ones.

One singular, but profound example of the feelings about gender role attitudes in the domestic sphere came in a journal entry from a girl in the UGGC programme. In response to the question, “if you could change anything in your life, what would it be,” she replied, “I will be a boy because a girl have a lot of pain and a boy just go to work.” It is difficult to classify and code this remarkable statement. Underlying her concern is the restrictive norm that women stay home, while men go out to work. Clearly, she is deeply troubled by this expectation and feels that women must suffer due to these constraints.

Addy from A Ganar explained how gender plays a role in determining which vocational training her participants seek. Men tend to fall into typical categories such as plumbing, carpentry, woodworking, etc. However, she pointed out that they will generally find some female who “cross over” into male-dominated vocational fields. On the other side of the coin, there were very few males who transgressed traditional gender roles to join training programmes in cosmetology or secretarial training. Although she did note that men do join nursing programmes. “I would say it’s difficult for males, here, to cross over into those fields,” she explained. Beyond vocational training, she also observed similar trends at the university level. “If you go to a social science class, you may get ten males. But if you go to the sciences, that’s the only course you get 50/50. Since science is a male-dominated field. However, in Barbados females are doing most of the study (at the university level), but only within that faculty will you find 50/50 females/males.” She felt that females tended to cluster into social science fields more than males, although clearly females were making their way into the science classes, taking up half of the seats. But men did not, in turn, cross over into social science classes in large numbers.

“Boys don’t play netball/Gendered sport”

On the other side of the coin, boys and girls in the programmes indicated that there was a gender-based restriction for boys playing sport. In fact, the most agreed upon, harshest gender restriction discussed amongst all groups was a restriction for boys. According to these participants, boys are not supposed to play netball. Netball is a non-contact adaptation of basketball traditionally reserved for females (Nauright, 1995). Essentially, basketball is for boys and netball is for girls. This restriction against boys playing netball is widely held, although some females defended the concept that boys can play this game. The boys, however, were adamantly against males playing netball. They cited the wearing of skirts and described the physical aspects of play as feminine. In many cases, they made homophobic comments or described males playing netball with gay slurs.

The UGGC girls had mixed views about this issue. During the spring focus group discussions, all nine girls agreed that it was abnormal for boys to play netball. When asked if boys played netball, most girls laughed and shook their heads no. One girl stated that some boys do play netball and that was 'ok'. Other girls laughed at that statement and it was unclear whether or not they were being serious about boys playing netball. Although they agreed that girls could play basketball if they wanted to, it was generally agreed upon that it was abnormal for boys to play netball. It was not, however, 'unacceptable.' The only explanation given for this division was that sports were traditionally played in this way in St. Lucia. Again, their participation habits (playing netball rather than basketball) reflect conformity to gender norms.

The girls from SFL echoed these remarks. When I asked if netball was ok for everyone to play, they replied, "No, no, no not for boys. Boys can't play netball. It's only for girls." As I probed for the rationale behind this restriction, they struggled to articulate why netball was unacceptable for males. Like most respondents to the question, they just laughed. We reviewed all of the other sports discussed; football, cricket, athletics, swimming, volleyball, etc., but they reiterated that none of the other sports were restricted to either sex. Only netball had such a limitation.

The discussions focused on the fact that boys playing netball is socially unacceptable. In every focus group, as in this one, participants responded with laughter at the mere thought of a male breaking this gender norm to play netball. They often pointed to the fact that netball uniforms are skirts. They had reasoning beyond the wardrobe, however. Male participants, particularly adolescent boys, tended to react more intensely to this question. They often tried to describe the physical actions of netball as too feminine for males to participate in.

In the same SFL programme, a focus group of five adolescent boys responded to the question, "why can't a boy or man play netball?" One boy said:

It's a girls' sport. You can't get no man that can man flip (hands) jump and catch the ball and wear a skirt to play. A man can't jump and catch the ball and do that thing (he motions a flipping of his hand, leaving his fingers dangling in an attempt to appear feminine).

When pressed further about gender roles outside of sport, they agreed that it was perfectly fine for both sexes to train and work in any field. They responded as such to the following list of jobs and training courses; cosmetology, barbering, dressmaking, secretarial, masonry, welding, and truck driving. To each option, they agreed that anybody, male or female, could do those jobs or courses if that was his or her desire (as noted in the section above on challenging gender norms). But even after agreeing to challenge such gender norms in career and study fields, they returned to the discussion on how netball was not acceptable for males to play, citing the wrist flicking motion as too feminine.

In a different focus group at SFL, this one containing four boys and one girl (Cora), one boy stated that "anybody can do anything, except for netball." But his statement was almost immediately contradicted by another boy, who claimed that girls and women cannot do "banking" or "commentating," (as in commentating a

cricket match for broadcast). He then added that men cannot be a “housewife.” When I asked if it was ok for men to stay home if the woman had a job that paid the bills, this boy said no. “He’s still got to get a job,” the boy remarked. He added that among the possible jobs, dressmaking is not something men can do. The boys in this group also argued that contact sports like football and rugby were off limits for girls, but Cora objected, noting that there were all girls teams in these sports.

When discussing netball with males in focus groups, they often delved into concepts of masculinity and sexuality. In the mixed-gender focus group at SFL (four boys, one girl), the girl, “Cora,” said that netball was a “girls’ sport” that boys don’t play. The other boys agreed and continued to discuss gender restrictions for girls playing contact sport (explained below in the “girls playing sport are manly” section). In another SFL focus group, this one containing three adolescent boys, they referred to boys and men who play netball as “bullas.” “Bulla” is a slang term in Barbados that most closely translates to “fag” or “faggot.” It is a slur for homosexual male. These boys noted that a male playing netball would get a bad reputation and be considered a “bulla.” At the same time, a girl playing a contact sport like rugby would not be mocked in the same way.

In an A Ganar discussion group (mixed gender), boys and girls agreed that boys do not play netball. “It’s girly,” stated one boy. The others agreed and said they had never heard of a boy playing netball. They noted that boys play basketball, while girls play netball. When asked why, one boy said that boys will “feel funny” playing netball and girls “feel weird” playing basketball. “It’s (netball) a girls’ sport. You have to wear a skirt. They would say he’s gay,” remarked one boy. The boys in particular, insisted that the movements in netball were not acceptable for boys to do. “The sport itself looks girly, because you’re jumping about,” another boy stated. When asked to demonstrate these “girly” movements, this group of boys refused to do so. I asked them to describe a boy playing netball, they responded with, “gay,” “fishy,” “funny boy,” “not in his right mind,” and “gay” again. The girls in this group contended the boys strict restrictions, noting that everyone should get to play a sport they like and claiming that netball is not that different from basketball.

Among all groups discussing males playing netball, the focus on body image and physical appearance was paramount. The most consistent response was that males cannot wear skirts. The second most consistent response was that the physical motions used in netball, particularly passing and shooting were too feminine for boys or men. Though not always explicitly stated, the male participants and, to a lesser extent, female participants, agreed that a boy or man playing netball appeared homosexual. The females generally had a more open attitude about boys and men playing netball, although they agreed that it was very uncommon.

Adult facilitators, administrators and coaching trainees had views in line with the female participants. They explained that netball was generally a girls’ sport, but they acknowledged that there were some males who played and did not feel like it was too feminine for boys to play. They agreed that socially, it was not very acceptable for boys to play. They also pointed out that the opportunities for boys to play netball were very rare. Ryan from NSDC explained that “all the girls play netball” in St. Lucia. And that boys sometimes played as well, but “just for fun.” They do not compete in netball, but they do occasionally play informal games. His

colleague at NSDC, Jackie, disagreed. When asked if boys played netball she laughed and emphatically declared, “no!” But she had heard that the sport was invented by a man. He continued to explain that some sports seemed to “aggressive” for girls in St. Lucia to want to play, such as American football. She did note that there was now a women’s rugby team in St. Lucia. In fact, she had been asked to join it but decided to decline because she was not interested in the sport.

In Barbados, an administrator at the Barbados sports council, Melly, explained that there were restricted options for males and females offered through the council. They did not have a netball team for males, nor did they offer opportunities for females in boxing. “It has to do with the management of the national federations,” she explained. Such structural differences in how sport is offered to males and females is likely to be both a reflection of the cultural attitudes regarding sport and gender and a social influence on such attitudes. Melly’s views and efforts are more fully discussed in the next chapter on support systems.

“Girls playing sport are too masculine”

Another code present under the theme of reinforcing gender roles was the notion that girls playing sport are too masculine. Both boy and girl participants indicated this concern. In the journals from UGGC, one girl wrote that girls playing contact sports like football makes her “upset” and another wrote that they will be “manly.” A third wrote that if a girl plays sport better than boys she will be less attractive to boys and they will not want to date her.

At the mixed gender A Ganar focus group, one girl described girls playing football as “mannish” and “tomboy.” A boy responded by saying that if she were good at playing, then it would be fine for her to play. A boys discussion group at SFL responded similarly. They said a girl who played football well would seem more like a boy, but if she was “really good,” then that would be “ok.” In one SFL mixed gender focus group (4 boys, 1 girl), for example, one of the boys referred to men who played netball as “shemales.” And he noted that girls who play contact sports are often girls that “strut,” implying they behave in an overly masculine way. They also noted that girls should not play sports like rugby because they are “too rough.”

But some administrators took a contradictory view. They believed that it was generally acceptable for girls to play sports like football, but that when females started playing at higher levels, they were considered increasingly masculine. A male administrator from the Barbados Sports Council explained that girls get stigmatised as manly or even homosexual as they compete at higher levels. As she gets better, others will have “the perception that she is like a boy.” He added that “some of these girls are dressing in football in a manly style. Some of the girls may not be that way. Some may.” Being “that way” was a reference to these girls potentially being homosexual. Another administrator from the NSDC programme in St. Lucia

A different aspect of the reinforcing gender roles theme came through in the NSDC programme echoed similar concerns. In passing conversations, not formal interviews, he explained how the female participant in the coaches training programme went from being very “manly” in dress and action (the way she walked, talked and generally carried herself) toward a more feminine demeanour. He was

unclear exactly what this entailed, but it seemed to be about her dress, general appearance and less aggressive tone. He took pride in this change and felt it was a positive result of the programme. The participant herself did discuss learning about communication styles, particularly how to communicate with less assertiveness. She felt this was a very positive benefit of the programme. However, she did not discuss becoming more feminized and gave no indication that she felt such a change had occurred. None of her male counterparts in the programme mentioned this aspect either. They all seemed to have respect for her and displayed no sexist or patriarchal attitudes.

To summarise the data on gender role attitudes, the participants largely expressed progressive and open views on gender equality on all three categories; sport, vocation and domestic life. While these results are relatively in line with the survey results, they seem somewhat more open than the survey data, perhaps due to the participants desire to provide socially desirable answers to the female researcher guiding the discussions. Overall, attitudes toward role equality in vocation was the most common and adamantly supported idea. There were no direct responses stating that men or women should be restricted in their choices regarding jobs and careers. However, participants acknowledged and explained that gender role expectations regarding vocation were commonly held beliefs in their communities and countries. Gender norms in sport were also quite open. The participants consented that boys and girls should have access to sports of their choice regardless of gender, with one notable exception; netball for boys. Netball was almost universally regarded as off limits or, at least, very problematic for boys and men. Boys themselves expressed the most intensely restrictive attitudes on this issue and generally regarded playing netball as a threat to their masculinity, often relating boys playing netball to homosexuality. They expressed a traditional and hetero-normative view on gender and sport. In regards to gender roles in the domestic sphere, again, boys were more restrictive and some felt that men were obligated to work outside the home.

Interestingly, their views on gender in sport seemed informed by the type of SDP programme they were participating in. While in theory the boys generally felt that girls should have the opportunity to play sport, they had more negative associations with how girls played sport. Namely, they felt girls were not as adept at sport and played a different style than boys. Paradoxically, many believed that girls were too rough or aggressive while others complained that they were too “soft.” Both views, however, seemed rooted in the fact that girls were less skilled at sport and, even when playing “tough,” they were playing it wrong. Girls, on the other hand, especially at UGGC, appeared to feel empowered through sport play. The key difference, therefore, is how boys and girls interpret sport. While the girls at UGGC and in other programmes believed their strong and aggressive style was demonstrating their ability to the boys, the boys generally found this approach as inferior to their style apply.

6.4 Concluding thoughts on gender role attitudes

From this data, I conclude that the specific type of sport intervention, whether mixed gender sport or single gender sport, is paramount. Additionally, the type of sport played is key. It appears that the SDP programmes in this study generally take an integrative approach rather than a transformative one. That is, they incorporate girls

into existing masculinised sport models in hopes that this will inherently challenge restrictive gender norms and attitudes. In reality, it seems this approach may in fact reinforce the belief that girls are inferior to boys in the sporting context, as it dismisses the profound influence of cultural norms and accessibility to sport that may limit the opportunity for girls to develop skills to stay on par with their male counterparts. Furthermore, actions such as those taken at SFL to force boys to include girls in scoring plays may serve to further reinforce the belief that girls cannot play as well as boys.

As these rigid forms of masculinity and femininity are played out and reinforced, they seem to reflect problems of homophobia. The nearly unanimous unacceptability of boys playing netball was a clear sign of this issue. A boy playing netball was perceived to be feminine, transgressing gender norms and deviating from an acceptable version of masculinity. As he violates his masculinity, he is assumed to be gay and his gayness was perceived as bad, weird or unappealing. Girls, too, were often held to heteronormative ideals. They struggled with their interest in developing athletic bodies, but not getting too muscular. Strong “Tina Turner calves” were, to some, unfeminine. Here, again, violating the gender norm puts one’s sexuality into question. To a lesser extent, participating in masculinised contact sports, such as rugby, also put one’s sexuality into question, especially if she were exceptionally skilled at the sport. Essentially, a muscular girl or a girl playing rugby (well) is too “manly.” A girl who is manly is more likely to be a lesbian. Being a lesbian was also perceived as deviant, just as a boy being gay was.

Rather than challenging these heteronormative ideals, at least two programme leaders seemed to reinforce them. When he discussed how Jackie from NSDC started her coaches training appearing very masculine, based on her clothing and the way she “carried” herself. Over the course of the training, her appearance became more feminised. This change was good and important for her as a role model, Daniel felt. Although he did not explicitly say so, I got the impression that he was concerned she would be perceived as too masculine and perhaps a lesbian, thus jeopardising her effectiveness as a good role model to young girls. Whatever his motivations, he clearly preferred for Jackie to adhere to more rigid gender norms. His concerns were reflected by another administrator in Barbados who worried that if girls were playing football and dressing “manly,” this might be because they are lesbian and, even if they weren’t lesbian, they would be perceived as such.

Again, I return to the original story of the girls at SFL failing to perform the cricket task at the same level of skill as the boys, but wandering off to the side and performing gymnastic activities with much more skill. Clearly, these girls were capable of performing skilled physical activities, but they were being asked to participate in a sport that is overtly masculinised in Caribbean culture and one that they were likely not as exposed to as the boys they were playing with. On the contrary, when the boys saw the skill level of the English women’s cricket team, they were impressed. They recognised that some women were skilful at this masculine sport. Therefore, not only is the type of sport and the gender makeup of the programme important, the lack of female players, coaches and role models, is key as well. Referring back to one statement from Melly, the administrator at the Barbados sports council, developing the talent of girls in sport is fundamentally important to creating a pipeline of skilled players who can become coaches and role models.

Based on the reaction from these boys at SFL, the level of skill from those players may key to challenging the gender attitude regarding women in sport. *The crux of the problem, then, is how to develop the talent of females to serve as role models for all players (boys and girls) within the confines of an integrative model for sport in an effort to truly transform the future sport landscape in these communities.*

6.5 Body image, physical activity and lived body experience overview

Building skill levels to serve as role models for younger players requires physical abilities. One's body image, physical activity and lived body experience is a key factor in developing such abilities and relating them to sport. In this section, I discuss body image in relationship to sport activity and coaching. The key aspect of body image is a relationship with one's body based on aesthetics or kinetics. In other words, an aesthetically focused body image, which is more typical for females, emphasises the outward appearance of the body. The foundation for this type of body image is how the body looks as an *object*. A kinetically focused body image, however, is focused on how a body moves, performs or interacts with the world. It is build upon the idea of the body as an *actor*, rather than object.

In one memorable example, the UGGC girls discussed the narrow range of body image that they must navigate. They talked about the importance of being fit, healthy and strong in their bodies. This kinetically focused relationship with their bodies was not only about playing sport, but also being able to function in their world. In particular, they talked about how their physical fitness would enable them to protect themselves from violence and physical harm. Their focus on body strength as a way to protect themselves is telling. They live in a context in which they fear physical harm, an idea best explored using the concept of the *lived body experience*, which considers one's body within the context of the situation. One's lived body experience is more dynamic than body image. The same body concepts can fluctuate in different situations. For example, the UGGC girls spoke with pride about having muscles to "bounce" or push boys around whilst playing football. However, they also felt strong leg muscles, or "Tina Turner calves" were unsightly and unfeminine. In the different contexts, viewing through different lenses (kinetic vs aesthetic), the meaning of muscles on girls took a completely different turn.

6.6 Body image and physical activity survey results

The survey included a section regarding body image. Questions regarding body image were also broken down into two parts. Part I included a series of items rated on a 5-point Licker ranging from; never, seldom, sometimes, often, and always. The questions read, "Indicate how often you agree with the following statements:"

I like what I see when I look in the mirror
Other people consider me good looking.
I am proud of my body.
I am preoccupied with trying to change my body weight.
I wish I looked better.
I think I have a good body.
I am trying to lose weight.
I think I look older than my age.

Surprisingly, there were no significant differences found in body image by gender in Part 1 (See Table 6.6a). Non-parametric Mann-Whitney U tests were run (and additional Independent T-tests, just to be sure). Furthermore, there were no statistically significant differences by programme participation or age either. Among programmes, the Kruskal-Wallis non-parametric test indicated only one significant result. For the statement, "I am preoccupied with trying to change my weight," a significant difference in distribution was found ($p=.032$, $n=132$). However, this result is highly problematic because several participants did not understand the word "preoccupied." Therefore, the result has been dismissed in this study. The highest mean score was 3.25 from the Sport for Life programme ($n=28$) and the lowest mean was from the Court Diversion Programme at 1.27 ($n=11$). Interestingly, neither of those groups has an odd gender mix. Both are predominantly male, as most of the programme groups are in this study. In hindsight, I would have preferred to ask more questions about body functions and movement along with different body types, shapes and perceptions about the body, directing the survey and discussions toward kinetic aspects of body image. I discuss this further in section 7.5 below.

Table 6.6a

		Body Image by Gender – Part I								
Gender		I like what I see when I look in the mirror	Other people consider me good looking	I am proud of my body	I am preoccupied with trying to change my body weight*	I am satisfied with my weight	I wish I looked better	I think I have a good body	I am trying to lose weight	I think I look older than my age
Male	Mean	4.32	3.86	4.38	2.85	3.91	3.02	4.07	2.36	2.43
	N	92	90	89	89	91	88	90	86	87
	Std. Deviation	1.167	1.259	1.103	1.648	1.314	1.612	1.188	1.579	1.654
	Median	5.00	4.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	1.50	1.00
Female	Mean	4.09	3.96	4.59	2.70	3.68	2.98	4.22	2.28	2.57
	N	47	47	46	43	47	42	46	46	46
	Std. Deviation	1.365	1.250	.884	1.641	1.461	1.645	1.474	1.573	1.809
	Median	5.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	1.00
Total	Mean	4.24	3.89	4.45	2.80	3.83	3.01	4.12	2.33	2.47
	N	139	137	135	132	138	130	136	132	133
	Std. Deviation	1.237	1.253	1.035	1.641	1.365	1.616	1.288	1.571	1.704
	Median	5.00	4.00	5.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	1.00

The second set of items regarding body image include 4 questions/statements (See Table 6.6b). First, participants answered the question, “when I look at my body, I feel that I am.” They had three options for a response; underweight, correct weight, or overweight. At the end of the survey, two pages depicted black and white drawings of boy and girl figures ranging from very thin to very heavy. The participants were instructed to make three selections, the image of their gender that best represents (1) your current appearance, (2) that you would like to look like, and (3) the cultural standard.

Again, when sorted by gender, there was one statistically significant result found. The last question, which asks the participant to select the figure that “best represents the cultural standard for your gender,” had a different distribution by gender ($p=.002$, $n=111$). The mean score for females was 4.54 ($n=48$) while males were lower at 3.65 ($n=63$). This result indicates that the girls found a heavier female figure as the cultural standard than the boys selected as their image of a cultural standard of a male figure. There were no significant differences between programme participants and control groups or between different programme groups.

Table 6.6b

		Body Image by Gender - Part II			
Gender		When I look at my body I feel that I am: underweight, correct weight, or overweight	The figure that best represents your current appearance	The figure that you would like to look like	The figure that best represents cultural standards
Male	N	90	75	68	63
	Mean	1.77	3.73	3.71	3.65
	Std. Deviation	.704	1.388	1.259	1.322
	Median	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Female	N	84	48	47	48
	Mean	1.58	3.75	3.96	4.54
	Std. Deviation	.779	1.591	.977	1.762
	Median	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Total	N	174	123	115	111
	Mean	1.68	3.74	3.81	4.04
	Std. Deviation	.745	1.465	1.154	1.584
	Median	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00

The same two sets of body image questions were also analysed by programme participants and control groups. None of the 13 questions resulted in a significantly different distribution of results (See tables 6.6c and 6.6d). The null hypothesis is retained and there is no indication that body image perspectives differ between sport programme participants and their control group counterparts. Here, I can interpret the results as indicating that the sport programmes do not have a significant impact on body image for either male or female participants.

Table 6.6c

		Body Image by Programme and Control - Part I								
Programme participant		I like what I see when I look in the mirror	Other people consider me good looking	I am proud of my body	I am preoccupied with trying to change my body weight	I am satisfied with my weight	I wish I looked better	I think I have a good body	I am trying to lose weight	I think I look older than my age
Non participant (Control)	Mean	4.36	3.98	4.44	2.80	3.86	3.39	4.14	2.45	2.56
	N	42	42	41	41	42	38	42	40	39
	Std. Deviation	1.144	1.297	1.074	1.600	1.424	1.636	1.336	1.584	1.774
Participant in a programme	Mean	4.19	3.85	4.46	2.80	3.82	2.85	4.11	2.28	2.44
	N	97	95	94	91	96	92	94	92	94
	Std. Deviation	1.277	1.237	1.023	1.668	1.346	1.589	1.274	1.571	1.682
Total	Mean	4.24	3.89	4.45	2.80	3.83	3.01	4.12	2.33	2.47
	N	139	137	135	132	138	130	136	132	133
	Std. Deviation	1.237	1.253	1.035	1.641	1.365	1.616	1.288	1.571	1.704

Table 6.6d

		Body Image by Programme and Control - Part II			
Programme participant		When I look at my body I feel that I am: underweight, correct weight, or overweight	The figure that best represents your current appearance	The figure that you would like to look like	The figure that best represents the cultural standard
Non participant (Control)	N	67	34	30	29
	Mean	1.58	4.03	4.00	4.34
	Std. Deviation	.801	1.867	.871	1.876
	Median	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Participant in a programme	N	109	89	85	82
	Mean	1.74	3.63	3.74	3.93
	Std. Deviation	.699	1.274	1.236	1.464
	Median	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Total	N	176	123	115	111
	Mean	1.68	3.74	3.81	4.04
	Std. Deviation	.741	1.465	1.154	1.584
	Median	2.00	4.00	4.00	4.00

Behaviours and attitudes regarding physical activity and health were also examined Table 6.6e displays the data for these questions as analysed by gender, which is the analysis that yielded the most significant differences. These questions may help provide insight into the relationship between physical activity, health and body image. Questions were drawn from the WHO school aged questionnaire (GSHS) on health habits and physical activity. This set of questions includes four items based on the question, "In a typical week, how often do you . . ." The question responses were recorded on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 = "not at all," 2 = "less than once per week," 3 = "1 time per week," 4 = "2 times per week," 5 = "3 times per week," 6 = "4 times per week," and 7 = "5+ times per week." Descriptive statistics were analysed by gender, participation, age and programme. Furthermore, non-parametric Mann-Whitney U or Kruskal-Wallis tests were run to test for significant differences in distribution of responses.

On each item, males indicated higher levels of participation in active commuting, participation in physical activity, attendance to physical education in school, and participation in organized sport. These results support the theories proposed in the literature review that girls and women in the West Indies are less likely than boys and men to engage in physical activity and sport. For the first item, "how often do you walk, run or ride your bicycle to school," the Mann-Whitney U test indicated a significant difference in distribution of results ($p=.009$, $n=197$). The males had a mean of 2.81 ($n=112$) while the females only had a mean of 1.98 ($n=85$). The distribution of results was also abnormal for how often boys and girls "participate in physical activity outside of school for more than one hour" ($p<.000$, $n=195$). The mean rate for girls was merely 2.29 ($n=82$) while boys had a mean of 4.07 ($n=113$).

Rates of physical activity were different within school as well, with the boys having a higher distribution of results for the question “(how often do you) go for physical education classes in school” ($p < .000$, $n = 195$). The boys’ mean was 3.30 ($n = 112$) while the girls’ mean was 2.22 ($n = 86$). Finally, responses to the question on how often they “play in an organised sport team, league or programme” were also distributed differently by gender ($p < .000$, $n = 198$). Again, the boys had a higher mean score (3.34, $n = 112$) than girls (1.63, $n = 86$). Particularly on this last question, the difference in mean is very large, indicating that girls are much less likely to play organised sport.

Table 6.6e

Gender		Walk, run or ride your bicycle to school	Participate in physical activity outside of school for more than 1 hour	Go for physical education class in school	Play in an organised sport team, league or programme
Male	N	112	113	112	112
	Mean	2.81	4.07	3.30	3.34
	Std. Deviation	2.601	2.231	1.999	2.315
	Median	1.00	4.00	3.00	3.00
Female	N	85	82	86	86
	Mean	1.98	2.29	2.22	1.63
	Std. Deviation	2.370	1.934	1.961	1.866
	Median	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
Total	N	197	195	198	198
	Mean	2.45	3.32	2.83	2.60
	Std. Deviation	2.532	2.282	2.050	2.291
	Median	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00

Breakdown of the physical activity question sets for other categories yielded some significant results, but these do not seem to have great bearing on the objectives of this study. There was only one significant difference when sorted by programme participation versus control group participation. For the question regarding playing in an “organized sport, team, league or programme” the difference was significant ($p = .016$, $n = 136$). Programme participants had a higher rate of sport participation, with a mean of (3.41, $n = 97$) while control groups only had a mean of 2.51 ($n = 39$). This result may simply reflect the fact that programme participants by default are in an organized sport programme. The UGGC had the lowest mean score in physical activity outside of school (2.13, $n = 8$), as expected based on the results of the gender analysis indicating females are less physically active.

Physical activity and behaviours were also analysed between sport programme

participants and the control group. Once again, significant differences were found, with three of the four questions yielding different distributions. Unsurprisingly, the group of participants in sport programmes had higher rates of physical activity within and outside of school. This may be in part because of their actual participation in the sport programmes. For the active commuting question, “(how often do you) walk, run or ride your bicycle to school,” the difference was significant ($p=.004$, $n=199$). The programme participants had a mean rate of 3.45 ($n=126$) while the control group was lower at 3.06 ($n=71$). The sport programme participants also reported higher frequency of attending physical education classes in school ($p<.000$, $n=200$). The mean score for programme participants was 3.21 ($n=128$) while the mean was only 2.13 ($n=72$) for the control group. Finally, the control group was also less likely to “play in an organised sport team, league or programme” ($p=.002$, $n=200$). The control group mean was 1.99 ($n=72$) while the sport programme participants’ mean was 2.96 ($n=128$).

Table 6.6f

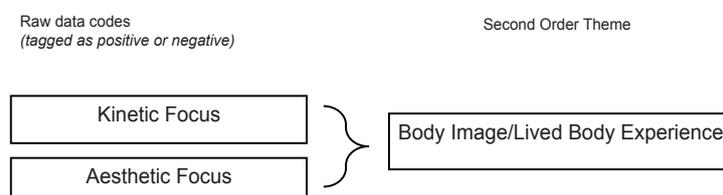
		Physical Activity by Programme and Control			
Programme participant		Walk, run or ride your bicycle to school	Participate in physical activity outside of school for more than 1 hour	Go for physical education class in school	Play in an organised sport team, league or programme
Non participant (Control)	N	72	71	72	72
	Mean	1.94	3.06	2.13	1.99
	Std. Deviation	2.466	2.267	1.868	2.191
	Median	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00
Participant in a programme	N	127	126	128	128
	Mean	2.72	3.45	3.21	2.96
	Std. Deviation	2.523	2.275	2.049	2.281
	Median	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Total	N	199	197	200	200
	Mean	2.44	3.31	2.82	2.61
	Std. Deviation	2.524	2.275	2.049	2.292
	Median	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00

6.7 Body image and lived body experience qualitative results

Body image is closely linked to gender role attitudes and it became clear that the two are interdependent and fluctuate within different contexts. I will explore traditional elements of body image and delve into Moi (2002) and Young's (2005) concept of the lived body experience. As discussed above, the lived body experience refers to one's perspective of her body in situ. That is, the lived body experience is informed by more than the physical construct of the body, but by how one's body interacts with its surroundings and experiences the world around in a practical way. The body is an *actor* rather than an *object* (Moi, 2002; Young 2005). This concept is key, as it has been explained throughout this thesis that boys and girls experience the same physical activities in a very different manner (i.e. girls playing netball is good, boys playing netball is not acceptable). Furthermore, girls performing physical activities such as sport experience their bodies and identities differently if they are in female-only groups (more emphasis on socialisation) than when they are in mixed gendered groups (more emphasis on self-efficacy).

Nussbaum places a great emphasis on bodily health and integrity as a fundamental capability (1999). Within the proposed model for HCA in sport for development, the opportunity for skilled activity is the critical capability related to body image and the lived body experience. As described in chapter two, a body image founded on a kinetic relationship with one's body is the best avenue for the development of a positive body image (Slater & Tiggeman, 2011). The opportunity for skilled physical activity allows for the participant to engage with his or her body in a kinetic way. The body is related to as an "actor" rather than an "object." When this capability is present, the achieved functioning of a positive body image is more favourable. Therefore, two broad codes were applied within this theme; kinetic focus and aesthetic focus. Within those codes, statements may be either positive or negative (not all kinetic focus statements must be positive nor must all aesthetic focus statements be negative). These statements were also tagged as either positive or negative. It is important to note that although this theme contains only these two codes, the concept of body image and the lived body experience should not be considered binary. In contrast, contextual layers of nuance and detail defy categorisation and are better left to open description within this analysis. See Figure 6.7

Figure 6.7



Overall, direct discussion on body image or one's body experience was rare in focus group discussions, interviews and journals. Several programme administrators requested that research with these adolescent children stay away from sensitive topics regarding body, sex, drugs, etc. As a result, the amount of qualitative data on this theme is limited. However, the depth of the discussions are revealing and provide insight into this theme. Furthermore, there was a great deal of crossover between the subjects during focus groups, interviews and in journals. For example, the concern that girls playing sport appear masculine could fit in either the gender role attitudes or body image themes. For the purposes of this study, a narrow definition was drawn and only statements directly addressing one's body image were coded within this theme.

Discussions on this topic fluctuated from empowering, progressive views on strength, fitness and health (i.e. it was good for girls/women to have strong bodies for sporting) to restrictive and hegemonic perspectives (i.e. muscular legs look bad on girls). However, even when discussing fitness, health and the body of females in a progressive sense, the context for the conversation tended to revolve around appearances and attractiveness. It seemed that their relationship with their bodies was rooted in an aesthetics rather than kinetics, as commonly seen in the literature discussed above on body image (Slater & Tiggeman, 2011). Although aesthetically focused body image relationships are generally cause for concern, it was clear that these participants had high levels of body satisfaction through their surveys and in focus group discussions and journaling. Nearly all participants were satisfied with their body size and ability. There was only one discussion, see below, regarding dissatisfaction about body image.

The girls' perspectives

Some of the richest data came from the all girls focus groups at UGGC, where the girls seemed very open and at ease discussing body issues. Overall, their responses regarding gender, sport and the body were mixed. "if you play sports, your calves are getting hard That's bad. Getting muscles is good for men, but not for girls," stated "Anna." They then called muscular calves, "Tina Turner calves" and laughed about it. Others disagreed with her statement. When asked if playing sports was attractive to others (leaving the question open to opposite or same partnerships), they said boys would like a girl who played sports and had a fit body. Once again, along with body

image concerns they display a hetero-normative perspective. They mentioned playing tennis and getting a good, athletic body. Anna stated that:

The girls get muscles, they have the body . . . it make them (boyfriend) feel proud or good that she can have what she want. So even a girl that is really strong and weight training, a guy would feel like she could protect herself.

Some girls nodded in agreement while others did not demonstrate support nor disagreement. A few of the girls agreed that even “really big muscles” on women were ok, others did not respond either way. When asked if perhaps guys would want to feel like they are the protector instead, she replied that that was true “sometimes.” “But it’s ok to have some of both,” indicating that it was ok for the male to feel as he is the protector of the female, while the female can also feel strong enough to protect herself. The others voiced agreement. They also referenced the importance for women to be strong in order to “protect themselves.” One can conclude that these girls felt that self-protection was important. Such a focus on self-defence is indeed a kinetic focus, but reflects underlying concerns that these girls live in fear of bodily harm. Protecting themselves is clearly a part of their lives to which they pay attention and fits well within the discussion on lived bodies. They continually discussed their bodies and an *object* and an *actor*. They also continuously discussed body image in the context of how others, particularly males, perceived female bodies.

Health and fitness were also discussed at length. Each group was asked about staying fit and all agreed that it was important to their health. They also agreed that they now get messages regarding health and nutrition and that in St. Lucia the obesity problem is increasing. They felt that sport was a good way to stay healthy and care for their bodies. None of the girls classified themselves as ‘overweight’ and many girls, including the entire third focus group (n=9), professed that they were all at a healthy weight. In contrast to prior studies indicating Caribbean adolescent girls struggle to develop healthy body image (Barrow, 2007), these young women were overwhelmingly comfortable with their bodies even proud. One conclusion to make is that these girls must walk a fine line between balancing their sport and fitness goals and their wishes to remain physically attractive in a traditionally feminine way.

In the co-ed SFL programme, a focus group of four girls also discussed body image. I asked them if they felt they were healthy and how they felt about their bodies. Tasha, who was the most vocal of the girls and held a confident air about her in the larger mixed gender group and also the girl most interested in football, stated that she thought she was “too fat.” I was surprised by this response, as I did not observe any of the girls to be overweight. Tasha, outwardly confident and assertive while playing cricket, seemed comfortable talking about her weight in this focus group. Two of the other girls joked that they wished they could switch bodies with Tasha because they felt they were too thin. Tasha was 14, while the other girls were 13 and 14. In my observation, Tasha had a more mature body, with more developed breasts and hips. I asked them if they felt their bodies were changing. Tasha replied, “yeah. (I feel) different every day. . . I feel like you are bony and then you get older and start putting on weight. That’s what’s happening to my body.” While she felt conflicted about her maturing body, especially putting on weight, the others girls noted that they were pleased to become more “curvy” and look more mature. I asked

the group if they felt a pressure to look a certain way. They said yes and that there was an emphasis for them to always have their hair done and look good.

Although these girls, particularly Tasha, were at ease in this discussion and very open about how their bodies were changing, I felt an uneasiness from them regarding how they are perceived. They seemed to feel a burden about looking a certain way, especially regarding hair. When I asked explicitly, they stated that they wanted to look good for themselves, not other people. In my interpretation, these girls, particularly Tasha, are trying to manage their emotions about their developing bodies, while at the same time participating in a masculine sport like cricket. Tasha seemed to feel conflicted about wanting to have more mature, womanly body, but also maintain her connection to sporting. She was, all at once, the most interested of the girls in cricket, the most dominant female player, the tallest and oldest of the girls (only by months), yet also had the most womanly body. In relation to the lived body concept, adolescent girls are not only juggling the situational contexts in which to interpret their bodies, they are also dealing with puberty and the changes it brings directly to their bodies.

The boys' perspectives

Although the discussion on body image for boys was limited, some boys engaged in discussions about their bodies. They tended to focus on their sporting abilities and how their bodies could perform. Several boys at SFL wrote about their sporting bodies as attractive or appealing to others because of how they could use their bodies, they focused on the kinetic ability of their bodies. One boy wrote about how sport made him appealing to girls because he could do a running sport and “a girl or boy may be in trouble and you can run there fast.” Other boys felt that their sporting ability and prowess would be impressive for others to see. Finally, one boy made the mental leap that playing sport could become a career in which he could earn money and money “and that’s what girls like money but no girl can get my money.” Another boy associated playing sport with health and fitness. “If you don’t exercise, you will get big and a bad health,” he wrote. While he is clearly concerned with the sheer size (aesthetic) his underlying concern is health, placing the emphasis back on kinetics as health determines how the body functions.

However, some boys did drift into aesthetically focused statements as well. In a journal entry, one boy from SFL noted that he thought girls would like to see him play sport and feel attracted to him when they see his chest and how fast he is. He added that she will see “how sexy I look in my track pants.” Another boy said that sport would “give him muscles” that helped improve his body image to others. Yet another wrote that being “fit” would be appealing to others and project a good body image. Addy from A Ganar spoke about one boy who was “picked on” because of his physical appearance. “He is really, really dark. People would say he is not easy on the eyes. Yes, he was picked on . . . people picked on his size and talked about his size. But he was never really offended. He was comfortable with his size. He would say, ‘yeah, I know my belly big, so what.’”

6.8 Concluding remarks on body image and lived body experience

To summarise this theme, I return to the first statements from the UGC girls, that muscular, “Tina Turner” calves were good for men, but not for women. The group did not all agree to this statement, they were conflicted. But even those that were concerned about growing muscles too big acknowledged that playing sport and being fit were good things for their bodily health. Essentially, these girls are caught between the ideal body for performing (actor) and the ideal body for being a girl (object). A girl may experience strong leg muscles as good and useful on the football pitch, while she may, in a different context, find those same leg muscles unsightly, unfeminine and unwelcome at a school dance or social outing. The context of their bodies is extremely important. Through sporting programmes, they have the opportunity to use their bodies as actors in physical activity, strengthening their relationship with their bodies in a kinetic sense and seemingly, achieving the capability of skilled physical activity.

6.9 Related functionings of gender role attitudes and body image/lived body experience

While the critical analysis of this thesis is focused on the capability sets of positive gender role attitudes and skilled physical activity, the related functionings to these capabilities are also examined. The underlying question is whether or not the participants in this study demonstrated that the capability of positive gender role attitudes led to the taking and accepting of non-stereotypical gender roles and whether the capability of skilled physical activity led to positive body image.

Taking and accepting non-stereotypical gender roles

As discussed above, the participants in this study were largely in favour of gender equality in sport, vocation and life roles. Male and female participants; from the adolescent sport programmes, coaching trainees and programme administrators, all spoke and wrote at length about gender equality. They discussed how girls should have access to sport, even masculine contact sports such as rugby and football. Some administrators were and are actively engaged in increasing opportunities for girls in sport (discussed further the next chapter). Although cricket was discussed as a sport not common for women to play, no one argued against females having the right to play this sport. And while some boys had concerns over girls playing contact sports, these views were rare and largely disputed by their peers in discussions. The same held true for vocational roles, as the participants overwhelmingly agreed that all people, regardless of gender should be free to choose career paths outside of their traditional gender roles. It was agreed that women can become carpenters and mechanics just as men can become hairdressers. In this sense, the functioning of accepting non-stereotypical gender roles appears to have been achieved.

However, there were specific limitations surrounding boys playing netball and some boys strictly resisted the idea of a man staying home as a domestic caregiver. In these instances, the participants did not accept non-stereotypical gender roles. Most boys were emphatically opposed to males playing netball, to the point that they openly questioned the masculinity and sexuality of any man who tried to play this “girly” sport. Even those that spoke and wrote about equality of the genders in other contexts, namely in vocation and in other sports, drew the line at the sport of netball. Girls, too, thought that boys playing netball was socially unacceptable. Although some thought it was still ok, they generally agreed that it was a sport intended for girls rather than boys. As for domestic roles, one group of boys concurred that staying at home and caring for the house and family is unacceptable for a man. This role is strictly for women, they agreed. However, they were the only group to come to such a conclusion regarding gender roles in the domestic sphere. In these two instances, the functioning was not achieved and the participants were unwilling to accept non-stereotypical roles.

In regards to taking non-stereotypical gender roles for themselves, the outcome becomes less clear. In one sense, the girls who were participating in sports, especially cricket and football, were already demonstrating a willingness to take non-stereotypical gender roles. Their mere presence on these sport fields was a challenging of restrictive and traditional gender stereotypes. The boys had no such

direct way to demonstrate their willingness to take on such non-traditional roles in these programmes.

Therefore, to better understand this question I examine their visions for themselves in the future, particularly in their future vocation. While they generally agreed that men and women should be free to choose any career path, for the most part, they had selected for themselves career options that fell largely within gender norms. The boys spoke about going into business fields, hotel and hospitality work, construction, policing, teaching, the military, sport coaching and other masculine work disciplines or relatively gender-neutral fields. No boy spoke about crossing the gender boundary to become a hair stylist, beautician, secretary or dress-maker.

On the contrary, several of the girls from UGGC and SFL had visions for themselves outside of the traditional gender molds. They spoke about becoming accountants, veterinarians, doctors, lawyers and other traditionally masculine fields. Still, most of the girls fell along the lines of more traditionally feminine roles. They sought careers in the cosmetology fields, housekeeping, and spa work.

Examining these variations in functioning within the proposed HCA model, I can conclude that these participants may be highly influenced by personal preference formation. Although they recognise and generally accept the capability of progressive and positive gender role attitudes, they have been socially conditioned to prefer specific vocational paths.

Positive body image

According to the survey results, the participants expressed body satisfaction levels higher than average in the Caribbean. This, in itself, demonstrates that they have, to some degree, achieved the functioning of a positive body image. However, as discussed above, one female participant in particular had a negative body image and the girls, in general, had a gap between their own body image and the ideal image of a women's body within their culture.

Delving deeper into this issue, especially for the girls, it seems that the relationship between sport and a positive body image is problematic. While the girls themselves appreciate that their bodies can function as actors through sport, jumping, running and engaging in various skilled physical activity, they seem to feel trapped by the cultural expectations that girls should not be too muscular or athletic. The discussions at UGGC and amongst the girls groups at SFL indicate that this functioning is not entirely achieved. In fact, these findings further support the concept of the lived body experience. Within the context of sporting, especially against boys, the girls relate positively to their athletic bodies. But, off the pitch and within the confines of cultural expectations and norms, they feel less positive about having those same muscles that help them run and jump. This functioning, therefore, appears to be only partially achieved. I discuss it further below, in Chapter 7, Section 7.3, regarding body image and biopedagogies of sport and SDP.



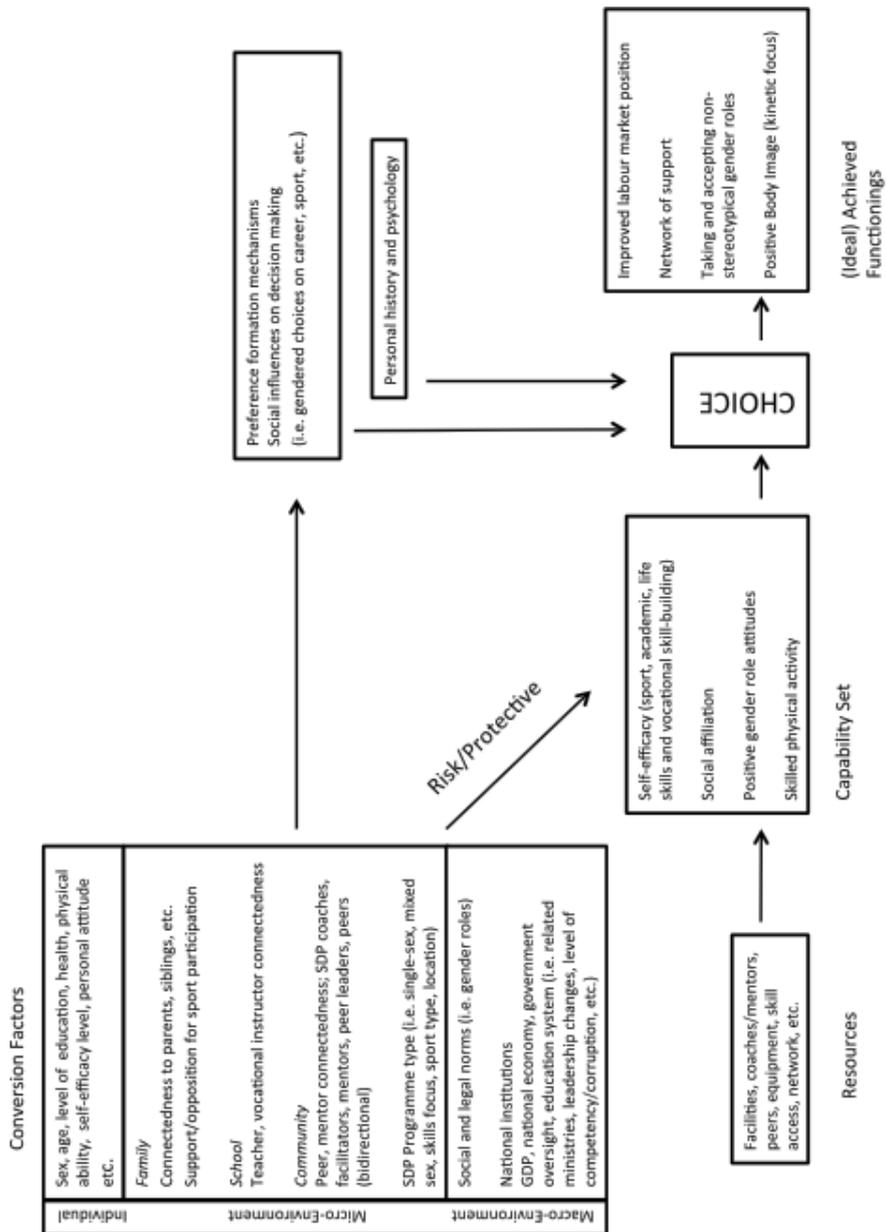
CHAPTER VII: DISCUSSION

The overarching conclusion to make from the data is that although these sport for development programmes have some positive influence on self efficacy, social affiliation, gender attitudes and body image, they are still mired in male-dominated structural constraints and cultural restrictions. In other words, they function largely as gender *in* the development framework rather than gender *and* development. Although the female participants gain a sense of self-efficacy and even empowerment through sport play with males, both genders still hold fast to cultural and structural confines regarding traditional masculinity and femininity. This concept becomes evident in the openness about girls playing sport (though less so for contact sports), but the nearly unanimous resistance to boys playing a traditionally feminine sport like netball. The efforts to challenge gender norms are generally confined to pushing the barriers for females, while not addressing the issues regarding masculinity common to the region. The dominance of masculine sport forms like football and cricket are still the model for SDP in these programmes. Male-dominated sport is still the mainstream for these initiatives. Females are merely included into the existing sport culture rather than challenging the structure itself. Only the all female Upton Gardens Girls Centre offered a feminized version of sport through dance. Observing the struggle of the Sport for Life girls to play cricket, and hearing their explicit disinterest in the sport, while also watching them excel in a display of gymnastics on the side of the cricket pitch stands out as an example of how this programme adheres to traditional gender roles for males. Without challenging the hegemonic concepts of masculinity as built on strength, power and physical prowess, how can these programmes truly transform the playing field of gender norms?

7.1 Overview of the proposed model

The model proposed in this study, an application of Blum's youth development model to Robeyns' human capability framework, within the context of sport for development, is presented again in Figure 7.1. The underlying foundation of the HCA, particularly Nussbaum's essential capabilities and Robeyns' framework, allows for a theoretical focus on the interplay between resources, conversion factors and the development (or lack of development) of the capabilities reviewed here. Through this framework, specific capability sets can be examined as relevant. In this study, I explore how self-efficacy, social affiliation, gender role attitudes and body image are affected by the sport programmes examined. Do these programmes support the development of these capabilities? If so, how? If not, why? The framework also allows for thoughtful analysis of the achieved functionings, or outcomes, of these development initiatives, although they are not the primary focus of the study.

Figure 7.1 The “Zipp model” of human capability development for at risk youth through sport



However, the intentionally broad scope of the HCA makes it difficult to unpack the nuances and influences within this very particular context of adolescents and youth in Caribbean SIDS. Therefore, the youth development model serves as a supportive analytical concept. Specifically, the life domains and risk and protective factors are applied to the proposed model. The life domains help narrow the field of study from Robeyns' broad social and environmental conversion factors, to the more specific and relatively universal experiences of adolescence and youth in the Eastern Caribbean. Home, school, community and family constitute the typical life spheres of the young people in this study, with the SDP programmes fitting within the public domains of school and community, while examining the private influences of home and family.¹⁴ Borrowing from both Robeyns' and Blum's models, the conversion factors are classified as individual, micro-environmental or macro-environmental. Furthermore, the language of risk and protective factors toward youth development helps clarify the broader conversion factors described in the HCA framework and provide a context for interpretation of these factors as positive, negative, or both while still allowing for non-unidirectional development. Finally, the key influence of "connectedness," to family, peers and mentors, is highlighted in this model among the conversion factors. As Blum's work demonstrates the powerful impact of these familial and social relationships in youth development, their inclusion in this proposed model befits better understanding of how human capability is developed among youth.

While the proposed model, or "Zipp model," can be applied beyond sport for development, it holds particular value here because of the link between sport activities and the common life experiences of adolescence, particularly in the micro-environmental domains of school and community, where these types of activities generally occur. However, other activity-based youth development interventions may also benefit from this model, such as art, music or cultural interests. Furthermore, the Zipp model allows for examination of other capability sets beyond those included in this study, although the essential capability of social affiliation fits exceptionally well here in relation to the connectedness conversion factors.

Like the HCA and youth development frameworks, the Zipp model permits that any of the conversion levels may constitute causal factors. Unlike Robeyns' model, which places individual factors in a direct line between resources and capabilities (see Figure 2.1a), and the youth development model, which places individual factors at the centre of the diagrammatic overview (see Figure 2.2a), the Zipp model places all three levels as conversion factors directed at the capability sets (see Figure 7.1). The intention behind this arrangement is to display the potential for equal influence at all three levels, rather than favouring one over the others. To echo Eudine Barribeau's work on gender in the post-colonial Caribbean, too often macro-environmental factors, such as economic structural adjustment policies, are overlooked because their effect is less keenly felt by men. The proposed model here aims to represent gender power relations and dynamics. The Zipp model makes space for such macro-environmental concerns to be examined not just as relational aspects, but causal factors. In the same vein, individual and micro-environmental conversion levels may also contain causal factors and are displayed as such.

¹⁴ The proposed model collapses home and family into the same "home" domain.

In further acknowledgement of the often overlooked or oversimplified influence of macro-level forces such as gender, the new model includes Robeyns' preference formation mechanisms and social influences on decision making, as well as personal history and psychology, between the capability sets and the achieved functionings. These elements are absent in the youth development framework, but cannot be ignored, especially when analysing deeply gendered concepts such as sport preferences and socialisation to sport.

7.2 Support systems

The support systems fit into the model as macro-environmental conversion factors that influence capability development as either risk or protective factors. The systems examined in this thesis are divided into three components – economic instability and vulnerability, the education system and governance and infrastructure. Overall, I have concluded that these systems have a tendency to hinder youth development or, at least, serve as negative mitigating factors.

Economic instability and vulnerability

As discussed in Chapter 4, the heavy reliance on the tourism industry and off-shore financing leaves Barbados and St. Lucia, along with many other Caribbean SIDS, vulnerable to external economic shocks, such as the global recession which began in 2008. Unemployment and youth unemployment remain high since the recession hit, reflecting the dependency on the health of external markets in the U.S., Canada and UK for stimulating tourism and finance markets.

Often, employment that is available to the youth of Barbados and St. Lucia is low-skilled, menial work in the tourism and hospitality industry that provides low pay. Youth participants in the study commonly expressed concern about finding good jobs and adult leaders interviewed worried about the low expectations for young people to find good, meaningful work. Such limitations foster an environment where young people look elsewhere, namely to the U.S., Canada and the UK, to pursue career and educational opportunities, fostering high rates of emigration amongst highly educated and skilled people. This “brain drain” results in tremendous loss of economic and human resources to the local economies and societies.

In the same vein, many coaches and programme leaders spoke about their hopes that young athletes could develop their abilities enough to earn scholarships abroad to pursue their sporting careers and further their education at American colleges and universities. I interpret their emphasis on this issue as somewhat misguided. Athletic scholarships that provide enough for students to live and study in the U.S. are very rare. This kind of outward migration, or “muscle drain,” is just another way in which the human resources of Barbados and St. Lucia are depleted. Furthermore, as attention from sport leaders is shifted toward improving performance over the primary development aims of these SDP programmes, the effectiveness of SDP programmes to meet those goals may be reduced. I also contend that if sports leaders over-emphasise performance, they may marginalise female participants who tend to show less interest in improving athletic performance than boys.

Education system

Whilst the education systems in both countries are relatively adequate, children have extensive access to free public schools and literacy rates are high, especially in Barbados, underlying problems and inequalities in the systems may weaken efforts toward positive youth development. The inequality gap amongst schools, the tension between academics and sport and a lack of qualified teachers are all concerns examined in this thesis.

The story of students at SISS in St. Lucia being prohibited from entering a shop across the street from their school, while other students from the more highly regarded Castries Comprehensive School are permitted entry, reflects the stigmatisation and marginalisation students experience in the school system. A similar system in Barbados relegates some students to bottom-end secondary schools that are perceived negatively. Certainly, students who experience this kind of treatment are vulnerable to feeling inadequate. As connectedness to school is a primary protective factor in the youth development framework, having such negative associations with one's school is a threat to developing such connectedness.

Parental concerns over getting their children into the best schools seems to generate a lot of pressure for students to perform well on their common entrance exams before going to secondary school (at approximately age 12). Many programme leaders point to this concern as a problem for promoting sport and physical education, as these activities are often perceived to take time and attention away from preparing for the exam. The CEE and other exams are designed to assess skills that support global market demands, in what Barriteau calls the "commodification" of education (Barriteau, 1996). Sport and PE leaders argue for better inclusion of skilled physical activity into the education system to support a more well-rounded development of students. I concur and cite the exclusion or reduction of such subjects and activities as an impediment to holistic development that can support well-being without jeopardising, and perhaps promoting, academic goals designed toward improving future career opportunities. The lack of PE and sports in school may especially be problematic for boys, who expressed a more keen interest in playing sports throughout this study.

Boys, especially in St. Lucia, seem to be at particular risk in the education system not only because of the lack of physical activity options, but also because they lack male role models as teachers. Both St. Lucia and Barbados have a predominance of female teachers, especially at the primary level. This problem may contribute to a lowered level of connectedness to teachers as mentors, a primary protective factor toward positive youth development. In essence, boys experience a similar lack of same gender role models in school that girls experience in sport and SDP programmes.

Governance and infrastructure

Nearly every programme leader, educator and government official I interviewed cited a lack of government support for sport and SDP programmes. They blamed lack of funding, incompetency, inefficiencies and lack of vision for this problem. As CARICOM countries have increasingly turned inward over the past

decade, pulling back from regional representation and organisation, inefficiencies have depleted funding. In several interviews, participants explained how as government leaders and ministries changed, programmes were dissolved and recreated anew, losing important momentum, knowledge and creating redundancies. This patchwork of programming is perceived as highly inefficient and a threat to the sustainability of programmes. Often, a reliance on NGOs, grants and foreign aid has supplemented government efforts. However, such sources seem to be unstable. During my fieldwork, the NSDC lost funding for its coach training efforts and the Australian Sports Outreach Programme ended its support for the Caribbean Sports for Development Agency after 15 years of partnership.

Further gender inequalities are apparent here as well. Numerous programme leaders, educators and government officials explained that support and funding for girls' and women's sports was less than for boys' and men's sports. Boys and men have more opportunities to play, better equipment, better support for competition and travel and receive more attention. Such a system limits the development of sport for girls and women, as participants, coaches and leaders. The lack of girls playing sport leads to fewer female coaching mentors, perpetuating a cycle of reduced opportunities and advancement.

7.3 The capabilities

While the model's conversion factors may serve as fixed elements in analysing sport for development, the capability sets are intended to be essentially "plugged in" based on the specific purpose of the study using it. In this section, I will re-examine and expand on how the four capabilities examined in this thesis.

Self-efficacy and social affiliation

Self-efficacy and social affiliation are often examined in SDP research and are closely tied to the sport programme interventions in this thesis. In terms of self-efficacy, the survey analysis coincides with the qualitative data and suggests that sport does help support the development of this key capability for youth development. The survey findings are reflective of the UK Sports Study, which indicated that the popular notion that underprivileged youth are somehow deficient in self-efficacy is false (Coalter & Taylor, 2010). The programme participants and control groups, both from poorly rated schools, scored at seemingly "normal" to high levels on the GSES. It seems that although these adolescents come from deprived environments, they, themselves, have developed self-efficacy coping skills. Coalter and Taylor point out that this adaptation makes sense, as overcoming difficulties is a foundation to self-efficacy development and children from disadvantaged backgrounds tend to have ample opportunity to practice overcoming difficulties. The question remains, however, do the sport programmes play a role in self-efficacy development?

It does appear that they do, indeed, play a contributing role, especially for boys. The SDP programmes serve as a protective factor toward the capability development of self-efficacy. Time and again, the boys talked about improving their sporting skills through practice and training. Their statements make clear that they have a strong sense of self-efficacy in this regard. At its core, self-efficacy is the belief that one can control or influence the outcomes of events in his or her life

(Bandura, 1997). These boys were saying that they believed through skill-based practice, they could influence their ability to play sports. Coalter and Taylor, amongst other scholars, argue that sport offers an ideal platform for youth to hone self-efficacy because it is a tangible, hands-on experience with clear rules and outcomes (i.e. to progress from not being able to hit a cricket ball to hitting a cricket ball) (2010).

The specific interest in sport skill development (initiative) for boys was very apparent. Although less prominent for girls, skill-building was still a part of their experience in the SDP programmes. When programmes offered other aspects, such as computer training at SFL or the opportunity to continue secondary education through A Ganar, girls had a keen interest in skill-building within the programmes, but outside of the sports sphere. Furthermore, both boys and girls acknowledged that through sport they could improve actual physical skills as well as broader life skills (leadership, teamwork, etc.) and academic skills (through supplementary tutoring programmes, such as those at SFL). Girls tended to emphasise the aspect of overcoming challenges (persistence) in relation to self-efficacy in sport. Particularly when playing in mixed gendered groups, they expressed a strong urge to engage in challenging activities and maintain their efforts despite hardships. Because of, rather than in spite of, their culturally assigned gender roles, these girls had the unique ambition to prove themselves on the pitch and they embraced this challenge head on.

The variation of self-efficacy development by gender seems deeply influenced by the macro-level social construction factor of gender norms, which, in turn, informs their own preference formation and colours how boys and girls choose to engage with sport. For girls, the engrained notions of sport as a masculine endeavour and the reduced opportunity to play highly prized sports such as cricket, makes the development of skill less relevant. The social norms are a negative mitigating influence, limiting or hindering the development of this capability directly through sport. However, the opportunity to challenge unwelcome gender norms by engaging in sport seems appealing, especially to the girls at the UGGC. In essence, the girls seem to have less opportunity to develop self-efficacy as directly related to sport skill, but they have a different avenue for self-efficacy development through overcoming challenges. In this way, the sport participation may help girls learn to navigate difficult spaces and experiences where they may feel unwelcome or marginalised.

There is no valuation or judgement to be made on which approach to self-efficacy development is better or more effective – the boys' path through skill development or the girls' method via overcoming challenges. However, literature typically points more to skill development as the primary modus operandi within SDP because of the tactile focus on skilled physical activity. At risk in both scenarios is the possibility of failing to improve or meet the challenge at hand. Such a failure could reinforce the notion that one lacks control over outcomes. In general, the girls seem more at risk for this scenario because they have been less socialised and had less opportunity to practice their sporting skills. Furthermore, as explained in the gender role attitudes section, the public act of girls failing or struggling to perform sport skills risks reinforcing the very gender norms, in the eyes of their male peers, that have kept them from equal access to the sports they are trying to play. It truly is a vicious cycle.

One approach would be to conduct more girls-only training at early ages to help them develop more skill before mixing with boys to play. However, this seems highly unlikely given the constraints of resources, both financial and human, for sport and physical education in both countries. This effort might occur within sex segregated physical education classes, but, as noted, the PE offerings in both education systems are limited. Further complicating matters is the enormous tension between sport (and other leisure activities) and academics. This tension is particularly true of children under the age of 12, when building fundamental sport and athletic skills would be most advantageous. However, this is the age of schooling prior to the common entrance examination, which determines placement in secondary schools. In short, the timing is all wrong and, without comprehensive reforms, the education environment for children under the age of 12 seems to have little room this type of sport-based skill development.

Government organisations, such as the NSDC in St. Lucia and the Barbados sports council, along with private actors such as the Sacred Sports foundation, have taken steps to improve access and opportunity for young children to participate in sports. The consistency of these programmes is uncertain, however. The NSDC coaches training programme was cut due to funding and the dance programme at UGGC through Sacred Sports was also eliminated (due to the lack of an instructor). Here, the macro-environmental conversion factors again are mitigating or negatively influencing the development efforts toward youth development of these capabilities.

Not only is the development of self-efficacy compromised by these systematic failures, but so, too, is the development of social affiliation. As one of the essential human capabilities, social affiliation is of paramount importance in all human development. In youth development, it is considered a key factor. Blum identifies social affiliation via connectedness as the most influential protective factor, particularly connectedness to school. For this study, I examined social affiliation within the family, school and community life domains. Through the surveys, interviews and focus groups, I gathered data on peer, mentor, school and family connectedness. The qualitative results show that boys in sports programmes felt connected to their sport coaches and peers. Sport programme participants across the board had slightly higher connectedness to their schools, a key finding as connectedness to schools is Blum's most influential protective factor in youth development. This finding is likely related to the fact that some programmes were held at their schools (JV and both A Ganar programmes). UGGC, though not a school explicitly, functioned largely as an educational centre for the girls there.

Overall, three significant themes emerged. First, coaches and sport mentors hold a unique position in the landscape of adolescent life to serve as trusted adults outside of the home and school environments. They are a key mentor position within the community domain and can link their mentees into larger social support networks. Secondly, social affiliation is mitigated by gender, with ones' ability to develop connectedness, particularly to mentors, more favourable within the same gender. However, female coaches may be held to rigid heteronormative ideals in order to be considered good role models. And, finally, the benefits of mentor-mentee connectedness is not unidirectional. The coaching trainees at NSDC clearly gained a sense of social affiliation through their work with children in their communities.

The data, particularly from the NSDC coaching trainees and the adolescent participants at SFL, JV, A Ganar and the UGGC, consistently demonstrate that coaches have a unique opportunity to serve as mentors to at risk adolescents. They are not parents, nor are they teachers, which allows them the flexibility to be leaders, confidants and trusted mentors. They do not have to abide by the daily discipline and responsibilities that teachers and parents do, but instead get to engage with children during a physical activity that is intentionally joyous and fun. This unique positioning seems to make space for a friendship and mentoring relationship to foster.

One of the most common comments by the adolescent participants was that their coaches or sport mentors were available and interested in hearing their concerns, they “listen,” was emphasised by participants across gender, country and programme. The SFL organisers who were also school teachers pointed out that they felt better able to devote more individualised attention at SFL than in their classrooms because they had a lower mentor to participant ratio. They were better able to listen to the concerns of their participants and become trusted adults in their lives. While this was not always true amongst the other programmes, particularly in NSDC community sport programmes, which seemed to be under-resourced, the coaching trainees still felt capable of connecting and engaging with their participants because they identified with their experiences, especially of struggling in school, growing up in poverty and negotiating the draws of “street life” such as drugs and crime. Daniel believes their youthfulness, a closeness in age to the actual participants, makes the coaching trainees particularly adept at building positive bonds. This format, for peer mentorship, is a flagship of SDP programming as well as other youth development approaches.

From the mentors’ and coaches’ perspective, the ability to connect with participants crossed lines of gender. According to the NSDC trainees, a girl being abused by her stepfather turned to a male coach for help. Melly from Barbados seeks out working with young boys, as she believes she can help them get the positive attention they struggle to obtain at schools. And Addy, from A Ganar, related most strongly to a boy who had lost his father and was struggling through life with few social connections. He had listed his coach as the adult he was closest to in his life, more so than his mother. However, the data from the adolescent participants themselves somewhat contradicts the idea that gender does not matter. Quantitatively, the girls tend to feel less connected to coaches and other sport figures. This is likely due to the fact that there are so few female sports leaders and mentors available to them. Interestingly, the girls at UGGC emphasised social affiliation above self-efficacy in their dance programme. In this particular project, they had a female instructor and the activities were conducted with only female participants. It was the only project included in the study that had only female members. It was also the one single activity that most emphasised connectedness, bonding and friendship above all other aspects. Peer to peer bonding was paramount, as the girls relished in their ability to work together as a team and support each other through dance practices. Connectedness to the mentor, the dance instructor, was abundantly clear. In no other programme did any participants go into such detail and display such enthusiasm toward a coach or mentor. They clearly had a lot of respect and admiration for their dance instructor and felt she was a supportive, trusting adult in their lives.

With social connectedness serving as such a key protective factor in youth development, it seems that sport may function as a key tool in connecting at risk adolescents to trusting mentors and, in turn, valuable social networks. However, once again the problem of absent female mentors and coaches is apparent. The experience of the UGGC girls, of connecting so strongly with their dance instructor, is unfortunately rare. Other than Jackie at NSDC, there were no other explicitly sports instructors or coaches found in any of the programmes. The sport activities at JV, SFL and the football lessons at UGGC all had male coaches. A Ganar used a combination of male and female instructors for academic, life skills and sport lessons. In sum, the vast majority of the sport and physical activity experiences in these programmes were conducted through male coaches and mentors.

Although programme administrators; such as Daniel and Alex, national-level sports administrators; such as Mona, Teresa and Matthew, all recognised the need for more female sport coaches, none were able to resolve the problem and all noted that it would be a difficult challenge given the economic and cultural climate. At the macro-environmental level, the lack of support was a problem. As Melly eloquently stated, it was like “pushing molasses up a hill” to get support to bring more young females into the pipeline of sport development. She, along with the others, understood that it would take increased opportunities for girls to participate in sport to build up a channel toward increasing the number of coaches. First, girls need to be interested in sport, build up their skills and knowledge and networked into existing sport structures. As they mature, they become coaching candidates. The challenge is in disrupting the current feedback loop. Without female coaches, it is difficult to garner interest and build the kind of social connectedness boys feel when playing sport. Sport continues to be centred on boys and their talent development. Cultural barriers regarding gender norms, including heteronormative ideals of sport, and structural barriers regarding sporting opportunities for girls also keep them out. Yet the future of female coaches depends on young girls entering the pipeline as players and participants.

The final theme emergent from the data on social affiliation is relevant to the development of the adult NSDC coaching trainees and other adult mentors. Youth development is multi-directional, as the mentors benefitted greatly from their experience working with the mentees in sport programmes. Most of the coaches fall under the age of 24 and are therefore considered youth by the UN definition used in this study. Therefore, their own development is highly relevant, not just the development of the children they coach in their community work. A consistent message from these trainees was that they, too, experienced social affiliation, bonding and connectedness through their work in sport. They often described the participants as their own children, as if members of their own family. Working with these children brought them joy and a sense of purpose. When In Randall’s description, he thinks of the kids in his programme and smiles. He runs toward them as he nears the training pitch. He, and others, are inspired by the kids in their programmes, especially the children that struggle the most. The coaching trainees identify with the problems these children face and bond with them over such shared experiences. They gain a sense of belonging and establish a positive status within their communities. Even the adult programme administrators and facilitators, such as Melly, Daniel, Alex and John describe similar benefits from working with youth sport programmes. They also gained a sense of connectedness and community connectedness through their work with these SDP initiatives.

Gender role attitudes and body image/lived body experience

The story of the girls at SFL struggling to keep up with the cricket drills, but happily and skilfully engaging in gymnastics on the side lines, nicely fits the analysis of gender role attitudes and body image/lived body experience within the SDP programmes. The vision of the girls, unable or unwilling to fit in to the form of sport offered at SFL (cricket) and exiting the lesson to make their own space to explore sport, movement and their kinetic bodies, is a small rejection of the established gender *in* development structure. Instead, they created their own way. It was emblematic of the larger problem of trying to challenge gender norms in an inherently gendered system. Although the sport programmes fell short of wholly rejecting many gender role attitudes in sport, they did succeed in other ways. Namely, they explicitly expanded the opportunities for girls to function outside of typical gender roles by giving them the opportunity to play sports like cricket and football. Furthermore, they seemed to support progressive and open gender role attitudes toward career and domestic life.

Regarding sport, specifically, the message that girls can play sports traditionally reserved for boys, was profound. Both the boys and girls agreed that sport opportunities should be open to all, though with some reservations. There was overwhelming agreement that everybody has a right to play sports and that it was culturally acceptable for girls to engage even in the most masculine sports. In this sense, the participants accepted non-typical gender roles. At its broadest sense, the programmes helped empower these girls to have opportunities that were otherwise unavailable. Still, nuances regarding the limitations of these attitudes came through. Some boys felt that rough contact sports, such as rugby, were unacceptable for girls.

Even more so, many boys felt that girls were not as good as sports as boys. This theme came through powerfully, as the boys complained that the girls did not know how to play “properly” and therefore often resorted to aggressive tactics. While the girls believed their displays of strength and “playing rough” were signs that they could handle playing contact sports with boys, the boys interpreted their style as inept. The comments from the SFL and JV boys, along with the second hand accounts from the NSDC coaching trainees, indicate that the boys disliked playing sports with girls and treated them inherently differently based on their gender. The boys adjusted their style of play to tolerate the girls’ inability to perform as the boys felt they should. I conclude that the results toward challenging gender norms are therefore mixed. While the girls felt empowered, in fact the boys saw their behaviour as actually reinforcing traditional gender roles that girls cannot play sports well.

On the other hand, the boys held fast to rigid gender role attitudes regarding other boys playing the feminised sport of netball. This sport was the only sport that brought about strict gender lines. Boys should not, or could not, play netball. Whether it was because of the typical skirt worn as a part of a netball uniform or the physical motions of the game, the boys clearly did not deem this sport as culturally acceptable for boys to play. In rejecting it, they also rejected crossing a gender role boundary, they did not accept nor were they willing to take on this non-typical gender role. In fact, they openly mocked the idea, on several occasions using homophobic slang to describe any boy or man who would cross this clear gender line. Their

reaction to boys playing netball exposes the heteronormative frame by which sport is often perceived and experienced, even in SDP programmes seeking to promote gender equality and empowerment.

Outside of the sport realm, both boys and girls demonstrated open-minded views regarding gender role attitudes in career and work. In the surveys and discussion groups, the overwhelming consensus was that men and women were free and capable to pursue whatever profession or vocation they wanted. The participants acknowledged traditional gender roles, but outright rejected them. The only stern exception to this rule came from a group of boys at SFL, who objected to the idea of a woman as a coach or commentator for cricket. Notably, this one exception was regarding a career in sport, a realm in which gender roles seem stickier than other areas. Accepting non-typical gender roles is something different than taking them, and, although the dominant position was that men and women have equal opportunity to pursue their careers, in most cases, the participants chose traditionally gender normative professional roles for themselves. Most of the girls were interested in beauty/cosmetic fields or teaching. However, many girls were adamant and had even begun pursuing other careers, such as paediatrics, veterinary medicine or accounting and business. The boys seemed to have less defined career fields, but none wanted to pursue areas typically reserved for women, such as hair stylist. Overall, they seemed stuck in a limbo area. While social pressures to fall into assigned gender categories for work were overtly less strict for them, they were largely making the choice to still remain in these categories. It seems their preference formation has been deeply informed by social norms, despite the more relaxed attitudes regarding gender roles. They have been socialised to prefer specific career roles that match their gender. Furthermore, I point to the lack of role models in prior generations to pave the way for such social changes.

The larger social influences were also apparent in discussing gender roles. The survey data show us that boys tend to have stronger beliefs that women should be primary caregivers in the home. In most focus group discussions, boys generally expressed views of equality regarding these roles. However, there were some exceptions. At SFL, again, a boys' group claimed that it was not acceptable for a man to stay home and care for the house and family, even if his partner was able to support them financially. This position seemed to undermine a man's masculinity. Although the participants generally agreed that men should also be caregivers, especially to their children. Of course, in all of these discussions, the participants were sharing their views with a female researcher and may have been inclined to give socially desirable responses. This aspect will be discussed further below in the limitations section.

Overall, their views on gender role attitudes provide a rich mix of traditional and progressive beliefs. They explicitly reject many of the dominant social norms, especially regarding girls and women, reflecting a heteronormative ideal in sport and SDP. They espouse the idea that girls and women can, with few reservations, choose for themselves to pursue the type of life they want in sports, at work and in the home. Buried in those beliefs, however, are their culturally informed preferences. The restrictions do not generally lie in the process of capability development, but, rather, in choice formation. For the most part, both the boys and girls seem to have adapted their life choice preferences towards roles that conform to social expectations, even

though they are generally willing to accept non-traditional roles in theory. The social constraints regarding sport and domestic life appear stronger than those in relation to career.

One explanation is, again, the lack of role models available to demonstrate non-typical roles. As Barriteau contends, the most notable aspect of gender dynamics in the Caribbean is the absence of power for women (1996). In essence, women are generally not in position to serve as leaders or role models for youth. This study shows that the problem is especially apparent in the sports world, where few women serve as coaches. And, again, efforts to create more female coaches (out of athletes) flounder under the existing social constraints and the larger issues of economic instability, tension between sport and academics, and governance inefficiencies. For example, the NSDC programme, whose administrator wanted to target female athletes to train as coaches, could not find a paid position for its one female trainee to keep her working in sports and later lost its funding for future training courses. Even when women are in positions of leadership, such as Melly at the Barbados sports council, they struggle to make an impact toward challenging existing gender models. Female sporting role models may also be held to heteronormative ideals, with pressure to balance their leadership in sport with a “feminine” appearance and approach. Furthermore, the absence of males in non-powered positions, such as a stay at home parenting role, informs the preferences and attitudes of boys. The discord lies in the fact that the systems, especially in sport, are led by and designed for men functioning in traditional gender roles. Within these systems, true and effective challenging of gender norms is difficult.

Furthermore, the existing sport systems seem stuck in the feedback loop of girls and women as “others.” The preference formations that keep girls away from sports, limits the opportunities for girls to progress from participant to leader. When girls do enter the sport arena, they are at a disadvantage because of they have not been socialised to play and practice sport skills like their male counterparts. Even when girls think they are challenging femininity by “playing tough,” against boys, the boys see it differently. While the girls believe they are challenging gender norms, the boys, in fact, see it as reinforcing their expectations that girls are not as good at sport. Only when they witness very adept female players, such as the English women’s cricket bowlers, do they seem moved to believe that women can be adequate sportsters. The key to upending the traditional narrative of gender in sport, therefore, seems to be creating more skilled female players to perform and coach in mixed gender groups. Upon reaching a critical mass of such coaches and highly skilled female players, the field of play may be fundamentally transformed into gender *and* development.

Such a transformation at a structural level would have a profound impact at the individual level regarding body image and the lived body experience. As the survey results indicate, there is a gap between how girls see themselves and the cultural ideal. Despite this disparity, both the boys and girls in this study had relatively healthy body images. Still, the girls must navigate a narrow scope of acceptable body styles and seem to relate to their bodies differently based on context. The UGGC girls have a unique lived body experience when playing sport, especially against boys. In this situation, they embrace their strong “Tina Turner” calf muscles and ability to “bounce” the boys. They feel strong and relate to the kinetic abilities of their bodies more than their aesthetic appearance. But these feelings are in conflict

with their concern about body appearance, where such powerful muscles are an aesthetic problem.

Here, a mix of gender norms, physical development in adolescence and the sporting context all meet. And, again, girls must adapt their fit within the gendered sport structure in the Caribbean. While the UGGC girls embraced strong and powerful body experiences in football reflects a challenging of gendered body expectations, they are still within the hegemonic framework of sport play. Traditionally feminine sports, such as netball, are subjugated in favour of the traditionally masculine sports such as football and cricket. Other “feminine” sports, such as gymnastics and figure skating, are also evaluated by judges who rate performances by subjective measures. Their bodies are gazed upon, evaluating movement and form, and assessed for aesthetics and kinetics. Most “masculine” sports do not rely directly on aesthetically based evaluation or are looked at in terms of representations of strength and control.

However, even in such sports considered masculine, there is room to build healthier lived body experiences for girls. Inherently, playing sport shifts their focus toward a kinetic body relationship rather than an aesthetic one. They are much more likely to have a positive body image for themselves if they view their own body as an *actor* in the world around it, rather than an *object*. The same is true for boys, although they are already more likely to have such a kinetic focus (Lewis, 2003). By engaging in sport and other skilled physical activities, the girls can gain a stronger connection to their bodies as actors. Their ability to embrace such an approach to their lived bodies is undermined by the dominant social norms and hyper-sexualised view of women’s bodies in the Caribbean. It is certainly a difficult narrative to upend, but sport seems to provide some space in which they relate to their bodies in such a kinetic context. Furthermore, I return to the same contention that having more female role models as coaches, actively displaying their physical abilities and helping younger players learn to sport in female bodies, will support the development of positive body image and healthy lived body experience.

Concluding remarks on capabilities

Role modelling

The most notable finding, I believe, is the overwhelming absence of female mentors and leaders on the pitches or fields of play. Just as females dominate the teaching fields in both education systems, they are present in these programmes in teaching roles. However, with the exception of the female dance instructor at UGGC and Jackie, the coaching trainee at NSDC, female role models specifically performing in sport activities are absent. Female role models may be important factors in guiding gender role attitudes toward more open, progressive directions. While the power of mentorship connection is clear in this study and previous studies on youth development, so is the importance of gender as a supporting factor to foster mentor-mentee connectedness. So, when girls lack a female role model in the sports arena, they are disadvantaged toward building up this important social relationship and larger network. Many leaders recognised this, including Melly, the administrator at the Barbados sports council and Teresa in the St. Lucia school sport and PE administration. In both cases, they acknowledged the need for more female coaches

and peer leaders. Daniel at NSDC hoped to attract more females into the coaches training programme, even strategizing on how he could actively seek out more female candidates. However, his plans were derailed when the programme lost funding to run after the first year. And Jackie, the one female coaching trainee, had chosen to discontinue her coaching work in favour of dance because it provided her with more income.

The lack of female role models in sport is not a problem unique to these programmes or these countries. Numerous studies point to the dearth of females in leadership roles throughout sport and SDP (Meier, 2015; Acosta & Carpentar, 2014; Sagas & Cunningham, 2008; Breuning & Dixon, 2006). The “unavailability, scarcity, and invisibility” of female sporting role models leads to the selection of males in such roles as coaches and sport mentors (Meier, 2015, p. 969). Even female leaders tend to select male role models. Over several decades, the sporting world has come to recognise this problem and taken steps to promote the inclusion and development of women in sports leadership roles. From the 1994 Brighton Declaration to the 2014 Helsinki Legacy meeting, international organisations, foundations and development leaders have called for more women leaders in sport. “Without women leaders, decision makers and role models and gender sensitive boards and management with women and men within sport and physical activity, equal opportunities for women and girls will not be achieved,” (IWG, 2014, p.7 in Meier, 2015, p. 969). Female role models, these reports and studies contend, will help encourage participation of girls in sport programmes. Such role models should come from the communities these programmes serve so they can better relate to young participants in a culturally relevant way. Studies also call for female role models because they can help present different perspectives and interests in/on sport. Female sporting role models are not just important for the girls, however. A U.N. report on Women, gender equality and sport, calls for positive role models, male and female, who can promote holistic gender perspectives to help address inequalities. The report points out the need for male coaches who are “gender-sensitive” and can promote gender equality in a He for She approach (Meier, 2015).

In her article, The value of female sporting role models, Marianne Meier describes role models in SDP as persons, such as coaches, who can help transfer knowledge and skills to participants. Role models are “transfer enhancers” in these settings (Meier, 2015, p.968). I agree with the basic concept, but prefer the term “facilitator” when defining role models, as I think it better describes their role as engaging and co-creating experiences with participants, rather than just delivering messages or content. Role models also display behaviours and attitudes for imitation and emulation. During my fieldwork experience, I observed this type of facilitating and modelling from coaches, teachers and programme leaders. As these were relatively small programmes led by community members, there was not a sophisticated organisational hierarchy. The programme administrators were often on the pitch playing with participants or preparing lunch alongside the coaches. In this way, they were serving as models to emulate as well. They were not just directing or instructing (leading), they were also modelling behaviour, such as sport or communication skills and abilities.

Meier categorises role models as Type 1, 2 or 3. Type 1 is a family member or person very close to the mentee on a one-on-one level. Type 2 is a coach, teacher,

referee, staff member or other intermediary mentor. Type 3 is a distal figure with little or no personal contact to the mentee, such as a famous sports figure. In this study, I looked at Type 2 role models (almost) exclusively, such as the sport coaches, teachers and programme leaders. These are the models that “bridge the gap between home and school,” (Meier, 2015, p. 977). Just as discussed in Chapter 5, coaches can serve as mentors who do not face the demands of parents and teachers, thus providing a unique adult mentor. To connect with participants, role models must display “similarity,” “attainability” and “relevance” to their lives (Meier, 2015, p. 970). Role models can also be cast as either “coping models” or “expert models” (Meier, 2015, p.971). Coping models have overcome challenges in a way that is to be emulated, such as growing up in poverty. Expert, or mastery, models demonstrate excellent skill.

Role modelling is gendered, especially in sport. “Gendered heroism” is evident in many ways. Gender normative traits of masculinity, such as strength and assertiveness, are complementary to sporting abilities and skills. However, for female role models they must navigate conflicting narratives on femininity and sport, such as competitiveness in sport versus a nurturing nature expected in social norms, as discussed above. The lack of female role models coupled with the conflicting narratives can make it difficult for a girl to find a sporting role model that fits all of her needs for relevance and status. Therefore, girls tend to have sporting male and female sporting role models while boys generally only have male role models (Meier, 2015).

These concepts were evident in the current study. Type 2 role models, coaches, teachers and programme leaders, displayed similarity because they generally grew up in the communities where they were working with participants. They were racially similar, as nearly all participants and mentors identified as Black. Their lives were relevant and they were demonstrating relevant skills, in sports, academics and vocational training. An exception to this relevance may be the CDP, where attendance was mandated and none of the skills taught were tested (as opposed to A Ganar, where they were supporting academic skills for schoolwork). Attainability is a bit more difficult to classify, but I contend it was available to some degree based on the connectedness participants felt to their SDP mentors. For some it was stronger, such as the UGGC girls and their dance instructor. I also point to the fact that many students talked about wanting to become teachers and many SDP leaders, particularly at SFL, were themselves teachers.

Both coping and mastery models were available, although I would classify most at the mastery level. The English women’s cricket team displaying their skills at Kensington Oval during an SFL session is an example of mastery on display, and it certainly made an impression on those who observed them. In this instance, the boys were looking to female role models, later trying to imitate their bowling skill. The NSDC trainees were likely good examples of coping models, as several of them were actively playing in their own football leagues and were sharing their experiences of how to improve themselves with their participants. Of course, Jackie from NSDC was both a mastery and a coping model for many young girls, showing them how to navigate in male-dominated spaces and masculinised cultures successfully. Unfortunately, she was not coaching any groups due to lack of programming. In this case, the female role model was available, but she had no girls to model for.

However, even when female role models are present, such as Jackie, they are likely to feel the pressure to perform their roles according to heteronormative ideals and practices. Jackie was experiencing the gendered heroism discussed by Meier. Female role models are scrutinised for their appearance and behaviour, often by male sport leaders, who may want to prevent them from appearing too masculine or manly. Masculine female sport role models deviate from prescribed gender roles and may be perceived as lesbians. Female sporting role models are expected to find a balance between their leadership and sport practices and upholding their femininity. “Thus stereotyped symbols of femininity and heterosexuality seem compulsory to counterbalance the masculine traits associated with sports such as rugby, ice hockey, or boxing.” (Meier, 2015, p. 971).

Participants also demonstrated gendered heroism. The boys, with their focus on sport skill development and their appreciation for the abilities of the English cricket team at SFL, were focused on performance. Meier found that this is a common phenomenon, with males focusing on performance and achievement of role models (2015). By contrast, females tend to focus more on social aspects, such as empathy and democratic behaviour. The connectedness of the UGC girls to their dance instructor and their emphasis on her understanding, “listening” and encouraging them clearly aligns with this concept.

The problem of absent female role models extends beyond the experience of the girls. It seems apparent, time and again, that certain sport forms intended to challenge gender norms were instead reinforcing them. The vastly different perspectives the girls had about playing football with boys (that they were playing tough) was enlightening. While the girls thought they were “proving themselves” to the boys, many of the boys complained that their style of play was only proving the opposite, that girls did not play sport well. The boys adjusted their style of play to accommodate them as “sisters.”

This phenomenon reflects the problematic nature of trying to infuse females into existing development structure as gender *in* development, rather than seeking transformational change toward gender *and* development. It is no wonder that the girls struggled to perform at the same level as their male counterparts, they were not socialised to practice sport, especially the masculine forms of cricket and football, in the same way the boys were. However, when the girls sought to try their own sporting forms, such as the two at SFL who performed gymnastics stunts, they carried themselves with a bolder confidence and seemed to have more fun. They were participating within their comfort zone, although outside the existing curricula and structure of the SFL programme. The programme itself, was built on the hegemonic, often machismo, culture of cricket in Barbados. But SFL is not alone in building an SDP programme on the foundations of inherently gendered and bias sport culture. Sport, as practiced in the Caribbean, is deeply masculinised. It is not designed to include girls or women. By simply adding females as participants, organisers overlook the macro-environmental social norms at play. They overlook the fact that girls entering their programmes may in fact reinforce traditional stereotypes about girls’ inability to play sport well.

In sum, there is such a strong emphasis among programme administrators and national sports organisers to get more girls and women in the pipeline for sports, that rarely is the discussion moved beyond the paltry participation numbers and into the messy reality that sport for development cannot truly challenge gender norms without fundamentally transforming the sport landscape in a way that makes space for girls and women. Nor did they seem to consider that they might be constructing a narrow, heteronormative framework for female role models, which might exclude or marginalise potential role models who deviate from such gender norms.

However, at lower levels of leadership, amongst the NSDC coaching trainees, there was discussion that could be understood as a transformative approach to SDP. The trainees rejected the styles of coaching they had experienced as children, one of authoritarian instruction and emphasis on skill development and winning. Instead, they embraced an approach that was more in line with the kind of female role models described in Meier's work (2015). They focused on social aspects, such as teamwork and cooperation over performance, achievement, competitiveness and individualism. They chose to take a nurturing approach to coaching rather than an authoritative one. They showcased their weaknesses as sportsmen, engaging with the children about how they made mistakes on the pitch and learned from them, upending the notion that men were always superior sports. As most of the trainees were themselves men, their approach may provide a modelling of men that challenges the hyper-masculinity that often dominates sports.

Biopedagogies

The concept of biopedagogies is developed from Foucault's work on biopower. Biopedagogies is defined as "normalising and regulating practices, which provide individuals with ways of understanding themselves, changing themselves and taking action to change others and their environments in the name of improved help," (Wright, 2009 in Hayhurst, et al., 2015, p.552). In the context of SDP, biopedagogies are criticised as grounded in neo-liberal concepts of self-improvement and self-reliance that overlook underlying structural inequalities and barriers. Often, biopedagogies in sport are designed to govern the bodies and behaviours of young people so that they might fit and succeed in hegemonic, patriarchal, capitalist neo-liberal systems (Hayhurst, et al., 2016). Part of the narrative of biopedagogies is that the young people SDP is targeted at need improvement, particularly girls and women, who's bodies and lives are often portrayed as vulnerable and deficient (Forde & Frisby, 2015). Girls and women are viewed as needing to be empowered as individuals so that they might better navigate their environments effectively. In order to do so, they must often adapt to masculine norms, such as communicating assertively and becoming more competitive. Not only does this approach attempt to integrate girls and women into patriarchal, hegemonic and heteronormative frameworks, but it also tends to dismiss the risks girls and women might encounter by making these adaptations (Forde & Frisby, 2015). Nor does such an approach address the problem of systematic inequalities. "However, this is problematic if it simply involves girls and women adopting masculinised behaviours with little or no emphasis being placed on how masculinity is embedded in hegemonic power structures and how the behaviour of some boys and men needs to change to promote safety and greater gender equality," (Forde & Frisby, 2015, p.890).

I recognise the biopedagogies formed and performed in the SDP programmes I researched. The girls contemplating how muscular female bodies were both useful and problematic reflect the contentions between self-improvement and prescribed gender norms. The conversations of how girls want to play aggressively with boys, “bouncing” them and striving to prove themselves on the pitch, yet the boys reject their behaviours as an indication of their inferior skill, reveal the mixed messages of biopedagogies – be strong and assertive, but remain feminine. Jackie from NSDC was perceived by her programme director as having transformed herself, for the positive, by taking on a more feminine appearance, making her more effective as a much-needed role model for girls in football. In essence, she improved on her weaknesses, to better fit the ideal female leader in sport. The narrative that came through on biopedagogies confirms this critique of SDP as supporting patriarchal, neo-liberal, heteronormative frames. Particularly for girls, they had to balance their bodies and behaviours to fit the cultural ideals of self-reliant, independent young citizens.

Challenging hyper-masculinity

The challenging of gender norms in sport must not rely solely on redefining femininity in a way that includes sport. Perhaps just as importantly, SDP organisers must consider how they can challenge the hyper-masculinity of sport in the Caribbean. Re-imaging masculinity in sport may be an even greater challenge. For most boys in this study, the mere thought of males playing netball brought out feelings of disgust and prompted homophobic remarks. From the boys’ perspective, and many of the girls, it was unimaginable for a boy to cross the gender boundary surrounding the sport of netball. Netball is a girls’ sport and for a boy to play netball, he must be gay. Netball was the one and only hard restriction of gender roles in sport. They clearly framed sport in heteronormative terms. In fact, I contend that sport is, in many ways, a vehicle for heteronormativity.

How can this pattern be challenged? Again, hope seems to lie in the experience of the NSDC coaching trainees. As they discussed their experiences coaching, these trainees, especially the men, emphasised how important it was for them to show the feminine leadership styles discussed above. I take this as a positive sign, because engaging men to coach in more gender-sensitive ways would be a great step forward in SDP.

The prospects for such transformational change are compromised by the neo-liberal legacies of colonialism, globalisation and structural adjustment policies. On the ground, these macro-level issues contribute to the struggle to provide consistently funded and sustainable SDP programming. The loss of funding for the NSDC programme, the inability to fund girls’ sports teams at the Barbados sports council and the tenuous position of the SFL programme budget are some examples of this impact. Furthermore, the dominant social influences on gender make it even more difficult to overcome these barriers on behalf of sport for girls and women. As Melly from the Barbados sports council explained, its like “pushing molasses up a hill.”

7.4 Limitations of study

Throughout this study, limitations and drawbacks have been explained. Here, I explore the culminating effect of these problems. Overall, a major concern is that the participants provided socially desirable responses. To begin the researcher position as a white, American female in the context of the Caribbean is problematic. Clearly, the person asking them questions via survey, interviews and discussions was an outsider. Furthermore, working with children poses another threat to these responses. It is quite possible that the adolescent participants felt they should give an appropriate response to the adult questioner. This scenario may have been especially true for the boys answering to the female researcher. The focus group discussion format, in particular, seemed to allow for open discussion. Participants disagreed with one another and spoke fairly freely about all topics. These risks are within reason and, as explained in the methods chapter, numerous steps were taken to mitigate them. Still, they deserve mention here.

Although I contend that the HCA, adapted here for SDP, is an effective tool, I recognise it has its own limitations and drawbacks. Research in SDP can still be focused on individual development and, in my experience, it is difficult to situate the experiences and perspectives of individual participants in the larger context of their micro and macro environments. Essentially, the individual stories are compelling narratives and it is easy to get caught up in their efforts for personal development. I have found the leaders, coaches and directors of the SDP programmes to be caring, motivated, dedicated servants to their communities. These factors make it difficult to be critical and easy to be hopeful for such inspiring personalities to overcome the challenges they face. Furthermore, the youth development model, as explained in Chapter 2, focuses on normative domains of life for young people. This model may need to be expanded or adapted to include those that deviate from social norms or engage in domains outside of the model.

Another problem in the study is the level of analysis regarding social affiliation. “Connectedness” was examined in the surveys and was the model for interview and discussion questions. The basis of this analysis was asking participants how close they felt to certain persons (parents, coaches, teachers, peers). They were also asked about having trusted adults in their lives. While these questions get to the heart of these relationships relevant in SDP, they leave room to explore dynamics within them. For example, who do they admire or aspire to be like? Questions regarding role modelling were not explicitly asked in focus groups, interviews or surveys. In the journals, they were asked about heroes. However, the limited response rate makes it impossible to extrapolate data. To better understand gender role formation and development in these contexts, I need to make room for better understanding of how role modelling works.

The proposed model would be better served with a mechanism to include the influence of role modelling, rather than simply the connectedness levels within mentor and mentee relationships. The repeated discussions about lack of female coaches and mentors in sport highlighted this deficiency in the model of analysis. It was also clear that the boys at SFL were impacted by the presence of high quality female cricketers on the day they watched the English women’s team practice at Kensington Oval. The analysis of these data points is limited in the proposed model.

Another limitation is the ability to apply this model outside of their specific context. I cannot overgeneralise about Caribbean SIDS, as they are unique and different. While I can, to a degree, extrapolate findings to the other English speaking SIDS in the Caribbean. They have a similar context of slavery, colonial history and living in the shadow of the economic and cultural dominance of the U.S. However, attention must be paid to the specific contexts within each country and community, as they have different cultural, social and economic circumstances. The lessons from this study may extend well beyond the Caribbean, across the Global South and within developed markets as well. However, the specific cultural connotation of certain sports (i.e. cricket) and gender role norms must be adapted to different social contexts for the proposed model to apply.

Reflecting on methods used in this thesis, I have recognised other limitations. Despite the short time frame, I was able to develop a rapport with the participants and gather insightful data. Nevertheless, with more time I would have been able to better understand the questions that arose from our interactions. Specifically, I would have been able to delve more into aspects of role modelling in order to better understand how connectedness was developed and how connectedness varied by gender and type of role model.

Regarding the instruments used, in hindsight I would have made some changes. As discussed above, the initial focus on health and physical activity was the focus of the original survey questionnaire but it would have been a better design to focus on thematic areas (support systems, self-efficacy, social affiliation, gender role attitudes, physical activity, body image and the lived body experience) that emerged during the fieldwork. Within that questionnaire, the body image figures could also have been improved. The images used were of forward facing people. I selected a scale using people of colour, although their exact ethnicity is unclear and they do not appear to be children. In retrospect, it would have been interesting to have used different body images, such as bodies in motion, different body types and bodies in different contexts (see below in Recommendations and future research for more on this topic). I also think it would be better to have images of adolescent bodies.

The thesis would have been improved by more visual data collection instruments. Drawing activities and photo journaling would add rich layers of data to my work and provide more outlets for participants to engage in the research process. The study would have benefited from a more careful study of manuals or curriculum guides to better understand the didactics and pedagogies of the programmes themselves.

Finally, I was limited in what I could discuss in terms of gender, sex, sexuality and adolescence. As mentioned in Chapter 3, I was prohibited, by programme leaders, to discuss topics of sex, romance, menstruation or topics that might be upsetting to participants (e.g. drug use). It would have been a different study to have taken up these issues which are central to the lives of many participants.

7.5 Recommendations and future research

Using the adapted HCA model in SDP research

SDP has been oft criticised for painting too rosy a picture of the impact of sport on the lives of disadvantaged children and youth. Coalter and Taylor (2010) conclude that research in SDP tends to look at deficit reduction, examining how programmes help individual participants overcome deficiencies. A problem with this approach is that it is focused on outcomes assessment, with less emphasis on the process of development, and tends to overlook negative influences, such as reinforcing restrictive gender norms. Sanders argues that it is also overly focused on the individual and micro-environmental levels, without advocating for changes to macro-level factors that create the need for development (2016).

The HCA builds upon research that examines SDP in a critical way, examining the intersectionalities of sport, gender and development and challenging the neo-liberal ideologies and practices (such as education models that commodify education toward meeting the demands of globalised markets) that construct sport and SDP in various ways across the Global South. I have argued, in line with many scholars cited throughout this thesis, that gender must be examined as a dynamic, non-binary social construct. I contend that the HCA and the model proposed here can help researchers better engage with the complicated role of gender in sport and SDP. Building from Nussbaum's list of essential capabilities and Robeyns' diagrammatic model, I have infused gender in various ways in the adapted HCA model for SDP. Gender can be integrated into the conversion factors at each level, from individual (e.g. sex, gender) to micro-environmental (e.g. gendered role modelling, connectedness) to the macro-environmental (e.g. gender norms and related policies). Gender should also be considered throughout the process of capability development. Resources for sport and SDP vary by gender, as discussed in this thesis, with girls often having fewer opportunities to play and compete. The lack of female role models is another gendered resource difference. The capability sets used in this thesis can be borrowed and built upon by other researchers, as they are common fixtures in SDP. I contend that gender should be considered across each of the capability sets, and that gender role attitudes should be a concern in SDP research. The HCA model provides a platform for such critical analysis.

One of the most insightful elements of the HCA, I believe, is the concept of adapted preferences and preference formation. Sport is so deeply entrenched in binary modes of gender and is constructed in a way that privileges males and traditional aspects of masculinity, as well as heteronormativity. By examining how preferences are formed and adapted according to gender, SDP scholars can use the HCA model to look at the process and practices of how sport is experienced in development programming and avoid too narrow a focus on outcomes. Adapted preferences are also another outlet by which to examine and question the macro-level influences of social norms and policies on gender.

Functionings, as outcomes of SDP, are still a part of analysis in the HCA framework, but they are de-emphasised in favour of more thorough exploration of capabilities. Here, outcomes assessment becomes a piece of the larger puzzle, rather than the entire puzzle, as is often the case in SDP research. Outcomes are still important, and studies that need to demonstrate effectiveness of programming are still able to do so. By including macro and micro level conversion factors in the model (including as a contributor to preference formation), the HCA provides a continual reminder to researchers that SDP does not work in isolation, but rather within larger

systems and structures that are often in neo-liberal, post-colonial, patriarchal frames. Much of the SDP research tends to overlook or de-emphasise these environmental factors. Not only does examining SDP from this vantage help explain and understand the experiences of participants and practitioners in SDP, but it also helps the researcher form effective critiques. As Hayhurst, Giles and Wright explained, “Importantly, we are *cautious not to critique the efforts of the NGO’s discussed in this paper* for wanting to better prepare, and equip, these young women to learn how to successfully participate in competitive capitalism. To clarify, *the focus of our critique is on the system(s) within which these programs work – and not the actual programs themselves*,” (2016, p.565, emphasis in original text). I feel the same about the programmes I studied, who are designed and led by dedicated, caring professionals striving to support and empower the participants in their programmes. Using the HCA, and emphasising the systematic inequalities and barriers in the lives of the young people studied, helped me to more thoughtfully and honestly critique the systems in which these programmes are operating within.

In sum, gender is integrated across the proposed HCA model for SDP, in different layers and levels. This approach may help researchers to challenge SDP as gender *in* development, rather than gender *and* development. I think it is critically important to emphasise this point because gender is so difficult to grapple with in sport, as I have come to realise through this research. Too often, it is compartmentalised in research across sport. As an example, I was helping a colleague work on a grant for an IOC project. She was interviewing leaders in sports federations, examining their guides and manuals. We laughed as she explained that there was a tendency to have a chapter on “women’s issues,” and that it was difficult to convince (mostly male) leaders that gender needs to be more fully integrated. While this was not SDP per se, it demonstrates how gender is often dealt with in sport.

The integration of the youth development model supports this approach by providing concepts appropriate for research on youth, who are commonly the target of SDP work. The risk and protective factors (as conversion factors) aptly describe how the environments (micro and macro) influence youth, shifting the focus from individuals to include aspects of their lives that have constructed their experiences. I also think the concept of connectedness is a valuable way to examine social affiliation. Often, SDP work is focused on social capital and social cohesion, but looking at connectedness in common life domains of youth (home, school, community) and constructing specific actors in those domains (peers, coaches, mentors, etc.) seems more relevant to the context of SDP. Although, as stated above, I would like to enhance the concept of connectedness to better examine role modelling in SDP.

Finally, I found the diagrammatic overview provided by Robeyns and adapted to include the youth development model to be very useful in organising my work. SDP research is often conducted by or in conjunction with practitioners in the field. Using a visual model may be helpful in using SDP research to advocate for new approaches or explain the complexities of theory outside of an academic setting. In short, I think the HCA model can make critical SDP research more accessible outside of academe and help apply theoretical research in the field.

In sum, the adapted HCA model builds upon the critical research in SDP and introduces concepts such as adapted preferences and the lived body experience to holistically examine gender as a dynamic, relational, non-binary concept which is socially constructed in a neo-liberal, heteronormative frame of sport and SDP. It is centred on those aspects that the participants found valuable and meaningful in their lives, based upon their own adapted preferences and limitations of larger systems and structures that have created and perpetuated inequalities and barriers they are trying to navigate.

Researching gender and role modelling

Future research could examine the complexities and dynamics of role modelling in sport and its impact on gender role attitudes and body image. Meier proposes using both coping and mastery models as a strategy in order to reach participants with different experiences, needs and interests (2015). From my research experience it would be interesting to study how female and male role models of these different types are experienced in SDP. In my view, the mastery model on display by the English cricket team made a big impression on the boys who watched them. Did this impact their views on gender in sport? If those boys were exposed to expert level female cricketers more regularly would they still maintain that women were lesser skilled at the sport? Would some of them still be unable to accept a female commentator in cricket? Would their gender role attitudes outside of cricket change? I would like to explore how coping and mastery models, both male and female, work together in a complementary way to challenge gender role norms.

The type of sport played needs to be examined in order to understand how role modelling might help to deconstruct restrictive concepts of masculinity and femininity. As these programmes were all considered “plus sport,” or focused on development messages over sport, the type of sport played should be more flexible. While the programmes could still focus on and market themselves for a highlighted sport, they could also incorporate different sport forms into their curricula. For example, dance or gymnastics could be integrated into lessons. Netball would be a very bold choice to implement for groups with boys, but may serve to provide some insight. Would they learn to appreciate these activities or make a mockery of them? How would they feel if such lessons were led by male and female mastery level instructors?

Another approach to consider is introducing sports that have little or no gender connotation in these communities. An organisation called Women Win, an NGO I partner with in teaching sport for development, brings sports to girls in rural villages in Laos. They were facing resistance from children and parents because the sports they tried to introduce, like football, were considered to be exclusively for boys. Finally, they found a sport that no one had heard of – rugby. They now run girls only rugby programmes in several villages. Certainly, it would be much more difficult to find sports that are unheard of in urban areas of the Caribbean, but not impossible. There are also new, emerging sports with fewer gender role connotations. In the U.S. and England, particularly, the sport of quidditch is growing, played by mixed-gender teams in clubs and universities. Quidditch is the sport played in the Harry Potter books and movies, and appeals to teens and young adults. Playing more gender neutral sports would help to level the playing field in SDP. Girls are often

disadvantaged because they are not socialised into culturally important sports to the same extent as boys, they are not taught to catch and bat cricket from a young age (or kick a football) nor do they have legendary women sports heroes to look up to. New or unfamiliar sports, coupled with the sports that attract participants, could offer interesting insights into the capabilities. Would students playing quidditch experience self-efficacy skill development differently? Would they socialise with each other and mentors differently? How would they experience their gender and bodies in these activities?

And, finally, SDP may be a uniquely positioned space for male peer leaders to role model progressive forms of masculinity to adolescent boys. The nurturing and caregiving focus of the male NSDC coaches speaks to such an opportunity. It would be interesting to understand how their participants received this approach. Did they recognise it? Did they appreciate it? How can male peer mentors in SDP be better encouraged and equipped to be feminist leaders? A recent study also found that male coaches can help spread messages regarding gender attitudes and the prevention of violence against women in cricket programmes in India (Das, et al., 2015). In the spirit of the *He for She* movement across the UN system and beyond, perhaps the masculinised space of sport can provide an opportunity for men to take part in redefining masculinity around the globe to the next generations.

Innovative methods

Further research could focus on more creative methods in working with children. For the purpose of this study, more traditional methods were used, including surveys and focus groups. However, the drawing activity in the journal showed the potential to open up participants to more thoughtful sharing of feelings and beliefs. Looking through their creative and beautiful artwork, I am reassured that many of them had fun doing that activity. I recognise that it is critical to engage participants, particularly children, in a way that not only respects their rights and perspectives, but is enjoyable. Such activities might engage participants who are less vocal in discussion settings or less adept at reading and writing. These methods might mitigate socially desirable responses by creating a separation between the researcher and participant. Such approaches that allow for more creative input using visual or physical methods have the potential for insight into items that could be overlooked in written and verbal exchanges. In hindsight, I would have done more to encourage more participants to engage in this activity, or developed a similar activity that might engage participants in a creative and fun way. Future research in SDP should prioritise methods that are fun for children to participate in.

A recent SDP study, led by Dr. Emma Sherry and conducted in the Pacific islands, used digital technologies for participatory action research with children and adult leaders. Reflexive surveys, conducted on iPads, helped gather data on participants' experiences, including programme evaluation. The authors found that the children enjoyed using the iPads and this may contribute to better engagement in the research process. The iPads were also used to video record "stories of change" from participants. Although this aspect of the study was difficult because many of the users struggled to operate the technology, the method itself could be useful in engaging participants and offering yet another form of communication to those that

might not like writing, drawing or discussing in focus groups. Such digital methods also help in data collection, storage and analysis (Sherry, et al., 2016).

Future research could include images of bodies in different contexts, such as playing a sport versus in a school uniform. Body image scales could also include famous figures, such as sports heroes or musical artists (Type 3 role models). Are the muscular bodies of the Venus sisters (tennis stars) appreciated as much as the muscular build of Usain Bolt (sprinter)? Do boys and girls perceive these high profile figures differently? If so, how? I also think the scales should include a myriad of different body types, not just a spectrum from underweight to overweight. Some bodies could be very muscular, while others thin but without visible muscle tones, others carrying more body fat. Bodies could vary more in height as well, better reflecting the diversity of body types. These, too, could be placed in different contexts. Such methods would help explore gender as a lived body experience, fluid and relational. I believe it would help SDP researchers move past binary, static, heteronormative concepts of gender and body image, which, I have discovered, is very difficult to do because of the rigid gender/sex divisions in sport. How would participants feel about an image of a very muscular girl in a football uniform? What if she was in a Sunday dress? What if she was Tina Turner?

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Appendices

Appendix A

Child Informed Assent Form

My name is Sarah Zipp. I am trying to learn more about young people in Barbados and St. Lucia. If you would like, you can be in my study. If you decide you want to be in my study, you will fill out surveys. You can also choose to join in a group discussion with me and some of your peers. Some of the questions may make you feel a little bit nervous or uncomfortable.

Other people will not know if you are in my study. I will put things I learn about you together with things I learn about other people so no one can tell what things came from you. When I tell other people about my research, I will not use your name, so no one can tell who I am talking about.

Your parents, guardians, principals or programme directors have said it is OK for you to be in the study. After they decide, you get to choose if you want to do it too. If you don't want to be in the study, no one will be mad at you. If you want to be in the study now and change your mind later, that's OK. You can stop at any time.

My telephone number is +1 607-591-1157 or you can email me at sarahzipp@gmail.com. I will leave you these cards so you can contact me anytime if you have questions. You can also call locally to your principal or programme director.

I will give you a copy of this form to your principal or programme director in case you want to ask questions later.

Agreement

I have decided to be in the study even though I know that I don't have to do it. Sarah Zipp has answered all my questions.

Name of Participant (Please print)

Signature of Study Participant

Date _____

Signature of Researcher

Date _____

Appendix B

Adult Informed Consent Form

Students and participants in your sport programme and/or school are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Sarah Zipp from Erasmus University in the Netherlands. The purpose of this study is to understand the impact of sport programmes on young people in Barbados and St. Lucia. This study will contribute to the researcher's completion of her doctoral degree thesis.

Should you decide to allow your students/participants to participate in this research study, you will be asked to sign this consent form once all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. This study consists of two surveys, journaling, and focus group discussions with some participants. The study will be conducted at the sport programme location or school from September of 2013 through April of 2014. Some additional information may be exchanged online. Each survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and the focus group discussions will last approximately 15-20 minutes. The journaling will take place over one week, with a single-paged guided entry for each day during that week.

The investigator does not perceive more than minimal risks from each participants involvement in this study (that is, no risks beyond the risks associated with everyday life). Potential benefits from participation in this study include small gifts for completion of the study, such as a water bottle. Additionally, we hope that this study will help us identify ways to better serve youth in this region through sport programming.

The results of this research will be presented at conferences and in papers. The results of this project will be coded in such a way that the respondent's identity will not be attached to the final form of this study. The researcher retains the right to use and publish non-identifiable data. While individual responses are confidential, aggregate data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All data will be stored in a secure location accessible only to the researcher. Upon completion of the study, all information that matches up individual respondents with their answers will be destroyed.

Participation is entirely voluntary. Each student/participant is free to choose not to participate. After choosing to participate in the study, each individual may change his/her mind and withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. If you have questions or concerns about participation in this study, please contact me at +1 (607) 591-1157 or zipp@iss.nl.

I have read this consent form and I understand what is being requested of my students/programme participants as a participant in this study. I freely consent for my students/programme participants participate in this study. I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions. The investigator provided me with a copy of this form. I certify that I am at least 18 years of age.

Name of Programme/School (Printed)

Name of Principal/Programme Organizer (Signed)

Date

Name of Researcher (Signed)

Date

Appendix C

Survey Questionnaire

Youth Survey - Barbados

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Thank you for participating in this study. Please answer each question as honestly and accurately as possible. Your name will not be associated with these answers in the research analysis and publication. No one from your school or programme will see your name with these answers. If you don't know an answer, it's OK to skip it. Be sure to print or fill in boxes clearly so that we can understand your answers.

1. How old are you?
 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 or older
2. What is your gender?
 Boy Girl
3. How do you identify your race or ethnicity?
 Black (Afro) White (Anglo) Indian (Indo) Asian (Sino) Mixed
- Other, please specify
4. How tall are you? (in cm) How much do you weigh? (in kg)
5. Please state whether you strongly disagree, disagree, agree or strongly agree with each statement.
- | | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| If something looks too complicated, I will not even bother to try it. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I avoid trying to learn new things when they look too difficult. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When trying something new, I soon give up if I am not initially successful. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When I make plans, I am certain I can make them work. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| If I can't do a job the first time, I keep trying until I can. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When I have something unpleasant to do, I stick to it until I finish it. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When I decide to do something, I go right to work on it. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Failure just makes me try harder. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When I set important goals for myself, I rarely achieve them. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I do not seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in my life. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| When unexpected problems occur, I don't handle them very well. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I feel insecure about my ability to do things. | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

6. Below are questions about your friendships, families and other relationships. Please state whether you strongly disagree, disagree, agree or strongly agree with each statement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Does not apply to me
I feel close to my mother.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel close to my father.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel close to my teachers.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel close to my sport coaches.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel close to people at my school.	<input type="radio"/>				
I feel close to people at my sport programme.	<input type="radio"/>				
I have at least one trusting adult in my life.	<input type="radio"/>				
I can share my ideas, worries and concerns with a trusted adult I know.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am happy to be a part of my family.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am happy to be a part of my school.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am happy to be a part of my sport programme.	<input type="radio"/>				

7. Below is a list of questions about how you feel about the roles of girls and boys in society and sport.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
It's a girl's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Girls should decide when and who they want to marry.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being active in politics is not suited for girls.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Boys should do the same amount of housework as girls.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A man should have the last word about decisions in the household.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in business affairs is not suited for girls.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Girls have the same right to a university education as boys.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The most important role for a woman is to take care of the house and her family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men are better sports coaches and referees than women.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Taking part in sport makes girls less attractive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Girls have less talent for sports than boys.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Contact team sports (football, rugby) are not suitable for girls.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Girls can play cricket well.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Boys are less likely to get hurt playing sport than girls.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think it is normal for girls to be heavier than boys.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think it is OK for girls to have athletic bodies.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. Below are questions about your physical activity and sporting habits. Please answer as accurately as possible. During a typical WEEK of the school year, how often do you...

	Not at all	Less than once per week	1 time per week	2 times per week	3 times per week	4 times per week	5 or more times per week
Walk, run, or ride your bicycle to or from school?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in physical activity outside of school hours (sport, bicycling, running, etc.) for 1 hour or more?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Go to physical education class in school?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Play in an organized sport team, league or programme?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. When I look at my body, I feel that I am
 Underweight Correct weight Overweight

10. In the past month, was there ever a time when you went hungry because there was not enough food available for you to eat?
 Yes No

11. Below are questions about your health and nutrition habits. Please answer as accurately as possible. In the past month, how many times PER DAY do you usually...

	Not at all	Less than once per day	1 time per day	2 times per day	3 times per day	4 or more times per day
Eat fruit such as oranges, bananas or golden apples?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eat vegetables such as lettuce, carrots or cucumbers?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Drink carbonated soft drinks such as Fanta or JuC? (Do NOT include diet soft drinks).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eat at a fast food restaurant such as Chefette or KFC?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Drink alcohol such as beer, wine or liquor?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Smoke cigarettes?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Use tobacco products other than cigarettes, such as Imps or fanta?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. Indicate how often you agree with the following statements.

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
I like what I see when I look in the mirror.	<input type="radio"/>				
Other people consider me good looking.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am proud of my body.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am preoccupied with trying to change my body weight.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am satisfied with my weight.	<input type="radio"/>				
I wish I looked better.	<input type="radio"/>				
I think I have a good body.	<input type="radio"/>				
I am trying to lose weight.	<input type="radio"/>				
I think I look older than my age.	<input type="radio"/>				

Youth Survey - Barbados

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14. On a typical day during the school year, how much time do you spend sitting down do the following...

	Not at all	Less than one hour	1 hour per day	2 hours per day	3 hours per day	4 + hours per day
Watching television	<input type="radio"/>					
Playing video games	<input type="radio"/>					
Using a computer, phone or tablet.(i.e. iPad)	<input type="radio"/>					

15. Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please state whether you strongly disagree, disagree, agree or strongly agree with each statement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
On the whole I am satisfied with myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At times I think I am no good at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am able to do things as well as most other people	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I certainly feel useless at times	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least equal with others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wish I had more respect for myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
All in all, I am inclined to think I am a failure	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I take a positive attitude towards myself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. Please add any additional information you want to share here. Thank you for taking our survey!

Appendix D**Body Image Questionnaire**

Please answer the following questions by circling the image that best represents your response. Please be as honest as possible and clearly identify your answer.

- 1) The figure of your own sex that best represents your current appearance

Female:

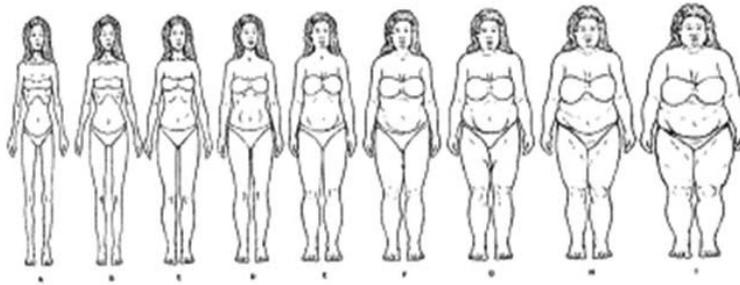


Male:



2) The figure that you would like to look like

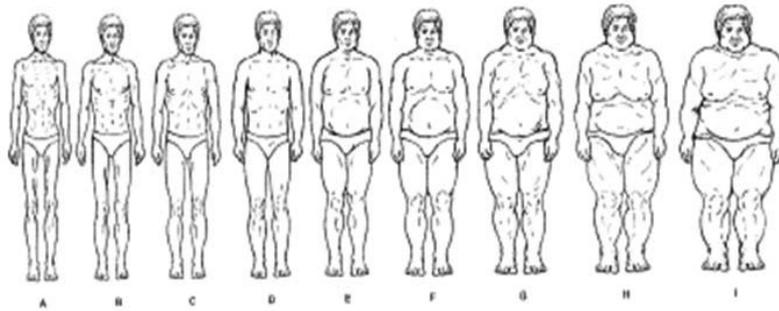
Female:



2) (continued)

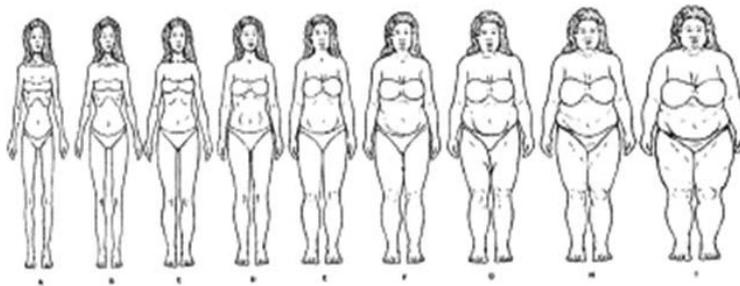
The figure that you would like to look like

Male:

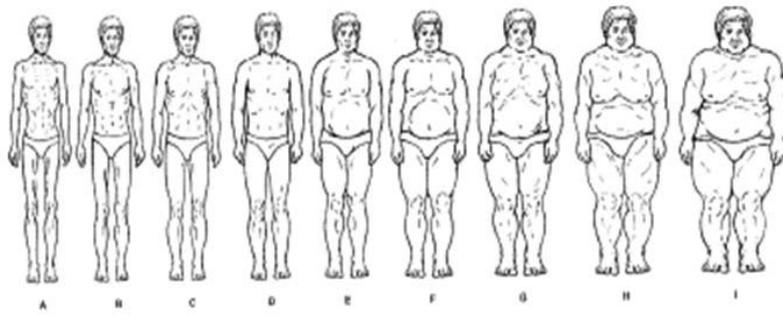


3) The figure that best represents the cultural standard for your sex (i.e., what society says you should look like)

Female:



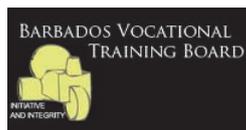
Male:



Appendix F

Guided Journal

Sport and Development
Programmes for Youth
Location: Barbados & St. Lucia
May, 2014



Upton Gardens Girls Centre
St. Lucia

PERSONAL JOURNAL

Name:

Programme:

Age: Boy/Girl:

DAY 1

I consider myself to be (circle one): Black/Afro White/Anglo Indian/Indo
Asian/Sino Mixed Other (please specify) _____

I have participated in this programme for ____ years and ____ months.

(Programme = Sport for Life, A Ganar, Upton Gardens, CDP, NSDC, or BVTB)

Overall, today has been

Why?

When I think about my life, the career or job I want to have is . . . (list 1-2
here)

Why?

Do my friends and family think it's a good idea to choose this job? Why or why not? Who, if anyone, encourages me to strive for this kind of career?

(Parent/guardian, brother/sister, aunt/uncle, grandparent, friend, boyfriend/girlfriend, teacher, coach, etc.)

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one) (If you did not attend school, leave blank)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

Why did I join this programme? Did someone encourage me to join? If so, who?

I was required to join this programme YES NO If yes, by whom?

How did I feel about starting this programme: (circle one)

Scared Nervous Don't Care Excited Happy Other (please specify)

Overall, today has been

DAY 2

Why?

How did I find out about this programme?

What physical activity did I do yesterday? For how long (minutes)?

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

These are my feelings about girls playing contact sports like football . . .

How important is playing a sport in my life? Do my family and friends want me to play sport?

Who, if anyone, in my family or friends encourages me to play sports?

Is it normal or socially OK for me to play sports? (circle one) YES

NO

What is my favourite sport to play: (circle one)

Cricket Netball Basketball Football Athletics Swimming Dance

Other (please specify) _____

DAY 3

Overall, today has been

Why?

What physical activity did I do yesterday? For how long (minutes)?

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

What are my biggest challenges in life? How do I handle or try to overcome the challenges in my life?

What things in life make me happy or excited?

What things in life make me feel unhappy or stressed?

If I could change anything about my life, what would it be?

When I think about my future, I feel (circle one):

Worried Excited Scared Confident Prepared Unprepared Other

DAY 4

Overall, today has been

Why?

Circle the job types that are typically for men only in my community:

Masonry Beauty therapy Construction Dressmaking Sport
coaching

Housekeeping Bar & Restaurant Work Truck Driving Computer
Applications

Have these traditions for men and work changed over time? Are they different for people my age than for our fathers and grandfathers? If so, how?

Circle the job types that are typically for women only in my community:

Masonry Beauty therapy Construction Dressmaking Sport
coaching

Housekeeping Bar & Restaurant Work Truck Driving Computer
Applications

**Have these traditions for women and work changed over time? Are they
different for people my age than for our mothers and grandmothers? If so,
how?**

What physical activity did I do yesterday? For how long (minutes)?

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

What am I most proud of in my life?

Overall, today has been

DAY 5

Why?

What physical activity did I do yesterday? For how long (minutes)?

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

What things do people say and do that make me really angry or annoyed?

What have I done in my life that I didn't ever think I could?

When I play a sport, I feel

Who, if anyone, helps me get through tough times in my life? How and why?

What am I really good at in my life?

Overall, today has been

DAY 6

Why?

What physical activity did I do yesterday? For how long (minutes)?

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

When other people (family, friends, etc.) see me playing a sport, they probably think . . .

Choose one of the options and then explain:

I think that playing a sport well helps me attract a boyfriend or girlfriend because .

.. OR

I think that playing a sport well makes me less attractive to a boyfriend or girlfriend because . . .

Who is my biggest hero or inspiration? Why?

Overall, today has been

DAY 7

Why?

What physical activity did I do yesterday? For how long (minutes)?

How did I get to school yesterday? (Circle one)

Walk Bicycle Bus Auto Other (please specify)

What has been my favourite part of this programme so far?

What has been my least favourite part of this programme so far?

Do I want to continue to participate in this programme? Why?

What do I think about the mentors and coaches in this programme?

Use the following blank page to add any additional comments, thoughts, questions, or concerns about your experience so far with this programme. You can also draw a picture if you would like. THANK YOU!