A SLUM DUNK OR BOUNCING OFF THE BACKBOARD

ANALYSING SPORTIMPACT'S WORK IN EAST TIMOR USING CRITQUES FOUND WITHIN THE SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE LITERATURE

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STATEMENT

This dissertation is my own unaided work and any information taken from secondary sources has been fully referenced and acknowledged. The length of this dissertation is 9995 words, and does not exceed, the upper limit of 10,000 words. The word count is in line with the Part II Dissertation Procedures document.

Individually I have received a total of two hours and forty minutes of supervision; one hour from Dr Emma Mawdsley, twenty minutes from Dr Elizabeth Watson, twenty minutes from Bhaskar Vira and one hour from Dr Alexander Cullen. I have also had two hours of group supervisions with Dr Emma Mawdsley.

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NB: The left-hand front cover image shows a SportImpact volunteer in their t-shirt. The right-hand image shows a group of men playing football on the beach in Dili. Both were taken by the author

ABSTRACT

SportImpact is a program operating in East Timor which aims to use sport to promote human development. This sits alongside a recent rise in the use of sport within development initiatives and the growth of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). Literature on SDP has highlighted many issues and critiques. These revolve around gender and education as well as critiques which reverberate with those present in the broader development literature. This dissertation analyses SportImpact's work in East Timor through the use of critiques found in the wider literature. It focuses on its approach to gender and education as well as situating it within the broader development landscape. The research found positive impacts on gender equality within the project as well as unique approaches to learning. The project does not experience many of the major pitfalls documented in the literature and presents interesting methods for other SDP projects.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

SDP – Sport for Development and Peace

UN – United Nations

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations

SDPIWG – Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group

WID – Women in Development

WAD – Women and Development

GAD – Gender and Development

WSD – Women with Sport and Development

YLC – Youth Leadership Camp

YDC – Youth Creative for Development

TNC – Transnational Corporation

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Images of young girls in Kenya playing football or cricket bats being delivered to rural communities in India have become almost as ubiquitous as trucks delivering food aid or water. This recent proliferation of sport and development initiatives is also reflected in the charitable activities of TNCs such as Nike and government initiatives such as Sport Relief in the UK.

The majority of the literature on SDP is relatively recent and most ties into wider concepts and critiques within development. A large range of critiques of SDP has started to form within the literature; some of its key critics include Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), Darnell (2012) and Hayhurst (2014). These critiques are not necessarily damning SDP, but instead they highlight some of the challenges it faces and possible negative outcomes it may create. Critiques surrounding gender and education are numerous within the published works; most of the work examines these within the broader SDP landscape.

This dissertation analyses the work of SportImpact, an SDP project in East Timor (Timor-Leste) with these critiques in mind. Following in the footsteps of Lindsey and Grattan (2012) and Burnett (2015), this research uses an individual, local case study which allows for a situated analysis. The research is based on two weeks' participation in and observing of the program and uses a range of qualitative methods.

This work does not aim to evaluate or assess the success of this program; such a task would require significantly more time and material resources and would need to question

what ‘success’ really is. Instead, this work aims to analyse the program, in light of some of the more theoretical critiques in the field.

Three research questions were considered throughout this research:

1. What role does gender play within SportImpact?
2. What role do sport and other components play within SportImpact?
3. Where does SportImpact sit in the broader development landscape?

These research questions were developed from the critiques found in the wider SDP literature. The questions were largely influenced by Hartmann and Kwauk’s main ‘pitfalls’ of SDP programs (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011), but were also informed by other literature around the topics.

The selection of a specific case study helps to give this research a unique angle. By focussing on a single program, it is possible to examine the actions of individuals and, in doing so, highlight their agency. This ‘bottom-up’ approach is similar to that of post-colonial development critiques, and allows us to move away from the study of development as a process and instead consider the impacts these development programs have on individuals. The history and political economy of East Timor also play an interesting role in the program’s development and activities.

This research is aware of the critiques that exist of development itself, especially those by post-development critics. Whilst the term “development” will be used, the approach

taken here will be one that prioritises local views and agency and attempts not reinforce North/South binaries or Orientalist discourses.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

Sport and Development

The concept of sport with development has been theorised in a number of ways (Kidd, 2008). Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has become the most ubiquitous and will be used throughout this dissertation. The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDPIWG) (2008) defines SDP as:

> 'The intentional use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development objectives in low- and middle-income countries and disadvantaged communities in high-income settings.'

The use of sport for development has a rich history, dating back to colonial times (Guest, 2009; Kidd, 2008; Levermore and Beacom, 2009), but there has been a recent increase in the use of sport in international development (Coalter, 2010; Giulianotti, 2011; Levermore, 2008). The UN has played a big role in this recent increase (Beutler, 2008; Kidd, 2008; United Nations, 2003).

Sport has been theorised as a social construct (Bourdieu, 1978) with powerful social forces (Chawanksy, 2015; Dovey, 1993). The social forces and values associated with sport, such as 'fair play' (McCormack and Chalip, 1988), are heralded by advocates that believe sport has an 'intrinsic value' (Perkins and Noam, 2007) which provides a new opportunity for development (Darnell and Black, 2011). However, this positivist view of sport

(Hartmann, 2003) has been critiqued by many who call for a more critical understanding of the movement (Coakley, 2002; Guest, 2005; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Sanders, 2016; Spaaij, 2009b). Especially Colter (2013), who has strongly criticised 'sport evangelists'.

Figure 1 – Illustration of Coalter's (2009) continuum created by author and including Hartmann and Kwauk's (2011) ideas.

The complex field of SDP (Darnell et al, 2016; Hartmann, 2003) includes a variety of conceptual theories and approaches to sport and development. Figure 1 shows Coalter's (2009) continuum of sport and development interventions. Hartmann (2003) outlines the three key understandings of sport that underlie SDP interventions (figure 2) and Levermore (2008) groups SDP programs into 6 broad categories (figure 3). Understanding the variety of programs and intentions can help us understand the heterogeneous landscape of SDP (Giulianotti, 2011; Lindsey et al, 2016). Table 1 shows the variety of SDP approaches, as described by Mintzberg (2006).

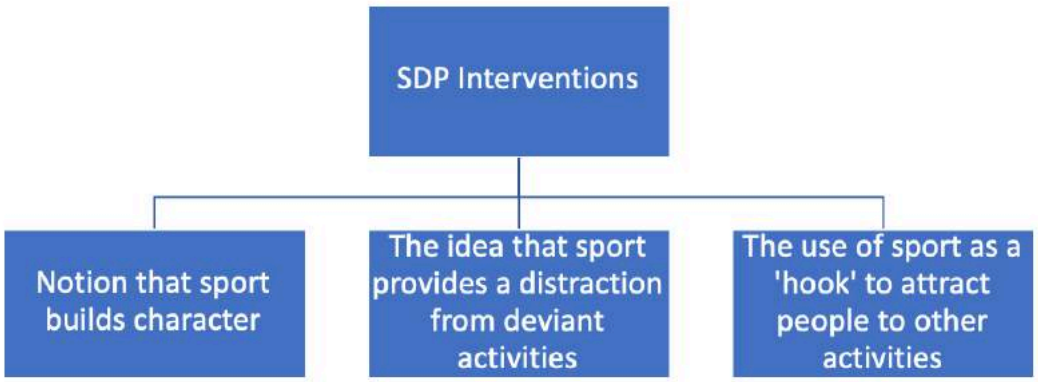

Figure 2 – Hartmann's (2003) key understandings of SDP interventions.

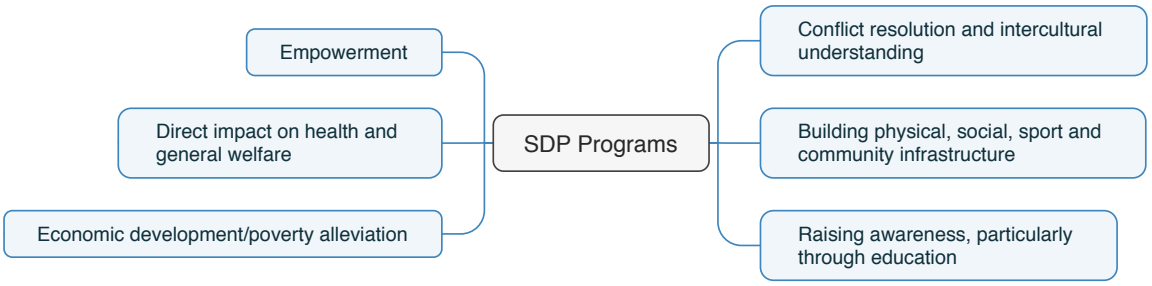

Figure 3 – Levermore's (2008) groupings of SDP programs.

Table 1 – An explanation of Mintzberg's (2006) variety of SDP approaches with appropriate criticisms

Approach	Main Actors	Idea	Criticisms
Top down	NGOs and International Organisations	Pre-designed then carried out in different contexts. Over time community will begin to take ownership.	Potential to align with capitalism (Darnell, 2007; Black, 2010). Potential to be used for social control and regulation (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Spaaij, 2009b, Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011)
Outside-in	Partnerships between NGOs and recipients	Based on preconceived global agendas, localising a global framework.	Can fail to address local issues of needs (Kidd, 2008; Coalter, 2010)
Inside-up	Communities	Community driven and local ownership allow for programs to address local needs.	Issues with ideas of 'community' (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999)

SDP follows the recent shift within development, from economic to social capital and a focus on the 'human' (Coalter, 2013; Kay, 2012). Development itself is 'intrinsically uncertain and contested' (Pierterse, 2001) and therefore definitions of development vary

widely. Sen (1999) defines it as an expansion of freedoms, whereas organisations like the World Bank measure it in terms of economic growth. This ambiguity in development results in a variation in what SDP initiatives are trying to achieve (Black, 2010; Spaaij, 2009b).

SDP is situated in the recent shift to bottom-up forms of development following the failure of past strategies, such as Structural Adjustment Plans (SAPs) (Gros, 2010) and state-led modernisation strategies (McVety, 2008). It sits alongside the growth of participatory development (Chambers, 1995; Cornwall, 2003; Guijt and Shah, 1998) which is closely linked to the rise in grassroots organisation (Willis, 2011). The period also saw a rise in post-development theory (Escobar, 1995; Esteva, 1992) which sees development as a construct and questions the underlying power structures and hierarchies it produces, as well as the terminology of 'underdeveloped' or 'undeveloped' that is used.

One of the key themes in recent 'bottom-up' development is a focus on empowerment, which is present within SDP. It is a 'buzzword' (Rowlands, 1998) which is used within work on gender and development (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015), participatory development (Sidaway, 2007) and sport (UN, 2003). The term has been criticised by Cornwall and Brock (2005) who explore the gap between the use of the term in language and practice.

Gender

Hartmann and Kwuak (2011) claim that one of the pitfalls of SPD initiatives is that they can reproduce gendered inequalities. This follows the critique of development more broadly, that questions the role and importance of gender.

Saavedra (2009) places both sport and gender into the intersection of the physical and social. Conceptions of gender are wide ranging (Butler, 1988; Hughes and Witz, 1997; McDowell, 1995). It is geographically differentiated (Pratt and Hanson, 1994; Mohanty, 1984) and has important relationships with space and power. Sport itself can be seen as a gendered social practice, with historically male connotations (Collins, 2013).

A focus on gender in development largely began in the 1980s and led to the creation of the Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD) movements, which focussed on the empowerment of women and saw them as 'smart investments' (Chant, 2008). However, these programs made women agents for development, forcing them to bear greater responsibilities (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015; Chant, 2016). Programs, such as Nike's Girl Effect program (Nike Foundation, 2008) were generally founded on homogenous imaginations of women in the Global South (Murphy, 2012) and caused many negative outcomes (Hickel, 2014; Moeller, 2013; Switzer, 2013; Calkin, 2016). These critiques led to the movement of Gender and Development (GAD,) which takes into account deeper power structures and all genders, not just women (McIllwaine and Datta, 2003).

Saavedra (2005) and Hayhurst (2014) have both traced the connections between WID, GAD and SDP. Sport has generally been connected to gender empowerment (SDPIWG, 2008) although the connection has been critiqued by Hayhurst (2013). Another key critique is the use of the 'girl effect' rhetoric through many of these programs (Szto, 2015). A more positive example of gender and sport is evident in Forde's (2009) work on girl's football in rural Kenya.

Sport as a hook and the role of education

Hartmann and Kwuak (2011) argue that effective SPD initiatives use sport as a 'hook' and prioritise the non-sport aspects of initiatives.

The positivist view of sport has been countered by those who see sport as a 'neutral space' (MacAloon, 1995; Harvey et al, 2014). This allows it to be filled with different meanings for development and also be a site of social organisation (Guest, 2005). Coalter (2010) argues this 'neutral' view of sport is due to the mythopoetic concept of sport, which frames it as apolitical (Ferguson, 1990). A 'neutral' concept of sport underlies the use of sport as a 'hook' for development (Hartmann, 2003); the idea that sport can be used as a way to attract individuals into development (Leviton and Schuh, 1991) falls on the 'plus-sport' end of Coalter's (2009) spectrum. The argument is that sport is not enough in itself and strong non-sport components are needed for successful SDP projects (Hartmann, 2003; Furstenberg, 1999).

One main non-sport component is the use of education. Hartmann (2003) argues for a form of education that follows Freire's (1970) work on a pedagogy of education and promotes critical skills and allows for a deeper understanding of the world participants live in. It is through education that they can gain skills and values (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Perkins and Noam, 2007) and make individual changes (Forde and Kota, 2016) that can contribute towards development, through finding better jobs and a better quality of life. Education can also have ripple effects throughout the wider society and community (Sudgen, 2008; Brofenbrenner, 1979). In countries with poor formal education these

programs can play an important role in complementing established institutions (Sanders et al, 2014; Dovey, 1993).

Approaches to education within SDP vary, and respond to critiques of colonial educational relationships. Barr and Tagg (1995) argue for a learner-centred approach to education promoting mutual learning and teaching. This breaks down the teacher/student binary explored by Chalip et al (1984) and Coleman et al (1991). Other critiques surrounding education focus on the 'socializing' effect it can have (Kay and Bradbury, 2009). Foucault's (1980) work draws upon the connection between power and knowledge, which is important when looking at education and learning relationships.

Wider Development Landscape

A large range of literature has criticised SDP projects by situating them in a neoliberal, development landscape, including Levermore (2009). Many projects use volunteers; Thorpe and Rinehart (2013), Wolch (1989) and Hurd (1989) have connected volunteerism to neoliberalism more broadly. Critiques of volunteers in SDP projects focus on the role they play in reinforcing neoliberal ideas and hierarchies (Darnell, 2012; Kay and Bradbury, 2009; Thorpe and Rinehard, 2009), as well as promoting the rhetoric of individual responsibility (Rose, 2005; Darnell, 2012). Darnell's (2012) Foucauldian analysis of the biopower of sport highlights the role it can play in producing 'good' or problematic populations or citizens (Darnell, 2007; Kay and Bradbury, 2009). Seeing sport as a form of social capital (Blackshaw and Long, 2005; Bourdieu 1986; Putnam, 1993) can highlight its possibly exclusionary nature (Spaaij, 2009a). However these forms of social capital can still have the power to change and develop communities (Frisby and Millar, 2002; Hartmann, 2003). Sport itself has also been conceptualised as a product of capitalism (Collins, 2013; Jarvie, 2011) and therefore possibly implicit in reproducing these unequal power relations.

NGOs are one of the key players in SDP; their role has been critiqued, due to the dependency they can create (Coalter, 2010), their limited local knowledge (Burnett, 2015; Fokwang, 2009) and in reinforcing imaginations of colonialism (Forde and Kota, 2016). Critiques have also arisen around their use of funding which can skew their activities (Coalter, 2009; Sanders, 2016; Hayhurst, 2014). Funding from governments may make it impossible for NGOs to tackle government-based problems (Donnelly et al, 2011) and may force projects to continue unnecessarily (Burnett, 2012). The NGO landscape within SDP is

currently Western dominated (Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010) which can lead to a Western image and practice of development.

An understanding of the context of a location is key to SDP projects. Framing sport or SDP projects as apolitical (Ferguson, 1990) renders problems of poverty and underdevelopment as technical (Li, 2007) and leads to a limiting view of SDP (Levermore and Beacom, 2009). An understanding of the history and political economy of a location is key to realising why development might be needed in the first place (Darnell, 2010; Darnell, 2015; Mohan and Stokke, 2000). Historically, one needs to recognise the colonial residue present in SDP projects and sport itself (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Foster, 2006; Kidd, 2008). Understanding the social context and influences on a project is also important (Coalter, 2010; Chalip et al, 1984; Darnell, 2012). These social circumstances that might be influencing causes of poverty (Donnelly et al, 2011) include family (Kay and Spaaij, 2012) and are key to understanding the uptake dynamics of a project (Burnett, 2015).

A 'displacement of scope' (Coalter, 2010) is argued to be present in many SDP projects, as change at the micro level does not always result in meso or macro level change (Darnell, 2007; Sanders, 2016; Spaaij, 2009a) especially due to structural challenges. Hartmann (2003) argues that this view trivialises some of the important local benefits that projects can have. This local focus within SDP (Lindsey and Grattan, 2012) is in line with post-development calls to 'think and act locally' (Esteva and Prakash, 1997).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGIES

Figure 4 – Location of East Timor within South East Asia and the World. Illustrations have been added by author. Source of images: US Central Intelligence Agency

For the research I spent three weeks in Dili, the capital of East Timor (circled in figure 4). Two of these weeks were spent at a Youth Leadership Camp (YLC), run by SportImpact, during which I carried out a variety of qualitative methods. Within SDP a range of methods have been used however the majority focus on qualitative methods (Darnell et al, 2016; Chawansky, 2012).

My research uses a case study approach; anonymising the organisation being researched would have been very difficult and I obtained consent from its director to undertake this research and name the organisation. Methodology focussing on local accounts like this research has been advocated by Kay (2012) and Lindsey et al (2016).

METHODS

QUESTIONNAIRES

I distributed two questionnaires to the 21 participants of the YLC; at the beginning and end of the camp. For all respondents, I received verbal informed consent to use the information given; names have been kept anonymous.

The questions were written in English and then translated into Portuguese with the help of a friend. This was to address the language barrier; many participants did not understand English well. Responses came back in a variety of languages, including English, Portuguese and Tetum (the local language). Appendix 1 and 2 show the original questionnaires and appendix 3 shows the English translation of the questions.

The questionnaires include a mixture of open and closed questions. Out of the 21 participants, 11 responded to the first questionnaire and 12 responded to the second. The codes used and information about the participants are provided in appendix 4.

INTERVIEWS

I conducted three semi-structured, long interviews with members of SportImpact (Mason, 2002). Table 2 shows the interviewees and the length and location of the interviews. Names were not anonymised, due to their informed consent. The interviews were conducted in English, all spoke it well despite not being their first language. The interviews used interview schedules (appendix 5) to guide the interviews (Patton, 2002), but

allowed the interviewees to influence and direct the conversation throughout. This allowed for shared learning and helped to deconstruct some of the possible perceived power dynamics (Dowling, 2005).

Table 2 - Descriptions of the interviews carried out in East Timor

Interview	First Name of Interviewee	Gender	Role in SportImpact	Length of Interview	Location
1	Nuno	Male	Director	45 minutes	Quiet office
2	Silvina	Female	Master Facilitator	1 hour 30 minutes	Busy local restaurant
3	Virginia	Female	Master Facilitator	1 hour 15 minutes	Busy park

The interviewees were chosen because of their roles in the organisation. There was also a bias towards those who spoke better English. I am aware of giving a voice to those I interviewed and not to others (McDowell, 1992) which may have limited my findings. However, as Valentine (2005) argues, interview respondents are not meant to be representative but illustrative.

DOCUMENT AND DATA REVIEW/ANALYSIS

SportImpact has an online drive[1] for all of the materials they have ever created. I analysed these documents and publications to complement the rest of my findings. I also carried out basic statistical analysis on data that SportImpact had collected over the last three years,

[1] http://sportimpact.org/drive

which Nuno provided. Statistical analysis largely consisted of comparisons of figures between years. Appendix 6 shows the format and source of the documents reviewed.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Throughout my three weeks in Dili, I was constantly observing and making travel notes. My two weeks at the YLC were when I carried out the majority of my participant observation. Throughout the camp I spent every day, from 9-5, participating in the camp activities and ongoing discussions. Figure 5 shows photos from a hike taken on the first day with the participants. My participant observation was overt, and I explained on the first day why I was there and what I was doing.

Figure 5 - Images taken by author of the hike.

Whilst in Dili I kept a travel diary where I documented all my thoughts and feelings, as well as budgets and plans. Kearns (2005) believes that any observation is participant observation, and I was constantly aware of my surroundings. During the YLC, I kept more detailed notes of my observations. Excerpts can be found in appendix 7. Alongside these diaries I kept a variety of voice notes, typed notes and photos on my phone covering my whole experience in Dili.

Analysis

All of my participants gave me verbal informed consent (Sheyvens and Storey, 2003) to carry out the research and take photos, and all data collected was stored in password-protected files on a password-protected laptop. Any data about participants was also anonymised for their privacy.

Following a mix-methods approach meant that I had to carry out a range of analysis methods. For my interviews I summarised the closed-ended questions, in order to generate data from the responses. Due to the small sample size, and varied responses as a result of language differences, I found that the longer answers to questions were more valuable as quotes in themselves. Interviews were transcribed on the same day they took place and manually coded, by reading through and highlighting recurrent themes (Cope, 2010); a similar method was applied to my participant observation notes. The codes followed the themes present in my research questions. Document analysis was informed by the findings from my interviews, questionnaires and participant observation.

Reflections

Conducting the research was a rich experience, but some issues became clear. A key part of carrying out research is to be reflective (Clegg and Hardy, 1996). I am aware of the limitations that were present in my methods, especially due to the language barrier (Bernard, 1994). Being unable to speak Portuguese or Tetum limited the quality of my questionnaires and understanding of responses.

There was also a temporal limit to my research. Being in Dili for only two weeks meant that I was only able to observe and research one YLC. I was unable to carry out follow-up research or contact previous participants of similar camps, due to a limited database of contact details.

I was also aware of my positionality as a white, female, British researcher (McDowell, 1992). Table 3 shows some of the limitations I predicted due to my positionality, and the methods used to attempt to overcome them. I am aware that the production of knowledge is inherently malleable; it is an interplay between oneself, ideas and others; therefore no information gathered can be perceived as a 'given truth'.

Table 3 – Table showing the positionalities issues anticipated and the methods used to overcome them in the field

Positionality Issue	Description of Limitation	Methods Used to Attempt to Overcome/Minimise Impact
Being a white, Western researcher	Being seen as a 'melai' (foreigner) meant it was difficult to fully integrate with groups; the language barrier amplified this. The past colonial legacies in East Timor also impacted the way I was viewed as an 'outsider'. I was also privileged in my class status and wealth (Dowling, 2005; Jazeel and McFarlane, 2010)	I befriended as many of the participants as possible and regularly spent my lunch breaks with them (Bernard, 2006). I exhibited a keen understanding of Timorese history and culture and attempted, before arriving, to learn as much Tetum as I could. I was also constantly aware of my privileged position (Rose, 1997).
Gender	Gender relations in East Timor are complex and women are culturally seen as inferior to men and are seen as having a 'private' and 'familial' role. (Narciso and Henriques, 2010) This meant that interacting with some of the male participants was challenging and I was not taken very seriously.	I wore culturally appropriate clothing and interacted with the male participants, as much as possible, in order to gain a better rapport and interaction. My gender was helpful when interviewing Virginia and Silvina, who felt more comfortable around me because of it.
Age	Although I was a similar age to many of the participants, I appeared significantly younger and therefore found it challenging to be taken seriously as a researcher.	I spoke as much as possible about the research I was carrying out and the readings/work I had done on the topic. I acted and dressed as maturely as possible and used Nuno and Virginia as 'gatekeepers' (Valentine, 1997) in order to reassert my position as a researcher.
Unconscious bias	Due to my upbringing and education, I am likely to experience a certain bias in the way that I understand things and carry out research; this can come across as an unequal power relationship between me and the participants/interviewees (Shah, 1999).	I attempted to observe and make notes with as few preconceived ideas as possible, and noted down when I thought I may have been acting on any preconceptions. My diary entries have reflective sections where I question some of the things I have written or said. I also attempted to gain as much prior knowledge about East Timor as possible, specifically through locally written accounts. Throughout my interviews and research, I allowed the participants to do as much talking as they liked, or direct the conversation in whichever way they deemed fit, so as not to prioritise my own agenda over theirs.

Chapter 4: Site Study

East Timor

Figure 4 shows the location of East Timor (Timor-Leste). It is a newly independent country and its capital city is Dili. Table 4 shows an overview of the country. The history of East Timor has a large influence and is illustrated in Figure 6. Residue from colonialization and recent conflict by the Indonesian regime is still strongly present within East Timor.

Table 4 – Country information from East Timor, sources stated.

Population	1.3 million (CIA World Factbook)
Rural Population	70% (Asian Development Bank, 2014)
Population under 18	55% (Jesus, 2017)
Fertility Rate	4.67 children/women (Asian Development Bank, 2014)
Languages Spoken	Mainly Tetum, Portuguese also an official language
GDP/Capita	$6,000 GDP/capita (CIA World Factbook)
Main economic drivers	Oil and gas (Asian Development Bank, 2014)
Religion	97% Roman Catholic (CIA World Factbook)

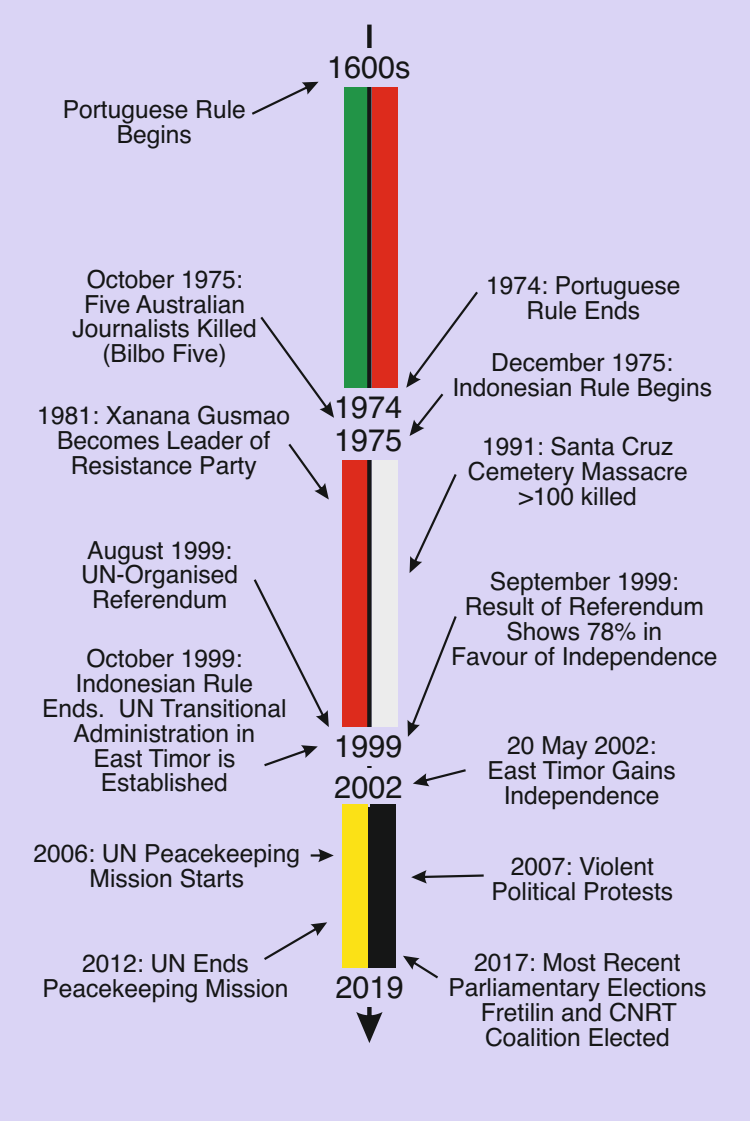

Figure 6 – Timeline of conflict in East Timor created by Author, information used from BBC World.

Gender in East Timor is a complex and evolving topic. Colonial influence has led to a cultural understanding of women as inferior to men; they play an inferior role in society and often look after large families with little time for jobs (Niner, 2011). A patrilineal and patriarchal family structure exists and can be observed through Belaki (bride price) and gender-based violence (Narciso and Henriques, 2010). Table 5 shows the gendered differences that exist in East Timor (Asian Development Bank, 2014).

Table 5 - Gender differences for a range of indicators. Source: Asian Development Bank (2014)

	Male	*Female*
Life expectancy	67.1	70.4
Literacy rate	71.5%	63.4%
School life expectancy	14 years	13 years
Youth unemployment	25.1%	16.7%
Employment population	73%	32.1%
Primary school enrolment	92%	94%
Secondary school enrolment	17%	21%
Over 25 never been to school	43%	58%
Tertiary graduation	63%	37%
% in labour force	56%	27%
% employed in wage earning jobs	31%	19%
Share of parliamentary seats	62%	38%
Chiefs of villages	98%	2%
Public service directors and chiefs	84%	16%

The development landscape of East Timor is also diverse, with a range of approaches by the government (Yoder, 2015) and a proliferation of multi-lateral organisations and NGOs. A range of development strategies have been undertaken (McGregor, 2007) with a variety of outcomes (Moxham, 2005).

Sport is a huge part of Timorese culture, largely a result of the Portuguese influence. Football is the most popular sport and can be seen being played all over Dili and the surrounding areas. Walking around Dili it was also possible to see a large number of joggers and cyclists.

SportImpact

SportImpact is an organisation that works within East Timor. It was set up by Nuno in 2014 and the Sport for Life program was started in 2015. SportImpact defines its mission as:

Human development through sport.

We empower communities in developing countries to develop sport programs that stimulate happier, healthier, more productive, self-determined and fulfilling lives

Its vision is:

To use the power of sport to create a peaceful and developed world, with equal opportunities for everyone.

Sport for Life is a training and development program, focusses on helping youth empower themselves. The program is structured through a variety of courses, shown in figure 7.

Sport for Life Course	One-week course on **organization of sport activities**, including modules such as Leadership, Human Resources Management, Material Resources Management, Marketing & Promotion. The course ends with a multi-sport event and the commitment of graduates to become **instructors/organizers** of regular sport activities.
Youth Leadership Camp	After organizing regular sport activities for some time, the graduates of Sport for Life have the opportunity to apply to participate in the **Youth Leadership Camp**. It is a two-week intensive train-the-trainer to train **Sport for Life multiplier facilitators**. Graduates develop skills in facilitation, strategic planning, negotiation and coaching, and become qualified to organize the Sport for Life Course, training new instructors of sport activities.
Master Facilitator Course	The most experienced facilitators, after organizing three Sport for Life Courses with good quality, can participate in the **Master Facilitator Course**, where during one week they develop skills to become **facilitators of Youth Leadership Camps**, thereby creating a cycle of trainers for trainers of trainers.

Figure 7 – Different SportImpact courses. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 9

The program studied in this research was a two week long Youth Leadership Camp (YLC), with a sport event taking place at the end. Sport is integrated throughout the program, however it largely has leadership and development focus.

CHAPTER 5: SPORT FOR LIFE OR JUST FOR BOYS?

A GENDER ANALYSIS OF SPORTIMPACT

Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) highlight the powerful role that SDP initiatives can play in promoting social good, but warn against their ability to reproduce gendered stereotypes. Within development and SDP, key issues arise when looking at the gendered dimension of programs; including levels of participation, forms of empowerment and the relationship between genders within the programs.

Participation

SportImpact programs allow for both female and male participation. Figure 8 shows the gender proportions of participants in the Sport for Life and YLC programs. Although female participation in Sport for Life courses rose from 28% to 43% (2015-2017), participation in YLC camps fell from 30% to 27% (2016-2017). In the YLC I joined, ten out of the 21 participants were female.

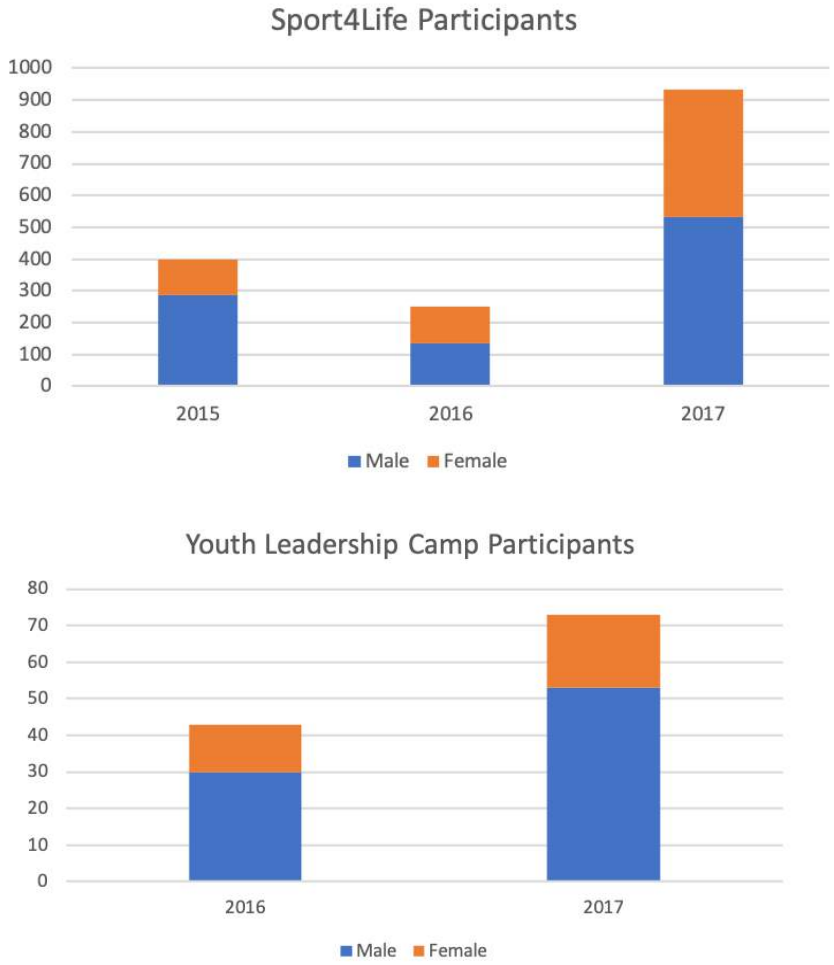

Figure 8 - Gender participation levels in SportImpact programs. Data source: SportImpact Review 2017

The growth in female participation in Sport for Life programs was discussed by Nuno. He admitted that initially:

"Gender, I think it was always in our minds but not a priority. It was something we might like to work on at some point, but let's get the basics running and then see if we can do something about it."

– Nuno (2018)

However he still tracked gender participation and noticed that there was a gap.

"Gender was important enough to measure and say 'how can we attract more women' because we are getting little female participation"

– Nuno (2018)

This is consistent with my findings from document analysis, which showed a similar approach to getting women to participate:

"We focus specifically on bringing women and girls into the project to stimulate gender equality and increased appreciation of the role of women in society"

– Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 13

One possible reason for the fall in female participation is a lack of female interest in sport. Results of questionnaire one showed that the average response to 'how important is sport to you' was 9.8/10 for men and 7.7/10 for women. This was consistent with my interview with Silvina:

"Women always think, oh sport it is man thing. It is difficult to change this mindset"

– Silvina (2018)

The timings and cost between the two programs also differ. A Sport for Life course lasts one week and costs $5 and a YLC lasts two weeks and costs $15-25. My interviews with Virginia and Silvina highlighted the gender inequality currently present in East Timorese culture:

"My family we are six siblings, I am the first daughter. All of the land and money and everything from my parents; all to my brothers, I have no right to this."

– Virginia (2018)

"All things in the home are women and men is work. People still believe that."

– Silvina (2018)

The lack of access to family money that Virginia mentions is common in East Timor for women (Narciso and Henriques, 2010) and therefore might limit their participation. The time element may also limit female participation, due to the familial role the women are expected to play.

Empowerment

Document analysis highlighted the major role that empowerment and skills play in SportImpact's mission. There is a focus on:

"Developing the skills of the youth: … to take responsibility and empower themselves to make choices about their own lives and to make them more happy and productive."

– Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 8

Questionnaire responses also highlighted importance that the women felt skills and empowerment played in the YLC. Leadership was one of the main reasons for female participants deciding to participate in the YLC:

"I decided to participate because I want to develop my own mentality, gain experience and deepen my knowledge in the area of leadership."

– Participant 14

When asked what they expected to gain from their participation, much of the female response revolved around skills for their futures:

"I hope that one day I will build my own organisation"

– Participant 7

"I hope to become a facilitator in the future"

– Participant 6

Questionnaire responses also showed an awareness of the importance of gender equality, especially in sports. All women responded 'yes' to 'do you think sport has the ability to empower' and four of these responses specifically mentioned its role in empowering women:

"Youth sports can involve women and show they are not the only one"

– Participant 7

"Yes. Especially in women because it improves women's self-esteem and contributes to good health."

– Participant 16

Interviews with Virginia and Silvina exemplified this gaining of skills and empowerment in relation to their own lives. For Silvina, volunteering and working at SportImpact enabled her to find employment at Marie Stopes:

"At the time Marie Stopes didn't know well about me. Through SportImpact I know about volunteer. I came to Marie Stopes as volunteer. Everyone know me because of SportImpact. Marie Stopes decided to hire me for work."

– Silvina (2018)

She also explained how SportImpact had given her skills, such as facilitation and speaking English which have:

"[Made] me more empowered"

– Silvina (2018)

Silvina saw SportImpact as an empowering space for women. She talked about her progressive views on Belaki (bride price) and the sexual division of labour in East Timor and she hoped she could spread these views by being a good role model to female participants:

"Maybe I can become the example for them and help them learn."

– Silvina (2018)

The gaining of skills was also discussed by Virginia, namely her public speaking and English skills. Through observing her facilitate the YLC, I was impressed by how engaging and enthusiastic she was as a facilitator and at public speaking. She sees herself as a good female role model for the participants of the camp:

"I am motivating them and inspiring them. Not only men can drive everything, women can drive things as well."

– Virginia (2018)

On one day of the YLC, participants were asked to write down their favourite leader. Most male participants wrote down Xanana[2], however five of the female participants wrote down Virginia.

Although the number of female participants in this YLC was almost equal to men, I observed a gendered difference in their actions and performances during the camp. At the beginning of the camp the men were more dominant in asking and responding to questions and confident when having to present ideas, sometimes even talking over the women. However, by the end of the camp, I found the women had begun to grow in confidence and participate more in discussions. This could be a reflection of the skills they were gaining in the program. This inequality in participation was also found by Nuno:

"We felt that when girls were in an environment with boys around they tended to be less participative, more shy, boys were more likely to raise their hands and speak first."

– Nuno (2018)

Their response was to create FetoPower (Women Power). Virginia described it as:

"FetoPower is actually same, the camp, but especially for women. Same activity and sports event, but we invite only women."

– Virginia (2018)

[2] Xanana Gusmão is an East Timorese politician and was the first President of East Timor.

The aim is to allow women to participate more and take greater leadership of activity. Nuno was reflective in his explanation of the concept:

> "Our thinking is not necessarily that this is the right way to do it but let's experiment."
>
> – Nuno (2018)

He also explained that the concept had yet to come to fruition and therefore could not report on its level of success.

Gender and Development

Although the empowerment of women is important within development, many have critiqued programs that focus too heavily on women or ignore gender relations entirely (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015).

Analysis of the images used within SportImpact documents (figure 9) highlight the gender balance present. The images show a balance of gender within the SportImpact team and pictures of teaching used within SportImpact. This is important in comparison to the male-dominated presence within sport federations in East Timor, as Nuno explained to me.

Figure 9 – Images from Sport for Life Manual (2018)

This gender balance was also present in my observation of the teaching methods used within the YLC. These methods were gender neutral. Groups were always split up randomly to ensure frequent variety of groups and within each group there was an effort made to make sure everyone participated. Images of these groups can be seen in figure 10. There was also no reference to traditionally male or female sports.

Figure 10 – Photos of groups during the YLC showing a mix of genders. Photos taken by author.

Within the sport event itself there was no active segregation of genders. Figure 11 shows mixed gender groups playing football and taking part in races. Virginia and I also observed that many of the participants were trying to get all of the kids to try all of the sports, regardless of gender.

"I see as well that especially last week, that [participant 5] and [participant 8] do something with the kids and promote gender as well."

– Virginia (2018)

Figure 11 – Photos from the sport event showing mixed gendered participation. Photos taken by author.

This gender balance was reflected in many of the questionnaire responses. Table 6 shows examples of male and female responses to some of the questions. The responses reflect an awareness of gender issues and equality among both genders.

Table 6 – Gendered responses to questions on the questionnaire 1 and 2

Question	Female Response	Participant	Male Response	Participant
What role do you think gender plays in both playing sport and creating sport programs?	Gender has an important role in sport because through this it shows that women can do the same as men, that is, there is equality here.	14	In all activities women participating with men is important in assisting the sport. Everyone should be involving men and women.	20
What skills do you think you've gained?	Confidence, mentality, responsibility.	16	Respect, responsibility, conduct.	1

These specific attitudes to gender equality were reflected more broadly in SportImpact's methods. One feature of the camps is the inclusion of external speakers and organisations who give presentations; many of these revolve around gender issues:

"In the previous camps we invite organisations like Plan International and Care International" – Virginia (2018)

Whilst I was there, representatives from the Asean Foundation came to present. All of the participants seemed equally engaged and topics, such as menstruation and gender-based violence, were discussed, helping to engage the participants with some of the cultural gender issues present within East Timor.

Conclusions

Hayhurst (2014) argued that although many SDP programs fall into the trap of 'girling development' there is the possibility for them to align with GAD and build empowerment, challenge gender norms and increase education. SportImpact seems to exemplify the latter.

In incorporating both genders within participation SportImpact avoids the general trend within SPD of gender meaning just women (Saavedra, 2009). The drop in participation within longer programs highlights the time issue of participation for women in East Timor, especially those with heavy reproductive burdens. Hayhurst (2014) recognises these time constraints as part of the sexual division of labour.

SDPIWG (2008) argues that SDP can promote gender equality through empowerment as a result of challenging gender norms, having greater mobility and access to spaces, and the creation of powerful role models, leadership skills and transferable experiences. These aspects are all present within SportImpact. The interview and questionnaire responses highlight the skills that many of the female participants have gained and the role models present. This empowerment is promoted within a mixed gender environment, much unlike the forms of empowerment promoted within the WID and WAD movements (Marchand, 2009; Chant, 2016).

The mixed gender participation and style of teaching exemplify an 'engendering' of development (McIllwaine and Datta, 2003). This places SportImpact within the GAD movement (Cornwall and Rivas, 2015) as a gender-balanced approach is taken, but there is also an attempt to address/highlight the underlying power structures limiting gender equality, through the use of outside speakers.

Although the main aim of SportImpact has never been gender empowerment, the program appears to have a positive impact on those participating, especially females; managing to address many of the gendered issues facing East Timor. This is largely through the use of education and the creation of new skills, especially for women. This element of the project will be discussed in the following section.

CHAPTER 6: "WE CAN USE SPORT AS A TOOL TO HELP PEOPLE DEVELOP THEMSELVES"

AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF SPORT AND EDUCATION WITHIN SPORTIMPACT

Within SDP projects, a distinction has been drawn between those that see sport as a force for good in itself and those that use sport as an interventionist tool (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011), or a 'plus-sport' program (Coalter, 2009). This section explores the understanding of sport that underpins SportImpact's approach and the educational and teaching methods used within the program, as well as what the program attempts to achieve through this.

Role of Sport

My interview with Nuno highlighted the values that he attributes to sport, especially within his own life:

"For me sport is an important part of my life. I owe a lot to sport in terms of self-discipline, spirit of working towards something long term with short-term sacrifices, socialisation, team work, leadership."

– Nuno (2018)

His main belief when starting the project was that more sport activities in the country would lead to greater levels of development, which was why the project originally

focussed on sports federations. My interviews with Silvina and Virginia emphasised a more interventionist view of sport:

"We can use sport as a tool to help people develop themselves."

– Virginia (2018)

This interventionist view of sport fits more into the model of how SportImpact operates today. Nuno explained that when SportImpact started, sport was used as 'a tool for development' but now the mission of SportImpact is 'human development through sport' (Sport for Life Manual, 2018). Nuno was aware that sport could be replaced by other activities:

"As we developed the project, we realised that sport is a means to an end. It was more central at the beginning, now if you take out sport and put music, creativity, anything really and put 'for life', then you have a very similar project."

– Nuno (2018)

This was reflected in the creation of Youth Development Creative (YDC) the association that now runs SportImpact in East Timor. Virginia explained the reason for the broader name:

"We feel like if only about sport not all young people have the love for sport, that's why we changed to Youth Creative for Development."

– Virginia (2018)

The Sport for Life manual also recognises that sport is used as a 'vehicle' and that other 'vehicles' may be just as powerful, if not more so (Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 3).

Although other 'vehicles' could be used, sport has been successful here, which may be down to the cultural context. Nuno acknowledges this:

"We think sport is good because people get attracted and children want participate."

– Nuno (2018)

However, he also acknowledges that, unlike him, many of the key players were not very sporty:

"They are more in love with the concept, the mindset, the empowerment than with the sports part."

– Nuno (2018)

It is also important to recognise the physical role that sport plays within the program. Figure 12 shows a sample Youth Leadership Camp program and includes a variety of sporting activities, including athletics and Zumba.

Youth Leadership Camp: detailed program

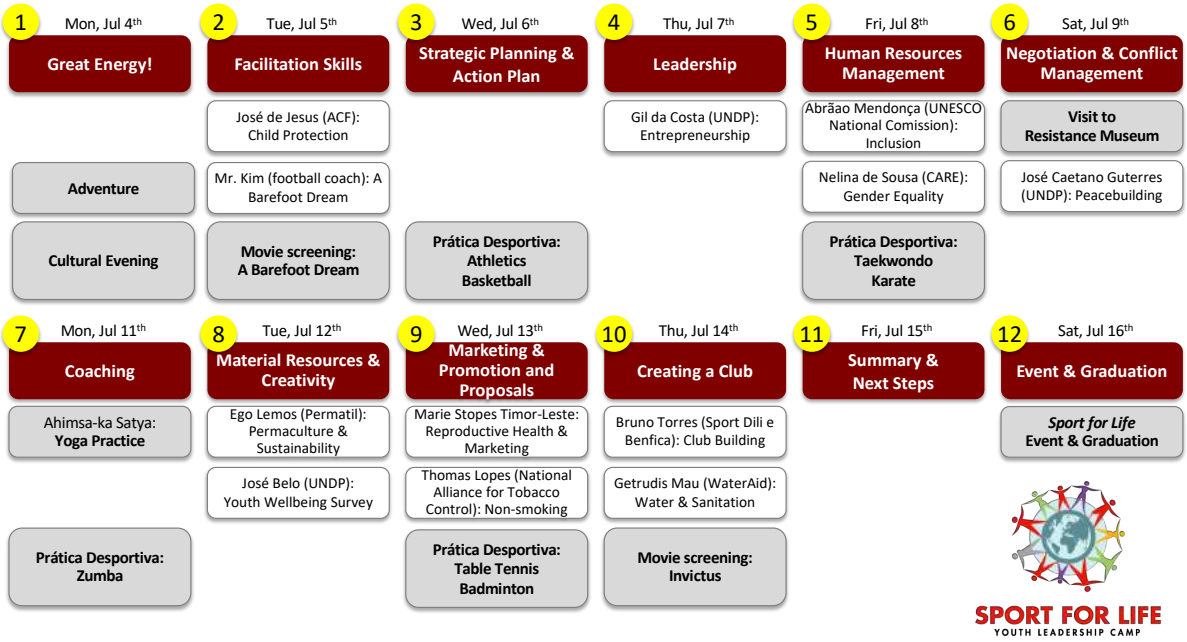

Figure 12 – Sample Youth Leadership Camp program. Source: Youth Leadership Camp: Detailed Program, SportImpact Drive

As part of the YLC I attended, there was a long hike on the first day and a yoga class organised. These played an important role in bonding the group and generating enthusiasm. Document analysis also highlighted the importance of these activities:

"They stimulate the enjoyment of regular sport practice and understand its benefits and raise awareness of different sports, equipment and techniques"

– Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 100

Participants in the camp were generally aware of the role that sport could play in their lives and communities:

"Sport can help in the community because it promotes the new talents of young people."

– Participant 17

Teaching Methods

Nuno explained that the Sport for Life documents and the drive grew organically over time. As they completed projects, they wrote down what they had done, enabling others to do similar things.

Figure 13 – Modules within the YLC. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018)

My document analysis highlighted a focus on management and facilitation skills. Figure 13 shows the modules within a Sport for Life camp and the business element is easily seen through modules such as 'marketing and promotion' and 'human resources management'. Interestingly though, they are largely taught using a 'matadalan'. This is a Timorese framework of teaching, in which "complex tools and concepts are simplified into step-by-step processes" (Sport for Life Manual). Figure 14 shows an example of one.

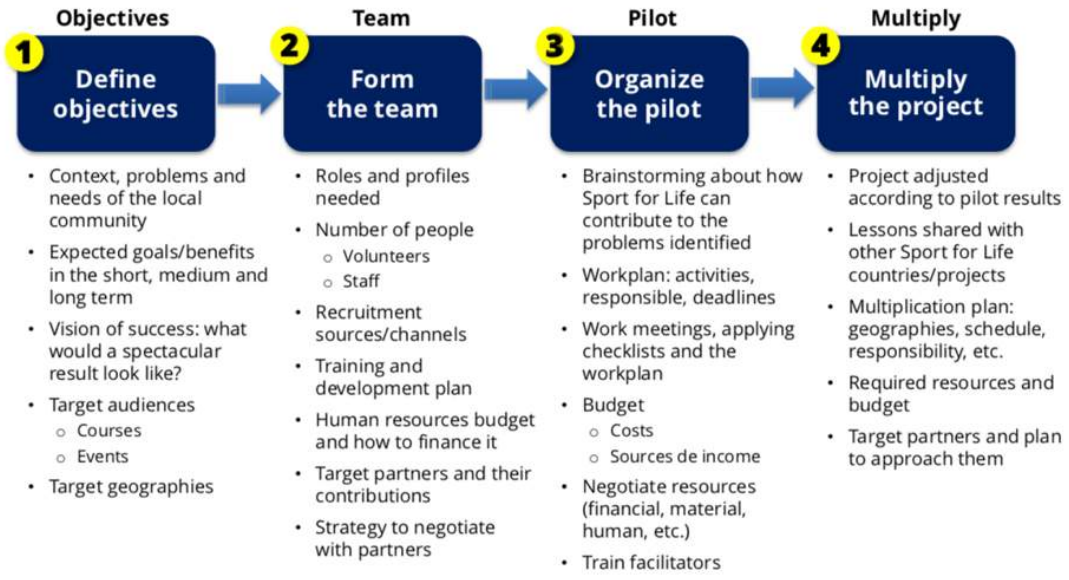

Figure 14 - Matadalan showing how to introduce Sport for Life. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 24

This exemplifies the organic creation of the program, with Western and Timorese influences. The teaching methods used are also generally very creative and open-ended, as seen in Figure 15.

Figure 15 – Methods of an inspiring presentation. Source: Leadership PowerPoint, SportImpact Drive

This creative thinking is important to Silvina:

"This is the way to develop myself to be more creative. Maybe I can learn something new through this way and not through school."

– Silvina (2018)

It also allows for a malleable program, which was emphasised in my interview with Nuno and the SportImpact documents:

"It's about people wanting to do whatever they want to do with it."

– Nuno (2018)

"We invite everyone to take advantage of the ideas that may be useful, and to improve the Manual and the methodology according to your specific goals and local reality."

– Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 3

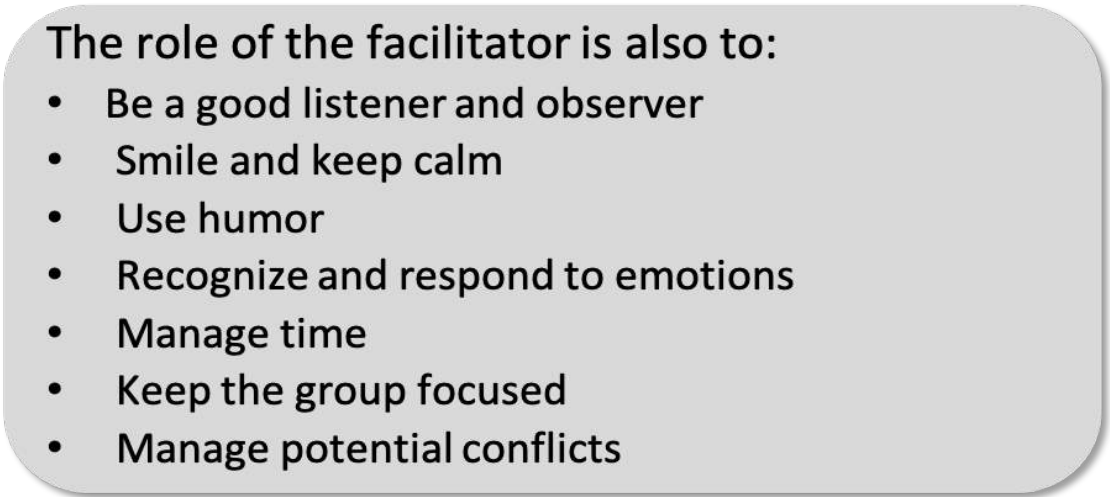

Figure 16 – Role of the facilitator. Source: Facilitation Techniques PowerPoint, SportImpact Drive

An integral part of the teaching within SportImpact is the use of facilitators (rather than teachers, or coaches). Figure 16 shows what SportImpact believes are the qualities of a good facilitator, emphasising the need to facilitate, rather than dictate or teach. This allows for a sharing of knowledge between the facilitator and participants; something that Virginia has found particularly inspiring:

"I am so lucky because from facilitating I can listen to everyone's stories and experiences and gain from that"

– Virginia (2018)

I also found that during the YLC, participants were free to contribute as they wished and there was a very open and sharing environment. Towards the end of the second week the participants were also facilitating, allowing for a transcendence of the student/teacher binary.

Another key element with the Sport for Life programs was the invitation of outside speakers. In figure 12 the white boxes contain examples of guest speakers. These are generally from NGOs or organisations that share similar values to SportImpact. Whilst I was there, speakers from the UN Peace Corps, the Asean Foundation and many other organisations presented. For Virginia, this exemplified the way that sport can be a conduit for other social policies. Table 7 also shows the reasons for the invitation of these guest speakers.

Table 7 - Reasons for Guest Speakers. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 99

OBJECTIVES	• Inspire, bring new ideas, expand awareness of important subjects • Help participants practice integrating and making their own the knowledge and experience of other people • Make participants feel special for attending this course • Energize and motivate the spreading of the Sport for Life movement
POTENTIAL TOPICS	• Social problems related to the country or region – e.g., Environment, Poverty, Water & Sanitation, Gender Equality, Violence/Conflict • Topics related to the course's modules: Leadership, Facilitation, etc. • Entrepreneurship and other subjects with the power to inspire participants to make their goals and dreams come true • Successful life stories (publicly known or not) with which participants can identify and that can lead to important lessons/ideas

Skills and Values

Through the teaching methods explained above SportImpact aims to enrich the participants with new skills and values.

My interviews with Virginia and Silvina highlighted the limits they had faced within formal education. Virginia had only completed secondary education and Silvina was unable to finish tertiary education due to the cost. They both credited SportImpact for many of the skills they now hold:

"I have a basic education background. I've only finished by secondary school. Nuno gave me challenges and trained me to facilitate."

– Virginia (2018)

"I learn everything with SportImpact."

– Silvina (2018)

The values and mindset that SportImpact gave to them were also evident:

"SportImpact can change my whole character. It make me understand nothing is impossible when we want to do something."

– Silvina (2018)

Table 8 – Responses to Questions on Questionnaire 2

What skills do you think you have gained?	"New knowledge which betters my training" – Participant 7 "Through this I think that gain a lot in the mentality, I already have a sufficient mentality where you can support me with many strategies of how to speak in public" – Participant 14 "Speaking in public, respect, responsibility" – Participant 21
How do you think these skills might help you in the future?	"These skills can help me in the future and enable leadership, action and other empowerment" – Participant 2 "They may help me to become a professional facilitator" – Participant 20 "Learn, organise, create and realise goals" – Participant 7
What do you hope to do with the skills you've gained?	"With what I gained in this training I will implement in all areas in my life" – Participant 14 "I hope I will be able to share my skills and teach others" – Participant 20 "I can transfer the skills back to my community and youth" – Participant 6

The ability to gain skills and values is important in a context such as East Timor, where educational and employment opportunities are limited. Gains in skills and values were evident in the questionnaire responses, as seen in table 8. Within the Sport for Life manual, developing skills is also heralded as one of the key objectives (figure 17).

Empowering the youth and their communities to define their objectives and to build their futures. We help participants feel the real opportunity to achieve their objectives, especially the most ambitious, empowering them with solid tools to overcome challenges and make their dreams come true.

Figure 17 – One of SportImpact's objectives. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 8

The transferrable nature of these skills was also clear. This is most evident in Silvina's employment in Marie Stopes, which she attributes to the skills she gained within SportImpact. Document analysis also revealed that past participants had gone on to start a range of business initiatives, including a training centre for kids and an agricultural business (SportImpact Review, 2017).

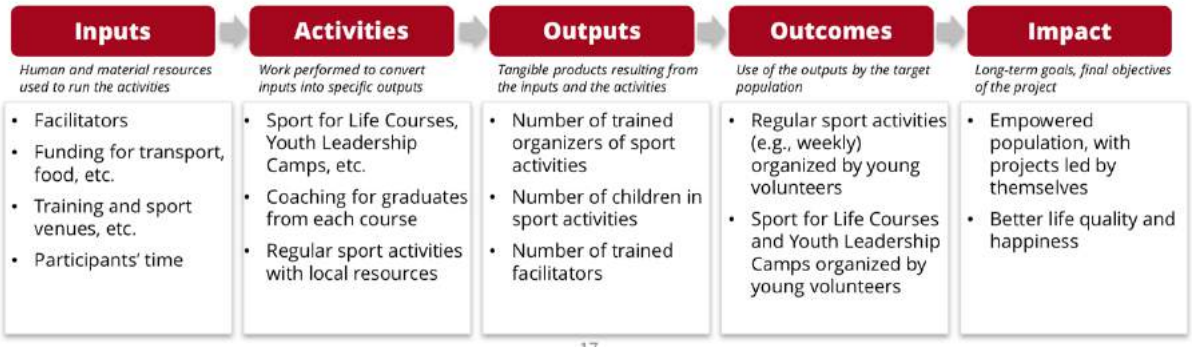

Figure 18 – SportImpact's Theory of Change. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 17

Figure 18 shows SportImpact's theory of change, which ultimately measures success not in immediate products but by participants being empowered and using the skills they have gained. This stresses the importance of changes in individuals, rather than larger scale changes. Nuno also shared a similar attitude:

"I trust that things here shape how people see life. I understand that many of the things that happen can never be tracked. They will happen and hopefully the country will be a better country because of this." – Nuno (2018)

Being able to report the success of the program, however, seems to be a big challenge facing SportImpact. Because of the qualitative and possibly indirect outcomes from the program, recording and assessing the overall success would be almost impossible. Nuno also mentioned that they found it difficult to gather data on past participants, due to human resource limitations, time constraints and issues with communications.

Conclusions

Although Nuno's original vision of sport and SportImpact was on the 'sport plus' end of Coalter's (2009) continuum, over time it has moved to the 'plus sport' end and sport now plays an interventionist role (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Virginia, Silvina and the SportImpact documents all share an understanding of sport as a 'conduit' or 'vehicle' mirroring Hartmann's (2003) description of sport as a 'hook'. Within East Timor the cultural importance of sport is key in participation in the camps. The creation of the YDC exemplifies the movement of SportImpact towards a program with possibly various 'vehicles', but all using education to promote skills and values to foster human development.

The strength of SportImpact lies in its teaching of skills and values to the participants; it's non-sport components (Hartmann, 2003; Coalter, 2006). The education component of this project is central, but is also an interesting mix of Western and local learning techniques and ideas. This organic and local creation reduces the chance of SportImpact reproducing Western ideals and hegemony (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011) and its malleability allows for an appreciation and understanding of local conditions and cultures (Giulianotti, 2011). Within East Timor, which has relatively poor formal education institutions as a result of recent conflicts, SportImpact can help deliver skills and values and thereby complement the existing education system (Sanders et al, 2014; Dovey, 1993).

The use of facilitators allows for a more 'learner centred' approach to education (Barr and Tagg, 1995) breaking down many of the traditional teacher/student dynamics seen within SDP (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). Moreover, the creative and sharing nature

of the teaching, as well as the talks by outside organisations, conforms to Freire's alternative vision of education as freedom (1970) and Kincheloe's importance of shared learning (2008).

Coalter (2013), Sanders (2016) and Darnell (2015) describe a displacement of scope within many SDP programs; that micro gains within these projects will not necessarily have meso and macro gains, especially without addressing underlying structural factors. Due to the individualised nature of its outcomes, this view may be true for SportImpact. However, SportImpact holds the belief that all gains in skills and values are good gains, and consequently it focuses on a more local scale of success (Esteva and Prakash, 1997). Moreover, a gain in skills in individuals can have a wider, ripple, effect (Brofenbrenner, 1979; Sugden, 2008). The appreciation of more indirect and human measures of success by Nuno and SportImpact follows Forde and Kota (2016), who argue that we need to stop looking at prescribed and measured outcomes.

It was clear through my research that sport was never seen as a 'silver bullet' to development, but rather a good way to get people involved in these camps. Within the camps it was the teaching and facilitation that allowed for the gaining of new skills and values, which had a transferrable nature and could be applied to any aspects of participants' lives.

CHAPTER 7: "HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SPORT"

SITUATING SPORTIMPACT IN THE WIDER DEVELOPMENT LANDSCAPE

Situating SportImpact within the complex and diverse development landscape allows for a better understanding of not just what it does, but how it does it. SportImpact defines its mission as 'human development through sport':

> "We empower communities in developing countries to develop sport programs that stimulate happier, healthier, more productive, self-determined and fulfilling lives."
>
> – Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 4

And defines human development as:

> "Help[ing] others take responsibility for their lives and live 'at cause'"
>
> – Sport for Life Manual (2018) Page 20

These definitions highlight the importance of individuals and empowerment to SportImpact. SportImpact is technically a non-governmental organisation, but receives no funding or donations and has no paid staff. Within Mintzberg's SDP approaches (2006) it largely fits into the 'bottom-up' approach but has external influence from Nuno.

Funding

Interviews and document analysis highlighted the recent movement to $0 by SportImpact. It is now run entirely by volunteers and receives no monetary donations or funding. The Sport for Life manual summarises their mentality in figure 19.

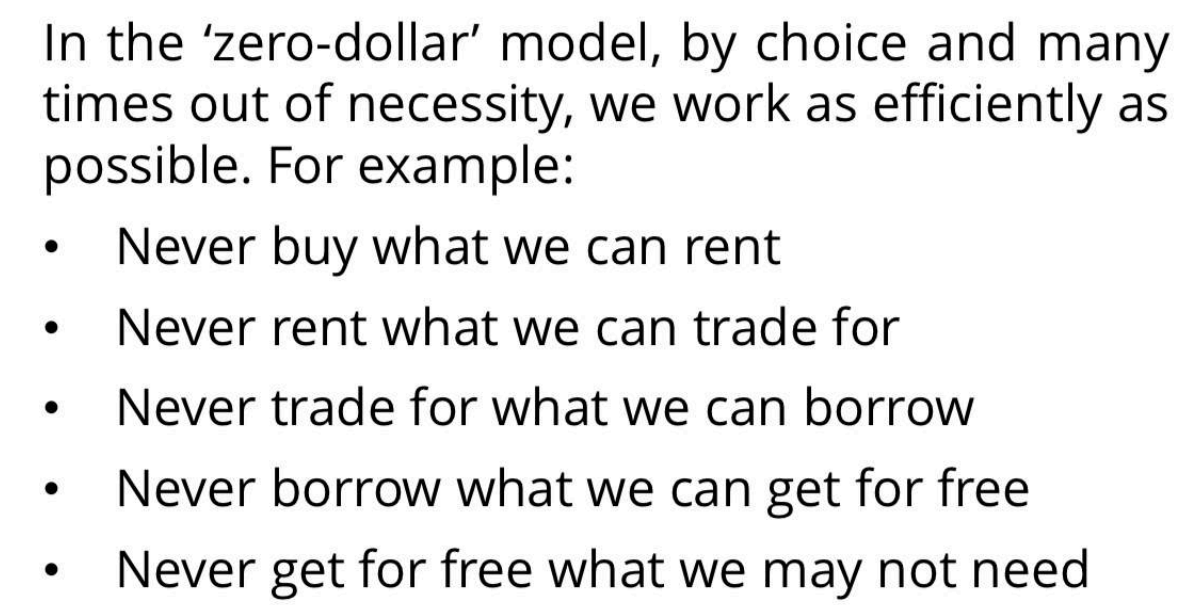

Figure 19 – SportImpact's $0 mindset. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 21

Nuno explained the rationale behind the move to $0:

"UNESCO was a big supporter over the last few years but I felt we were getting addicted to the money. Because we had it, we had to spend it."

"We need to figure out how to run things $0. This empowers the team to get things done by themselves without relying on anyone else. We run things because we want to."

– Nuno (2018)

Virginia and Silvina both decided to stop receiving salaries and become volunteers and share the same attitude to sustainability:

"I see the future of my country. A sustainable mentality away from money."

– Virginia (2018)

All money used now comes from the selling of facilitation services and participant fees, which was $15 for the YLC I participated in. This covers the basic costs of materials such as pens.

One embodiment of the $0 movement was the use of 'adaptive equipment'. Nuno explained to me in his interview his belief that the donations of sports equipment, including footballs from Western NGOs, was deepening the 'giver/receiver' binary (Burnett, 2015). Instead, the program promotes and uses 'adaptive equipment'; sports equipment made out of whatever materials participants can find. A day in the camp was dedicated to learning about and making the equipment. Pictures from this day and the equipment can be seen in figure 20.

Figure 20 – Photos of the adaptive equipment day at the YLC. All images taken by the author.

The importance of volunteers was also evident in my interviews and document analysis. Figure 21 shows SportImpact's vision of a 'volunteer movement' which is similar to Nuno's vision of the future of SportImpact:

"A global volunteer movement where youth believe they can do whatever they want, particularly in sport. Because they think they have received so much they want to pay it forward."

– Nuno (2018)

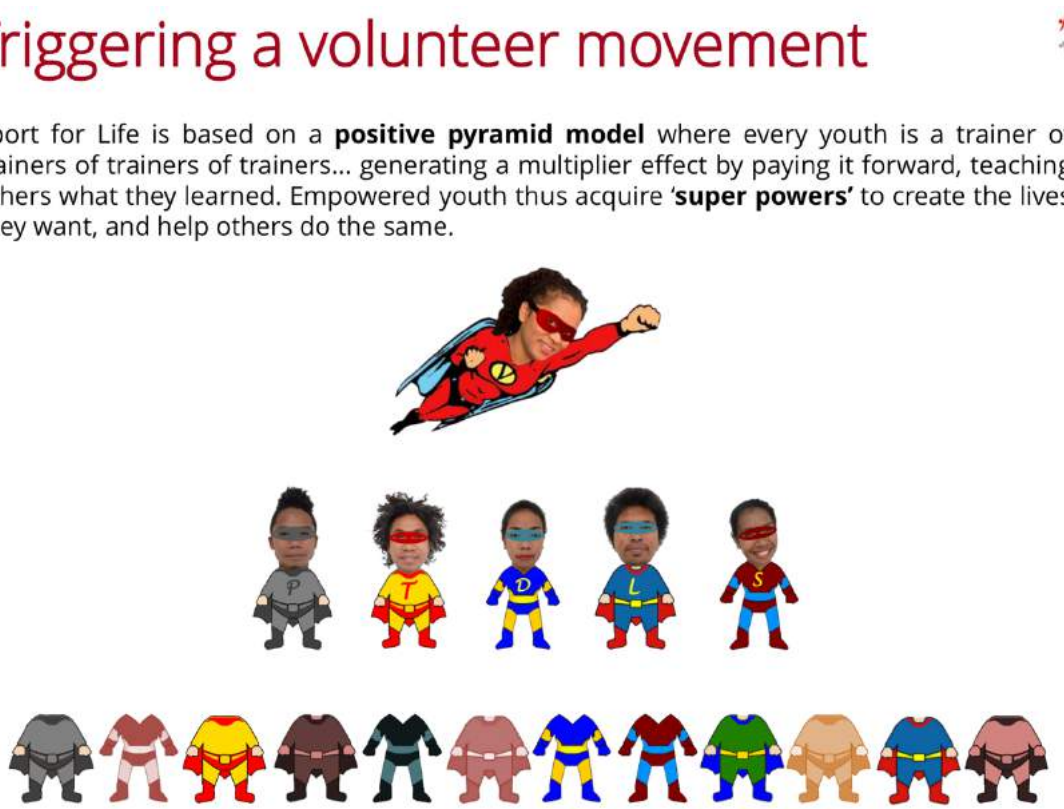

Figure 21 – Triggering a volunteer movement. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 22

Nuno also saw the importance of volunteers within the sustainability of the program:

"If we want to see a sustainable project in Timor it will be a volunteer movement. Volunteers inspiring other volunteers."

– Nuno (2018)

Virginia and Silvina are key volunteers within both YDC and SportImpact and in our interviews both talked about the importance of volunteering to them.

In my interview with Nuno, he explained some of the benefits he has found from the move to $0; they are no longer dependent on grants and donors and it has stimulated the growth of partnerships between different organisations:

"It reduces the number of people you have to report to with demands."

"It stimulates negotiation skills as people need to go and negotiate partnerships with stakeholders with aligned interests."

– Nuno (2018)

One example of this is the partnership with UNDP which allows SportImpact to use their space for free for the YLC. Looking ahead, Nuno spoke about the importance of the sustainability of the project; a reliance on funding means that if the funding stops the project stops. Table 9 shows how the expenses have been falling year on year, allowing the

project to be more sustainable. Sustainability is also one of the key values of SportImpact (figure 22).

Table 9 – Income Statement for SportImpact over the last 4 years. Source: SportImpact Review 2017

INCOME STATEMENT	Year 2017	Year 2016	Year 2015	Year 2014
All amounts in United States dollars				
Revenue	**16,663**	**58,041**	**36,632**	**75,000**
Expenses				
Human Resources[1]	5,790	27,088	12,720	56,289
Events	0	1,749	12,081	421
Workshops	7,665	6,725	10,316	2,647
Office	2,931	2,342	2,851	
Communications	4589	149	932	591
Other	1,165	825	1,567	843
Total expenses	**18,010**	**38,878**	**40,468**	**60,791**

Figure 22 - SportImpact's values. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 4

Nuno also talked about some of the challenges that $0 has created, especially due to a reliance on volunteers:

> "That transition was hard. Now everyone is a volunteer so they find other things to do like studying or working. It's changed to a model where each person dedicates a small amount of their time and this varies between people."
>
> – Nuno (2018)

In my interview with Virginia she spoke positively of the move to $0 but did highlight some of the issues it has brought up including difficulties in motivating some volunteers to work harder. Virginia also discussed how she has had to start another job at a laundry company, to cover the loss of income. Silvina also mentioned the lack of time she has between working and volunteering, which sometimes puts a strain on her family relationships.

Bottom-Up

SportImpact originally started with a 'top-down' approach, through targeting sports federations, but moved to a 'bottom-up' approach in 2015; switching to focussing on youth. For Nuno, this was important due to their attitude:

"We thought we need to work with someone else. Let's work with youth. Let's see if they are more eager to do things on their own."

– Nuno (2018)

A key part of the bottom-up approach is the focus on empowering individuals and giving them skills, as a way of promoting human development. The skills gained can be viewed as forms of social capital (Hartmann, 2003; Putnam 1993).

Empowerment was a recurrent theme throughout my interviews and document analysis and is one of their key values (figure 22). Figure 23 shows the sections of the SportImpact philosophy mentioning empowerment, highlighted in blue, along with youth, highlighted in orange.

Empowerment

We aim to empower local communities, especially youth, to find their own solutions. We do this by stimulating them to share their knowledge and experiences during the course (through facilitation techniques) and to organize the event on their own, with their own resources. Our goal is that at the end of the program they will realize: "Wait a moment! We did all this by ourselves! Why do we need SportImpact, or the Government, or others?! Let's just start organizing everything we wish from now on! Let's make our dreams come true! Yes, we can!"

- **Developing the skills of the youth**, especially those who are not in employment, in education or training, encouraging them to establish linkages between the program and their lives. Our graduates take responsibility and empower themselves to make choices about their own lives and to make them more happy and productive.
- **Empowering the youth and their communities** to define their objectives and to build their futures. We help participants feel the real opportunity to achieve their objectives, especially the most ambitious, empowering them with solid tools to overcome challenges and make their dreams come true.

The Sport for Life vision is to create **a world where we are all fully empowered to take ownership of our lives and make our potential and dreams reality**. We work for it through **activities** like courses and sport activities in which sport is a way to attract young people and place them in structured environments where they take responsibilities and develop themselves. Immediate products (e.g., number of course graduates or participants in regular sport activities) are not that important as measures of success. What does matter, which we call **results**, is that graduates begin to organize their own activities. **Impact** happens when over time they empower themselves to create their own futures: in sport, art, business, the public sector, the social sector - in anything they want. I.e., in life.

Figure 23 – Aims of SportImpact with references to youth and empowerment highlighted. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018)

A key part of the bottom-up approach is the participation of and control by local individuals. Although Nuno started the program, it was with a team of local individuals, and has now taken a step back from running the project. SportImpact in East Timor is now run almost entirely by the YDC association, which is made up of Timorese locals. This allows for the input of local knowledge and ideas and a project that is locally appropriate. Figure 24 shows the increasing degree of local control of the program over time.

Figure 24 – Local takeover of SportImpact within East Timor over time. Source: SportImpact Review 2017

All the participants within the camps are Timorese, however the selection of individuals may create an inequality in participants. My questionnaires showed that 16 of these 21 individuals found out about the camp via Facebook. The camp ran over two weeks during the school/university holidays and required significant time commitment. This means that most of the participants are wealthy enough to have access to the Internet and are also likely to be in tertiary education, to have the free time to participate. This may lead to a skewing of the participants to those who are wealthier, leading to an inequality of skills within the population. This follows Bourdieu's (1986) theorization of capital, where dominant groups use social capital to further their positions of power.

Although the skills are business focussed, there is no specific mention of SportImpact wanting business outcomes. Instead, it prioritises individuals using their skills in a way that suits each of them (figure 25) which is in line with their Theory of Change.

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Figure 25 – Description of SportImpact's Theory of Change with definition of impact highlighted. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 17

Local Context

One of the wider critiques of development initiatives, especially those that are bottom-up, is that they do not challenge the wider structures of inequality. SportImpact is a small organisation and consequently would have limited reach in dismantling wider structures of inequality, however I found it did its best to acknowledge and challenge these structures. As discussed previously, the use out outside speakers is important in doing this. Importantly it highlights and questions many of the specific problems that East Timor is facing, and within the 'family time' periods of the camp, questions around family and culture were raised for discussion.

Virginia and Silvina also saw SportImpact as changing the 'mindset' of East Timor, especially in terms of money. Participants expect to be paid for their participation in development projects, and go for the money rather than the education. This is most likely due to the proliferation of Western NGOs in East Timor which have used money in the past to attract participation. Virginia felt this had previously limited SportImpact's success, as both locals and the government viewed it as a 'melai' (foreign) organisation and therefore expected money to be given.

"People were thinking that Sport Impact was a rich company, a Melai company, there has to be money there."

– Virginia (2018)

By switching to $0 and volunteers, they are hoping to change this mentality. She also sees SportImpact as giving youth a way to do things, without relying on the government or money:

"The government thinks that SportImpact gives money to the people. But Sport Impact gives young people the way to get money in the future."

– Virginia (2018)

The awareness of this mindset and the aims to change are present in SportImpact documents (figure 26).

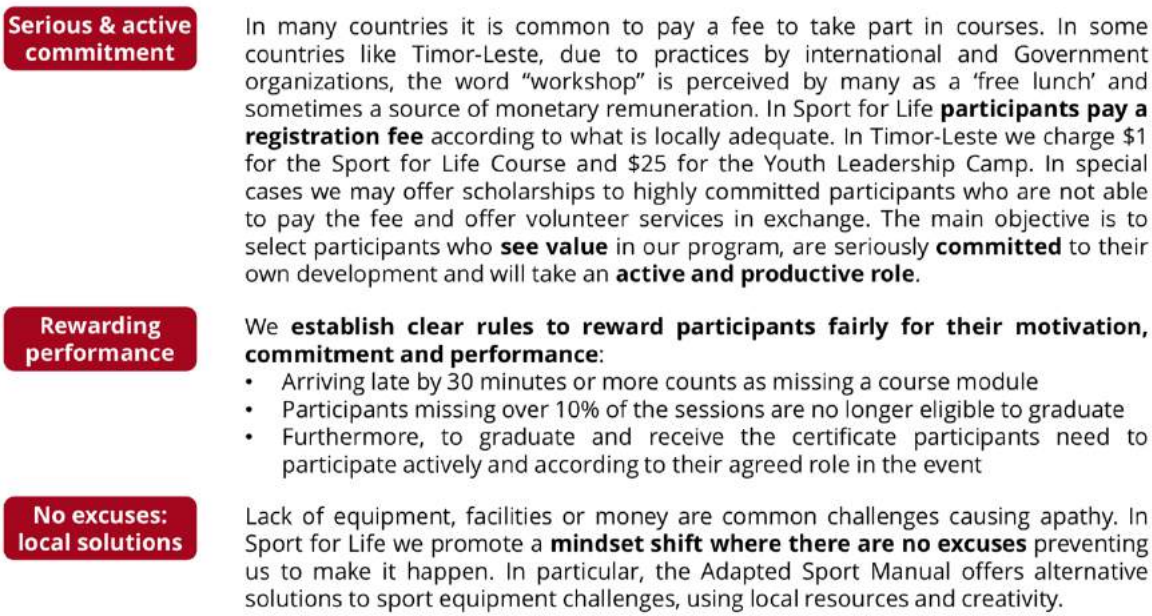

Figure 26 – SportImpact's focus on shifting mindsets. Source: Sport for Life Manual (2018) page 18

Conclusions

Unlike many SDP programs or wider development initiatives, SportImpact does not rely on donations of any kind, nor does it have any connections to or funding from the government. This allows it to navigate many of the critiques surrounding funding and aid within development (Whitley et al, 2013). This includes the creation of new forms of dependency for the recipients (Coalter, 2010), outside influence on their actions (Darnell and Black, 2011) and, if NGOs are benefitting in some way from funding, then they have little incentive to allow projects to come to their natural end (Donnelly et al, 2011). The $0 method also limits the impact of colonial power hierarchies (Burnett, 2015; Kapoor, 2008) and helps to decrease vulnerability and dependence on external organisations, as well as benefitting a project's long-term sustainability (Akindes and Kirwin, 2009). Without funding or aid, SportImpact sits outside flows of capital and navigates critiques placing SDP projects in line with neoliberalism.

The focus on skills and empowerment demonstrated by SportImpact, fits in the wider shift within development from economic to social capital (Coalter, 2010). The emphasis on empowerment and social capital draws out a key tension present in current development. Despite its $0 cash element and its position outside global capital flows, the skills and values promoted by SportImpact draw similarities with the social rhetoric of neo-liberalism, including individualism and responsibility (Hickel, 2014; Lindsey and O'Gorman, 2015; Burnett, 2015). Critiques have argued that these social elements act to reproduce global inequalities of power (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; McCormack and Chalip, 1988). Despite the promotion of skills and empowerment, SportImpact continually emphasises the

aim or end goal as individual achievements and happiness, with no specific mention of businesses or employment. This follows the critique of Lindsey and Grattan (2012) and Nicholls (2009), who argue that a neo-liberal viewpoint masks the heterogeneity and local context of SDP projects.

SportImpact is also dependent and reliant on volunteerism, which as a concept has been critiqued heavily (Harvey, 2005). Critiques of volunteers within SDP have focused on the bio-political (Foucault, 1988) effect they have on influencing the 'bodyminds' of participants (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011) and reproducing global hierarchies of power (Thorpe and Rinehart, 2013; Kay and Bradbury, 2009). Unlike the projects studied by these authors, SportImpact is reliant on local volunteers who share their own experiences as participants in the program and therefore do not reproduce some of these unequal power relations.

SportImpact seems to fit well into what Spaaij (2009b) describes as the ideal SDP program; it is participatory, promotes empowerment and uses local knowledges. It might therefore be seen as an alternative development; one that works outside of the state and does not use traditional development partnerships.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation was to analyse the work of SportImpact in East Timor through a lens of critiques within the SDP literature. The findings informed by the three research questions highlight the complex nature of SportImpact and suggest that it doesn't compare to many of the projects that scholars such as Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), Darnell (2010) and Coalter (2009) have critiqued. Instead it represents the heterogeneity of projects present within the SDP landscape (Guilianotti, 2011).

What has been clear in my findings is that SportImpact does not suffer from many of the pitfalls of SDP projects discussed by Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) and other scholars. It's use of sport as a 'hook' (Hartmann, 2003) underlies it's interventionist approach to SDP, or a 'plus-sport' approach (Coalter, 2009). This approach has led to a focus on education and non-sport element, including the transfer of skills and values which underpins the work of SportImpact. Despite Western influence it has taken a creative and mixed-influence approach to learning and education which does not reinforce Western or neo-colonial ideals (Kay and Bradbury, 2009). The transfer of skills and values as well as the reflexive attitude of the program, and Nuno himself, have also allowed the program to navigate around many of the critiques within the literature regarding gender, and the program seems to use an approach in line with the GAD movement (McIllwaine and Datta, 2003).

SportImpact's Theory of Change focuses on the level of the individual. The possible ripple effects of the gaining of skills and values (Sugden, 2008), alongside the attempts to

address wider structural issues in East Timor, may have future benefits for human development among participants but also the wider community.

Wider Implications and Suggestions for Research

At the heart of this project is its local specificity and appropriateness. The organic growth of the project and the input by locals and outsiders has allowed the project to flourish within the context of East Timor. It would therefore be unwise to suggest that it should be a model to be replicated elsewhere. Instead it shows the importance of projects adapting to local contexts and using local knowledge and actors. Moreover elements of SportImpact could be beneficial within other SDP or development projects. It's use of outside speakers to address underlying structural factors can mitigate against a displacement of scope (Coalter, 2010) and it's 0 dollar model could be beneficial for programs struggling due to government influence or donor demands (Hayhurst, 2014).

This work has only attempted to analyse SportImpact's work, rather than assess or evaluate, due to time and resource limitations. However it does provide a possible starting block for further researching looking into the long-term outcomes of the project or a comparison of similar projects across the world. This work advocates for a study of SDP that follows Lindsey and Grattan (2012) to focus on individual case studies which can highlight the work of individual actors and agency and highlight the heterogeneity of these projects.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 – FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Nome:

2. Idade:

3. Gênero:

4. Em que você trabalha?

5. Qual é seu nível mais alto do estudo? (Secundário, faculdade etc.)

6. Qual esporte você mais gosta jogar?

7. Qual esporte você mais gosta assistir?

8. Quem é seu esportista favorito?

9. Quanta importância tem o esporte para você?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

10. Onde acostuma jogar esporte?

11. Você prefere jogar esporte em equipe o sozinho?

12. Joga essas razões para jogar esporte em ordem de importância para você (1-6):

___ Se manter em forma e boa saúde

___ Conhecer nova gente, ou passar tempo com amigos (social)

___ Competição

___ Paixão para um esporte em particular

___ Não há nada melhor que fazer!

___ Outro (especifica aqui):

13. Como o esporte pode ajudar os jovens da sua comunidade, e quanta importância tem isso no Timor-Leste?

14. Como ouviu falar do Campo de Lideranç̧a Juvenil?

15. Por que decidiu participar no Campo de Lideranç̧a Juvenil?

16. O que você espere gandar da sua participação?

17. Pretende organizer algum evento de esporte? Se a resposta é sim, qual tipo de evento, com qual esporte?

18. Quais são os desafios mais significativos que se enfrenta Timor-Leste hoje em dia?

19. Qual importância tem a juventude no desenvolvimento do país?

20. Como a gente poderia melhorar o acesso que sua comunidade, ou Timor-Leste em geral, tem ao esporte?

21. Qual papel tem o gênero no esporte – não só com respeito ao jogar esporte mas também so criar esses tipos de programas esportistas?

22. Você acha que o esporte é capaz de empoderar as pessoas?

23. Tem alguma história anexdotal sobre a importância de esporte na sui vida ou como o esporte melhorou sua vida?

APPENDIX 2 – SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Nome: _____

2. Gênero: _____

3. Como você gostou do YDC? (Circule por favor)
Muito mal Mau OK Boa Muito bom

4. Você está feliz por ter participado?
Não Sim

5. Quais valores você tirou disso?

6. Quais habilidades você acha que ganhou?

7. Como você acha que essas habilidades podem ajudá-lo no futuro?

8. O que você espera fazer com as habilidades que você ganhou?

9. Qual foi a sua parte favorita do YDC?

10. Qual foi a sua parte menos favorita do YDC?

11. O que você acha que poderia ter sido melhorado?

APPENDIX 3 – ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaire 1

1. Name
2. Age
3. Gender
4. Occupation
5. Highest level of study
6. Favourite sport to play

7. Favourite sport to watch
8. Favourite Sportsperson
9. How important is sport to you?
10. Where do you tend to play sport the most
11. Do you prefer team or individual sports
12. Rank reasons for playing sport (from 1-6)
    a. Stay in shape and good health
    b. Meet new people/spend time with friends (social)
    c. Competitions
    d. Passion for a specific sport
    e. Nothing better to do
    f. Other (please specify)
13. What contribution do you think sport can bring to young people and how important do you think this is in East Timor
14. How did you hear of this Youth Leadership Camp
15. Why did you decide to take part in this Youth Leadership Camp
16. What do you hope to gain from this Youth Leadership Camp
17. Do you plan on organising any Sport Events? If so with what sports?
18. What do you think are some of the biggest challenges facing East Timor currently?
19. How important are young people to the development of East Timor?
20. What could improve access to sports in East Timor or your local community?
21. What role do you think gender plays in both playing sport and creating sport programs?
22. Does sport have the ability to empower?
23. Do you have any personal stories of how sport has helped you or improved your life

Questionnaire 2 (English)

1. Name
2. Gender
3. How have you enjoyed the YLC? (Circle)
    a. Very bad, bad, OK, good, very good

4. Are you happy you did it?
    a. No, Yes
5. What values have you taken from it?
6. What skills do you think you've gained?
7. How do you think these skills might help you in the future?
8. What do you hope to do with the skills you've gained?
9. What was your favourite part of the YLC?
10. What was your least favourite part of the YLC?
11. What do you think could have been improved?

APPENDIX 4 – QUESTIONAIRE RESPONDENTS/PARTICIPANTS AND CODES USED

Participant	Age	Gender	Questionnaire 1	Questionnaire 2
1	26	Male	No	Yes
2	23	Male	Yes	Yes
3	22	Male	No	No
4	25	Female	No	No
5	23	Male	No	Yes
6	23	Female	Yes	Yes
7	21	Female	Yes	Yes
8	22	Female	Yes	Yes
9	20	Female	No	No
10	20	Female	Yes	No
11	27	Male	No	No
12	21	Female	No	Yes
13	24	Male	Yes	Yes
14	21	Female	Yes	Yes
15	25	Male	No	No
16	27	Female	Yes	Yes
17	27	Male	Yes	No
18	28	Male	No	No
19	21	Female	Yes	No
20	27	Male	Yes	Yes
21	22	Male	No	Yes

APPENDIX 5 – INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Interview Schedule for Nuno

- Why did you start Sport 4 Life
- Why sport (compared to other methods)
- Why the focus on youth
- Where do you see Sport 4 Life going in the future
- What challenges have you faced
- How has funding impacted the program
- What role does gender play
- Why East Timor

Interview Schedule for Virginia and Silvina

- What has been your involvement with Sport 4 Life
- What are your ambitions for Sport 4 Life
- How has it personally impacted and affected you
- How does it fit into the context of East Timor
- What are the gender elements at play
- How important an aspect is sport

APPENDIX 6 – DOCUMENT REVIEW INFORMATION AND SOURCES

DOCUMENT	YEAR UPDATED	FORMAT	SOURCE
SPORT FOR LIFE PROGRAM	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTMG9NTTBBQmc4ajA/view
INTRODUCTION	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTdUh3eUtzRjlFSVE/view
LEADERSHIP	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTc090YjN4WGx1TE0/view
ACTION PLAN	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTR24yYXkxWG1rRjg/view
HUMAN RESOURCES	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTQjZwa1dhUXh2OWs/view
MATERIAL RESOURCES	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTVGg1OXdSWWg4dms/view
MARKETING AND PROMOTION	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTQ05kZExKazVnRFU/view
PREPARING A PROPOSAL	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTckp2WTZpdlEtLUk/view
CREATING A CLUB	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTTmdmZVJsV2tPYzg/view
SPORT FOR LIFE ONE PAGER	2018	PDF	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTdFpXNjhxMGdCMDg/view
YOUTH LEADERSHIP CAMP: DETAILED PROGRAM	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTTlc5M2NSY2lBTEk/view
YOUTH LEADERSHIP CAMP PROGRAM	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTNzVVd0pkZzhTQlU/view
ENERGY!	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTbDBQamFXbnZsbUU/view
FACILITATION TECHNIQUES	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTc0RMd3pRa2p1eUU/view
STRATEGIC PLANNING	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTNWFDSHlfMW1VeDA/view
NEGOTIATION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTT0pQdmpuV2l3bFE/view
COACHING	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTMGtmYjFVQjdlelE/view
YOUTH LEADERSHIP CAMP CHEATSHEETS	2018	PowerPoint	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTXzdoNzRCal9PNmc/view
SPORTIMPACT ANNUAL REPORT 2017	2017	PDF	http://sportimpact.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/SportImpact-Annual-Report-2017.pdf
SPORT FOR LIFE MANUAL - ENGLISH	2018	PDF	https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BzrTnPRtycUTYkZWdmY0LWRoek0/view
ANNUAL REPORT 2016	2016	PDF	http://sportimpact.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/SportImpact-Annual-Report-2016_report.pdf

APPENDIX 7 - TRAVEL DIARY EXCERPTS

18th July, 2018 – Notes during the camp:

- Waited outside until open
- Around 9:15 only 8 people so far
- Lots of paper on the walls from what they were doing yesterday - have taken photos of these
- Seemed to be put in groups to mindmap
- Can see references to sport and footsall and pluses and minuses
- People now getting up and talking (possibly presenting ideas?

11th July, 2018 – Diary entry

I continued walking along the waterfront, making short detours to have a look at any stars on my google maps. This included visiting the resistance museum which was far more modern and put together than the other museums I had visited. Opposite this was what seemed to be a 'sports federation' however after having a nosy around I could not see anyone there but there was lots of different sports pitches, maybe I'll return on the weekend.

Whilst walking along the beach side I walked through many parks that were filled with people and also bar and things that could be used for general exercise. On my long walks it was interesting to see how big international football is here. Lots of microlets had pictures of Ronaldo or Real Madrid on them (obviously not adverts) and lots of young boys were wearing football shirts and kicking balls around. Football and the World Cup have so far been great conversation starters.