

PART THREE

Sports Development as Process of Social Change



CHAPTER 6

Sport as an Agent for Social and Personal Change

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Introduction

Sport has long been considered a tool for social change. In fact, Coubertin drew on classic Western traditions to envision the modern Olympics as a tool for peace and understanding. Coubertin's vision for the Olympic Games is also grounded in the values evident in the British Public Schools during 1800s, that sport competitions are a way to build character (MacAloon, 1981). By the late nineteenth century, it was believed that sport changed boys into civilized gentlemen embodying the ideals of unselfishness, fearlessness, teamwork, and self-control. Coubertin also felt sport to be a vehicle for social and personal change. For him, sport served three objectives: (1) to develop aesthetic appreciation through participant's experience of the body during sport; (2) to use international sport as a tool with which to establish peace and cross-national understanding; and (3) to teach participants to strive for and to respect excellence wherever it occurred (Chalip, 1992). The idea that sport can act as an agent for social and personal change has been with us for centuries and is still salient today.

Sport has become a significant component of the United Nations development goals, in particular, the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, n.d.). The UN is partnering with non-governmental organizations at the local, national, and international levels to organize and promote development, health, human rights, and peace through sporting events. Acknowledging growing perceptions of the importance of sport for development, the Secretary-General appointed Adolf Ogi to the post of Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace in 2001. The UN sees what it calls, 'the fundamental principles of sport – respect for opponents and for rules, teamwork and fair play' as consistent with its own principles as laid out in the United Nations Charter (United Nations, 2004). The potential 'convening power' of sport (i.e. sport's ability to bring people together) is claimed by the UN to contribute

to economic and social development, improved health, and a culture of peace and tolerance. As Adolf Ogi puts it:

Sport, with its joys and triumphs, its pains and defeats, its emotions and challenges, is an unrivalled medium for the promotion of education, health, development and peace. Sport helps us demonstrate, in our pursuit of the betterment of humanity, that there is more that unites than divides us.

(United Nations, n.d., p. 2)

Why Sport and Social Change?

There is a long history of belief that sport can foster social change. Social change is defined as shifts in social phenomena at various levels, ranging from the individual or personal level to that of society as a whole (Lauer, 1982). Although social change can be either positive or negative, Coubertin, the UN Secretary-General, and others (e.g. Holt, 1989; Labour Party, 1997; Wilson, 1994) have viewed sport as a tool for positive social change. But what underlies the commonly held belief that sport is inherently beneficial?

Perceptions of sport as a tool for positive social and personal change are grounded in the belief that sport is an effective and positive socializing agent (e.g. Grove and Dodder, 1982; Spreitzer and Snyder, 1975). Sport participation is commonly believed to develop positive character traits, to assist young people to become better citizens and more successful adults, to reduce delinquency rates and risky behaviours, to assist with moral development including a sense of fair play, and to instil a strong achievement orientation. In short, sport is expected to teach basic rules of social behaviour and to inculcate fundamental societal values such as hard work, competitiveness, and sacrifice. While these intended outcomes are expected to accrue to the participants, there is an underlying assumption that personal change (i.e. the socialization outcomes of sport participation) benefits the broader society by curbing deviant behaviour while creating individuals accepting of the norms and values of society. That is, sport is believed to provide a form of salubrious socialization resulting in 'better' societies.

Although there is general popular agreement about the values of sport as a tool for socialization, there is not always general agreement about what it is that sport provides. For example, Watson (1977) showed that parents from different social classes agreed that sport taught important values to their children, but they disagreed about what those values are. Working class parents felt that sport teaches teamwork and obedience to authority, while parents in white collar occupations felt that sport teaches individual achievement and leadership. The difference rests in the projection of values that are important to the observer into sport. In other words, we believe that sport does what we want it to, but what we want it to do may, in fact, differ.

This is important because the empirical evidence demonstrates that sport can have a variety of different effects, some of which policymakers would decry. For example, sport can enflame existing political, religious, or cultural

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conflicts (Semyonov and Farbstein, 1989). The emotional attachment of many competitors and fans can result in offensive and sometimes violent behaviours against opponents and fans of opponents (Gaunt et al., 2005). Sport contexts can socialize participants into subcultures of violence, substance abuse, eating disorders, and dependence (Heffner et al., 2003; Martens et al., 2006; Visek and Watson, 2005). One experimental study of youth sport demonstrated that organized sport experience can retard the moral development of participants (Kleiber and Roberts, 1981).

This is not to say that sport is universally bad for people; it is merely to point out that it is sometimes bad for people. There is also evidence that sport can do many of the things we claim for it (e.g. Larson, 2000; Poinsett, 1996). It is not sport per se that is responsible for particular outcomes; it is the ways that sport is implemented. In other words, it is the specific socializing experiences that particular sport settings provide (or do not provide) that result in particular outcomes (McCormack and Chalip, 1988). A similar interpretation of the change potential of sport echoes the view that sports development is a perception and a social construct as discussed by Girginov in Chapter 1.

Sport Development Programmes for Social Change

Since the 1990s sport has increasingly been considered a panacea for what Pitter and Andrews (1997) call the 'social problems industry'. A veritable smorgasbord of sporting schemes has been developed to address a wide range of social problems. These programmes can be categorized by their objectives. There are three broad categories of programme objective, those that seek to: (1) bring sport to underserved or at-risk populations; (2) replace or divert deviant behaviours with socially desirable behaviours; and/or (3) use sport to attract deviant or at-risk populations in order to provide other social welfare services. At first glance, only one type seems to be the purview of sport development officers – programmes designed to bring sport to the underserved. But all three programme types can help sport development officers meet their objectives. Each increases participation, particularly in underserved populations. A perhaps unintended but valuable consequence of designing sport programmes to meet social inclusion needs is the potential to enhance sport funding via grants from other funding sources. These sources may be government initiatives (e.g. Youth Justice Board in the UK), voluntary sector charities (e.g. West Yorkshire Sports Counselling in the UK), community groups (e.g. Community Action Resource Team in the US) or schools. In practice, the most sustainable programmes are those that represent partnerships between sport or recreation and other organizations (Sandford et al., 2006).

Consequently, all programme types assist sports development officers to enhance the pool of sport participants while also meeting social inclusion objectives. Further, the three programme types are nested. Programmes with diversion objectives also share the belief that sport is an appropriate context for re-socializing programme participants into more socially acceptable values and behaviours. If this were not the case, programmes would use other forms of leisure to attract participants. Yes, sport is attractive to the target

populations, but not uniquely. Music, dance, art, and technology may be equally attractive. Yet it is sport that forms the core of these programmes.

Similarly, programmes that use sport as a hook to attract participants to a site where other services are provided are still providing sport opportunities. While it is unclear whether these programmes embrace sport as an intervention per se, these programmes have, in fact, selected sport as their hook. In fact, the most successful programmes of this type fully integrate the sport into the intervention. For example, the San Fernando Valley Child Guidance Clinic (SFVCGC), a delinquency treatment programme in the US, found that at-risk youth did not make use of their services (Fleisher and Avelar, 1995). However, these youth were very interested in the martial arts. The SFVCGC decided to offer a judo programme to attract at-risk youth in their community. The programme consisted of judo instruction, tutoring, and bi-monthly parent training sessions. The judo instruction itself incorporated a segment in which the class discussed issues concerning judo's impact on one's lifestyle. The tutoring sessions were linked to concepts of respect and honour, core traditions of judo. Parents were taught to monitor and chart their child's behaviour and to understand and reward behaviours representing values espoused by the programme. The elements of the intervention were thus intertwined, providing consistency and relevance for participants.

Each of the three types of programmes has the capacity to serve as an agent of social and personal change. Yet, evaluations of programmes in all categories show conflicting results. While it is impossible to conclude that sport does or does not affect social change, we can examine the programme types, their successes and failures to begin to identify programme elements common to successful programmes.

Sport for Social Inclusion

Programmes designed to reach specific populations (variously termed 'underserved', 'at-risk', 'disaffected', 'disengaged') serve the purpose of sport development by increasing the number of individuals participating in sport, and by increasing the diversity of participants. This also contributes to issues of equity and distributive justice by providing sport and the benefits claimed for sport to individuals who, for one reason or another, have not been provided the same sport participation opportunities as others. Equitable provision of social goods, such as sport, is an important issue for government-funded programmes. Programmes in this category are built on the belief that:

Sport can be crucial to the social and personal development of young people. By participating in sporting activities they can learn to differentiate between good and bad behaviour.

(Labour Party, 1997, p. 8) [cited in Crabbe, 2000, p. 381]

The belief that sport builds character is so ingrained that neither providers nor participants feel it necessary to do anything more than provide opportunities. The benefits are thought to accrue to participants merely as a function of the opportunity. Consequently, we have research showing that sport builds values

and enhances life skills (e.g. Eccles et al., 2003; Eitle and Eitle, 2002; Fleisher and Avelar, 1995; Long and Sanderson, 2001; Nichols, 2004; Petitpas et al., 2004; Sandford et al., 2006), whereas others have argued that sport-based programmes fail to show positive outcomes (e.g. Howell, 1995; Morris et al., 2003). Still other research shows that sport impedes moral development and facilitates anti-social behaviours (e.g. Begg et al., 1996; Kleiber and Roberts, 1981) and can even reinforce deviant behaviours by providing a gathering place for at-risk youth (Dishion et al., 1999; Jacob and Lefgren, 2003) or by 'exacerbating the social and racial divisions responsible for the very conditions the initiatives are trying to improve' (Pitter and Andrews, 1997, p. 93).

Even researchers reporting positive social outcomes from sport-based programmes qualify their findings by suggesting that specific aspects of the programme studied are responsible for positive outcomes. Essentially, programme elements that provided participants with close human relationships with peers and adults, with opportunities for problem solving and decision-making, and that enhanced participants' self-worth were seen to produce the outcomes sought (cf. Carnegie Council, 1995; Witt and Crompton, 1996, 1997). In short, the programmes that seem to be the most effective are those that do not look like traditional sport programmes.

Women were early beneficiaries of programmes intended to reach underserved populations, but are no longer the main thrust of these programmes. Increasingly, programmes are targeted at economically disadvantaged youth, mainly in urban areas. Often these participants are labelled 'at risk' and consist of ethnic minorities, recent immigrants, and other marginalized groups. Sport is often seen as a way to socialize participants into the majority values and norms of a society (Coakley, 1993). Often termed 'integration programmes', they are intended to reach minority populations with the goal of acculturating them to the principles and values of the sports culture – one based on the cult of performance, rules, and a sense of fair play, while instilling a strong sense of the social order (Arnaud, 2002). Arnaud describes a sport initiative in Lyon, France intended to promote the integration of immigrant populations this way:

Here, sport is a favoured tool to 'bring children, adolescents and young adults together around an ambitious project in which they can learn a regulated, collective way of life, aiming to resocialize them' (Ville de Lyon, 1991, p. 82). . . . By minimizing differences in order to impose a legitimate way of attaining better performance, sport structures – or even creates – an identical model for relating to things and to people and thus contributes to lack of differentiation between populations. (p. 577)

Notice that the emphasis is on the benefits (e.g. acceptance of multi-ethnic groups/contexts) that are obtained as a by-product of sport participation. The case of *Belfast United* on the book website describes a football (soccer) initiative designed to bring Irish Catholic and Protestant youth together to form a football club which toured the US. This initiative brings youth together initially with superordinate goal of winning, but ultimately requires them to participate in integrated activities to minimize the hostilities between the two groups. In embracing the performance ethos of the competitive sport culture,

participants are no longer focused on ethnic differences. The superordinate goal of winning supercedes their original biases. Programmes, like this one, that provide sport participation opportunities with the expectation that the setting itself will impart valued benefits are numerous. Yet, the outcomes of these programmes vary in terms of their efficacy.

Winning or striving to win can and does bring team mates together for a common purpose. But critics note that an overemphasis on winning and other extrinsic goals has been shown to decrease enjoyment and interest in sport for many participants (Kohn, 1986). Enjoyment is a key indicator of sport commitment (Scanlan et al., 1993). As sport development is concerned to retain participants, a focus on winning may provide only a short-term benefit for participants. If there are no other programme elements to enhance participants' enjoyment of the experience, the programme is not likely to sustain itself.

Individuals' experience of any programme is likely to vary from participant to participant. Sport programmes focused on winning are also likely to provide more playing time, instruction, and attention to more highly skilled players. Consequently, highly skilled players will have a very different experience of the programme than will less skilled players who do not feel that they contribute to the team's success (Hill and Green, 2008).

Winning is not the fundamental goal of social inclusion programmes, but it provides a good illustration of the double edged nature of benefits. It is certainly possible to forge a team that seeks to win, while also ensuring equal contributions (at least in terms of playing time) by all team members. A team that learns to value each member for their unique contribution on the field and off can translate into individuals who are more tolerant of differences and more likely to see beyond stereotypes. Yet these outcomes are entirely dependent on one's experience of the programme, including the values of coaches, administrators, and other programme personnel.

Sport as Diversion

Midnight basketball (see Hartmann, 2001 for a review) is widely acknowledged as one of the earliest and best-known examples of a sport-based programme developed in response to a social problem (Schultz et al., 1995). It was originally developed to reduce criminal activity and its main mechanism of intervention is its ability to divert people from criminal behaviours during peak crime hours (generally, evenings between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m.) and into a more pro-social activity valued by the intended participants – basketball. Although there is little scientific evidence that midnight basketball programmes have the intended diversion effect, the concept was quickly adopted in urban environments throughout the United States (Hartmann and Depro, 2006).

Basketball was the sport of choice for reaching inner-city, African-American males in the US, but similar programmes (using different sports) were implemented to reach other populations. The case of *Midnight Sport* on the book website compares and contrasts midnight sport programmes in several countries including the Midnight Golf in the US, Midnight Basketball in Australia, and Midnight Ping-pong in Hungary.

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The *Kirklees Splash* programme is one example from the UK. Splash is an open access sports activity programme using fields, parks, and areas near leisure centres. Participation is free and sports and games are led by professionals. Loxley et al. (2002) report that Splash programmes are put into high crime areas and occur, like midnight basketball programmes, at times when most youth crimes occur. These programmes, while avowedly sport-based, are not intended to develop elite athletes or even long-term participation in sport. In fact, many of these types of programmes have their genesis outside of sport and recreation and often do not provide high-quality sport experiences because their goals are not about sport. Their objective is to reduce crime and other anti-social behaviours. Diversion programmes require an activity that is attractive enough to divert participants from anti-social behaviours. Sport is popular enough to do this. Diversion programmes have met with some success. Although actual impacts do not measure up to claimed decreases in crime, cities identified as 'early adopters' of midnight basketball programmes show greater declines in crime rates than do those cities that lacked midnight basketball leagues (Hartmann and Depro, 2006). However, even advocates of these programmes admit that the relatively small numbers of young people active in midnight basketball leagues cannot, in and of themselves, account for the significant decreases in property crime. Two indirect effects of these programmes have been suggested (1) bundling of crime initiatives; and (2) publicity effects. In other words, midnight basketball leagues tend to be part of a whole package of crime prevention programmes. Therefore, it is difficult to attribute changes to any one programme. Also, media coverage of these programmes, along with the community attention resulting from that coverage may deter would-be criminals. On a more positive note, media attention may build trust among community members in response to the pro-active nature of the programme. What is noteworthy about these indirect impacts is the implications for programme design. Providing diversion programmes may be useful, but they do not seem to be sufficient by themselves. At least for crime prevention, sport programmes need to be incorporated into a wider array of initiatives and their success may be, at least in part, dependent on positive media attention.

Sport as a Hook

The third category of programme consists of programmes that use sport to attract participants, and then provide core services such as tutoring, counselling, and other social services. Midnight basketball programmes, although originally designed as a diversionary intervention, evolved to include mentoring, tutoring, and advising workshops (Hartmann, 2001). The Positive Futures programme, a joint partnership of Sport England, the Youth Justice Board, and the UK Anti-Drugs Coordination Unit uses sport, recreation, and other educational activities to 'reduce anti-social behaviour, crime and drug use among 10–16 year olds' (Sport England, 2002, p. 1). The programme uses sport to attract teens, but is ultimately intended to help participants form relationships with other participants and with adult

programme leaders. One of the most successful programmes in the US has been Larry Hawkins' Institute for Athletics and Education (Hartmann, 2003). Hawkins, originally a teacher and coach, draws participants to his programmes with sport and turns them into serious, committed students. Like the Positive Futures Programme, IAE programmes are built on the value of relationships, particularly between coach/tutor and participant, and highlight the interrelationship of academics and athletics. For example, one programme was structured so that boys practiced two days a week and participated in supervised tutoring sessions on the other days. Girls alternated tutoring and sport practice with the boys. Students could not practice if they had not participated in the tutoring session the previous day. Further, coaches also did the tutoring and brought educational lessons into the coaching sessions. In this way, athletics and academics were part of a common educational process.

Numerous programmes have been developed to satisfy a plethora of social ills. These include crime (Geoff, 2004; Nichols and Crow, 2004), violence (Hellison et al., 1996), anger management (Stevenson, 2002), gang membership (Thurman et al., 2001), drug use (Crabbe, 2000; Eitle et al., 2003), teen sex (Eitle and Eitle, 2002), lack of educational achievement (Hartmann, 2003), intolerance (Wilson and White, 2001), and other forms of disengagement (Gray and Seddon, 2005). Programmes claim to develop an endless array of beneficial skills such as life skills (Petitpas et al., 2004), decision making and problem solving skills (Newton et al., 2001), responsible behaviours (Hellison and Walsh, 2002), and healthy lifestyle changes (Boon and Clydesdale, 2005), among others. Yet, the evidence that sport-based programmes actually produce social and personal change is scant (cf. Collins and Kay, 2003; Smith and Waddington, 2004). While there is a paucity of rigorous scientific evaluation of sport programmes designed to enhance social and personal change, there is a more fundamental reason that research on the efficacy of such programmes has been inconclusive at best and contradictory at worst.

Change Implementation Matters

Sport has been treated as if it were a unitary experience. That is, all sport is seen as the same; it is assumed to provide the same benefits to all participants no matter the programme or context. Yet we know that sports vary dramatically. Even traditional programmes offering the same sport differ as a function of their rewards and expectations. Seemingly simple things can make a substantial difference in the impacts that the sport experience can have. For example, McCormack and Chalip (1988) found that athletes are more likely to take lessons away from sport if their coach seems to enjoy coaching than if he or she treats coaching merely as a job. In other words, something as subtle as the coach's demeanour moderates the effect that a sport experience has on the attitudes and values of participants. Thus, it is not sport, per se, that causes change. It is the experience as a function of implementation and an individual's interpretation of that experience which makes the difference. We do not yet know enough about the full range of factors that determine the effects that sport can have, but it is clear that

the effects of sport depend on the experiences that it provides, and those experiences depend on variations in the ways that sport is implemented. In other words, the effects of sport are not inherent in sport, but are due to what sport enables or hampers. These outcomes are directly related to programme elements.

Elements of Successful Sports Development Programmes

A number of researchers (e.g. Eccles and Gootman, 2002; Hellison and Walsh, 2002; Petitpas et al., 2004; Sandford et al., 2006; Smith and Waddington, 2004) have studied youth sport and recreation settings purported to promote positive development. Although the programmes vary in terms of their goals, participants, sport activities, and political and geographic contexts, programmes that have had success as change agents share two common features: (1) an emphasis on relationships and relationship building; and (2) a positive experience. These elements are present in successful programmes of all kinds – sport for social inclusion, sport as diversion, and sport as a hook. However, the way that each of these elements is provided varies dramatically and must be tailored to the programme's goals and targeted participants to have a clear developmental orientation.

Relationships and Relationship Building

Relationships are at the core of participants' experience of the sport programme. Participants come into contact with adult programme leaders, coaches, mentors, and other specialists as part of their programme experience. When participants characterize their relationship with adults associated with the programme in terms of support and trust, the relationships facilitate positive outcomes for participants (Petitpas et al., 2004). Further, adults must be perceived to have relevant knowledge and expertise without being seen as an authority figure (Smith and Waddington, 2004). In fact, the most powerful adult-participant relationships are those in which the adult is able to empower the participant to take ownership of the programme, embracing the intended goals and processes of the programme. This is the biggest challenge for many adult programme leaders. It requires adults to support participants in planning and decision making without imposing their own views.

Chalip et al. (1996) describe one such programme in New Zealand. Adolescents were invited to form a committee to plan, organize, and administer the local recreation club. Thirty to forty teens served on the committee at any one time. Seven adults also served on the committee. The adults provided guidance and expertise to the group, but left the teens to determine the programming, policies, and other managerial issues. Adults helped teens to learn the requisite skills to effectively manage their own programme. The programme was a huge success; the community gained a programme that was attractive to teens, especially teens not well-served by more traditional sport clubs and did so at very low cost since the teens supplied the labour. The authors supplied five recommendations to adult programme administrators hoping to develop

positive relationships with teens: (1) be willing to share power with teens; (2) maximize opportunities for participants to take on meaningful, adult-like roles and responsibilities; (3) design programmes to be congruent with teens' reasons for participating; (4) have realistic expectations; and (5) show confidence in participants' ability to succeed. These suggestions are far from revolutionary, but result in a programme that looks very different from traditional adult-centred sport programmes with their well-prescribed outcomes.

Indeed most sport programmes are coach/manager-centred. Coaches do the planning, make the decisions, and tend to be rather authoritarian in their administrative style (Penman et al., 1974). It has been argued that authoritarian settings can actually inhibit the social and moral development of participants (Theodoulides and Armour, 2001), largely because participants do not build two-way relationships with coaches or programme leaders. Rather, they are socialized to 'do what the coach says' and never fully engage with any problem solving, decision making, or social responsibility. The coach, then, is a pivotal element in sport programmes, particularly sport for social inclusion programmes in which participants' relationships with adults are largely limited to player-coach relationships.

Diversion programmes do not necessarily have the same focus on sport performance as do programmes reliant entirely on sport. Remember, the key objective of diversion programmes is to divert participants from a time or place when they would be engaged in risky or socially deviant behaviours such as drug use, teen sex, and criminal activity. The relationships that participants develop with adult programme leaders in diversionary programmes are critical to the success of these programmes. Like coaches, effective programme leaders should have a high degree of relevant knowledge and skill, but should not be seen as authority figures (Smith and Waddington, 2004). Often, however, adults are volunteers who are drawn to the mission of the programme. They do not necessarily have the appropriate expertise. Davis and Dawson (1996) conclude that programme leaders need more than a quick education about the social concerns of participants; programme leaders should be specialists able to handle the issues with confidence. Participants in diversion programmes interact and build relationships with a variety of adults in the programme, not just a coach. Adults may take on different roles within the programme (e.g. mentor, coach, teacher, counsellor). Regardless of role, it is important that adults are supportive and respectful of participants and that they are a consistent presence for participants. Adults must invest in one-on-one relationships with participants. After all, trust does not come quickly to the disaffected youth expected to participate in diversion programmes.

The same is true for programmes that use sport to attract participants in order to provide more active interventions – developing life skills, conflict management skills, emotional maturity, etc. It is easy for adults to fall into the trap of explicitly attempting to create better people, but participants sense this as judgement rather than support. Instead, programme personnel should be focused on assisting participants to learn the skills necessary to make more healthy choices, not by telling them (this is a key complaint about school teachers made by disaffected youth), but by providing them a warm, close, caring relationship. The relationship provides a safe context for participants to discuss issues and seek guidance that is available, appropriate, and predictable (Mahoney et al., 2004). For many

disaffected and at-risk youth, this may be their first supportive, caring relationship with an adult (Sandford et al., 2006). As important as adult relationships are to facilitating personal development and change, participants have many more interactions with other participants than they do with adult programme leaders. Positive relationships with adults are necessary, but without supportive peer relationships, they are not sufficient to create sustainable change.

Peer groups exert tremendous influence on youth, particularly during adolescence (Kiesner et al., 2002; Lee, 2007). At-risk, disaffected, and underserved youth are no exception. However, in many instances, peer relationships support their anti-social behaviours. The most obvious example is gang membership. Gang members have strong relationships with in-group members, yet the norms and values of the group do not support the personal growth and social development of individual gang members. Rather, gang members instead support violence, vandalism, and other criminal behaviours. At the same time, gangs provide a sense of belonging, status, and a valued identity (Petitpas et al., 2004). Sport-based interventions can also provide belonging, status, and a valued identity (McPherson et al., 1989). The values, beliefs, and behaviours of peers (and adults) in the programme will ultimately determine the norms and values that are salient aspects of the setting. So, the challenge for programme providers is to create and support a culture of positive norms and values, and to do it in a way that creates buy-in by participants. Sport programmes that provide more than sport training seem to be best suited to the task. For example, The First Tee of Greater Austin uses golf to attract at-risk students to its programme. Once there, participants work with a mentor and a small peer group to learn golf and life skills. Course etiquette such as introducing oneself to an opponent, shaking hands, and self-monitoring are taught as part of the game of golf. However, these behaviours also help to structure the ways that participants interact with one another, facilitating respectful and supportive relationships (see www.firstteeaustin.org).

Diversionary programmes must be particularly attentive to peer support of anti-social behaviours among programme participants. Providing a space and time for participants to meet without working to develop a positive group climate based on supportive peer relationships can facilitate the very anti-social behaviours the programme is intended to curtail. Midnight basketball programmes, for example, were designed to reduce crime by attracting potential criminals to play basketball peak crime hours. Before programmes expanded by offering other social services and training, the basketball gym became a place to meet (and perhaps partner with) like others to plan more criminal activity (Hartmann and Depro, 2006). For this reason, programmes that embed character building, life skills, education, or other activities to build social capital, are more effective at facilitating change. Programmes that lack structure, opportunities to build skill, and guidance from caring adults seem to attract youth with social adjustment problems and facilitate the further development of anti-social behaviours (Mahoney et al., 2004).

In summary, caring and supportive relationships with adult programme leaders and peers are common elements to successful programmes. The specific processes for developing these relationships should be tailored to fit the needs of participants and the mission of the programme. However, these relationships

are built over time and require the development of a positive and supportive environment to flourish. Consequently, the relationships participants develop within the programme are embedded in the broader organizational culture and will colour their overall experience of the programme.

Experience of the Programme

Interactions with programme leaders, participants, and others within the programme are core to one's experience of the programme. However, the structure and activities of a programme form the context in which relationships are built and maintained. Programme features as diverse as the sport or activity selected, the amount of structured versus unstructured time available, the diversity of programme participants, and the amount and type of adult supervision engender very different contexts for interaction and relationship building. Consider the interactions which might occur in a standard competitive volleyball programme with adult coaches, referees, and league administrators. Coaches and athletes have multiple opportunities to interact formally at practices and matches, and informally before and after programme activities, and while waiting for the next match. Officials interact with participants in a very formal context and their interactions are often negative. Team mates may support one another against an opponent, but compete with one another to earn playing time and the coach's attention. Now consider the same volleyball programme which uses the sport education model (Siedentop, 1994). Participants coach one another, officiate, keep score, and administer the league. In this context, adults' roles are to support and guide participants as necessary. Then consider a league that provides volleyball because it is a popular sport. Matches are scheduled to alternate with career planning sessions. Mentors help participants to translate situations and lessons faced on the court to those faced in everyday life. What interactions would be engendered in this model? Clearly, participants would experience each of these settings very differently. All are built around the core activity of volleyball, but each would engender different subjective experiences and outcomes, including different relationships. Is one better than another? Not necessarily. The key is to consider the outcomes valued by the organization and its participants. Then, determine the interactions necessary to achieve those outcomes. Finally, design and implement programme elements that engender the requisite interactions.

Change Potential of Sports Development Programmes: Management Implications

It is clear that sport is not unique in its ability to capture the attention of participants in order to facilitate positive social development (cf. McCormack and Chalip, 1988). However, sport's appeal across a wide range of groups and cultures, the strong emotional attachments developed through sport, and its strength as a context of identity formation position it as a potentially powerful tool for social and personal change. Programmes of all types have been successful when they are designed to meet the needs of participants, engender positive

relationships among participants, peers, and programme leaders, and implement activities that facilitate appropriate interactions. In combination, these elements create a culture which values and supports positive social norms. Table 6.1 summarizes the key aims and change potential of the three main types of sports development programmes and their implications for managers.

Table 6.1 Types of sports development programmes, potential for personal–social change, and management focus.

Sports development programme aims	Social–personal change potential	Management focus
<i>Inclusion programmes</i>		
- bring the benefits of sport participation to traditionally underserved populations - socialize participants into the norms and values of society through sport participation	- enhance sense of belonging - enhance or detract from perceived self-worth - increase respect for authority - acculturation - increase tolerance and respect for diversity or inflame existing ethnic tensions - enhance or impede moral development	- identify underserved populations - conduct needs assessments - design programmes which are inclusive and meet the needs of specific populations - train coaches to deliver the intended benefits
<i>Diversion programmes</i>		
- use sport as a substitute activity to replace anti-social behaviours - provide sport at a time and place which disrupts usual patterns of anti-social behaviours - often used to divert participants from anti-social behaviours such as gang activities, property crime, violent crime, drug use, and sexual risk-taking	- reduce property crime - reduce violent crime - reduce gang activity - provide alternative community of belongingness - provide positive role models - create opportunities for positive activities and relationships - can provide a meeting place for deviant or delinquent participants to gather - can provide a space for socializing individuals into anti-social values and behaviours	- partner with other community agencies to integrate sport programmes with other initiatives (e.g. crime prevention, drug education, health promotion campaigns) - structure programmes to keep participants involved in the sport activity - monitor informal interactions to prohibit anti-social group behaviours - train programme leaders to empower participants to take ownership of and responsibility for the programme - work to attract media attention for the programme

(Continued)

Table 6.1 Continued

Sports development programme aims	Social-personal change potential	Management focus
Hook programmes		
• use sport to attract at-risk or disengaged participants • integrate social programmes with sport activities to provide participants with needed skills, knowledge, and abilities	• increase social and physical skills, and educational attainment • increase ability to interact positively with adults and peers • increase confidence and self-worth • motivate participants to take responsibility for their actions • enhance sense of belonging • provide opportunities for achievement	• consider sports that are attractive to the target population • empower participants to take on key roles and responsibilities • show confidence in participants' abilities • train adult programme leaders to advise rather than command • train programme leaders in mentoring and relationship building • integrate support activities and sport activities • include informal time (and space) for adult-participant interactions • maintain focus on mission – i.e. the non-sport goals and objectives • maintain a long-term focus on outcomes • provide a safe environment for learning

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Chapter No: 6

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