

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND REFUGEES IN
UGANDA: EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SPORT

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Abstract

Sport for development and peace (SDP) has steadily grown and become institutionalized since the early 2000s. Yet, there remains a need for further analysis in relation to: (1) social entrepreneurship; (2) refugee's participation in SDP; and (3) livelihoods and employability. In this study, postcolonial management theory and the concept of diaspora was adopted to explore a SDP organization, Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID), located in Kampala, Uganda, and refugee's participation in YARID's social development programs. The purpose of this research was to explore YARID's SDP work that seeks to support refugees and provide opportunities for (social) entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employment, as well as number of other social goals such as social inclusion, gender equality, and cultural belonging. Guided by a participatory action research approach, fieldwork was undertaken from June to August 2019 at YARID and involved multiple data collection strategies including: photovoice, semi-structured interviews, photocollage sessions and focus groups, and observations. A total of 42 participants, comprising of YARID staff, program participants, and community members, were involved in the study. Collaborative analysis during photocollage sessions and thematic analysis was utilized to identify common themes and patterns across textual, visual, and digital data.

Findings suggest that refugees are faced with a variety of challenges in their day to day lives due to displacement and host community relations with Ugandan residents. By uniquely combining SDP activities with other innovative social programs, such as business classes, vocational training, and microfinance savings groups, refugees at YARID agentically engage in entrepreneurship and livelihood activities as individuals, in groups, and with YARID to challenge circumstances of poverty, discrimination, and gender inequalities. At the same time,

there remain challenges and barriers to SDP participation and livelihood-related activities, most especially for women and girls due to patriarchy and gender relations both within Uganda and gender norms of homelands where refugees have been forced to migrate from. Further research is needed to advance understandings of social entrepreneurship and livelihoods in the field of SDP and how refugee participants utilize sport for their own purposes and to construct diasporic identities.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my nana, Geraldine McSweeney, and grandpa, Francis Duffy,
both who passed away in the late stages of this journey.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Entrepreneurship is one of the most well-known “buzzwords” in the world today, with individuals, groups, communities, and companies seeking to produce novel products or services to become the next millionaire or billionaire like, for example, Bill Gates. Indeed, with advancements in technology and continuous changes in social, cultural, political, and economic life (not least of which is influenced by the global COVID-19 pandemic), entrepreneurship is at the forefront of adapting to changes in the complex contexts of people’s lives. Traditionally associated with risk-taking and innovation – particularly with regards to commercial entrepreneurship – in order to exploit an opportunity for economic growth based on the introduction of a new product, service, or organization (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; Shane & Venkataraman, 2000), entrepreneurship has been promoted as a way for people around the world to make profit and, for some populations, such as those living in poverty, potentially offer opportunities for people to move out of poverty and locate sustainable livelihoods (Thorpe, 2017).

But the above is clearly a general and common understanding of entrepreneurship, and, when broadly defined as so, concretely positions entrepreneurship as a positive economic activity – one that is desirable for economic growth, and is driven by a functionalist nature that sees entrepreneurship as a purely market-based phenomenon (Essers et al., 2017). When one critically analyzes the above paragraph, a number of ideological assumptions in traditional entrepreneurship literature and research become apparent: the traditional, male, Western entrepreneur who is successful in creating and leading billion dollar companies; the idea that entrepreneurship is a panacea for both individuals and organizations to find ways to maximize profit and create wealth; and that, if entrepreneurship is engaged in by certain individuals or

groups, particularly those marginalized (e.g., the ‘poor’ as defined by those living on less than \$2 US a day; Indigenous people; migrants), they will be able to find solutions to issues of social, economic, political, and cultural inequalities (Si, Ahlstrom, Wei, & Cullen, 2020).

This dissertation dovetails with such assumptions and brings to the fore a critical perspective on entrepreneurship, particularly in relation to sport and sport for development and peace (SDP). SDP is broadly defined as the use of sport and physical activity, as well as other forms of leisure, physical cultures and recreation (e.g., bicycling, snowboarding) to respond to social inequalities and contribute to achieving certain development goals, particularly the Sustainable Development Goals as outlined by the United Nations (UN) (Kidd, 2008, 2011). Over the past fifteen years, scholarship focused on SDP has proliferated in a number of areas, including: organizational and interorganizational partnerships (Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Peachey et al., 2018); volunteers, staff, and program leaders (Darnell, 2007; McSweeney, 2019; Welty-Peachey et al., 2014); gender equality (Chawansky, 2011; Hayhurst, 2011); social capital (Spaaij, 2009, 2012); conflict resolution (Giulianotti, 2011; Sugden, 2006); neocolonialist and imperialist tendencies in SDP programs (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Darnell, 2012; McSweeney et al., 2019); as well as theoretical, conceptual and methodological reviews and commentaries focused on SDP (Darnell et al., 2018; Schulenkorf, Sherry, & Rowe, 2016).

Despite this burgeoning literature, there remain few studies in relation to the intersections of SDP and entrepreneurship, with some exceptions (Hayhurst, 2014; McSweeney, 2020; Svensson, 2017; Svensson et al., 2020). This research often discusses social innovation and entrepreneurship, a subset of entrepreneurship which, in its broadest sense, is when an individual or organization engages in innovation for the purposes of driving social change (e.g., challenging poverty or gender inequalities) (Weerawardena & Mort, 2006). Given the foundational tenets of

SDP (i.e., to promote or stimulate social change through the use of sport and physical activity), this focus is not necessarily surprising. Still, however, much of the above research in SDP, social innovation, and SE, is focused on: (1) organizations within the field of SDP and the innovative strategies and techniques utilized for the purposes of surviving and thriving in the often neoliberal, donor-driven sector of SDP; and (2) an overall positive view of social entrepreneurship as a way for organizations and, in some cases, individuals (particularly staff or SDP participants) to drive financial support of SDP programs and/or create self-sufficient profits to sustain SDP programs. Although SDP scholars have pointed to challenges, limits of, and potential negative implications of entrepreneurship (particularly SE) in SDP, there remains limited empirical analysis of entrepreneurship, both in terms of its potential positive and negative consequences for SDP organizations and participants, as well as the political nature of entrepreneurship in SDP contexts. Even further, the primary focus of such work has been attuned to entrepreneurship and innovation by organizations, rather than entrepreneurship by SDP participants themselves, such as refugees.

Similar to research on SDP and entrepreneurship, studies in relation to those forced to migrate and sport have grown in recent years (Smith, Spaaij, & McDonald, 2019). Yet, as emphasized by Spaaij et al. (2019), there remains a dearth of research in this area and a need for further studies on sport and SDP-related activities for refugees (i.e., those migrating from their home country to flee persecution), particularly in relation to their livelihoods and employment opportunities. Entrepreneurship has been advocated as one potential way in which forced migrants may locate self-employment and sustainable livelihood opportunities whilst responding to poverty through economic growth (Weston & Imas, 2017). Still, as with the broader body of research within traditional entrepreneurship, there have been limited insights into the enactment

of entrepreneurship by marginalized populations (e.g., refugees) and instead mostly a dominant focus on entrepreneurship in the context of the Western world, particularly white, male entrepreneurs (Essers et al., 2017). Understanding entrepreneurship by individuals, groups, and related organizations (e.g., a refugee-led organization utilizing social enterprise tactics to support refugees) historically underrepresented in entrepreneurship research and the social, cultural, economic, and political context in which entrepreneurship is carried out is thus needed to begin to move the “rose-tinted” glasses of entrepreneurship away from traditional understandings of who is an entrepreneur. In addition, such studies are required to challenge entrepreneurship as a non-political activity and acknowledge the social realities that drive certain people to engage in novel tactics for self-employment and livelihoods, as well as to explore how entrepreneurship is fueled by inequalities and may potentially perpetuate inequalities (Berglund, 2017; Weston & Imas, 2017).

Taken together, this dissertation seeks to respond to the lacunas noted above in the entrepreneurship and SDP literature. Indeed, as noted by Schulenkorf et al. (2016, p. 34), there is a need for increased research on “job skills training, employability, rehabilitation, and the creation of social enterprises” within SDP. The purpose of this research was to therefore explore the work of a nongovernmental organization in Uganda that utilizes sport for the purposes of supporting refugees and provides opportunities for entrepreneurship, particularly SE, and employment and livelihoods. Specific research questions guiding the study included:

- 1) What issues are of central concern to those refugees participating in social entrepreneurial and employment-focused SDP programs, and how are these issues linked to their everyday lived experiences?

- 2) What are the challenges and benefits to refugees' participation in SDP initiatives, particularly in Kampala, Uganda, in relation to facilitating social inclusion, promoting gender equality, locating SE and employment opportunities, and navigating cultural difference?
- 3) How do refugee participants in social entrepreneurial and employment-focused SDP initiatives describe and interpret their activities?
- 4) How are potentially Western notions of 'SE', 'employment', 'inclusion', 'exclusion' and 'development' taken up and/ or challenged by refugee participants in SDP initiatives? What are the dynamics of power behind understandings of these concepts?

The dissertation proceeds as follows. In Chapter 2, I provide a review of relevant literature related to entrepreneurship; refugee livelihoods; sociocultural studies of sport and forced migration; and SDP (specifically with regards to entrepreneurship, innovation, and livelihoods). Chapter 3 then offers an overview of the primary theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding this study: postcolonial management theory and diaspora. In Chapter 4, the research context and methodology employed for this study is outlined. Chapter 5 to Chapter 8 present the findings of this research, organized into four distinct parts according to the above research questions. Chapter 9 follows with a discussion about the theoretical implications and resonance of this research for various disciplines, particularly entrepreneurship and SDP. The conclusion is then offered in Chapter 10 followed by references and appendices.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

In this chapter, I first provide a brief overview of the sport-for-development and peace (SDP) field before detailing existing research related to SDP, refugees, and forced migration, including work more broadly in forced migration that has discussed refugee livelihoods. I then offer a review of literature on the related areas of research of entrepreneurship, as well as SDP and social entrepreneurship, including scholarly work related to social innovation.

2.1 Sport-for-development and peace

Since the early 2000s, SDP has expanded as a field of practice, policy, and research to the point that the field has transformed into a loosely amalgamated sector recognized and made up of various actors including governments, international multilateral organizations, communities, corporations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), academics, and individuals (Kidd, 2011; Svensson & Woods, 2017; Whitley et al., 2019). In effect, the field has become institutionalized and increasingly professionalized as a sector (Darnell, Field, & Kidd, 2019). Empirical investigation of SDP has grown immensely and has been conducted from a wide range of perspectives rooted in different disciplinary foundations, including sociology of sport, sport management, development studies, psychology, and political science (e.g., Dao, 2020; Darnell et al., 2018; Hayhurst, 2013; McSweeney & van Luijk, 2019; Spaaij & Schaillee, 2020; Schulenkorf, 2017; Svensson, 2017; Welty Peachey, Schulenkorf, & Hill, 2019; Whitley, Hayden, & Gould, 2016), to name but a few. Many studies that examine and discuss SDP are interdisciplinary in scope due to the intersections of sport with international development (Schulenkorf et al., 2016).

Given the diverse body of research in relation to SDP, it is important for this study to distinguish between the ways in which SDP is often structured for program implementation.

Coalter (2013) has distinguished between traditional sport development, sport-plus, and plus-sport programs. In the former, sport programs are explicitly focused on the enhancement and accumulation of athletic-specific skills that build individual's abilities to train and compete in a particular sport. Coalter (2013, p. 24) defines the latter terms as

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

While Coalter (2013) does distinguish between traditional sport, sport-plus, and plus-sport, he notes that these categorizations fall along a continuum and that many SDP organizations employ a combination of both sport-plus and plus-sport.

Many SDP organizations and programs exhibit tendencies of Coalter's (2013) categorization of sport-plus and plus-sport. For instance, Right to Play implements SDP programs focused on enhancing life skills of Indigenous youth, as well as seeks to employ sport to achieve developmental objectives of gender equality, conflict resolution, and access to education. Whilst Right to Play is primarily focused on sport plus, many of its programs also use sport to attract youth to their programs. The Kicking Aids Out! Network, which is an international network of organizations that uses sport to attract youth in various countries to educational HIV/AIDS programs, is an example that fits mostly within the classification of plus sport. Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment Launchpad (MLSE LP), a corporate-funded philanthropic community SDP foundation, also exhibits tendencies of both plus-sport and sport-plus by running programs for youth and adults focused on physical literacy, ready for work

programs, and life skills training, whereby participants of programs are attracted via free participation in sport but are also involved in parallel social programs that are implemented in conjunction with sport. Indeed, since the early 2000s, organizations and actors around the world have initiated SDP programs and/or identified their organizational operations as falling within the SDP domain (Schulenkorf & Adair, 2013). SDP programs have a variety of foci, such as disability, education, gender, health, livelihoods, peace, and social cohesion (Svensson & Woods, 2017). Yet, even with the exponential growth of SDP research and practice (at least prior to the global coronavirus pandemic), there has been less attention paid to programs that seek to enhance the lives of refugees or individuals forced to migrate (Spaaij et al., 2019). In the next section, literature related to sport (and in extension SDP), refugees, and forced migration is discussed.

2.2 Sociocultural studies of sport and refugees

The displacement of refugees (i.e., those migrating from their home country to flee persecution) remains one of the most pressing issues around the world (UN, 2020) and has led to extensive research into the politics of forced migration across and within a number of Global North resettlement nations, including the United States and Canada (Nawyn, 2016a). However, while there has been a plethora of studies afforded to the politics of refugee immigration to Western nations (e.g., Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014; Bhabha & Schmidt, 2008), research in relation to forced migrants in the Global South – such as in Africa, which hosts over 26% of the world's refugees (UNHCR, 2018a) – remains minimal in comparison to South-North migration (Nawyn, 2016b). For example, Uganda has served as a place of refuge for individuals fleeing South Sudan, Burundi, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and ranks as one of the highest populated countries in terms of refugees with 1.3 million displaced people

(UNHCR, 2018b). Scholarly attention primarily on Global South to Global North migration is thus concerning given that: (1) South-to-South migration constitutes the majority of international movement (Abel & Sander, 2014), therefore overlooking a large proportion of human migration; and (2) refugees who resettle in the Global South often have different experiences and rights than those who have relocated to the Global North (Fitzgerald & Arar, 2018).

In light of these concerns, growing scholarly attention has highlighted the ways in which forced migrants in the Global South navigate forced displacement from their homeland, foster cultural belonging, and engage with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and on-the-ground actors such as refugee-led initiatives (Betts et al., 2017), including those adopting sport for the purposes of enhancing refugees' social inclusion and equality in host communities. In recent years, sociocultural investigations into sport, physical activity, and forced migration has increased (Smith, Spaaij, & McDonald, 2019; Spaaij et al., 2019), with important insights into the way sport may foster cultural belonging and togetherness, build social capital, and promote the health of displaced populations. Other work by Wright (2009) has discussed how SDP organizations may enhance community capacity, for instance by increasing participation of refugees in sport programs, acknowledging organizational and structural inequalities, and integrating local leadership (i.e., forced migrants) into program operations. In addition, there have been studies that discuss how refugees might accumulate social (e.g., interpersonal connections, personal interactions), cultural (e.g., knowledge, education, communication skills), and economic capital (e.g., money, property, employment) through participation in sport (Spaaij, 2009; Spaaij & Schaijllée, 2020). In contrast, research has found that forced migrants may face numerous barriers (e.g., language) to sport participation, and be discriminated against by host communities; and sport programs may be overconcerned with host community integration rather

than promoting the self-determination of refugees (Hurly, 2019; Spaaij, 2009, 2012, 2015; Spaaij & Oxford, 2018).

Spaaij (2009, 2011, 2012, 2015) has explored SDP for migrant populations and refugees in various studies. For example, through a three-year ethnographic inquiry with Somali-born Australians, he employed semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and participatory elements of methodology such as consultation with community members and collaborative approaches to developing research questions and data analysis themes to better understand forced migrants' experiences in sport and SDP (Spaaij, 2009). Through in-depth analysis, it was revealed that there were various barriers to participation for refugees in sport, including non-sport obligations (e.g., work, study, and family), language (e.g., English), and lack of parental support as well as gender expectations. While Spaaij (2009) speaks to barriers of sport participation for refugees more specifically, he also highlights the benefits and mutual support participants experienced through sport.

Still, based on an extensive literature review of research conducted in relation to sport and forced migration, Spaaij et al. (2019, p. 7-8) noted that most empirical analysis has focused on refugee experiences in Global North countries (e.g., Australia, Germany, United States, Canada), which reflects the "Eurocentric bias of global knowledge production in the social and health sciences and in sports studies" (see also Keim et al., 2014). Research into sport and forced migration hence reflects the broader literature related to the immigration of refugees that commonly investigates South to North migration. This is concerning given that, as Spaaij et al. (2019) note, most of the world's displaced people live and migrate within regions of the Global South, and hence the contexts in which sport and forced migration research has been conducted

is not attuned to the differing contextual factors experienced by those forced to migrate within the Global South.

There are some exceptions to the above focus on sport and forced migration in the Global North (e.g., Apriadi & Yulianto, 2018; Russell & Stage, 1996; Wright, 2009). These studies lend significant insights into the experiences of forced migrants' participation in sport and leisure. For example, Russell and Stage (1996) conducted fieldwork with women in a Sudanese refugee camp and highlighted how leisure, within the camp, was almost nonexistent; there was only three times in which they viewed children playing and forced migrants with no material resources felt that time 'dragged on' – they had unlimited leisure time and minimal activities to fill that time. In addition, the forced migration of Sudanese women resulted in the need to move to refugee camps with limited possessions, and family and community structures were different than those in their homeland. Based on separation from family members, women's roles had changed. In South Sudan, women would take on roles as a peacekeeper; however, with the civil war in South Sudan, and their migration to refugee camps, women's role as peacekeepers had evaporated both within their families and their society. Of significance is that Russell and Stage (1996) highlight how their findings differed from Western literature about leisure and how leisure holds meaning to people for the actualization of self-expression and self-development. Instead, refugees viewed leisure as a burden: "An abundance of meaningless free time, a thwarting of traditional role activities, and a dependency on others have stolen self-expression and become major enemies of their daily life and routine" (Russell & Stage, 1996, p. 118). The authors point to the nuances of leisure for those forced to migrate, and challenge future research to more explicitly unpack the meanings behind leisure (including sport) under conditions of poverty and displacement.

Although studies of sport and forced migration have increased recently, most especially since 2017 (Spaaij et al., 2019), there remain only limited studies which seek to unpack how sport specifically plays a role (or not) in the livelihoods of refugees. Livelihoods, generally understood as a means of making a living, are particularly important for refugees due to experiences of displacement which involve trauma, loss of personal, social and economic capital, and discrimination in host communities that often results in limited opportunities to engage in economic activity (Jacobsen, 2006). More recently, Smart et al. (2020) examined how migrants (who did not specifically identify as refugees) in Toronto, Canada engaged in sport for acculturation purposes, including for example to cultivate social and cultural capital, but noted that sport had little effect on the livelihoods and financial capabilities of migrants. Although sport played a role in building connections amongst migrants, sport itself was not explicitly effective at improving employment levels or job opportunities, which migrants voiced as more important for their wellbeing rather than the ability to participate in sport – a finding that the authors suggest points to the need for further explorations of how, and if, sport plays any role in the livelihoods of migrants (Smart et al., 2020). Indeed, as Schulenkorf (2017) notes, there is still a great need to identify specific knowledge and insights into the peculiarities of realizing livelihood opportunities through sport, especially given that a majority of SDP organizations adopt a focus on livelihood creation for marginalized populations (Svensson & Woods, 2017). This becomes even more important in the context of SDP, forced migration, and livelihoods, as researchers have emphasized the significance of refugee livelihoods.

2.2.1 Refugee livelihoods

The livelihoods of refugees, generally understood as how refugees make a living and engage in economic means to maintain and sustain life (De Vriese, 2006), have been discussed

by various researchers (e.g., Buscher, 2011; Horst, 2006). Scholars have noted that there are multiple enablers and barriers (both during and post-displacement) that effect the ability of refugees to engage in livelihoods. For example, refugees, whom often have diverse skills and experiences that they utilized in home countries, frequently have credentials discounted in host countries, resulting in denied permission to work due to the lack of appropriate qualifications and/or prejudice by host populations and communities (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). Social exclusion and power relations in host communities therefore play an important role in the acceptance or denial of forced migrants accessing livelihood assets and opportunities. Furthermore, refugee livelihoods differ from other migrant populations (e.g., labour migrants) due to the effects of displacement, including loss (e.g., land, employment, housing), trauma (e.g., loss of family members, property rights, experiences of violence) and impoverishment (e.g., debt from travel costs, loss of community and cultural spaces) that forced migrants endure (Jacobsen, 2014).

With growing attention being paid to refugee livelihoods by academics, NGOs, and development agencies (e.g., UNHCR), there have been calls to more specifically identify, and bring attention to, the particular and unique livelihood activities that refugees engage in to challenge the conditions of inequality in which they often live (Betts & Jones, 2016). The concept of diaspora (to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3) has been adopted by scholars to emphasize the way in which refugees not only engage in particular ethnic and cultural practices for livelihoods (e.g., Congolese tailoring that uses specific fabrics and patterns), but also how such practices build social communities and form connections to refugees' homeland (Betts et al., 2017). Other refugees living in diaspora utilize collective communities to locate economic opportunities through social networks and to promote their livelihoods to other forced

migrants in the hopes of offering services (e.g., hairdressing) and products (e.g., selling food) that foster diasporic consciousness (Hakiza, 2014). In many ways, refugees seek out opportunities for entrepreneurship in order to engage in economy activity due to limited employability options (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016).

2.3 Entrepreneurship

Similar to the trajectory of SDP, entrepreneurship research has grown extensively from its roots in ‘small business research’ to become recognized as its own distinct field primarily located within organizational and management studies (Blackburn & Smallbone, 2008).

Research on entrepreneurship is also informed by wide-ranging disciplinary perspectives including sociology, development studies, economists, political science, and administrative science (Baker & Welter, 2015). Individuals, communities, groups, companies, governments, and nations around the world have adopted an entrepreneurial ethos that is often framed and influenced by buzzwords such as ‘innovation’, ‘risk taking’, ‘proactiveness’, ‘opportunity seeking’, and ‘profit’ (Gedeon, 2010). Innovation is key to the process of entrepreneurship and often refers to the introduction of something new, whether that be an idea, product, service, or model, whereas entrepreneurship refers to the ability to turn ideas into action (Edwards-Schachter, García, Sánchez-Barrioluengo, Pineda, & Amara, 2015).

Foundational work by Shane and Venkataraman (2000) served as a catalyst to an explosion of entrepreneurship research since the 2000s (Baker & Welter, 2015), and many entrepreneurship scholars have drawn on Shane and Venkataraman’s (2000, p. 4) definition that stipulates that the field of entrepreneurship is “the scholarly examination of how, by whom, and with what effects opportunities to create future goods and services are discovered, evaluated, and exploited.” There have been ongoing debates with regards to the subjective nature of opportunity

recognition, particularly around distinctions between ‘discovery’ versus the construction or creation of opportunities (Alvarez & Barney, 2007; Edelman & Yli-Renko, 2010). Yet, as noted by Baker and Welter (2015), most research informed by the above definition has focused on traditional economic performance outcomes and successful economic strategies (often in relation to the ‘heroic’ image of the entrepreneur in popular media; Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011) rather than the contexts, influences, nuances, and even struggles of entrepreneurship that make the field diverse and heterogenous.

Indeed, numerous scholars have emphasized that entrepreneurial research should not be confined to studies and insights into successful entrepreneurs, ‘big businesses,’ and technologies that stimulate high-growth ventures, but rather turn to the everyday actions, ‘ordinary entrepreneurs,’ young firms, and those with less resources to engage in entrepreneurship (Baker & Welter, 2015). This means looking more closely at and moving beyond narrow assumptions about entrepreneurs being interested in economic functions, as well as empirically investigating the diverse individuals, groups, and contexts in which entrepreneurship takes place, for instance in contexts of poverty (Bruton, Ketchen, & Ireland, 2013; Shantz, Kistruck, & Zietsma, 2018), in Global South nations and communities (Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2015; Rogerson & Mushawemhuka, 2015), Indigenous communities (Dana, 2015; Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Honig, & Dana, 2004), and more broadly ‘base-of-the-pyramid’ markets, which are physically located in low-income countries and rural areas of middle- to high-income countries and include almost 4 billion people, or 70% of the world’s population, defined as poor who live on less than two dollars US a day (Kistruck, Webb, Sutter, & Ireland, 2011; Kolk, Rivera-Santos, & Rufin, 2014). In addition, entrepreneurship has often focused on narratives that reflect the work of white, male, Western individuals (Essers et al., 2017), leading scholars to emphasize that – in

order to contest such narratives – research into the innovative activities of women, people of colour, Indigenous peoples, refugee-identifying individuals, ethnic minorities and more generally those who have received less attention in mainstream entrepreneurial literature is needed (Jones & Ram, 2014; Thoelen & Zanon, 2017; Özkazanç-Pan, 2017).

In parallel to scholarly calls to diversify and challenge the idea of the successful, male, Western entrepreneur is also three critical avenues for future entrepreneurship research which are relevant for this study. First, is the automatic assumption that entrepreneurship is a panacea, something valuable and ‘good’ which is based on its claimed economic contributions (Baker & Welter, 2015). For example, entrepreneurship is often considered as a solution to economic issues and/or limited access of certain populations (e.g., refugees) to the labour market (Fong, Busch, Armour, Heffron, & Chanmugam, 2007; Sak, Kaymaz, Kadkoy, & Kenanoglu, 2018). However, this taken-for-granted assumption of entrepreneurship as contributing to economic development pigeonholes entrepreneurship as discussed above to be a primarily economic function, rather than understanding its successes, failures, heterogeneity, and motivations that revolve around individual, social, and economic wellbeing in a broader sense.

Second, and in relation to the above regarding expanding understandings of entrepreneurship by examining entrepreneurs and innovation in the ‘real world’ (beyond successful ventures or high growth of economic development), research must move beyond an individual focus on the ‘entrepreneur’ and look at value creation more broadly based on varying perspectives and the contexts in which innovation takes place (Baker & Welter, 2015). Indeed, as Baker and Welter (2015, p. 11) say: “Can we claim economic value creation without considering what happens to our societies as follows from a narrow focus on entrepreneurship as job generation? Are not economic and societal value creation unavoidably intertwined: two sides of

the same coin?” Hence, research that investigates the creation of value (whether social, economic, cultural, or even political) and that unpacks both positive and negative implications of entrepreneurship and its complexity is required.

This brings us to the third critique of entrepreneurship, or at the very least a call by scholars to reimagine, reorient and expand understandings of entrepreneurship beyond its functional nature as a market-based phenomenon and special trait or set of behaviours which prelude economic growth (Calás, Smircich, & Bourne, 2009; Essers, Dey, Tedmanson, & Verduyn, 2017; Perrren & Jennings, 2005). To do so, research should highlight and examine other forms of entrepreneurship that are more collective in nature and value-based, which contest and exploit “dominant ideologies, intellectual traditions and prevailing assumptions which bind entrepreneurship within the dictum of profit maximization and wealth creation” (Essers et al., 2017, p. 2; also see Görling & Rehn, 2008; Rindova, Barry, & Ketchen Jr, 2009). At the same time, such work should illustrate how entrepreneurship may enable proactivity as a behaviour, process, or activity that fosters new ethical, moral, and political possibilities, whereby the “voices, unheard stories, places, and potentialities of entrepreneurship which are usually left out of existing research” (Essers et al., 2017, p. 2) are prioritized (Steyaert & Katz, 2004). This reorientation and reimagination of entrepreneurship views it as a social change activity that contests the often Westernized, primarily profit-motivated entrepreneurship that has privileged certain views and forms of innovation (Dey & Steyaert, 2016; Essers & Tedmanson, 2014; Verduyn et al., 2014). One such way to both contest traditional and commercial understandings of entrepreneurship and to reconceptualize entrepreneurship as a social change activity is through the use of the increasingly popular concept of social entrepreneurship, which has been growing within scholarly examination in studies of sport.

2.3.1 Sport and social entrepreneurship

Sport and entrepreneurship are interconnected in many ways. As Ratten (2012) highlights, different forms of entrepreneurship arise in a variety of sport contexts. The nature of sport as a globalized phenomenon necessitates that organizations and management react accordingly and quickly to fluctuating market conditions (Ratten, 2012). This includes organizations of all types in the public (e.g., government), private (e.g., corporation), and not-for-profit (NFP) sectors. Studies of entrepreneurship and sport have increased in recent years (Bjärsholm, 2017; Pellegrini, Rialti, Marzi, & Caputo, 2020). Research ranges from studies into professional sport leagues and innovative corporate social responsibility initiatives (Miragaia, Ferreira, & Ratten, 2017), policy innovations including the integration of an entrepreneurial ethos into national sport policies (McSweeney & Safai, 2020; Peterson & Schenker, 2018; Ratten, 2019), and novel strategies for sport marketing (Ratten & Tajeddini, 2019). However, many of these studies relate sport to traditional – or commercial – entrepreneurship, where organizations or individuals are focused on generating financial value and economic profit, and the exploitation of an opportunity leads to accumulation of economic capital (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006). While these studies are nonetheless important for signifying how entrepreneurship occurs across varied contexts of sport, more recent literature has begun to examine and discuss sport and social entrepreneurship (Bjarsholm, 2017; Ratten, 2019; McSweeney et al., 2021; Svensson & Seifried, 2017), which may be broadly understood as an individual or organizational enterprise aimed at achieving social change using business-like practices while reinvesting some or all profits back into the organization or social purpose (Weerawardena and Mort, 2006).

There is no universal or homogenous understanding of social entrepreneurship given the variety of actors involved in its practice and conceptualization, including nongovernmental organizations (some of whom adopt not-for-profit structures), governments, corporations, communities, and individuals (Hossain, Saleh, & Drennan, 2017). However, most scholars agree that social entrepreneurship in any form (an individual entrepreneur or a social enterprise) must have an explicit social mission, and a primary focus on achieving that social mission with financial performance as a secondary goal and/or necessary function (Phillips et al., 2015). The social mission is constructed by social entrepreneurs and/or the organization in which they work and is assessed via consultation and collaboration with stakeholders, or the ‘end-user’ of social programs, in relation to a pressing social issue that requires solutions (Dees, 1998). The social mission of a social enterprise or social entrepreneurial venture is meant to ensure that social value is created for stakeholders and is virtuous (Mort, Weerawardena, & Carnegie, 2003).

SE is often characterized by navigating between and within public, non-profit and private sectors. As a process, SE may be understood broadly as “a process involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue opportunities to catalyze social change and/or address social needs” (Mair & Marti, 2006, p. 3). Social entrepreneurs are considered individuals or people who have new ideas and realize there is an opportunity to address an unmet need or challenge in society, and use these ideas to gather resources that create social change while balancing the dual bottom line of fulfilling moral and profit motives (Bornstein & Davis, 2010; Bacq & Janssen, 2011). Social enterprises or ventures are broadly understood to be revenue-generating businesses or organizations that have a primary social or community mission and utilize business practices to generate income for the sustainability of the enterprise (Certo & Miller, 2008).

Definitional differences between specific terms within SE has also been influenced by three schools of thought: (1) the social innovation school of thought; (2) the social enterprise school of thought; and (3) the Emergence des Entreprises Sociales en Europe (EMES) school of thought. The school of social innovation, originating in the U.S., sees the individual as the primary component in SE who uses a vision to gain resources and innovatively create social value (Choi & Majumdar, 2014). In this school, it does not matter whether for-profit or NFP tactics are used, as long as the individual is attempting to solve a social problem. Social innovation is a term related closely to SE and is generally considered as the employment of novel or enhanced ways of stimulating social change (Shier & Handy, 2015, 2016). Work in relation to social innovation and SDP that has been conducted is discussed in the next section.

In contrast to the social innovation school of thought, the social enterprise school of thought, originating in the UK, sees enterprises as NFP organizations being the main catalyst of SE, with the individual or individuals involved in the initiative's social mission being secondary to that of the organization (Bacq & Janssen, 2011). This school of thought emphasizes the organization being driven like a business to fulfill its social objectives while being free from burdens placed on them by external funders so as to ensure the sustainability of the organization (Bjärsholm, 2017). Finally, the EMES school of thought suggests that the organization is the most important facet of social entrepreneurship, which can be financed through either the organization or through external funding, and must be focused on collective action to ensure and promote social development (Huybrechts & Nicholls, 2012). Social entrepreneurship ventures qualify if their social mission is explicit and central (initiated by an individual or group), its market orientation must be consistent with its social mission, and they should not be defined by

their legal framework (i.e., may be a for-profit, not-for-profit, or public venture) (Mair & Marti, 2004).

What is necessary to define further for the framework of SE is the ‘social’ and the ‘entrepreneurship’. First, the ‘social’ in SE is what constitutes the difference of SE to other forms of entrepreneurship, although this is questionable as varying forms of entrepreneurial activity may exhibit a social cause or response to a social need, including traditional, commercial entrepreneurship, which is commonly focused on generating monetary value (see Bull, 2008). Social factors are the primary motivating factors within SE and are placed above all else (including profitability and productivity) with regards to organizational activity (Dees, 2008).

Second, the ‘entrepreneurship’ in SE is in many ways founded upon traditional understandings of entrepreneurship that are based on opportunity and risk-taking, as seen by social entrepreneurs engaging “in a process of continuous innovation and acting boldly without being limited by the resources they currently have in hand” (Dees, 1998, p. 4). While some researchers have investigated ‘who the entrepreneur is’ (i.e., type of character traits, attitude, vision, etc.), it has been suggested that the process of entrepreneurship in SE is still relatively limited in understanding (similar to the available knowledge on the process of commercial entrepreneurship) (Mair & Marti, 2004). From the above discussion, we can begin to see that while SE is understood to be different than traditional entrepreneurship, it is in many ways confined by its relationship to commercial entrepreneurship. Ultimately, understanding the social and entrepreneurial processes of SE is crucial for delineating it from a simple economic focus of an organization with a social mission.

This is particularly important given that SE remains a contested concept and, as a discourse, is rife with differentiating arguments and opinions, with questions being raised about

the ideal of SE as working towards social change. Indeed, whether SE is an innovative form of social organization or if it is merely another form of rhetoric for social change being promoted by compliant organizations content with the status-quo has been asked (Newey, 2018). In many ways, while SE is a concept that responds to some of the critiques mentioned above with regards to studies of traditional entrepreneurship, SE is also plagued with critical questions around its use and definition that are entangled with concerns about the traditional profit-motivated view of entrepreneurship.

2.3.2 Critical perspectives on social entrepreneurship

There are three elements of SE that have become increasingly questioned: (1) the universal nature of SE; (2) the neoliberal tensions associated with its foundations and operation in various contexts; and (3) a reliance on Westernized definitions and conceptualizations of SE. It is important to recognize that SE is most likely to emerge when there are institutional voids; that is, when governments, corporations, or other traditional organizations such as NFPs may face limits in their ability to respond to social challenges, such as unemployment (Littlewood & Holt, 2015; Webb, Khoury, & Hitt, 2020). This signifies that SE is almost immediately taken-for-granted as a positive response to a social failure. While there is no doubt many positive stories of successful SE, scholars have questioned whether this has become a rhetoric utilized in various contexts, including sport as well as international development, that serves to reify SE as a universal concept infused with utopian and innovative features (Dey & Steyaert, 2010; Reid, 2017).

This universal narrative has in many ways been adopted in development discourse, “where it is employed to remodel the conduct and governance of established organizations (including nongovernmental organizations), poor individuals, households or communities, or

poverty alleviation” (Dey & Steyaert, 2010, p. 87). This has coincided with the evolution and growing utilization of micro-credit and micro-finance programs (involving monetary lending in areas with limited financial access) in international development, which is commonly included within the social enterprise framework for the purposes of sustainability (Kistruck et al., 2011; Seelos & Mair, 2007). Perhaps one of the most famous social entrepreneurs, Dr. Muhammad Yunus, has received great acclaim for the use of micro-finance in Bangladesh. This has spurred the growth of micro-finance on an international scale and, in many ways, coexists alongside SE as a form of development that in contemporary society has a great appeal to scholars, organizations, and practitioners alike. These programs, while also highlighted within sport contexts (see Hayhurst, 2014), have likewise been questioned with regards to a reproduction of economic dependency and neoliberal development (Bateman & Chang, 2012).

While SE may involve micro-finance programs, some enterprises adopt a public-private-NFP alternating business model to gain resources, especially financial resources, for their enterprise. However, this alternating model as well as the ‘individualized’ nature of the social entrepreneur and the assumed ability of social enterprises to detach from neoliberal undertones (such as not relying on profit-motive or productivity) in society have become gradually contested. This is especially due to how SE claims to produce social change based on enterprise’s social missions, yet many times may commonly operate within the confines of neoliberalism to survive, without challenging the very systems it preaches to disrupt and affect (Newey, 2018). There are a number of reasons for these critiques which can be summarized in short: (1) there is a grand narrative of SE that reflects technicality and rationalism, implying “that by applying best-management approaches to social issues one can remove uncertainties and make chaotic and complex affairs of (social) life appear well-ordered and manageable” (Dey &

Staeyert, 2010, p., 89); (2) SE has been critiqued for ambiguousness and an ever-increasing boundary of definition that simplifies the ‘social’ of SE and instead seeks ‘silver-bullet’ and successful examples of SE (Seelos & Mair, 2005; Mueller et al., 2011); and (3) the tendencies of social entrepreneurs versus commercial entrepreneurs are not clear-cut and, in many ways, reflect broader issues of traditional entrepreneurship; for example, the contemporary literature displaying that male, individual, ‘hero’ social entrepreneurs are most effective (or at least the dominant focus in the field) (Calás et al., 2009). It is based on these critiques that we must consider the politics of SE and critically examine its universal, reified nature that may mask alternative readings of SE, making them immutable.

In particular, while there have been various studies of SE within Western contexts, there has been less focus on understandings and conceptualizations of SE in non-Western contexts. For instance, Littlewood and Holt (2018, p. 527) say that:

Much of the current academic discussion around the nature of social entrepreneurship is occurring in United States and European forums, drawing largely upon understandings, experiences, and data from the developed world. There is a need to bring in more disparate voices and knowledge to develop richer, more inclusive understandings in the field.

Other scholars have also spoken of a reliance on Western understandings of SE, which serves to deny “the historic anchorage of social entrepreneurship” (Mueller et al., 2011, p. 114). It is interesting that while SE in many contexts is implemented in the global South, as with traditional international development, Western understandings of SE are utilized most commonly.

Furthermore, as SE continues to gain momentum in Western disciplines of science, a reliance on Westernized knowledge systems remain (Urban & Teise, 2015) even when we see, from the

frameworks of SE, that it has been conceptualized based on different geographical locations. The context and environment of SE – a particularly limited area of scholarly investigation within the field – must be further investigated (Hossain et al., 2017).

In the context of Africa, where colonial histories and different institutional power relations play a large role in contemporary organization and management structures, as well as in daily life, considering the environment is paramount (Rivera-Santos et al., 2015). For George et al. (2016), understandings of entrepreneurship in Africa and other knowledges may be able to challenge common perceptions of entrepreneurship and SE. For example, in their study, George et al. (2016) suggest that women were more likely to engage in SE rather than men in a case study of Kenya. We can see from this that the ideal type of social entrepreneur in the literature, the ‘heroic’ male, is immediately challenged. Thus, we must consider the ways in which entrepreneurial activity – or at least some tenets of SE – are constructed based on concrete and stable terms and concepts, rather than in a hybrid encounter of a diversity of knowledges, perspectives, and histories. In sport, the same calls for an expanded body of SE research has also been emphasized to understand different attitudes towards social entrepreneurship in various geographical locations (Reid, 2017).

2.3.3 Social entrepreneurship and sport for development and peace

Since the beginning of my PhD journey in 2017, studies of SE – and in relation social innovation – have increased. Prior to 2017, there remained only a few studies focused on SE and SDP (Schulenkorf, 2017). Hayhurst (2014), exploring SE and sport, gender, and development (SGD) programming in Uganda, contends that nongovernmental organizations utilizing social entrepreneurial strategies might reduce reliance on external funders for survival, while at the same time, frame and encourage women to be “entrepreneurial, innovative and self-reliant

through corporatized SGD programs” (Hayhurst, 2014, p. 302) that renders young women and girls as governable entrepreneurs responsible for their own self-conduct and creating social change in patriarchal norms. However, Hayhurst (2014) offers optimism about the potential SE may hold for SDP – specifically, how organizations may utilize SE for sustainability purposes and reduce unequal donor-recipient relationships. Cohen and Welty-Peachey (2015) have also explored SDP and SE, however with a focus on the individual social entrepreneur’s characteristics and motivations. Svensson (2017) and colleagues (Svensson, Andersson, & Faulk, 2020; Svensson, Andersson, Mahoney, & Ha 2020; Svensson, Kang, & Ha, 2019; Svensson & Mahoney, 2020; Svensson, Mahoney, & Hambrick, 2020; Svensson & Seifried, 2017) have done extensive work into management and organizations adopting and navigating social innovation and SE in SDP.

Svensson’s work has often revolved around the decision-making processes that SDP staff make in regard to social innovation, the opportunities and challenges SDP organizations face when seeking to balance and ultimately meet dual social (e.g., gender equality, conflict resolution) and economic goals (e.g., sustainability of SDP organizations and financial viability for program implementation), and the intraorganizational conditions necessary for social innovation to occur such as leadership, paid staff, infrastructure, financial capacity, and the organization’s culture (Svensson, 2017; Svensson, Andersson, Mahoney, & Ha, 2019; Svensson & Mahoney, 2020). For example, Svensson, Mahoney, and Hambrick (2020) discussed how SDP practitioners engage in strategies of experimentation to take risks and try something new such as developing unique ideas for social transformative programs. For a few practitioners, innovation was also associated with entrepreneurial and business-like practices for financial sustainability. In addition, practitioners emphasized that collective solutions (partnerships and links with

various public, private, and nonprofit partners), utilizing community assets to create program models and training of coaches (by involving SDP participants in decision-making), and being cognizant of local contexts (e.g., altering rules, equipment, and adapting programs with regards to environmental challenges) were crucial components for social innovation. In other work by Svensson et al. (2020) and Svensson and Hambrick (2016), the organizational capacity of SDP organizations, including human resources, finances, external partnerships, infrastructure, and planning and development capacity was explored to understand the entrepreneurial behaviour of nonprofit organizations. Findings revealed that organizations adopting an entrepreneurial ethos often had enhanced fundraising opportunities and a better financial position, and that “SDP nonprofits with greater levels of capacity demonstrate more innovative, proactive, and risk-taking orientations that allow them to act outside of previously accepted norms and practices in the field” (Svensson et al., 2020, p. 12).

The above studies display how SE and, in relation, social innovation, may be examined at individual and organizational levels of SDP. However, as Hayhurst (2014, p. 310-311) has suggested with regards to SDP and SE, there is still “a dire need to understand the socioeconomic, sociocultural and sociopolitical implications and consequences of social entrepreneurship.” I have also suggested that there is a need to investigate SE and SDP, especially as the field has been critiqued for a focus on corporate and donor-driven funding in times of austerity, which creates further opportunity for social enterprises and entrepreneurs to seek self-sufficient ways of continuing programs without reliance on external funders (McSweeney, 2020). Furthermore, the above research, other than Hayhurst’s (2014) work, has often focused primarily on SDP organizations, staff, and practitioners and their views on innovation and entrepreneurship for the purposes of sustainability and SDP program creation and

implementation. Less research has been attuned to the way in which SDP organizations and their members (i.e., SDP program participants such as refugees) engage in social entrepreneurship through and within sport, and how the innovative work of organizational members and SDP participants may enable or lead to employment and livelihood opportunities for individuals and groups who are faced with barriers to employment.

2.3.4 Employment and livelihoods in SDP

In relation to studies of SE and SDP is growing importance of more material and economic forms of development that SDP may contribute to, including employability and livelihoods. Employability is often defined as the skills and abilities to locate employment, whereas employment refers to an individual being paid to work for a company, service, or organization (Cambridge, 2021). Livelihoods, while having no homogenous definition, may be referred to as “comprising the capabilities (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living” (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 6). This definition of livelihoods relates to the earlier-mentioned concept of refugee livelihoods which are generally understood as how refugees make a living and engage in economic means to maintain and sustain life (De Vriese, 2006). Employability and employment are vital to an individual’s or family’s means of living, as it is often that an individual’s own labour is key to accumulating financial assets (e.g., money) in addition to other social, physical, and material assets (ILO, 2021). As many refugees live in poverty, particularly in the Global South (UNHCR, 2020), and face numerous employment barriers due to refugee status and discrimination (Jacobsen, 2014), various refugee-focused nongovernmental organizations offer livelihood programs. As Jacobsen and Fratzke (2016, p. 5) say,

Livelihood programs are generally divided into “supply-side” strategies (programs that aim to boost refugee employability or facilitate entrepreneurship) and “demand-side” strategies (initiatives to create work opportunities or connect refugees with employers). Supply-side strategies include skills-building programs (such as vocational, language, and job skills training), technology access and training programs, and microfinance and credit initiatives. Demand-side strategies can take the form of job-creation programs that pay refugees for work, initiatives to support refugee participation in agriculture and farming, and efforts to connect refugees to online work opportunities.

While there has been various studies and scholarly commentaries related to livelihood programs that are offered by NGOs to support forced migrants in locating employment opportunities and/or providing resources in order for refugee-background people to become self-employed (e.g., through the provision of microfinance for the creation of their own businesses) (e.g., Buscher, 2011; Jacobsen, 2005; Kachkar, 2019; Lee, 2014), in the SDP literature that explore livelihoods and employability more generally in relation to SDP programs.

Some studies within SDP have discussed ‘concrete action’ of organizations to work towards providing employability initiatives such as vocational programs, which train individuals in such areas of hair and beauty, financial skills, and technology-based skills (Spaaij, Oxford, & Jeanes, 2016). These training opportunities are provided alongside SDP activities to expand programming beyond social development. Other studies have highlighted how sport-for-development events, such as community soccer matches and gatherings, offer employment opportunities to community members as well as participants of SDP programs (Welty Peachey et al., 2015). While scholars such as those above have briefly touched on livelihoods and

employability in SDP, Schulenkorf (2017) has said that the limited recognition of livelihoods and SDP is:

...particularly surprising given that financial growth and independence—key aspects of the livelihood concept—play a central part in improving living conditions and generating associated socio-economic benefits for communities (Coalter, 2010). Therefore, SDP management scholars can and should use the opportunity to make the next step in this important field of study. If Step 1 is to understand the relationship between external funders and local communities, then Step 2 requires more specific knowledge and insights into the peculiarities of realising business opportunities and leveraging existing community resources—including human and social capital—to secure economic gains for SDP organisations, communities and their individual members.

From this perspective, studies such as Spaaij's (2009, 2012) that have focused on the accumulation of human, social, and economic capital and how SDP participants engage in several social capital activities are examples of how scholars may begin to direct attention to 'Step 2' of the above quote. Broadly speaking: social capital is the social connection one has and interactions with others; cultural capital may be referred to as cultural knowledge, education, and personal skill development such as communication skills; and economic capital refers to material assets such as money, property, and employment (Spaaij, 2012). In the context of this study which investigates SE and employability, social, cultural, and economic capital all play a role in refugees' experiences of SDP. These forms of capital are especially related to SE. In particular, whereas the economic focus of SE has been explored through its use of business practices and ideal for self-sufficiency, its social focus – while the primary motive of SE – has been less so (Dey & Staeyart, 2010). Exploring the intersections of SDP and SE, with a focus on Step 2 as

discussed above (i.e., human, social, and economic capital produced or constrained by SDP programs), is thus a timely and important step forward in the field of SDP – especially when considering the socio-economic challenges of refugees in Uganda. Indeed, since the call by Schulenkorf (2017), additional research on the intersections of SDP, employability, and livelihoods has been conducted.

For example, more recently, Coalter, Theeboom, and Truyens (2020) have developed a programme theory for SDP programs focused on employability based on research with 10 organizations in the European Union offering sport-for-employability programs for youth not in employment, education, or training. As the authors discuss, there have been longstanding claims about the presumed use of sport to inherently develop personal and social skills that employers see as crucial for employability, such as: “teamwork, self-discipline, resilience, social/cooperative skills, time management, perceived self-efficacy and self-esteem” (Coalter et al., 2020, p. 670; also see Coalter, 2007). Rather than take an outcome-based approach and taken-for-granted assumption that sport participation will lead to developmental outcomes, the authors sought to understand the program processes, sufficient conditions, and assumptions about program activities that lead to intended outcomes of employability for youth sport participants.

More specifically, and based on interviews with sport coaches, program coordinators, social workers, managers, and former participants, Coalter et al. (2020, p. 686) outline 10 components of a programme theory of sport-for-employability programmes, including: sport as attraction (e.g., building relationships with participants and identifying their needs); social climate (e.g., caring adults, sense of safety); individual needs assessment; individual learning plans which involved monitoring and evaluation strategies; workshops; validated qualifications

such as earning specific credentials or certificates from outside agencies; ‘sport plus two’ including experiential learning and reinforcement of workshop content through sport; work experience such as locating real-world job opportunities; preparation for employment (e.g., creating curriculum vitae and practicing interviews); and outcomes/employability such as “seeking work without assistance” or “being referred to job agencies.” The programme theory also includes, in parallel with the above components, a mentoring aspect which begins from befriending (affective), to direction setting (cognitive), coaching (aptitudinal), sponsoring (positional), and ends with ongoing support for employability from organizations. The programme theory represents one of the first attempts by SDP scholars to provide a programme theory of sport-for-employability and the conditions in which employability developmental outcomes may be achieved. While the article provides an in-depth look into the program processes of 10 organizations utilizing sport-for-employability, they also emphasize that the study is in relation to employability and not primarily employment, which led to the context of the study being defined as the program itself rather than the broader context of the “local labour market and community conditions” (Coalter et al., 2020, p. 682). Although employability skills may lead to employment and contribute to a person’s livelihood, the article thus seeks to specifically identify the conditions necessary for sport-for-employability SDP programs.

Other recent studies have sought to discuss livelihoods in relation to SDP and broader contextual factors of employment. A recent special issue on ‘sport and livelihoods’ included both empirical and practical insights into the intersections of sport and livelihoods (McSweeney, Oxford, Spaaij, & Hayhurst, 2020). For instance, Warner et al. (2020) and De Martini and Belasik (2020) discussed how SDP programs (in this case for youth facing socioeconomic barriers in Toronto and previously incarcerated men) must be tailored to the specific populations

that they work with, such as providing free of cost programming, support systems (e.g., coaches), and placement opportunities (e.g., as front-desk staff at a CrossFit facility or in digital customer care companies for youth). In addition, both studies articulate the importance of collaboration and partnerships for the purposes of working with non-sport organizations who may offer employment opportunities, referrals for jobs, and mixed funding support (e.g., from public, private, and other non-profit actors). At the same time, it was recognized within both studies that broader contextual factors, such as employer prejudice and stigma associated with previously incarcerated men, and socioeconomic barriers such as poverty of families in Toronto, influenced limited employability of participants in SDP programs.

Such contextual factors are further discussed by Smart, Rich, and Lauzon (2020) and Stewart-Withers and Hapeta (2020) in their articles in the special issue. As mentioned earlier, Smart et al. (2020) discussed how the role of sport was limited in the lives of migrants in Toronto given their concerns to acquire employment, which was often limited due to discrimination and dismissal of foreign credentials. Although sport played a minor role in bringing diverse groups of people together to build interpersonal relationships, the authors found that migrants were still faced with challenges to build social, cultural, and economic capital and locate livelihood opportunities. Stewart-Withers and Hapeta (2020), in an examination of the Māori and Pasifika Rugby Academy, which is a sport-based educational partnership in Aotearoa/New Zealand, echo Coalter et al.'s (2020) suggestion that SDP programs need to move beyond an outcome-focus and instead look at the processes of building social, human, psychological and cultural capital that may enhance the employability skills of sport participants. Their research highlights that the education included in the program was particularly valuable for

building cultural and psychological capital which led to the ability to foster human and social capital related to employability (Stewart-Withers & Hapeta, 2020).

Nonetheless, though the recent studies noted above have contributed important insights into the dynamics and complexities of SDP, employability, and livelihoods, future research is still needed, particularly with regards to social enterprises, SE, and innovation in SDP which may hold potential to contribute to livelihood opportunities through, for example, microfinance or job readiness programs (McSweeney et al., 2020). In particular, the studies above all have a primary focus on SDP programs in relation to employability and livelihoods in Global North contexts, rather than the Global South where a majority of SDP work takes place (Svensson & Woods, 2017) and where broader contextual factors may differ and the work of SDP programs must be adapted to local needs and strengths. Hence, based on the above literature, this study seeks to investigate the ways in which a refugee-focused organization and SDP program participants who identify as refugees engage in social entrepreneurship for the purposes of employability and livelihoods. In the next chapter, the theoretical frameworks adopted for this study are outlined.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Frameworks

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the two theoretical frameworks guiding this study. First, and longer in length, I discuss postcolonial theory and a subset of postcolonial theory, postcolonial management theory. Second, I outline the particular understanding of diaspora that was adopted for this study. In conclusion, I connect tenets of both postcolonial theory and diaspora to illustrate how the theories are complementary for the purposes of this study.

3.1 Postcolonial theory

‘Development’ has a multiplicity of meanings. What is salient about the term development is that “it has the power to fascinate, seduce and create dreams and expectations” (McEwan, 2009, p. 12). The concept of development is associated with progression, advancement, and a natural process of evolution (McEwan, 2001), and is intertwined with while also being a product of modernization – which is further manipulated by capitalism, industrialization, gender, economic, race, class, and cultural relations (Chakrabarty, 2000; Mohanty, 2003). Thus, any form of development, such as sport-for-development and peace (SDP), must be considered from a perspective that ensures understanding of the historical and contemporary effects of the modern, capitalist global system, as well as, when speaking of international development, the everyday and structural remnants of colonialism. One such approach to do so is postcolonial theory (PCT) and, more specifically, a particular stream of PCT utilized in management and organizational studies – postcolonial management theory (PCMT). In order to provide an overview of PCMT, however, a discussion of postcolonial theory is first required.

At its core, postcolonialⁱ theory is concerned with critiquing the material and discursive legacies of colonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism, while emphasizing the need to critique the complex nature of modern Western colonialismⁱⁱ in order to understand the ongoing significance of the colonial encounter in both the global Northⁱⁱⁱ and global South (McEwan, 2009). While a period of post-colonialism^{iv} took place in which former colonies were freed from British rule and acquired sovereign control of geographical boundaries, ongoing economic, cultural, and ideological influence of the colonizers and the global North continued to have effects on the global South (Prasad et al., 2015). Edward Said (1989), a foundational scholar of postcolonialism and Orientalism, says that the Occident (or the West) utilized linguistic and discursive binary cultural classifications, categories, and images (e.g., developed/undeveloped, civilized/uncivilized) to construct understandings of the Orient (the non-West). However influential, Said's Orientalism has faced questions and critiques, particularly regarding his little recognition of the resistance to and the hybrid nature of colonialism (Prasad, 2003).

Other significant contributions to postcolonial studies have attempted to face these critiques of Said's (1989) work and elaborated on how the process of colonialism (and modernization) is not one which is static or unitary. Chakrabarty (2000), in a critique of historicism, questions the universal nature of Western social sciences and Enlightenment concepts of a human experience that centers around one evolutionary (European) model of progress in society, that renders the histories of non-West nations as modernizing incompletely due to the mythical model of European capitalist transition. In order to reconfigure the universal idea of modernity, he contests that the process of political and economic modernity is the same in all societies by offering alternative readings of the history of global capitalism and human subjective experiences in India. For example, the notion of secularism within the modern society

is questioned by the complex and unstable technological improvements and bureaucracy that took place alongside the existence of traditional ideologies and land holdings of property within India. Overall, Chakrabarty (2000) shows how Eurocentrism is only one example of the process of modernity and offers an alternative, hybrid reading of postcolonialism that engages with universals such as the history of capitalism and the histories outside of capitalism which reveal “more effective narratives of human belonging” (p. 91).

Postcolonial scholars have also sought to write ‘from and for the margins’ (Chakrabarty, 2000) by engaging in critique of modern social sciences, and have questioned and deconstructed the way in which Western science and knowledge (re)present^v the subaltern, originally utilized to refer broadly to “the oppressed and subordinated groups and classes of society” (Prasad, 2003, p. 23). Spivak (1988) asks whether it is possible for privileged global North researchers as well as Third-World researchers in the First-World to speak for subaltern populations, particularly the female subaltern. Through an analytical lens centered on the gendered postcolonial subject, Spivak critiques and contests how Western feminist theories portray a universal category of feminism without consideration of the socio-political-cultural and racialized effects that have subjugated subaltern women through colonizers and patriarchy (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008). Other scholars, such as Mohanty (2003), have also pointed out how relations of race and gender were inherently tied to, and continue to underline, the conceptualizations of global South women in which a reduction of “cross-cultural comparisons result in the colonization of the specifics of daily existence and the complexities of political interests that women of different social classes and cultures represent and mobilize” (Mohanty, 2003, p. 30).

This brings us back to the question of (re)presentation of the subaltern other, and in connection, essentialism, which is regarded as, in brief, the marked identity of specific groups of

objects or people that determine and make rigid the fundamental and unique nature of that group (Abu-Lughod, 2002; Prasad, 2003). How does one represent the subaltern other without reducing to essentialism? For Spivak (1988), strategic essentialism (i.e., the use of woman, race, and capitalism) is utilized to draw attention to the epistemic violence that silences the subaltern voice. This differs from essentialism in that it is “a strategic use of positive essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest” (Spivak, 1988, p. 13) that seeks to develop a subaltern consciousness and identity. Other postcolonial theorists such as Ahmed (2009, p. 22) have displayed how essentialist and pluralist forms of representation - such as multiculturalism within nation-state policies - and indeed the way one knows the self and their own identity is a much more complex and relational process that involves socially constructing the stranger or the other:

I am suggesting that it is the recognition of others that is central to the constitution of the subject. The very act through which the subject differentiates between others is the moment that the subject comes to inhabit or dwell in the world. The subject is not, then, simply differentiated from the (it's) other, but comes into being by learning how to differentiate between others.

Thus, while essentialism may be utilized in order to represent the subaltern other as well as build identities of those in the global South whose histories are commonly immutable in the history of modernization, issues of representation are plagued and complicated by the historical social processes in which one's own self, especially the Western self, comes to recognize the other.

What is important to take away from these scholars' contributions is their attempt to deconstruct the historical, ideological, and cultural representations of the subaltern through a critique of postcolonialism, globalization, modernization, representation of others, and an array of gender, class, and race relations. In many ways, these works provide examples of

decolonization of the knowledge systems that have been represented in Western modern sciences and history. For L.T. Smith (2005, p. 117), decolonizing research involves:

The unmasking and deconstruction of imperialism, and its aspect of colonialism, in its old and new formations alongside a search for sovereignty; for reclamation of knowledge, language, and culture; and for the social transformation of the colonial relations between the native and the settler.

Decolonizing research not only refers to methodological practice and processes (such as reflexivity and ethics) but a politically infused approach that seeks to work in the margins of society and understand collective struggles of indigenous and marginalized populations (Smith, 1999). Decolonization in research is therefore intimately tied to the quest of postcolonial scholars to illuminate ways of knowing that have remained silenced while reflecting on the underpinnings of the very research they conduct.

In sum of the works above, there appear to be three main points for a PCT approach, which includes: (1) an engagement in the decolonization and deconstruction of universal Western ideologies and history through analyses of the hybrid encounter of colonialism; (2) the question of (re)presentation of subaltern voices and the social construction of the (Western) self and others; and (3) the numerous and relational elements of colonialism such as gender, race, and class, that were crucial in constructing Western disciplines of knowledge, such as management and organizational studies, which is discussed next and is informed by the above foundational pieces of PCT.

3.1.1 Postcolonial management theory

There is no question that management and organizational studies (MOS), as a discipline, practice, and discourse – is heavily Westernized (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008). Frenkel and

Shenhav (2006) display how management was created by forms of colonial administration and, most especially in the non-Western world, depicted groups of people as ‘lazy’ and not as hard working as Westerners. Schools of international business were enmeshed in concerns with economic development brought about by modernization, industrialization, and the very field of development itself, while MOS research is informed heavily by a metropolitan centre of Western and U.S. business models that canonized the discipline and that are employed as universal, generalizable to most contexts, and non-reflexive (Jack & Westwood, 2006; Westwood, 2006). Indeed, Nkomo (2011, p. 372) says that, “the common denominator of both development studies and management studies in developing countries is a narrative of underdevelopment in Africa and the Third World”. Functionalist and objectifiable means-ends and inputs-outputs systems were utilized in conjunction with value-neutral management systems imported from the West to measure organizational success (as with modernization theory heavily relying on numerical statistics for development) while remaining ignorant of local contexts, subjects of research, and the systems of commodity and labour that existed prior to Western exploitation (Prasad et al., 2015). Thus, the subaltern voice in many cases in MOS is silenced and instead “Western management knowledge appropriates the native as unknowledgeable” (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008, p. 965).

The above literature points to a divisive North-South binary - in which hegemonic relations unconsciously paint the non-West as a passive recipient of colonialism in regard to frameworks of management and organization. However, scholars have identified how viewing the postcolonial process of MOS from this perspective suggests a simple binary of West/non-West, rather than the hybrid nature of postcolonialism (Mir, Banerjee, & Miri, 2008). For instance, Frenkel and Shenhav (2006) suggest that viewing management and organization history

from this perspective leads to omission of the histories of both the West and the non-West which includes some knowledges and hides others. This simply continues the canonization of MOS. Other researchers have spoken to how Indigenous or local organizational communication, which involves building systems of meaning that individuals utilize in their everyday lives and work, must be considered rather than always fitting such strategies into mainstream perspectives of management (Broadfoot & Munschi, 2007). Still others have discussed the ways in which multinational enterprises, corporations, leadership, and organizational language are implicitly connected to postcolonialism and neocolonialism (Jack, Calás, Nkomo, & Peltonen, 2008), one such example being the issue of representation in international business discourse that usually engages “in reductionist practices in which the diversity and difference of the other is transcended into a limited typology or set of essential characteristics” (Westwood, 2006, p. 96). Thus, PCMT can be said to be a stream of PCT with a particular focus on management and organization. While PCMT is still heavily disadvantaged in the broader body of MOS (Mir & Mir, 2013), overall, it can be seen that utilizing a postcolonial lens is useful for analyzing elements of political, economic, and cultural control that may lie beneath structures of management and organizations, most especially when considering organizations that operate internationally (Banerjee & Prasad, 2008), such as various SDP organizations.

SDP scholars have argued that PCT is a suitable theoretical and methodological tool to investigate SDP (Darnell, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Hayhurst, 2016; Levermore, 2009; McSweeney, 2019). PCMT, while directly informed by PCT, has had limited discussion in regard to SDP, however scholars have highlighted the ways in which histories of colonialism and neocolonialism shape SDP management and organizations through ideology, discourse, and action. For instance, Darnell and Hayhurst (2012) have discussed how

SDP is underpinned by a neoliberal orientation driven by global capitalism and which is supported and/or often funded by Northern institutions (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012). Since SDP is enmeshed in and borne out of global development discourses (Darnell, Field, & Kidd, 2019), a PCMT lens must value the power relations and oppressive structures of inequality inherent in SDP work that may, without local decision-making, leadership, and autonomy, merely (re)produce the non-West as in need of (neoliberal) development and as passive and submissive recipients of (colonial) management and organizational knowledge (Mir et al., 2008; Prasad, 2003). Hence, PCMT is crucial for understanding the relationship of performative micro-interactions that occur amongst and across individuals and organizations and the North/South relations of SDP that marginalized voices, knowledges, and practices operate within and against.

Through hybrid and relational readings of SDP, PCMT seeks to challenge a binary of the responsible Northern development agent, often armed with Western management ideologies and concepts, and the passive South recipient, through an approach that seeks “to recover the voices of the disadvantaged and oppressed” (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012, p. 116; see also Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). Resistance to neoliberal development and Westernized modes of knowing, for instance common understandings of traditional entrepreneurship driven by economic indicators, may “reveal fissures and weak points in the dominant apparatus, exposing the fragility of hegemony. And in some cases they can have long-term, destabilizing effects” (Shakya & Rankin, 2008, p. 1231). At the same time however, essentializing PCMT that romanticizes the agency of marginalized populations for the purposes of extending and working towards new forms of management knowledge and organization – that ignores the workings of power in development – may (re)produce oppressive structures of global capitalism and colonialism (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012), and in addition, presume micro-interactions to have beneficial effects on structures of

inequality (Coalter, 2013; Spaaij & Schailée, 2020). Hence, while PCMT may, in part, work to offer alternative readings of knowledges and practices in SDP organizations and management, such an approach must acknowledge and understand the global political economy SDP takes place within, including North/South structural inequalities of SDP, to engage in genuine dialogue for the purposes of rethinking and reorienting Westernized neoliberal orientations of management and organization.

In addition, adopting PCMT in SDP research seeks to decolonize management theory and practice. For the field of SDP, questions remain about the ability of theory to inform practice and practice to inform theory (see *Journal of Sport Management*), as well as about theory-practice divides foregrounded in discussions around quantitative-qualitative research and critical-positivist perspectives (Darnell et al., 2018), micro-macro understandings of SDP and their importance (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Lindsey & Grattan, 2012), and queries about the field's ability to build a proper evidence base while being challenged by a competitive, neoliberal, donor-driven environment (Rossi & Jeanes, 2018). These patterns within the field signify a need to not only consider the use of theory in SDP, but at the same time ensure to think about how research may be practical for the diverse contexts in which SDP takes place.

A critique of postcolonial theory is its heavy focus on colonial discourse and text-based arrangements, that may overlook the material affects (such as economic elements) of postcolonialism and their relation to structures of social, political, and cultural systems (Özkazanç-Pan, 2008). For critical management scholars such as postcolonial theorists, they can become over concerned with the underpinnings of their critiques, for example the universal idea of management itself, which may divert attention away from material organizational practices and participants, which in some ways inhibits engagement with “practitioners and mainstream

management theorists who are at least partially concerned with issues of performativity” (Spicer, Alvesson, & Kärreman. 2009, p. 542). Postpositivist management scholars commonly understand performativity as efficacy using means-ends processes. Spicer et al. (2009) suggest that performativity should instead be considered as an attempt to actively disrupt commonplace discourses and understandings of management, such as entrepreneurship, gender inequality in the workplace, staff structure, leadership, and commercialism^{vi}. This would include looking at struggle, resistance, and contradictions within SDP organizations - where questioning and reflecting on the ways management occurs takes place in addition to being involved in pragmatic encounters to envision change.

SDP is concerned in many ways with programmatic application (Coalter, 2013). Scholars have examined SDP case studies (Burnett, 2010), programs on an international-local scale (Lindsey et al., 2017), and specific understandings of the volunteers working in some contexts of SDP (Darnell, 2007). As mentioned, one of the central critiques of MOS and PCMT is a heavy reliance on textual material (Jack et al., 2011). Research on SDP, while examining textual material in many cases, also commonly considers the ‘on-the-ground’ activities and processes of SDP. For example, some SDP programs specifically develop documents for sport and educational activities that are taught and engaged in by participants (Forde, 2014). SDP in this case provides a setting in which PCMT may be applied to fruitfully explore the ways in which discourse of SDP is employed in the name of development. That is, SDP, as a practical form of development that materializes in actuality through physical activity, bodily movements, and leadership styles to teach sport, language, and interactions, and management strategies may inform PCMT approaches by turning attention to the material effects of colonialism in the everyday forms of SDP management and organization.

However, it is not only the context of SDP that may provide important insights for PCMT and reduce a heavy reliance on speaking ‘from above.’ SDP as a growing body of literature has also made important insights into the use of decolonization approaches, which has been limitedly discussed in the body of MOS. Darnell and Hayhurst (2011), state,

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

Such an approach to the study of SDP would inform PCMT in three specific ways. First, it would be able to bridge a theory-practice divide currently critiqued in PCMT (and in SDP), by offering researchers and practitioners a way to work towards upending postcolonial forms of knowledge while engaging in attempts to actively work towards new forms of leadership, agency, and understandings of management and organization. Second, SDP provides opportunities to engage in decolonization through a performative approach similar to the one proposed by Spicer et al. (2009). Decolonizing research is itself performative, that is, individuals are “actively engaged performatively in decolonizing acts framed variously as activism, advocacy, or cultural reclamation” (Swadener & Mutua, 2014, p. 11). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a decolonizing approach that acts performatively engages in understanding struggle as highlighted by postcolonial scholars (Prasad, 2003; Spivak, 1988), in an attempt to create multiple sites of knowledge of the ways of being and becoming human that challenge and reassemble the modern underpinnings of history and the contemporary world. Taken together, SDP and PCMT appear to

be mutually compatible in their attempts to decolonize and make explicit the postcolonial nature of development, and in extension, management and organization. At the same time, and given the purpose of this study to understand the lived experiences of refugee-identifying individuals participating in SDP programs, it remains crucial to examine how refugees negotiate and foster belonging, hybrid identities, and host-home relations (Van Hear, 2014). The concept of diaspora is useful for such an analysis.

3.2 Diaspora

Diaspora is a concept that has multiple and varying definitions based on different applications of the term in relation to various historical, social, cultural, and political contexts, with the original formation of the concept based on the dispersal of Jewish people from their celebrated homeland (Brubaker, 2005). Generally, diaspora is used to describe communities that have shared experiences of forced displacement (e.g., Armenians in exile, Palestinian refugees) and who often find themselves separated from their national territory (homeland), while retaining a sense of returning home (if a homeland still exists) in a society of settlement (hostland) (Clifford, 1994; Safran, 2005). Due to being dispersed to a place of residence whilst remaining connected to their homeland, people living in diaspora regularly have a sense of multilocality and poly-consciousness (Agnew, 2005). Diaspora is useful for drawing attention to the lived experience of those dispersed and the cultural and social forms of production that generate a diasporic consciousness and homespace (i.e., a sense of identity, belonging and home) (Joseph, 2012; Ma, 2003; McSweeney & Nakamura, 2020; Vertovec, 2000). Brah (1996, p. 180) proposes the use of diaspora as concept, an approach that “[historicizes] trajectories of different diasporas [as historical ‘experiences’ and analyzes], their relationality across fields of social relations, subjectivity, and identity” (as cited in McSweeney & Nakamura, 2020, p. 3). The use of diaspora

as concept seeks to connect economic, political, and cultural processes with the constituents, narratives, histories, and specificities that make up diasporic experiences (Brah, 1996).

Importantly, Brah's (1996) diaspora as concept recognizes not only the similarities of migrants, for example refugees living in Uganda, but also the differences in the myriad identities that migrants construct and form, rather than homogenous and static understandings of identity.

Furthermore, the identities constructed by those living in diaspora may mean that they reject and resist total subscription to dominant national discourses in hostlands, challenging minority marginalization and inclusion and exclusion via the creation of diaspora space (Fletcher & Walle, 2015). Brah (1996, p. 208) discusses the notion of diaspora space:

Where multiple subject positions are juxtaposed, contested, proclaimed or disavowed; where the permitted and the prohibited perpetually interrogate; and where the accepted and the transgressive imperceptibly mingle even while these syncretic forms may be disclaimed in the name of purity and tradition.

Nonetheless, despite the use of diaspora for empirical study, it has been noted by numerous scholars that diaspora is loosely utilized today to refer to any group or community of people that have a history of migration (Brubaker, 2005; Cohen, 1996). Thus, clarifying the conceptualization of diaspora used in this paper is necessary given that a number of different academic disciplines (e.g., cultural studies, anthropology, political economy) have adopted the term in varying ways (e.g., Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1990; Shuval, 2000). Vertovec (2000) outlines a classification of diaspora in three parts: cultural production, social form, and type of consciousness, which often overlap in many diasporas that have been studied (e.g., Joseph, 2012). First, diasporas are constructed through cultural practices including traditions, language, arts, social norms, jobs, and other factors, for example sport, that connect to a sense of homeland,

are not confined within borders of a nation-state, and unite certain dispersed peoples (Clifford, 1994). For example, in the context of community sport events, Spaaij and Broerse (2019) examined how diaspora was constructed through Somali migrants' bodily expressions and sensations (i.e., tangible senses such as sounds, tastes, images, and texts) within Australia that related to homeland (Somalian) artwork. Such cultural productions built a sense of connectedness and identification that move across time and space and offer a homespace for Somali migrants dispersed from their traditional homeland.

Second, diaspora as a social community or form refers to, the process of dispersion from a central location and the ongoing maintenance of both a homeland (e.g., nation of origin) and a homespace (e.g., sense of belonging). This is done through social networks, memory sharing, *economic strategies*, communication and transportation technologies, and institutional policies. (Joseph, 2012, p. 672, emphasis added)

As argued in this study, sport settings provide homespaces for refugees that are built through association with other forced migrants, collective reminiscing, and importantly for the purposes of livelihoods, economic activities. Third, diaspora as a type of consciousness accentuates a sense of belonging and identity, for instance in regard to knowledge of one's cultural heritage (Joseph, 2012; Vertovec, 2000). In sociological studies of sport and diaspora, Joseph (2011, 2014) as well as others (Burdsey, 2006; Fletcher, 2012; Thangaraj, 2013) have discussed how dispersed groups create consciousness through sport in order to generate imagined connections and attachments to a homeland (including through narratives and memories) that rediscover places and times to gain a sense of who they are, even though there may be limited actual attachment to a homeland (e.g., return visits).

Adopting this tripartite concept of diaspora is useful as an analytical tool to disrupt the idea of refugee migration as a “before” and “after” process (Wahlbeck, 2002). Put differently, refugee experiences are not seen as two distinct and linear timelines; instead, becoming and being a refugee is complex and dynamic, and involves multiple diverse and evolving processes (e.g., initial displacement and settling in a host country) that overlap and inform each other (Grabska, 2006). The creation of diaspora through cultural forms, social communities, and consciousness all point to the notion of a ‘homeland’, not in the traditional sense of a ‘return to the homeland’, but instead an identity rooted in the history of a geographical origin (Brah, 1996), and involves dispersed individuals and groups – due to social exclusion and inclusion in host nations – sharing knowledge, resources, and strategies for the purposes of making a living (Betts et al., 2017). The concept of diaspora is thus relevant for understanding the nuanced and complex home-host relations that influence and effect refugee livelihoods.

While others studying sport and refugees more broadly have explored ‘instrumental’ case studies which examine how sport assists in the settlement or ‘integration’ of refugees in host societies (e.g., Walseth & Fasting, 2004; Doherty & Taylor, 2007), Spaaij (2015) suggests that refugees’ sense of belonging and how this belonging is negotiated and granted in diverse contexts through sport is necessary to understand the dynamic and situational context they are involved in. Thus, in a recent study, Spaaij and Broerse (2019) examined the embodied practices of refugees in community sport/SDP events that make diasporic imaginations tangible by using aesthetic formation (i.e., the production of communities as a dynamic and performative process through forms such as artwork and bodily sensations). Similar to work of Joseph (2011, 2012), interactions between members in sport settings and related events were used to build social connections and discuss social and political ongoing both in the host and homeland. Such

transnational identities and connections were found to use sport as a cultural activity to both exhibit values similar to Western culture and host societies and the 'homeland'. In the study proposed herein, it will be paramount to consider the ways in which refugees negotiate identity and senses of belonging within the broader social, cultural, political and economic context of Uganda.

Likewise, although there have been sociocultural studies of diaspora and sport in relation to a number of different dispersed groups and peoples (e.g., Carrington, 2010; Darby & Hassan, 2013), there have been few empirical studies that explore how refugees construct diaspora communities through and in sport settings to foster belonging and consciousness, as well as engage in cultural practices that build homespaces in host nations (with some exceptions; see Spaaij & Broerse, 2019). Given the ability of diaspora as a concept to build understanding of how cultural activities (i.e., sport) produce "feelings of nostalgia and an embodied connection to life in both the homeland and the diaspora, as well as a sense of continuity in their lives within the context of forced displacement and (re)settlement" (Spaaij & Broerse, 2019, p. 766), further sociocultural investigations are required to expand insights into the dynamics and practices that refugees adopt to create a sense of homeland and navigate difficult and often unequal structures of displacement (see also McSweeney & Nakamura, 2019). Specifically, a recent review on forced migration and sport by Spaaij et al. (2019) has called for research that (1) moves beyond traditional methods for the study of refugees and instead uses innovative methods to capture refugee lives and experiences; and (2) adopts a transnational and non-state perspective, such as through the use of diaspora, for nuanced analyses of forced migration. In this study, the adoption of diaspora and the use of visual methods for data collection build unique insights into how refugees build diasporic communities and consciousness, and furthermore, directs attention to

the intersections of sport, livelihoods, and refugees, that contribute to fostering a sense of “home”.

3.3 Postcolonial theory and diaspora

Chariandy (2006) refers to well-known diaspora scholars such as Paul Gilroy, Floya Anthias, and Stuart Hall as scholars associated with contemporary postcolonial studies. More specifically, while acknowledging that tying together postcolonial studies and diaspora as ‘postcolonial diasporas’ has no universal meaning or agenda, he suggests that the two areas of study, although heterogenous “discursive terrains”, share similar philosophical underpinnings that gesture to the sociocultural dislocations and migrations of people that are a result of modern colonialism and nation-building (Chariandy, 2006, p. 1). The complicated nature of globalization and transnational immigration of millions of people has rejected the view that migrants adopt linear cultural identities when moving from point A to B (and so on), and studies of diaspora have been crucial for recognizing the hybrid and multiple identities that those forced to (or voluntarily) migrate adopt and mix (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Studies of diaspora as discussed above have pointed to the nature of hybridity and how migrants reconstitute, negotiate, and engage in social and cultural practices that relate both to home and host nations (Agnew, 2005; Clifford, 1994; Safran, 2005). Postcolonialism, while may not be discussed primarily in relation to the construction of diasporic identities, nonetheless implicitly and sometimes explicitly connects with diaspora studies.

As mentioned, postcolonial studies are concerned with the effects of colonization and neocolonialism (McEwan, 2009). As said by Bhatia and Ram (2001, p. 2), postcolonial scholars concern themselves with

social phenomena spurred by Euro-American colonization such as the ‘Third World’ diasporas in ‘First World’ communities, construction of novel cultural practices under imperialism, transportation of indentured labor and slavery, representation of the colonized subjects by the colonist in terms of power, race, gender, ethnicity, creation of nations and nationalism in relation and opposition to the influential discursive practices of Europe and United States.

Given postcolonial research and its emphasis on understanding the construction of the self and identities in terms of colonial histories, Bhatia and Ram (2001) suggest that postcolonial theory is well-suited to understand and tie with diasporas and transnational migration.

Indeed, as discussed earlier in this chapter, postcolonial studies are concerned with the hybrid nature of colonialism, including how humans construct identities and subjective experiences of belonging in relation to colonialism (Chakrabarty, 2000). Furthermore, Spivak’s (1988) work that discusses representations of the subaltern seeks to contest universal categories of “the oppressed and subordinated groups and classes of society” (Prasad, 2003, p. 23).

Applying diaspora for the purposes of understanding the forced migration and lived experiences of refugees – whom have been forced to migrate at least in part based on histories of colonialism (Adeyanju & Oriola, 2011; Van Den Boogaart & Emmer, 1986) – considers the heterogenous dimensions of migration such as gender, race, class, and the socio-political-cultural contexts in which diasporic identities are constructed and negotiated (Anthias, 1998; Mohanty, 2000).

Diaspora seeks to specifically identify the social and cultural practices those forced to migrate engage in, and how such practices challenge assumptions about ethnic, racial, and national belonging through the deconstruction of the idea that identities are static and fixed (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). In relation, postcolonial studies contest and deconstruct cultural representations of

the subaltern through analysis of the way in which colonialism has favoured certain (often Western) knowledge systems (Prasad et al., 2015). Smith (2005) emphasizes that postcolonial studies and decolonization seek to reclaim the knowledge, language, and cultures of those subjugated by colonialism and recognize and transform the relations of colonialism that have silenced certain ways of knowing. Diaspora draws attention to those knowledges, languages, and cultures that those dispersed generate via a diasporic consciousness and creation of homespaces and contests the purity of cultures based on the concept of a nation (Gilroy, 1993; Vertovec, 2000). Overall then, the utilization of both postcolonial theory and diaspora in this study bring together two diverse bodies of work that complement each other in their quest to examine and explain the complex and heterogenous nature of colonialism and forced migration, and the hybrid nature of both colonialism and the construction of identities.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

As discussed in the previous chapters, there are three areas in which further research is needed in SDP, including in relation to: (1) the experiences of refugees, particularly those forced to migrate within the Global South, in SDP programs; (2) social entrepreneurship; and (3) how SDP contributes to and/or perpetuates potential employment opportunities and the livelihoods of program users. Given the focus of this study, the research context (described further below), the researcher's positionality, and histories of forced migration which are underpinned by colonialism, neoliberalism, and a political economy which (re)produces social inequalities, a critical approach was necessary to respond to the research questions, which included:

1. What issues are of central concern to refugees participating in social entrepreneurial and employment-focused SDP programs, and how are these issues linked to their everyday lived experiences?
2. What are the challenges and benefits to refugees' participation in SDP initiatives, particularly in Kampala, Uganda, in relation to facilitating social inclusion, promoting gender equality, locating social entrepreneurship and employment opportunities, and navigating cultural difference?
3. How do refugee participants in social entrepreneurial and employment-focused SDP initiatives describe and interpret their activities?
4. How are potentially Western notions of 'social entrepreneurship', 'employment', 'inclusion', 'exclusion' and 'development' taken up and/ or challenged by the refugee participants in SDP initiatives? What are the dynamics of power behind understandings of these concepts?

To respond to these questions, this study employed postcolonial management theory and diaspora to examine the intersections of SDP, entrepreneurship, and employment for and by refugees in Kampala, Uganda, and the social, economic, political, and cultural conditions by which their experiences and activities take place and are influenced. In this chapter, I first provide an overview of the methodology that was adopted, a participatory action research (PAR) approach, and its philosophical underpinnings. Second, I discuss how PAR as a methodology informs the ontological and epistemological understandings of PCMT and diaspora; and furthermore, why PAR as a methodology was appropriate for this empirical study. Third, I provide detail about the research design and process of this study, including the research context, the specific steps taken for PAR, the methods utilized for the collection of data, and data analysis. I conclude by offering a brief reflection section on my positionality.

4.1 Methodology: Participatory action research (PAR)

There is no universal definition of participatory action research (PAR) given its use in a number of different disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, development studies, and anthropology, as well as its employment in different contexts and for the study of various phenomena (Reason & Bradbury, 2005). However, PAR may be generally described as an approach that attempts to make participants active, engaged, and equal in the research process for the purpose of emphasizing and appreciating insider knowledge and everyday experience of people who have often been historically marginalized to uncover practical solutions for problems they identify (McIntyre, 2007). PAR falls under the domain of action research and is related to similarly proposed democratic research methodologies such as participatory evaluation, participatory development, and community-based participatory action research (Kindon et al., 2007). The difference, however, between other forms of action research and PAR is that the

participatory dictates a political commitment to collaboration and a participatory worldview that separates PAR from the “miscellaneous array...[of research] that attempts to inform action in some way” (McTaggart, 1997, p. 1). A participatory worldview is driven by a commitment to not only collaborate with research participants in the process of undertaking research, but also to understand specific research phenomenon based on multiple human perspectives and lived experiences (Reason & Bradbury, 2005).

In development studies, PAR has been both advocated for (Fournier et al., 2007; Mitchell, De Lange, and Moletstane, 2017; Worthen et al., 2019) and critiqued (David, 2002; Kapoor, 2005). On one hand, some scholars have posited that PAR offers opportunities for researchers to undertake reflexive, social justice-driven empirical studies that directly connects with – and is informed by – the lived experiences of study participants (MacDonald, 2012). On the other hand, scholars have been careful to point out the limits, challenges, and potential epistemic violence that PAR – and other participatory methodologies – may perpetuate through its use and employment in development studies (Cahill, 2007; Kapoor, 2005). For example, as PAR approaches emphasize collaboration, participants often have an onus placed on them to drive the research. Yet, it is often the researcher who is able to obtain a degree, publications, awards, recognition, and more from empirical study while participants may not receive comparable value from being involved in research. Hence, the ethics of PAR approaches must be considered in conjunction with PAR methodologies (McIntyre, 2007). In addition, some scholars have suggested that the participatory nature of development practices, including PAR approaches, have become commonplace yet have led to the de-radicalization of the use of ‘participatory’ (Kindon et al., 2007), and that researchers should be reminded that the *action* in PAR is to emphasize “that it is participants’ own activities which are meant to be informed by

the ongoing inquiry” (McTaggart, 1997, p. 2). To clearly articulate the use of PAR in this study, it is necessary to briefly discuss the philosophical underpinnings of the methodology and why such an approach was appropriate for this empirical research.

4.1.1 Philosophical underpinnings

PAR is a form of qualitative inquiry (McIntyre, 2007). Qualitative inquiry focuses on human experiences and seeks to describe and understand the constructed meanings people ascribe to phenomenon and their everyday lives within their environment (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). Hence, qualitative inquiry examines the lived experiences of people, meaning that there is “no single, objective reality; there are multiple realities based on subjective experience and circumstance” (Wuest, 1995, p. 30). PAR recognizes that there are multiple realities and that knowledge is situated, and its approach emphasizes the need for cyclical processes of reflection and action between researchers and participants for multiple ways of knowing to be understood and examined (Greenwood & Levin, 1998). Hence, with regards to ontology, which is concerned with the nature of being and reality (Crotty, 1998), PAR necessitates an understanding of reality that sees humans as agents capable of reflexivity and self-change, and that there is: “A socially constructed reality within which multiple interpretations of a single phenomenon are possible by both researchers and participants...Such a perspective opens up spaces for different forms of knowledge generation through methodological innovation and political action” (Kindon et al., 2007, p. 13). More specifically, the ontological assumptions of PAR focus on the subjective meanings people have of experiences in their social world, which people interpret based on their historical and social perspectives and cultural, political, economic, and social context (Crotty, 1998). Interactions with other humans and their social environment influences the meanings in which humans interpret their reality (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

The way in which knowledge is acquired and how knowledge is linked to an individual's reality, which refers to epistemology, is related to ontology given that one constructs meanings of their reality based on knowledge they obtain (Crotty, 1998). While some researchers view ontology and epistemology as distinct and independent of one another (Marsh & Furlong, 2002), PAR views reality and knowledge as co-constructed through the reflexive capabilities of humans (Kesby & Gwanzura-Ottmoller, 2007). The epistemological and ontological assumptions of PAR thus embrace "a dialectic of shifting understandings where objectivity is impossible and multiple or shared realities exist" (Kelly, 2005, p. 66). PAR therefore seeks to create spaces where researchers and participants engage in dialogue and reflection about knowledge of specific phenomenon and the social, cultural, economic, and political contexts in which participants live (McIntyre, 2002).

For these reasons, a number of different theoretical lenses, such as postcolonial theory and diaspora in this study, inform PAR given its conceptual flexibility and critical approach that emphasizes reflection and action throughout all stages of empirical study. That is, the philosophical orientations of PAR align with the theoretical frameworks guiding this study, postcolonialism and diaspora. Postcolonialism, as discussed earlier, is a theory that works to contest the dominance of Western knowledge and hegemonic ideologies that have been perpetuated – still to this day – by colonial histories. Diaspora generally seeks to understand how groups forced to migrate understand their transnational mobilities and the knowledge that they adopt and utilize for the purposes of reconnecting to a homeland. Diaspora also – as a concept – seeks to unpack the relations in which those living in diasporas navigate inequalities with regards to gender, host/home interactions, social inclusion and exclusion, and belonging. Hence, a PAR methodology begins with and actively involves participants: in this case, refugees. For this

dissertation, participants were involved throughout the study who had specific knowledge, lived experiences, and perspectives in regard to SDP, entrepreneurship, and employability.

4.1.2 PAR as a methodology

Given the nature of PAR studies, whereby the researcher and participants collectively make decisions about methods used, research questions, and key objectives, PAR is meant to be specifically suited to the context in which research is carried out, and thus PAR is malleable in its design and implementation (McIntyre, 2007). Open and transparent communication in the process of planning a PAR study is imperative, especially when constructing and making decisions, defining principles of collaboration, and setting research priorities (Westhues et al., 2008). Through such deliberations, PAR approaches support collaborative knowledge production that is “reciprocal and reiterative, moving between the personal and the public, encompassing political issues of power and control both within the participant organizations and the research team itself” (Somekh, 2006, p. 87). Overall, PAR approaches provide an opportunity for researchers and participants to engage in an empirical study collectively, in order to investigate a certain issue through processes of exploration, reflection, and action (McIntyre, 2007).

Given this was a doctoral dissertation, there is one important distinction to make between the above *ideal* PAR approach, and the study herein. While every effort was taken to ensure the research process was a collective endeavour between myself, YARID, and research participants, as discussed in following sections, the initial contact made with YARID before any data collection occurred did have broad research objectives and questions that were proposed as foci for the study, rather than, as in many traditional PAR’s, reaching out to identify specific issues of YARID and the refugee community that is the focus of my dissertation. The reasoning for this was twofold: (1) given my research interests in the field of SDP, the project would need to

examine sport in relation to development in some capacity; and (2) the objectives and questions were proposed rather than prescribed – that is, discussions with the Executive Director of YARID, staff, and research participants took place to adjust, rework and confirm whether the proposed research was suitable to participants’ lives. While this still follows a PAR approach, particularly in relation to the need for studies to be context-specific, it is important to note that there was proposed objectives and research questions offered by the researcher and which were subsequently welcomed and collectively decided upon by YARID staff and research participants. As McIntyre (2007, p. xvii) suggests given the diversity of perspectives, research approaches, and principles that underpin PAR, “it appears unreasonable to think that there will ever be a *fully* realized PAR project...that is not the overarching reason that practitioners and participants engage in PAR...rather, it is because they believe in PAR’s potential to explain and interpret reality so as to change it.”

4.1.3 PAR in international development and SDP

PAR has been utilized, discussed, and critiqued in studies of international development (Khanlou & Peter, 2005; Kincheloe, 2009; McTaggart, 1997). PAR has also been adopted for studies of SDP, particularly when global North researchers conduct empirical investigations in the global South or Indigenous contexts in the global North (e.g., Collison et al., 2017; Hayhurst et al., 2015; Sherry et al., 2017; Spaaij et al., 2018). These studies illustrate the significance of PAR for the purposes of enhancing critical dialogue and the context-specificity of research for local populations and SDP program participants. At the same time, the studies shed light on the complexities of PAR research and the (re)production of power relations (such as through utilizing English translation; see Hayhurst, 2016) that may occur despite the best efforts of researchers utilizing PAR. Hence, while PAR may lead to a more equitable, culturally

appropriate, and collaborative research approach for this study, it must also be recognized that the complexities inherent in PAR, and any research for that matter, remain. I speak further to these complexities in the concluding section that provides a reflection on my positionality and placement in the research; in the next section, I outline the research design of this study.

4.2 Research design

4.2.1 Research setting

4.2.1.1 Country: Uganda

Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa that shares borders with South Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The official languages of the country are English and Swahili; however, there are hundreds of other local languages that are used widely based on ethnic, geographical, and community context, particularly the language of Luganda (Namyalo & Nakayiza, 2014). Under colonial rule as a protectorate of the United Kingdom, Uganda achieved independence in 1962 (Thompson, 1992). Since independence, there has been a number of violent and civil conflicts, including guerrilla warfare before 1986 when the current President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni came to power, and throughout much of duration his long presidency thereafter (Kasfir, 2005). Since his inception, there have been numerous controversies, most notably his removal of term limits for sitting presidents to stand for election and multiple accusations of rigging elections to remain President of Uganda (Sandner, 2021).

The nature of my doctoral project, and throughout my dissertation, has been to focus on different facets of Ugandan SDP, specifically the relationships between social entrepreneurship and refugees. Within Uganda, there is a vast number of SDP organizations. For example, Uganda Sport for Health, Recreation, and Development is a nonprofit organization that implements SDP in the Isingiro district in order to enhance youth's 'quality of life' (Crossroads Global Hand,

2021). Youth Sport Uganda, which operates primarily in Kampala but also in more rural areas of Uganda, runs education, health, and skills development programs to youth using SDP (Youth Sport Uganda, 2021). Some SDP organizations in Uganda have also engaged in social entrepreneurship (Hayhurst, 2014). As government funding is scarce for nonprofits and NGOs in Uganda, and competition for funders amongst development actors continues, social entrepreneurship practices have been highlighted increasingly within the development landscape of Uganda (Langevang et al., 2012; Sserwanga et al., 2014)

There are also international NGOs and intergovernmental agencies that implement SDP in Uganda. The United Nation's Children Fund (UNICEF) operates 'child friendly spaces' where refugee children play football, build relationships with other forced migrants, and receive therapy (UNICEF, 2019). USAID runs a Sports for Youth with Disabilities Initiative that seeks to enhance the physical literacy and inclusion of children with physical disabilities in Kampala and Gulu (BlazesSports, n.d.). Hence, there are both local and international SDP organizations within Uganda, displaying how SDP, as a form of development, has become commonplace within communities in the nation, including programs that focus on refugees.

Given its numerous neighbouring countries, Uganda serves as a place of refuge for various people fleeing South Sudan, Burundi, Somali, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and ranks as one of the highest populated countries in the world in terms of refugees with 1.3 million displaced people (UNHCR, 2018b). Before an adoption of the Refugees Act in 2006, Uganda previously relied on frameworks from the 1960 Control of Alien Refugee Act – which was misaligned with international standards for the treatment of forced migrants – and included stipulations that forced refugees to stay in designated settlements (Dryden-Peterson, 2006). Since the 2006 new legislation, the nation has been recognized as one of the most favourable and

progressive refugee assistance programs in the world, which offers liberty of movement and the right to seek employment, an open door policy to asylum seekers and refugees regardless of nationality and ethnic affiliation, and the official provision of land to each displaced family for use, as well as other services such as education for up to four children (World Bank, 2016). The new act also promoted ‘self-reliance’ of refugees, whereby an open space for development-based approaches to assistance were promoted, granting forced migrants the same rights to work as nationals (Betts et al., 2019).

Based on this settlement framework, some Western media outlets have depicted Uganda refugee policy as one of the ‘the best in the world’ (Kende-Robb, 2017). However, in some instances the progressive nature of Uganda’s refugee policy has been questioned, especially in regards to the ‘self-sufficient’ nature of the resettlement program and the availability of international funds to maintain pace with the number of forced migrants (Gouby, 2017). In particular, while the provision of numerous resources such as land and food are noteworthy, many resettlement camps where forced migrants live are faced with issues of insufficient living conditions, overcrowding of camps, and limited prospects to find employment, which has resulted in thousands of refugees migrating from camps to urban areas. However, individuals who live in urban areas in Uganda (e.g., in the capital city of Kampala, such as participants of this study) are faced with additional challenges, including socioeconomic inequalities often driven by host community discrimination (particularly for women and girl refugees); no basic needs provision that forced migrants in resettlement camps receive such as food, cleaning products, and plots of land; and high unemployment as well as restricted or limited healthcare and educational access (Nagai et al., 2008).

Such challenges for refugees living in urban areas have led to investigations into how individuals participate in both formal and informal economic activity and entrepreneurship despite limited access to jobs, capital and resources (e.g., Betts, Omata, & Bloom, 2017). For example, while refugees are allowed to set up businesses with a license from local municipalities, due to high prices of attaining licenses, many forced migrants may choose to keep their business non-registered and work informally (Omata, 2012). Further, the significance of grassroots, on-the-ground, refugee background-people-led organizations that support forced migrants in their quest to gain employment, create business opportunities, and ‘integrate’ into the host community, has been noted (Betts et al., 2017). YARID is one such organization and is described in the next section.

4.2.1.2 Organization: Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID)

Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) located in Kampala, Uganda and has been in operation since 2007. Founded by three Congolese people who were forced to migrate to Uganda, including its current executive director Robert Hakiza, YARID has a multifaceted approach to supporting refugees in the urban capital city, including the implementation of numerous programs structured around four key areas (see Figure 1): education (including special workshops and bridge to formal schooling courses); women empowerment (vocational training whereby tailoring machines and other items are provided to refugees); sports for development; and an innovations hub which adopts a human-centered design approach for collaboration and idea formation of community-based solutions. Across these four ‘stream’ areas, there are programs such as business classes, microfinance savings groups, sport programs such as clubs, groups, and tournaments, and English classes which aim to respond to social issues including inaccessibility to healthcare,

ethnic and tribal conflicts (both within the host country and based on homeland relations), unemployment and livelihood opportunities, and gender inequalities. YARID’s mission is to “empower refugees, orphans and internally displaced persons around Africa to overcome the burdens of deprivation and vulnerability to become healthy, educated, self-sustaining and contributing members of society” (YARID, 2021a, para. 3).

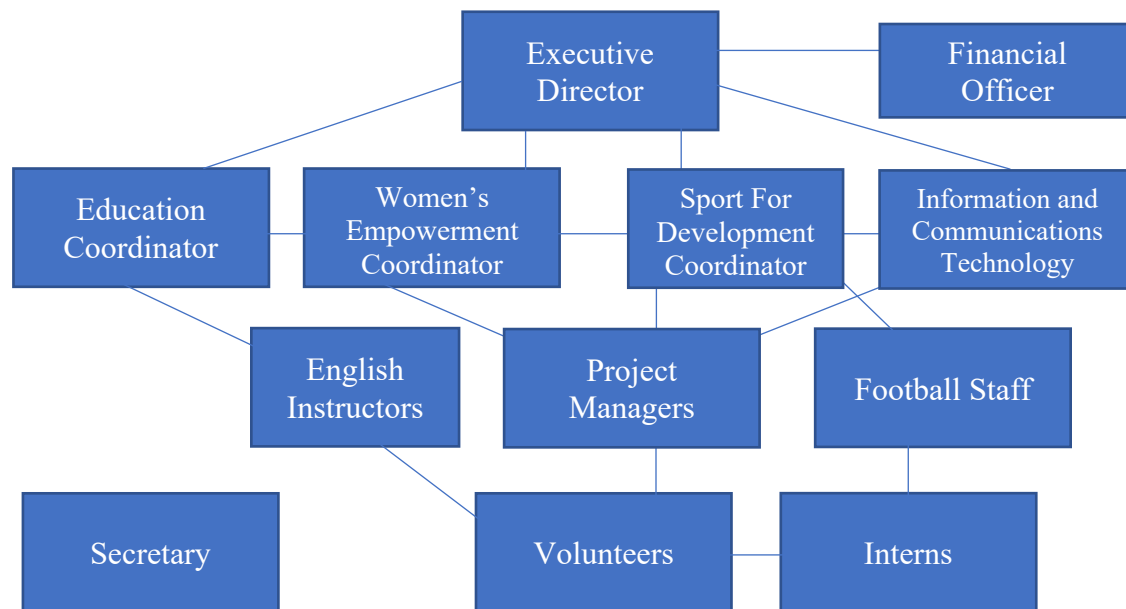
Figure 1. Overview of YARID areas of focus.



A key element of YARID’s work with refugees is to encourage them to become self-reliant through engaging in entrepreneurship, whether related to commercial or more social-oriented entrepreneurship, and to seek innovative solutions to social issues through the creation of businesses or community groups (e.g., sport clubs and teams) that may potentially enhance the economic welfare of individuals, as well as serve a social mission (e.g., to reduce ethnic conflicts). Staff of YARID encourage novel ideas, particularly through the innovations hub and during sport program club and group meetings, of refugees and how they may seek unique

opportunities to make a living. Staff of YARID include an executive director, employed staff (e.g., education coordinator, women’s empowerment coordinator, sport for development coordinator, project manager, financial officer, receptionist, information and communication technologies coordinators), part-time staff (e.g., bridge-to-formal schooling mentors and teachers; sport coaches), and volunteers and interns (including forced migrants, Ugandan nationals, and international students).

Figure 2. YARID organizational chart.



YARID partners with numerous other organizations that support their work, either financially or for human or organizational resources, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Finnish Refugee Council, Humanitarian Innovation Fund, and multiple other local organizations including Soccer Without Borders. YARID is also open to and explicitly interested in conducting research for the purposes of understanding the impact of programs (whether positive or negative), gathering feedback from program users, and – in part – receiving funding for their organization through research based nongovernmental organization

activation fees (whereby staff and organizational members assist and support with the research project). Hence, YARID carefully considers research projects and receives organizational support and resources from a variety of different sectors and actors. In the next section, I describe the specific steps taken prior to engaging in any research, particularly in line with maintaining a PAR approach.

4.2.2 Preparation for fieldwork

4.2.2.1 Initial contact

In adherence to PAR guidelines (MacDonald, 2012), a number of steps were taken before any data collection occurred. First, contact was made with the Executive Director (Robert Hakiza) of YARID via the organizational website which listed an accessible email address for individuals wishing to conduct research with YARID to contact. Upon establishing my research interests, a Google search was conducted in order to explore if there were any SDP-related organizations working with refugees and utilizing social entrepreneurship. YARID, as described above, was an ideal organization to conduct research with given its mission to serve refugees through a number of social programs, particularly in regard to the use of sport for development. The initial email (Appendix A) was sent to gauge whether the study would be deemed of interest to YARID and Robert. After multiple back and forth emails with Robert who indicated that the research would be of benefit to YARID and its program participants, a Skype call was held with Robert to discuss and identify the goals, objectives, and proposed foci of the study more specifically. During this call, Robert confirmed that the direction of the study was appropriate and, while he had some minor questions with regards to the methodology and methods (particularly about visual and digital methods and how these methods are employed), he was happy to proceed with planning fieldwork for the research to be conducted (and we also

recognized that the study would be possibly reshaped or adjusted slightly based on our future meetings and research participants' feedback).

Robert, as Executive Director, acted as a gatekeeper to YARID, an individual within a research setting who provides access and permits research to be undertaken (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In addition, as Robert is one of the co-founders of YARID and identifies as a refugee from the Democratic Republic of Congo, he has strong and existing ties with not only refugees who are members of YARID, but also migrant communities in Kampala where he lives. He also has far-reaching networks with migrant communities of different ethnicities and peoples (e.g., Congolese, Burundian, Somali) and experience working 'on-the-ground' with other not-for-profit organizations, intergovernmental organizations (e.g., United Nations), and researchers (e.g., Oxford University), in addition to his own personal experiences of forced migration and the interpersonal relationships he has with other refugees. Hence, as gatekeeper, Robert had extensive knowledge and a multi-layered perspective that was able to assess the proposed research study and decide whether to proceed with the next planning stages. Robert has continued to work closely with me during the write up of the dissertation and knowledge mobilization (e.g., providing feedback on knowledge mobilization strategies, reviewing and co-authoring manuscripts and an organizational report).

4.2.2.2 Research advisory board

After exchanging emails and holding a Skype call with Robert, I had an opportunity to travel to Uganda from November to December 2018 for a separate research project led by my co-supervisor, Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst. At this time, I met with Robert in-person at YARID to discuss and agree on timelines to conduct the research when I returned to Uganda in 2019 during the months of June to August. Once details were finalized and Robert and I had fully agreed on all

aspects pertaining to the study, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed which officially recognized the research project (Appendix B). During this meeting, we also discussed the need to create a research advisory board that would be made up of three individuals who would provide direction, suggestions, and comments in relation to the research, as per PAR guidelines (Frisby, Crawford, & Dorer, 1997). Robert assisted in forming the advisory board which was made up of YARID's Executive Director (Robert), it's Education Coordinator (Joselyne), and a program user (and research participant) who was also an elected community leader (Bebe). Robert and Bebe identify as refugees, a particularly needed perspective given the focus of the study, while Joselyne identifies as a Ugandan. The advisory board, throughout fieldwork and the whole of the study, have provided feedback on elements of the research, particularly the proposed research, data collection procedures, and knowledge mobilization strategies.

4.2.2.3 Research ethics

Second, upon receiving a letter of support from Robert and YARID (Appendix C), ethical applications were then submitted to York University and relevant ethical review boards in Uganda, including: (1) the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (MAKSS REC); and (2) the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST). With assistance from Dr. James Wasike (who supported me with writing and submitting ethical documents) in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Makerere University in Uganda, all ethical applications were submitted, reviewed by committees, and subsequently approved by both MAKSS REC and UNCST under the notice of approval number SS 4996 (Appendix D), the Office of the Prime Minister in Uganda who must approve any research conducted with refugees (Appendix E), and York University's Research Ethics Board under Certificate number STU 2019-007.

4.2.2.4 Interpreter

Third, a local community-based interpreter, Wisdom, fluent in languages spoken by research participants (including Swahili, French, English, Luganda, and Arabic) was recruited with support from the research advisory board. Wisdom identified as a refugee, lived in a local community with other refugee-identifying individuals, and had been involved with YARID for both program operations and previous research studies as an interpreter. Upon meeting with Wisdom and outlining the purpose of the study and questions, as well as any required adaptations to proposed interview guides to ensure that questions could be asked in participant languages, we discussed interpreter payment. Payment was agreed upon between Wisdom and myself by paying per interview (and photocollage sessions, orientations, etc.) the same amount that YARID pays community-based translators for their own projects (e.g., interviews with program participants). Following this, Wisdom signed an agreement as well as informed consent form that stipulated he would not share information gleaned through the research process (i.e., interviews, photovoice, photocollages) with anyone outside of the research setting (Appendix F). Wisdom was crucial for the purposes of ensuring that participants felt comfortable during interviews and were able to speak in their preferred language. For each interview that was not conducted in English, Wisdom would translate the interview question to the local language in real-time, listen to the response by a participant, and translate the participant's response to me in English. He would also double-check a significant number of responses to ensure that he had appropriately conveyed participant's responses. For example, during some interviews, Wisdom would relay the English translation of what a participant said – if it was not clear to me, he would ask the same question again of the participant and/or ask for further explanation. Other times, after relaying responses from participants, he would speak in the participant's chosen language to establish that

he was using the correct phrasing in English (and ask the participant if he translated their response meaningfully).

Of course, as scholars who have conducted cross-cultural research point out (e.g., Palmary, 2014), including within SDP (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hayhurst, 2016), translation in research – particularly where participants’ preferred language is changed to English – is complex and often grounded in unequal power relations. As Hayhurst (2016, p. 432) says, “English is a technology of colonization, and translating the experiences of research participants into English works to reaffirm ‘linguicide’ as a hegemonic dialect in social sciences research” (see also Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). While self-reflection was engaged in to consider the ethical dilemmas and relations pertaining to the use of English translation, this does not upend the inequalities that are perpetuated by the researcher’s class, gender, and race, but rather exacerbates the dominance of English as a form of colonialism through and in the research process. Nonetheless, the decision to translate in ‘real-time’ was made by myself and Wisdom for two reasons.

First, translating in real-time, rather than after the completion of interviews, allowed for Wisdom to check with participants about their interview responses and allow for any misinterpretations to be corrected so that their perspectives could be made clear through translation. Second, translating in real-time also allowed for questions, concerns, and issues to be brought up to Wisdom at the time of the research and for participants to feel comfortable sharing their perspectives to someone who also lived in their community, rather than an external interpreter after the completion of interviews who would not be able to adequately respond to questions or concerns. Still, despite this decision, translating interviews to English underlyingly reproduces inequalities related to Western knowledge and the social class of the researcher. At

the same time, as noted by other scholars, translation may offer opportunities to engage and enhance dialogue amongst researchers and participants (Hayhurst, 2016; Maclean, 2007).

Wisdom has also translated photobooks from English to French, Swahili, and Lingala that have been provided to participants as part of knowledge mobilization (see Chapter 10).

4.2.2.5 Research orientations

Next, after Wisdom agreed to the interpreter agreement, two research orientations, following PAR guidelines specific to the use of visual and digital methods (Mitchell & de Lange, 2011), were held – one with YARID staff on June 24th 2019, and following this, one with potential research participants on June 25th, 2019. The research orientation with staff outlined the research study, including its purpose, methods, timeline, and benefits and risks. Following informed consent, I invited questions, concerns, and comments about the study, which led to significant and important considerations and alterations to the research process. For example, feedback from staff about the commitment that research participants would need to make to be involved in the study, particularly with regards to compensation for travel, time, and participation in multiple data collection methods, was noted. Pascal (DRC, staff) said that: “People from the West come here and have so much more money compared to us that compensation needs to be fair for participants.” Robert (Executive Director) emphasized that participants are individuals who would be taking time out of their day to be involved with the research, time that would often otherwise be dedicated to earning money for their own lives and families, which he stressed was a challenge already for many members of YARID. While compensation for travel and time had been included for data collection, in the original informed consent form, it stipulated that participants would receive a total of 60,000 Ugandan schillings upon the completion of research. However, it became apparent through discussion with staff and

the research advisory board that it would be better for participants to receive compensation during each data collection method (research orientation, interview, photocollage session, and digital story presentation/research wrap up). Thus, after discussing with both staff and program users, and negotiating with the research advisory board based on available research funds, an appropriate compensation plan was established whereby, in addition to a snack and drink for each research activity, each participant would receive a 20,000 Ugandan shillings honoraria at the completion of each data collection method. The research orientation with staff was crucial to work out such details and ensure that the approach, including compensation, being taken for the research was suitable and equitable for participants (see also Frisby et al., 2005).

The orientation held with potential participants, of which 30 people attended in total (five individuals did not participate due to age and/or no involvement in SDP programs), who were involved with YARID sport and social programs, was also beneficial to respond to questions and concerns about the study. YARID staff were critical for conducting the orientation, which was held at YARID offices. Along with Wisdom, staff translated details of the study, most especially during the informed consent process so that each individual agreeing to participate in the study fully understood the research and its process, including compensation. During this orientation, similar to the one held with staff, participants (in groups of three to four), were taught how to use the camera (if necessary) – although many participants wished to use their cellular phones for photovoice. Many participants had handled a camera and were adept at using the digital camera functions, whereas some other participants, particularly those of higher age, required more direction from staff and myself to ensure that cameras would properly capture their experiences.

Questions during this orientation revolved around the connection between sport and entrepreneurship and livelihood activity, as well as the impact of the research for the community

and organization. For instance, one participant asked how there is a connection between sport and entrepreneurship (Fieldnotes, June 25th, 2019). I responded that this is what I am here to find out from participants and that there may not be a connection at all, but that I strived to understand from participant's perspectives if there is a link between the two. Other prospective participants inquired about the impact of the research. I suggested that the research would be utilized to inform YARID programming, build knowledge about the use of sport and entrepreneurial activities of refugees in Kampala, and that numerous forms of knowledge translation would occur to share with the general public about refugee-related sport and livelihood activities.

However, more importantly, I sought to understand from participants what strategies of action they would like to see from the research, similar to Luguetti et al.'s (2021) approach to have action defined by refugees themselves. I asked participants and staff what they would like to see from the research and how it may potentially impact their lives, community, and YARID. Participants suggested numerous possible benefits; for example, that the use of visual and digital methods was something they had not engaged in before (many participants had participated in other research projects either related to YARID as an organization or other academic driven studies) and that this was an interesting, exciting, and new opportunity to share their perspectives that could be utilized in the future by YARID. Other participants spoke to how various people in Uganda, particularly Ugandan citizens, see refugees as an economic burden, and that they hoped the research would illustrate how forced migrants engage in their own employment activities by using entrepreneurship which supports host communities and the country of Uganda overall. Still others said that they believed the research would hopefully assist in bringing attention to the many needs of refugees and potentially be utilized to attract future sponsors, donors, or

organizational funders for YARID (Fieldnotes, June 25th, 2019). I sought to take these suggestions by the community and commit to driving knowledge mobilization and translation action guided by participants' ideas and suggestions. Image 1 provides a picture (taken by me) of the program user research orientation, with Wisdom (interpreter) and Elvis (staff) explaining the use of the camera. In the next section, I specify how participants involved in this study were recruited.

Image 1. Research orientation with YARID program users.



4.2.3 Participant recruitment

For this study, participants involved in data collection included YARID staff, program participants, and members living in the community in which YARID is located who identified as refugees but who had minimal involvement with the organization. In order to respond to the research questions guiding this study, participants were recruited through purposeful and snowball sampling with the assistance of YARID staff. Purposeful sampling is “selecting information-rich cases for study in depth” (Patton, 1999, p. 169) while snowball sampling is when a researcher identifies and recruits potential participants based on suggestions and assistance from already recruited research participants (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). While

purposeful sampling was utilized for most recruitment of research participants, as detailed below, snowball sampling assisted in identifying additional individuals whom had engaged in entrepreneurship and sport as well as recruiting community members who were minimally involved with YARID or no longer currently involved in YARID programs. Creswell (2002) suggests that there are four priorities when purposeful sampling: (1) to achieve representation of the context, in this case YARID and refugees' experiences; (2) to illustrate heterogeneity in the participant sample, in this study to demonstrate the differences and similarities of refugees in relation to class, gender, and ethnicity; (3) to recruit participants who may share perspectives and experiences in regard to the theories guiding empirical study, such as postcolonial management theory and diaspora; and (4) to be able to exhibit and explicate differences between individuals in the research setting. In the next section, I specify how I recruited participants from YARID and the surrounding community and strived to achieve the purposeful sampling goals outlined by Creswell (2002).

4.2.4 Recruitment of research participants

4.2.4.1 YARID staff

With the support of Robert, and upon my arrival in Uganda in June 2019, I was introduced to two members of YARID leadership staff: the Education Coordinator Elvis Wanume and the Women's Empowerment Coordinator, Joselyne Namakhula, who also was a member of the research advisory board. As I did with Robert, I provided an overview of the research study and its objectives, and Elvis and Joselyne assisted in scheduling a research orientation with YARID staff as discussed above. Given Robert's previously scheduled commitments to speak at varying conferences and events outside of Uganda, Robert was limitedly in the vicinity of YARID during the months of June to August 2019. Whilst he acted as

gatekeeper and was in the space of YARID during some weeks while I was present, Elvis and Joselyne were my main points of contact during fieldwork. In particular, throughout fieldwork, Joselyne acted as a co-researcher and – voluntarily – took on a role of supporting me by scheduling interviews, being the main point of contact for research participants, organizing research orientations and sharing groups (discussed below) by reaching out to staff and research participants, and overall providing additional assistance as I undertook fieldwork. As discussed in the reflexive interlude, I also routinely ate lunch with Elvis and Joselyne, as well as Joseph (Financial Officer) during my days at YARID. Joselyne and I agreed upon compensation for this, which was payment for lunch on days I was at YARID. Elvis, who was less involved with the research than Joselyne, did not feel that he required compensation. Overall, Elvis and Joselyne were – at least from my perspective – colleagues who were crucial to the carrying out of research.

Following discussions with Elvis and Joselyne, all staff of YARID were invited to the research orientation. A total of 11 staff attended the orientation and signed informed consent forms (Appendix G) to participate in the study. Ongoing consent for all participants took place during this study. For instance, after completion of photovoice activities and individuals took part in semi-structured interviews, oral consent with assistance from Wisdom was then requested for recording of interviews. During photocollage sessions, all participants were asked if they were comfortable with having their discussions recorded. Ongoing consent is important to remind participants of their involvement with the study and the use of audio recording for each activity (DePalma, 2010). Table 1 outlines the positions of staff and demographic information.

Table 1. Staff research participants.

Name (or pseudonym* if requested)	Position	Ethnicity	Gender, Age
Daniel Eyudu	English instructor, football coach	Ugandan	Male, 25-30
Elvis Wanume	Education coordinator	Ugandan	Male, 30-35
Namono*	Intern (English instructor, women empowerment centre, sport activities)	Ugandan	Female, 22-27
Gloria Akakikunda	Secretary	Ugandan	Female, 23-28
Joselyne Namakhula	Women's empowerment coordinator	Ugandan	Female, 28-33
Josue	Job readiness program, Recruitment officer, sports officer	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 27-32
Francine*	English instructor, counsellor	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 22-27
Pascal*	Information and communication technology coordinator	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 27-32
Paul*	English instructor, Pastor	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 40-45
Patrick Simpenze Hakiza	Sport for development coordinator	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 26-31
Sheila	Intern (English instructor, women empowerment centre)	Ugandan	Female, 22-27

4.2.4.2 YARID program users

Upon completion of the research orientation with staff, I worked with Patrick Hakiza, the sport-for-development coordinator, and Joselyne, as well as other staff, to purposely recruit potential research participants who were involved with sport and other social programs at YARID. As mentioned, the research orientation with YARID program users was held on June 25th, 2019. After providing details of the study, and responding to questions, comments, and concerns about the study, potential participants were asked to sign informed consent forms if

they wished to participate in the study (Appendix H). A total of 25 program users agreed to participate in the study. Wisdom translated in real-time during the orientation and YARID staff assisted in reading each section of the informed consent form to participants. All participants were 16 years or older given ethical approval granted for this study. Table 2 provides an overview of research participants demographic information and names. I ensured with Wisdom that participants who waived anonymity or confidentiality understood their decision, and most participants in this study agreed to waive anonymity and confidentiality, although there were some who did not and requested pseudonyms, as seen in Table 2.

Table 2. YARID program user research participants.

Name (or pseudonym* if requested)	YARID programs involved with	Ethnicity	Gender, Age
Helene*	Sport programs, women's empowerment centre	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 32-37
Aime	Sport programs, women's empowerment centre	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 32-37
Antony Ramazani	English classes, sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 22-27
Simon*	English classes, sport programs, computer training	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 23-28
Dady	Sport programs, coach training	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 22-27
David Lukeka	English classes, sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 22-27
Christine*	Sport programs (saving group), women's empowerment centre	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 30-35
Fiona Diana	Vocational training, sport programs (saving group)	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 33-38
Jeremi	English classes, computer training, sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 21-26
Judith Masika	Sport programs (saving group)	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 32-37
Junior	Former participant (sport programs), founder of sport-for-development	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 25-30

	organization (Sport for Social Impact)		
Kelvin Safari	English classes, computer training, sport programs, coach training	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 22-27
Michel*	English classes, sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 22-27
Mamy Musheergerha	Sport programs (saving group)	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 28-33
Mbonigaba	Vocational training, sport programs (saving group)	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 40-45
Merveille	Sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 18-23
Oscar*	Sport programs, coach training	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 22-27
Mustapha	Former participant and coach at YARID, began selling football equipment at football pitches	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 32-37
Philomene	English classes, sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 38-43
Erick*	Sport programs	Congolese and South Sudanese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 24-29
Ryhan Mohammed	English classes, computer training, sport programs	Sudanese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 25-30
Aliyah*	English classes, sport programs	Sudanese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 23-28
Moise Mushagawsa Samy	English classes, sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Male, 23-28
Suzanna Matendeka	Sport programs (saving group)	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 35-40
Beatrice*	Sport programs	Congolese (refugee-identifying)	Female, 18-23

During fieldwork, research participants were asked about their involvement with YARID in relation to sport, entrepreneurship, and employment, and were additionally asked if they knew of any individuals who had participated in YARID sport and social programs who had engaged in entrepreneurship (however broadly defined by participants). In multiple interviews, participants noted two individuals (Mustapha and Junior noted in Table 2) who had been involved with

YARID previously but had moved on from the organization to pursue their own interests. In these cases, snowball sampling was utilized to identify additional potential research participants who would be able to provide their perspectives in relation to the guiding research questions. Snowball sampling was also utilized to recruit community members.

4.2.4.3 Community members

In the initial research proposal for this study, it was noted that community members who only had minimal involvement with YARID, but who lived in communities close to the organization, would be recruited in order to further understanding in relation to YARID's work. Joselyne and Elvis assisted in identifying potential research participants who were no longer involved or only minimally involved with YARID programs. Recruiting participants who had no connection or experience with YARID programs was noticeably difficult as, based on Joselyne's and Elvis' comments, almost all refugees in the communities surrounding YARID had been involved with the organization in some capacity. Therefore, with Joselyne and Elvis' direction, six individuals who no longer were involved with YARID during the time of fieldwork and/or only were minimally involved (involved in SDP activities but not as often) with YARID social programs were recruited and participated in the study. Potential participants were asked to sign informed consent forms if they wished to participate in the study (Appendix I). The purpose of recruiting these participants was to expand and diversify participant perspectives beyond those who were directly involved (at the time of fieldwork) with YARID sport and social programs. Given program users' relationship with YARID, participants may have felt a need to express positive remarks about YARID, whereas community members with no current relationship with YARID may have more comfortability expressing their opinions and perspectives about their experiences with the organization. Community members did not participate in visual and digital

methods due to the time commitment this would require and their limited involvement with YARID. Rather, they participated in semi-structured interviews to capture their opinions and viewpoints about YARID's work. Table 3 outlines demographic information of community members and their previous connection with YARID.

Table 3. Community member research participants.

Name (or pseudonym if requested*)	Relationship with YARID	Ethnicity	Gender, Age
Mimi*	Community member, involved in some sport activities	Burundian (refugee-identifying)	Female, 20-25
Darifa*	Community member, involved in some sport activities	Burundian (refugee-identifying)	Female, 21-26
Bebe*	Community member, community representative	Burundian (refugee-identifying)	Female, 30-35
Abdifatah	Former program user, community representative	Somalian (refugee-identifying)	Male, 32-37
Saaeid	Community member	Somalian (refugee-identifying)	Male, 20-25
Asad*	Community member	Somalian (refugee-identifying)	Male, 20-25

In sum, a total of 42 research participants took part in this study. Participants ranged from 18 to 45 years of age. Five of 11 staff identified as refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), whereas six staff identified as Ugandan. Interestingly, as discussed by some staff, a requirement of non-profits in Uganda is that there must be approximately 25% percent of organizational staff who identify as Ugandan citizens. Five staff identified as male and four staff identified as female. Twenty-three program users identified as refugees from the DRC and two as refugees from South Sudan. Twelve program users identified as male and thirteen as female. Community members involved in this study identified as refugees from Burundi (n=3; all identified as female) and Somalia (n=3; all identified as male). Staff had been involved with

YARID anywhere from one to twelve years, and program participants reported that they had been involved anywhere from one to nine years with YARID. Community members were often involved with YARID for a maximum of one year or currently involved in limited ways, while other community members served as external or preliminary contacts who were not directly involved with programs or the organization unless asked to provide input on an organizational or community issue (e.g., research projects or hired as an interpreter for research studies).

4.3 Data Collection

Data collection for this study took place from June 2019 to August 2019. I arrived in Entebbe, Uganda (at the International Airport) on June 14th, 2019 and departed Uganda on August 2nd, 2019. Other than the above-mentioned research orientation dates and meetings prior to the commencement of data collection, I was at YARID every week Monday to Friday from approximately 9 AM to 5 PM. Data collection ‘officially’ commenced on June 26th with participants undertaking photovoice activities. Multiple forms of data collection took place including visual and digital methods, semi-structured interviews, and informal conversations, which are discussed in the following sections. I used these data collection approaches to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study (Creswell, 2012). Documents were also collected to provide understanding of the research context and organization; however, these were not analyzed for the purposes of the study. The reason these documents were not included in the analysis of this study was due to the study being focused on the lived experiences of refugees in relation to sport, entrepreneurship, and employment. Whilst the documents provided additional contextual information regarding the operation of YARID programs, they were not explicitly focused on YARID members activities but rather applications for grants, funding, and donations,

and also the overall structure of specific programs (e.g., Soccer for Peace tournaments held yearly).

4.3.1 Visual and digital methods

Increasingly, the use of innovative visual and digital methods, such as photovoice and digital storytelling, have been advocated for within PAR approaches as they strive to deconstruct power relations, seek community participation and social justice, and through narratives and the favouring of participant story-telling, promote alternative and local knowledges to upend knowledge production and research methods that are “deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices” (Smith, 1999, p. 2). For this study, visual and digital methods aimed to prioritize and engage participants in critical dialogue about the possible interconnections of sport, entrepreneurship, and employability, while challenging traditional hierarchical research relationships (Wang, 2006) and providing innovative forms for the dissemination and translation of knowledge (Mitchell, Lange, & Moletsane, 2017). In this study, three forms of visual and digital methods were used: photovoice, photocollaging, and digital storytelling.

4.3.1.1 Photovoice

Photovoice involves the use of cell-phone cameras or the provision of cameras to research participants to take photos of their experience (Wang, 1999). While a novel method for research inquiry, photovoice has quickly gained prominence in participatory research for its objectives to (1) enable individuals and groups to record and represent their everyday realities; (2) stimulate critical discussion and awareness about personal and community strengths and concerns; and (3) reach policymakers (Wang, 2006, p. 148). Bananuka and John (2015, p. 196), in a study that explores the use of photovoice for understanding the experiences of community

development workers in Uganda, have said that photovoice “fosters multiple forms of dialogue and in so doing, allows people to picture and name their world.” For this research, photovoice was key for participants to share their experiences with YARID’s sport and other related social programs. Participants of this research were invited to use one of nine digital cameras provided to take photos. Only eight participants decided to use a digital camera, whereas all other participants felt more comfortable (and in some cases, had a higher-quality camera for photo-taking) using their cellular devices.

In this study, following staff and program user orientations, photovoice activities were undertaken. As I only had nine cameras for photovoice use, staff were provided the cameras for two days to capture images. Following their return, cameras were then provided to program users over a period of six days. Some participants chose to use their cellular devices rather than the digital camera to capture their experiences. While it was originally envisioned that research participants would have a week to utilize cameras for photovoice activities, Joselyne and Elvis recommended that cameras be ‘signed out’ on a piece of paper by participants and that only two to three days be provided for photovoice activities. This suggestion was based on the idea that participants may be at risk of cameras being stolen in communities, may not have time to capture photos during their daily activities over five days, and that during the two to three days in which participants would have cameras, they would be engaged in YARID programs rather than having cameras over a period of five days when they would not be directly involved with YARID programs. Although this period of time for photovoice activities does not align with a recommended period of one to two weeks to capture photos (Wang, 1999), guided by Joselyne and Elvis, and after discussing with participants during research orientations the length of

photovoice activities, it was decided that two days to engage in photovoice activities was reasonable and would provide enough time.

Research participants were guided in photovoice activities by the broad goal of capturing their experiences in relation to sport, development, entrepreneurship, and employment, in order to offer guidelines that might expand, rather than limit, the range of participant's experiences (Wang & Burris, 1997). The question of 'what does engaging in sport and development programs mean to you?' was proposed during research orientations to begin having participants think about the meanings they ascribe to their participation in SDP programs at YARID. Participants were then asked to be as expressive and creative as possible when taking photos, up to 10 to 12, that would be printed for use in the research study and also for their own personal belonging. The participants were also asked to choose two photos that would be described in-depth – one that displayed a benefit of and one that displayed a barrier to YARID programs. The photos would be described and explained in a follow up semi-structured interview at the beginning or end of the conversation. Following this, participants would use their selected photos in a photocollage session. While two photos would be of particular focus, participants were encouraged to take additional photos that they felt would explain their experiences with YARID sport and social programs. Photovoice activities lasted a total of eight days (not including weekends) and were followed by semi-structured interviews, which are discussed in a following section. Images 2, 3, and 4 provide some examples of photos taken by participants during photovoice. In the next section, the use of photocollaging in this study is outlined.

Image 2. Photo taken by Sheila teaching English classes.



Image 3. Photo taken by Aime engaging in tailoring activities.



Image 4. Photo taken by Erick leading football activities.



4.3.1.2 Photocollaging

Photocollaging is the process of using multiple photos from photovoice to combine images and text on a platform (such as a poster board) in order to share participant's perspectives and experiences (Castleden & Garvin, 2008). Creating photocollages was meant for participants to convey key narratives of sport, development, entrepreneurship, and employment to other participants through a sharing group where experiences are discussed in a group setting.

Following the completion of photovoice activities and semi-structured interviews, photocollage sessions took place whereby participants utilized their two selected photos, in addition to any other photos they deemed important to include, to post on a piece of Bristol board. Markers were also provided to participants to create captions for their photos and add any additional symbols, text, drawings, and visuals that supported them in presenting their narratives. Three photocollage sessions took place: one with staff on July 15th, 2019 (n=11), one with program users on July 16th, 2019 (n=12), and another with program users on July 17th, 2019 (n=13), given the available space in YARID's offices.

Photocollage sessions went as follows: participants spent approximately one to two hours creating their photocollages with their printed photos (photos were printed at a local printing shop and paid for by me), followed by individual presentations of their narratives and questions by other participants, and finally a group preliminary data analysis where participants discussed key themes and patterns they felt were presented through their combined narratives. Group discussion enables participants to reflect on the images they have produced and to give multiple meanings to singular photos that voice their individual and collective experience (Wang & Burris, 1997). Images 5, 6 and 7 (photos taken by me) display some of the photocollages that were created and participants presenting their narratives. The analysis that was conducted during the photocollage sessions is further described in a following section focused on data analysis. These preliminary themes, patterns, and discussion points with participants were utilized to create a digital story.

Image 5. Photo of YARID staff creating photocollages.



Image 6. Photo of Aliyah presenting her photcollage.



Image 7. Photo of various program users' photcollages.



4.3.1.3 Digital storytelling

Digital storytelling is the process of illustrating participant narratives with their photographs from photovoice, their photcollages, music and voice compositions, video, and text, in a mini-movie (Willox et al., 2013). During the research orientations, an example video of

a digital story (from my work with Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst focused on the use of bicycles for development in Uganda) was shown to participants to provide an idea of how photos and photocollages would be put together as a digital ‘mini-movie’. It is important to note that this digital story was not specifically related to the empirical study being conducted, so as not to influence participant’s responses to research questions and their capturing of photos, but instead to demonstrate what a digital story might look like.

Due to time constraints and lack of resources (e.g., quantity of iPad tablet computers), it was decided by myself, the advisory board and participants that rather than each participant develop their own individual digital story, photocollage sessions and the preliminary analysis that was conducted during these sessions would be utilized to identify patterns and themes important to research participants that would organize an initial digital story for presentation (see also Hayhurst, 2017). I utilized a movie making application on an iPad, iMovie, to build the digital story using photos and photocollages based upon the various participants narratives. We ensured that each participants’ perspective was included by integrating their photos and the key themes and patterns that were discussed and agreed upon by all participants. The music included in the digital story was selected by research participants. The digital story was then presented on a final research day with all participants who then had an opportunity to comment on the themes and digital story presented, as well as voice concerns and questions. No concerns or questions were raised, and participants deemed the digital story as appropriate for conveying their perspectives. The digital story has been edited further for knowledge translation (in relation to any photos not formatted properly and music length) and has subsequently been used by YARID for a peace course at Makerere University Rotary Peace Centre whom they have partnered with.

Image 8 presents a still of one theme of the digital story. Image 9 displays the digital story being presented to participants.

Image 8. Still from the digital story.



Image 9. Presentation of digital story to research participants.



4.3.1.4 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are useful for exploring participant's experiences, stories, and eliciting views and opinions from individuals (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Interviews are also important for photovoice activities to discuss with participants the photos they have taken and

why they have captured certain experiences, the meaning behind the photos, and the narratives they ascribe to photos (Wang, 2006). All participants agreed to be involved in a semi-structured interview. When necessary, Wisdom translated questions and participant responses in an individual's preferred language. All staff, except one, participated in interviews without Wisdom translating (i.e., using the English language). Wisdom was present for all participant interviews, even for three that were conducted mostly in English, for translation purposes. Upon receiving oral consent, all interviews were digitally recorded utilizing two digital recording devices and interview data were stored on a password protected computer. All interviews took place during times and dates best suited for the participant in private offices at YARID's location. Anywhere from one to three interviews took place during a single day and ranged from 30 to 110 minutes in length. All semi-structured interviews were conducted utilizing an interview guide, one for staff (Appendix J), program users (Appendix K), and for community members (Appendix L). Interview guides assisted in directing the conversation to relevant discussion about sport, entrepreneurship, development, and employment, while also allowing flexibility for follow-up questions to be asked and responses to be given in an open-ended format.

4.3.1.5 Fieldwork observations and informal conversations

As mentioned, I was present at YARID from approximately 9 AM to 5 PM Monday to Friday throughout fieldwork. Upon arrival, I would often talk with YARID staff who were present at YARID in the office (which is on a second floor of a larger building) or on the balcony that overlooked the football field across the street where YARID ran most sport programs. During the day, and when not conducting semi-structured interviews, I would observe the work taking place by YARID staff and the interactions they had with one another and YARID members. Participants were aware, based on ethics and research orientations, that I would be

observing and often were keen to invite me over and/or provide an overview of what they were doing in the YARID space. These observations were short in nature— often about an hour long before the commencement of interviews for the day or 30 minutes in length while I waited to leave the research setting. This included observing meetings between staff members about funding, program operations, specific day-to-day tasks (e.g., education classes that occurred in the morning), and in general conversation amongst one another. Staff sometimes invited me over or initiated conversations with me during these short periods of observation. I would also ask if they would be comfortable if I took notes on something they said or did in efforts to be transparent, and participants agreed in each instance. Staff spoke in English primarily, while program users who routinely came by the office spoke either English or their preferred language. I would often engage staff in conversations about what they were doing that day, how whatever work they were doing occurred or the reasoning for it, and then mostly would just discuss other topics related to their day-to-day life (travel home, plans for the weekend, etc.). These conversations were important for building rapport with staff and program users who were often present at the research site.

4.4 Data Analysis

The final phase of this study, besides knowledge mobilization and translation, involved data analysis. Analysis of the data in this study was an ongoing and iterative process, whereby analysis occurred within the field and after I departed from Kampala. Fieldnotes, analytical memos and reflexive memos were written while in the field to connect field notes and interview data with literature and theories. There were two ways in which data analysis was undertaken in this study. First, following guidelines for the use of visual data, particularly photovoice, sharing groups as discussed earlier allowed for collaborative examination between the researcher and

participants to identify patterns across presented narratives during photocollage sessions (Wang, 2006). Second, I undertook in-depth thematic analysis upon leaving the field, following guidelines set out by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Braun, Clarke, and Weate (2016).

The rationale for the use of collaborative analysis via sharing groups, or the facilitation of group discussions after the presentation of photocollages, was based on the ideals of PAR to make research a collective endeavour, one in which both researcher and participants engage in reflection and action (McIntyre, 2007). A key element of PAR is to engage in collaborative analysis, where, beyond participant's collecting data (e.g., photovoice), they are also involved in analysis through the use of visual data. Photovoice, photocollaging, and group discussions enables a participatory means whereby study participants share expertise and knowledge and, following Freire's (1970) concept of critical consciousness, problem-pose by highlighting "issues that people see as central to their lives and then enables them to identify common themes through dialogue" (Wang, 2006, p. 370). Given the purpose of this study to understand refugees's lived experiences at YARID in relation to SDP, entrepreneurship, and employment, group discussion was a vital source of expertise that prioritizes participants' knowledge about organizational and community strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, given my own positionality as a researcher with no lived experience of forced migration, group discussion through the presentation of photocollages enabled "the possibility of perceiving the world from the viewpoint of the people who lead lives that are different from those traditionally in control of the means for imaging the world" (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 50).

Importantly, the use of PAR and visual and digital methods seeks to understand not only individual lived experiences of participants, but also to explore connections and differences amongst their collective experiences and narratives. Hence, the use of thematic analysis (TA),

was an additional qualitative data analysis technique utilized for this study. TA seeks to “identify patterns of meaning across a qualitative dataset” (Braun et al., 2016). TA is not aligned with a particular theoretical framework, making it a flexible approach for qualitative researchers to utilize in studies (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Hence, the use of TA, after completion of fieldwork, was useful to explore and make sense of the nuanced and complex lived experiences of participants involvement with YARID SDP programs. Using TA allowed me to describe, interpret, and identify common themes across participant’s experiences and analyze people’s practices, behaviours, and experiences in relation to SDP, entrepreneurship, and employment (see Braun et al., 2016).

4.4.1 Photocollage sharing groups: Preliminary data analysis

Photocollage sessions followed a three-stage process as suggested by Wang and Burris (1997, p. 380) in relation to participatory analysis for photovoice:

Selecting (choosing those photographs that most accurately reflect the community’s needs and assets); contextualizing (telling stories about what photographs mean); and codifying (identifying those issues, themes, or theories that emerge).

As mentioned earlier, photocollage sessions were held in three separate groups based on the available space in YARID offices: one with staff and two with program users. Participants selected the photographs that they deemed most accurately reflected their experiences in regard to SDP, entrepreneurship and employability, including one photo each that displayed a benefit of and barrier to YARID programs. Following the creation of their photocollage, in each session, participants individually presented their narratives, whereby they contextualized for the group what their photographs mean, how they are connected to one another, and told a story about their experiences. This presentation of individual narratives to the group allowed for a process of

VOICE – “voicing our individual and collective experience” (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 381).

After each participant told their story, questions or comments from other participants followed which often led to discussion about narratives. For instance, during Aime’s (DRC, program user) photocollage presentation, she discussed her tailoring business that she had created with the support of YARID, but the connection to sport and SDP were unclear (Photocollage session, July 16th, 2019). After another participant asked how her tailoring business is connected to sport, Aime contextualized her photos further and discussed how various customers she has for her tailoring business are often members of YARID SDP programs, particularly women and girls from a sport microfinance savings group. Questions from myself and other participants often led to further contextualization of photos and photocollages, particularly in regard to how sport and SDP was connected with participants’ experiences and stories. These conversations were audio recorded and I also took handwritten notes during photocollage sessions.

In this way, photocollage sessions engaged individuals in participatory analysis whereby meanings were applied to singular photos and led to a third stage of codifying (i.e., identifying themes and issues) visual data (Wang & Burris, 1997). Wang and Burris say that in this stage, dimensions of photos that arise from dialogue often relate to common issues, themes, or theories. To continue with the example of Aime’s photocollage, after Aime contextualized her photo, another participant, Fiona, started to discuss how many relationships she had built at YARID had likewise led to more people visiting her tailoring shop to purchase clothing and that the sewing machine provided by YARID had enabled the sustainability of her work. Indeed, almost all women at the photocollage session shared collective experiences of the sport microfinance group leading to an increase in ‘customers’ and visitors to their shops. Elvis (Uganda, staff) chimed into the discussion to add that it seemed Aime and other participants were describing the

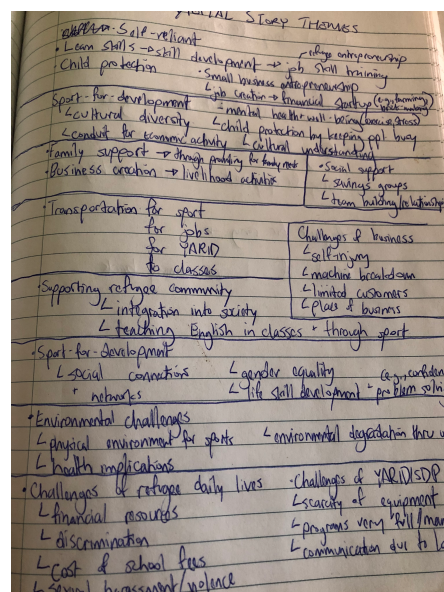
building of social connections through sport and SDP that supported their livelihoods. Aime agreed that the analysis of relationship building and social connections by others was something she had experienced.

Thus, dialogue during photocollage sessions enabled participants to ‘codify’ their experiences into themes and issues – some of which were touched on already in semi-structured interviews – and be discussed further in a group setting. Some issues, such as SDP equipment, highlighted immediate and tangible concerns that participants felt were important in relation to their involvement in sport programs at YARID. Other themes, such as the building of social connections through SDP, were grounded in collective experiences of refugees. In regard to participatory analysis, Wang and Burris (1997) highlight that issues of representation may arise. They suggest that as part of visual participatory analysis, there are two kinds of strategies that may be utilised to assess replication of concerns and themes across participant stories: internal and external (Wang & Burris, 1997). First, internal replication refers to findings that are represented by a single participant’s remarks across data collection strategies (Wang & Burris, 1997). For example, Aime’s point regarding her fostering relationships through sport that led to specific individuals purchasing products from her tailoring business was emphasized through her semi-structured interview, photovoice activities, and photocollage session. External replication refers to findings that are confirmed by or shared similarly by other participants and their photographs, stories, and semi-structured interviews (Wang & Burris, 1997). Another participant, Antony, who discussed experiences with regards to injury due to limited sport equipment, led to multiple other participants not only agreeing with Antony during his photocollage presentation, but also sharing equipment issues in their own photocollage sessions.

Internal and external replication thus validates specific findings and “provide a reliable picture of people’s priorities at a particular historical moment” (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 382).

During photocollage sessions, as participants presented and engaged in dialogue, I wrote down key issues, themes, and patterns that were discussed in addition to audio recording (see Image 10). Although I remained minimally involved in dialogue so as to ensure participants could engage in conversation amongst themselves and direct discussion topics, I read out key themes and patterns to the group at the conclusion of individual’s presentations with Wisdom translating to participant’s preferred language when necessary. As a group, we discussed whether the themes and patterns identified were representative of the collective experiences of participants and reflective of their narratives and stories. I informed participants that the purposes of reflecting on these key issues and themes were part of the participatory analysis process and to organize the digital story according to what participants identified in presentations. We briefly discussed each theme and pattern and how participants highlighted issues, benefits, and barriers to SDP, entrepreneurship, and employment.

Image 10. Themes developed during photocollage sessions.



Key themes and issues from previous photcollage sessions were communicated to the subsequent groups. Many patterns were reflected across all three photcollage sessions and participants felt that the themes I brought up reflected their experiences and were suitable for the creation of the digital story. Overall, photcollage sessions were useful for participants to define issues important to them, and furthermore, as discussed by Wang and Burris (1997, p. 382) “avoids the distortion of fitting data into a predetermined paradigm; it enables us to hear and understand how people make meaning themselves or construct what matters to them.”

However, one difficulty that became apparent through photcollage sessions was that numerous participants captured images that (at least visually) had very little connection to sport and/or SDP. Rather, many chose to focus on their businesses and livelihoods and how this was supported and/or influenced by YARID and SDP. While in semi-structured interviews participants were able to speak clearly to the connections between images and SDP, in many photcollage sessions, it was only when questions and dialogue after individuals presented their narratives that connections to sport and SDP were discussed. I noted this in my fieldnotes about the first program user photcollage session (July 16th, 2019):

Photcollage today went well, although in some cases the connection to sport was very much limited with numerous people focusing on business, entrepreneurship, and livelihood activities without mentioning the connection to sport unless they were asked after the presentation by others. What this seems to tell me however is that the most impactful element of YARID is that they play a supportive role in refugees' business and job creation, and clearly participants found this to be most important to talk about through their images and in their photcollages. It is worrying me though about the 'amount' and 'clarity' of data in relation to sport, social enterprise, and so on, however I believe there is a connection that will come clearer with time.

Although some images had little immediate (visual) connection to sport, dialogue spurred discussion around the links of sport, entrepreneurship, and employment. Thus, one of the key benefits of participatory analysis is that visuals, when discussed in a group setting, may allow

people to link images with more general constructs and interrelations amongst phenomenon (Glik, Gordon, Ward, Kouame, & Guessan, 1987); photography is merely “the medium through which people’s visions and voices may surface” (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 382). Indeed, photocollage sessions foregrounded and informed thematic analysis that was conducted after I left the field.

4.4.2 Thematic analysis

4.4.2.1 Phase 1: Familiarizing with my data

Thematic analysis (TA) in this study followed the step-by-step process outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Semi-structured interview and photocollage session audio recordings were transcribed non-verbatim either by me or an external transcription company, Transcript Heroes Transcription. During transcription, I made handwritten notes in a journal to make note of ideas, repeated patterns, and connections amongst interview data. Transcripts completed by Transcript Heroes Transcription were collected and read thoroughly, during which I made additional preliminary handwritten notes. These initial notes, in addition to themes and issues identified during photocollage sessions, were used to foreground TA. All data (visual and text, as well as fieldnotes) were then inputted and organized in NVivo 11. Data were organized according to participant positions: staff, community member, and program user. Before conducting formal analysis and generating initial codes, I again read and re-read transcripts in order to familiarize myself with the data and engage with the data in an active way by searching for meanings and patterns. I noted initial ideas and patterns within and across individual transcripts, and made connections to themes and patterns discussed in photocollage sessions. Upon feeling comfortable with my understanding of the data, I moved to generating initial codes.

4.4.2.2 Phase 2: Generating initial codes

In this phase, I began to generate codes at a semantic level in an inductive manner (Braun & Clarke, 2006). That is, I sought to identify the explicit meanings of the data and create descriptions that organized data into patterns that summarized surface-level meanings. During this stage, I also compared, contrasted, and integrated issues, codes, and themes from photcollage sessions with participants in order to ensure that patterns discussed with refugees informed my analysis. This process involved organizing my data into meaningful groups based on codes and was entirely data-driven. I sought to develop codes according to data, rather than have analysis be informed by theory or the specific research questions (although this does not mean that I had no ‘knowledge’ of theories or research questions guiding my analysis). I went transcript by transcript according to participants’ positions in the organization, beginning with program users, to community members, to staff. Working systematically through the entire dataset, I sought to give equal attention to each transcript and identify repeated patterns across the dataset. Codes were manually made and defined within NVivo 11 and specific data extracts collapsed under codes. At this point, I coded for as many patterns as possible, taking a broad view in order to be inclusive of all data and patterns. Hence, there were numerous codes that overlapped with one another and also various data extracts that were coded a number of times with different meanings or patterns.

For example, the data extract “Some parents were like saying, ‘No, girls can’t play football.’ And you could really see that this girl, this young girl can be nice and really play soccer. But since cause the family background someone says ‘No, no girl we can’t see her playing soccer.’ It feels bad or something like that. So, it was like a negative mentality for sports for girls” (Daniel, Uganda, staff) was coded at “parental support for girls and women sport”,

“gender relations”, and “sport-for-development participation”. Many other data extracts would be similarly analyzed and coded multiple times during this phase, and then further refined throughout following phases of data analysis.

This broad view and systematic generation of initial codes also allowed me to view inconsistencies and differences across different participant’s data and to account for tensions with the dominant experiences or stories shared by participants. For instance, one tension that became noticeable was that Congolese refugees sometimes had experiences of discrimination based on their ethnicity. In particular, as discussed further in the Findings section of Chapter 5, while most refugees of various ethnicities (e.g., Congolese, Burundian, Somalian) had interactions with host community residents that were discriminatory, participants from the DRC suggested that many assumptions about their class and wealth were made by Ugandans. In addition, I also began to see the differences in experiences based on gender. Many participants spoke to the challenges of sport and SDP for women and girls due to gender inequalities, expectations of domestic caretaking, and patriarchal structures in Uganda, compared to men and boys who rarely suggested that, for instance, family or parental support influenced their sport and SDP participation. Such differences and nuances were noted and informed subsequent phases of analysis.

As part of this phase, I also analyzed visual data, particularly photovoice, to make connections between transcripts and the photos captured by participants. This involved a process whereby specific comments by participants about photos were combed through and coded, and relationships between photos, individual semi-structured interviews, and the broader dataset were constructed. Following thematic analysis, the purpose was to connect visual data with developed codes based on semi-structured interviews, and to code photos driven by the meanings

participants gave to them, in order not to lose meaning of how participants described their experiences through the use of visuals (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011). Following this phase, I began to search for broader themes within the dataset.

4.4.2.3 Phase 3: Searching for themes

After coding all data and organizing data extracts into categories, I began to sort codes into broader levels to identify themes. Codes were reviewed and similar codes were combined to create overarching categories (i.e., themes). During this stage, I went through each individual code, read data extracts categorized within the code, and sorted codes according to larger themes. This resulted in condensing codes into primary themes, sub-themes, and lower-level themes, a process that was still primarily data-driven. After creating overarching themes and sub-themes, I began to engage in deductive analysis guided by literature, theory, and the research questions of this study. This process involved beginning to apply theories and concepts relative to the study and research questions, including for instance social entrepreneurship, diaspora, and postcolonial management theory. While the inductive process of analysis sought to provide a rich description of the data, during deductive analysis, I read and re-read created categories, themes, and their data extracts and applied these to my research questions and the theoretical and conceptual literature guiding the broader study. In this way, codes were further refined and developed by mapping existing categories and themes from inductive data-driven analysis to specific theories, concepts, and ideas within scholarly literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

For example, through inductive coding, I created categories related to the livelihood activities that participants described, for instance in relation to subthemes such as tailoring, coaching, gaining an income, and support for families. When analyzed further based on deductive analysis utilizing concepts of entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship, data coded

to the theme of livelihoods also related to the idea of starting a business venture (in terms of entrepreneurship) but also, interestingly, aligned with social entrepreneurship. For example, while gaining an income through sport coaching was noted by a few participants, their descriptions of coaching was not solely focused on the economic value that coaching sometimes generated in their lives. Rather, it was viewed as one way to support youth and other refugees in their communities, provide a safer space to engage in sport and physical activity, and act as a leader and role model while also, in some instances, engaging in forms of SDP. Thus, during deductive analysis, I also examined data at a semantic level whereby I identified the ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations that inform the semantic level of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I coded data according to broader assumptions and meanings that underpinned meanings as articulated through participant's experiences and organized such data in relation to my research questions and guiding theory and literature. This was an iterative process whereby I went back to literature, theories, and concepts, to further refine and develop codes guided by data-driven inductive analysis.

In addition, I began to organize data and codes according to their relationships with one another, discarded repeated codes, and overarching themes started to take shape, although still requiring refinement and further analysis to combine related codes and themes. Images 11 and 12 display some overarching 'candidate' themes that were created by this point of analysis within NVivo 11 in one file according to program users and community members data and, in a separate folder, staff. As can be seen, many themes from the two separate folders are similar and overlap.

Image 11. Candidate themes during Phase 3 of data analysis (program users and community members).

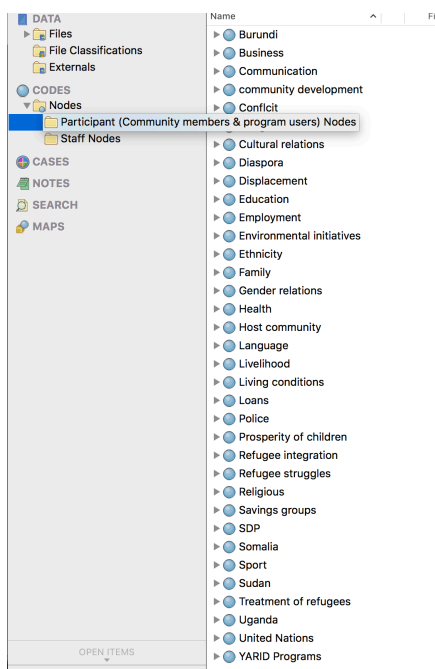
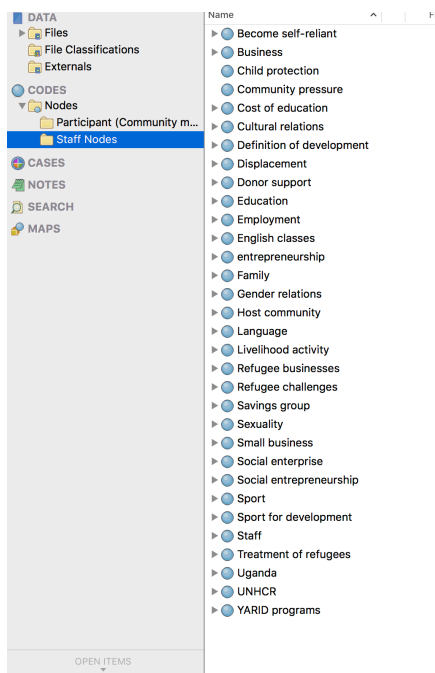


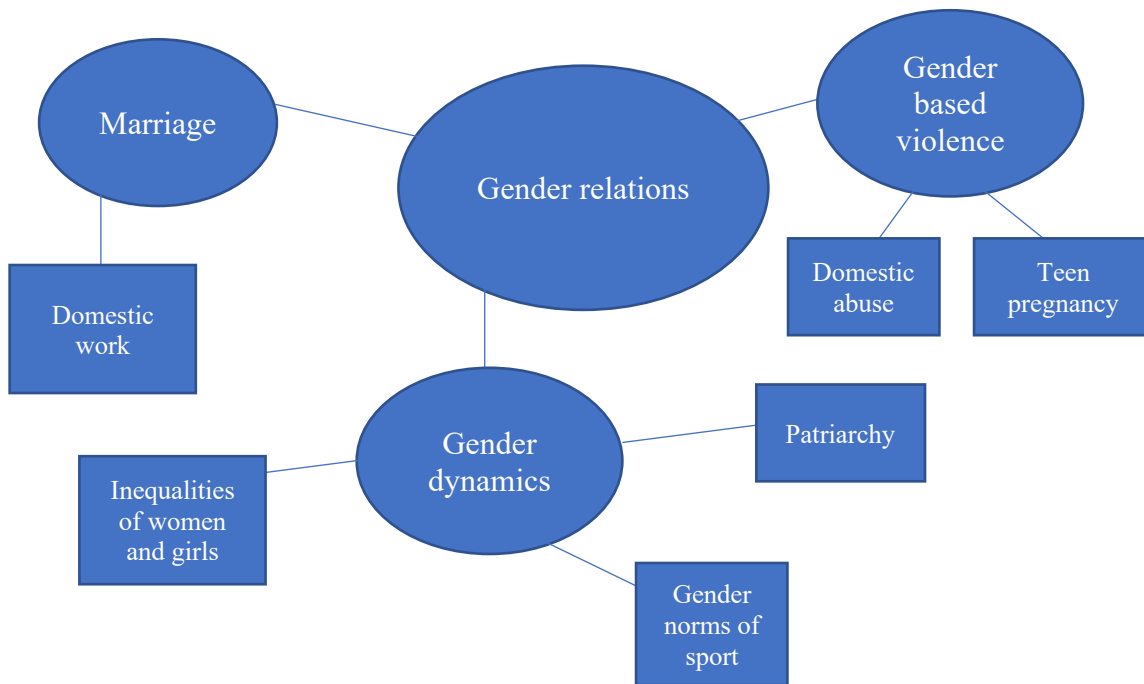
Image 12. Candidate themes during Phase 3 of data analysis (staff).



4.4.2.4 Phase 4: Reviewing themes

In this phase, I refined the above candidate themes and combined a number of codes further. Some themes were collapsed into one another while other themes that did not have enough data to support them were discarded. Still other themes, based on review, were broken down into sub-themes within overarching themes. For each theme, I engaged in a process of internal homogeneity (Braun & Clarke, 2006) whereby I re-read data extracts that were placed within the broader themes and examined whether there was a clear identifiable pattern within data extracts for that theme. If not, I considered moving data extracts into an already existing theme or creating a new theme. I then engaged in a process of external heterogeneity, whereby I sought to review my entire data set and themes and whether candidate themes accurately represent the meanings of my data in its entirety (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In an iterative process, I returned to each individual interview and photos to ascertain whether any data that had not been coded should be and organized codes into existing candidate themes where relevant. At this point, I created a thematic map for each overarching theme to examine whether codes and themes were satisfactory (see Figure 3 for an example of a thematic map). The size of the circles and squares in Figure 3 represent the number of references in the data to the themes; the larger the shape means that there was a higher amount of data extracts organized under the theme whereas the smaller the shape represents a lower number of data extracts. Circles represent a higher-level themes, whereas a rectangle represents a sub-themes.

Figure 3. Example of thematic map for themes (gender relations).



4.4.2.5 Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

Upon deeming that themes represented the dataset overall and data extracts fit within overarching themes, the final phase of data analysis involved defining and further refining themes. I went through each theme to identify the ‘essence’ of what each theme is about (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and to ensure that data extracts presented a narrative and coherent whole of the theme. Final overarching themes are presented in Image 12 and 13.

Image 13. Final thematic themes (program users and community members).

Name	Files	Referen...	C
▶ ☐ Cultural relations	7	17	
▶ ☐ Diaspora	21	43	
▶ ☐ Displacement	23	105	
▶ ☐ Education	11	24	
▶ ☐ Employment	22	61	
▶ ☐ Family	17	34	
▶ ☐ Gender relations	12	42	
▶ ☐ Health	14	28	
▶ ☐ Host community	23	117	
▶ ☐ Language	16	45	
▶ ☐ Livelihood	14	28	
▶ ☐ Nationalities	27	78	
▶ ☐ Refugee struggles	18	45	
▶ ☐ Religious	14	31	
▶ ☐ Savings groups	10	67	
▶ ☐ SDP	24	121	
▶ ☐ Small Business Enterprise...	12	44	
▶ ☐ Sport	26	205	
▶ ☐ Uganda	15	60	
▶ ☐ YARID Programs	27	203	

Image 14. Final thematic themes (staff).

Name	Files	Referen...	C
▶ ☐ Cultural relations	6	30	
▶ ☐ Displacement	7	29	
▶ ☐ Education	4	23	
▶ ☐ Employment	5	23	
▶ ☐ Entrepreneurship	7	27	
▶ ☐ Family	6	35	
▶ ☐ Gender relations	9	142	
▶ ☐ Host community	8	59	
▶ ☐ Language	9	21	
▶ ☐ Livelihood activity	5	26	
▶ ☐ Social enterprise	5	23	
▶ ☐ Social entrepreneurship	5	24	
▶ ☐ Sport	8	89	
▶ ☐ Sport for development	9	124	
▶ ☐ Uganda	4	21	
▶ ☐ YARID programs	9	150	

The data analysis process overviewed above was an iterative, back and forth process between an inductive and deductive approach. Throughout data analysis, I made notes and connections between data, literature, and the research questions of this study, and while I sought for the analysis to be mostly driven by data, many overarching themes, upon conducting deductive examination, aligned with literature that informed the study overall and the research questions more specifically. I also wrote notes relating to tensions, differences, and commonalities across data extracts, codes, categories, and themes, related to different participants (e.g., gender, ethnicity) and positions (e.g., program users, staff, and community members). While there are two separate NVivo folders of overarching themes, connections between codes amongst program users and community members and staff overlapped in various ways and further enabled an examination based on YARID ‘beneficiaries’ and staff within the organization. At the same time, note-taking (both in the field and during data analysis) resulted in a process of reflexivity where I considered my own position and influence within the study.

4.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to “an active, ongoing process that saturates every stage of the research...a critical reflection both on the kind of knowledge produced and how that knowledge is generated” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 274). In order to consider knowledge production, recognizing the researcher’s role in empirical investigation and how I influenced the research process, findings, and relations within the study context are crucial for acknowledging how my own identity, beliefs, perspective, academic background, and experiences have informed the assumptions I brought to the research and how ‘reflexive screens’ (gender, race, sexuality, etc.) shaped this study both implicitly and explicitly. In this section, I discuss how my own assumptions and identity influenced the research study through a reflexive excursion.

I am a white, able-bodied, cis-gendered, white settler born in Canada and raised in a middle-class family in the Western world. I am privileged not only by this identity but also by my formal educational background – I have completed a Bachelor of Sport Management and Master of Arts in Sport Management. Thus, my identity and privileges differ substantially from the research participants I worked with throughout this study. I also had the financial capacity to travel to Kampala, Uganda where, in contrast, most participants of this study had never travelled outside of either their homeland or host-land or, if they had, this was due to displacement. These factors meant that I was an outsider in the research setting with limited similar experiences and life trajectories as research participants. To reflect on my own subjectivities, assumptions, and identity, I kept a reflexive journal throughout fieldwork (in addition to engaging in reflexivity during data analysis and the totality of the research project). I recorded reflexive notes throughout all stages of fieldwork, including for instance during research orientations and semi-structured interviews. Notes were inputted into my computer once leaving the research setting to reflect on prior to the next day's data collection. In the following paragraphs, I detail some particularly relevant reflexive 'moments' that brought to the fore the power and social relations in which I conducted the research project.

4.5.1 "People like you from the West": Transparency, collaboration, and trust

During the first staff orientation while I was in the field, one of the staff members – when participant compensation was being discussed – mentioned that “people like me from the West come here and have so much more money compared to them that it would be more fair to provide more money” for participant compensation. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, and based on feedback from research participants, the amount of money that participants received for time and travel for research purposes *and* when this compensation was provided to participants,

changed significantly once I was within the field. However, what is more important in this instance is to highlight how, during one of my first full days at YARID and engaging in research, a staff member pointed to how people may view me, and how my identity as a Westerner was in many ways already formed by other people in the research setting.

4.5.2 “You’re not Muzungu”: Race, research, and reflexivity

As I progressed through fieldwork, it became apparent that – based on my subjective learning – that past research done with YARID staff and program users may have been conducted in different ways. For instance, during lunch with Elvis, Joselyne, and Joseph one day, Elvis made the comment that “You’re [Mitch] different than other whites” and Joseph said that “You’re not Muzungu.” Key to this discussion was that we were discussing past research projects and Joselyne, Elvis and Joseph mentioned how many individuals working with YARID would talk about ‘policie’; suggestions would be made by staff or research participants and some of these suggestions would be declined or that something in particular couldn’t be done due to research policy. They suggested I was willing to listen more to local staff and the research participants.

While this – to me – was a sign that I was working collaboratively in some ways with research participants and staff, it was important to recognize these situations more so in relation, not to collaboration, but rather to how my identity was associated with my race – in particular, as a white researcher from Canada. Recognizing my reflexive screens (Tracy, 2010), I wondered how I was viewed by other individuals in the study and how my race, cultural background, and identity as a Westerner influenced the ongoing conduction of research as well as production of knowledge. Although I sought to work collaboratively with research participants, it was evident from the aforementioned comments that local members of YARID and YARID staff had

constructed identities about who Western researchers are based on their past experiences with other studies. Hence, this raised questions about how I was perceived in the research setting: How might my identity influence how people (positively or negatively) view me and how does this potentially influence interviews, photovoice, and discussions with participants? In what ways is my own identity framed and influenced by research participants past experiences with Westerners? How might I, by conducting research at YARID, perpetuate or challenge existing and past inequalities of researchers and research participants, particularly when considering colonial histories and whiteness? These interactions led to the questioning of my own social and cultural identity as well as exemplify the social and power relations in which knowledge is produced.

4.5.3 Class and money: Clarifying research and my position

Other interactions I had also related to my identity and reflexive screens, particularly interactions that involved research participants: asking me whether I could provide money to them for personal or family expenses (e.g., funeral); ask me for help in locating a sponsor in Canada for them to be able to migrate; and requesting I speak with individuals (e.g., community members) outside of the scope of the research project that often led to requests of money and/or assistance to migrate. In these instances, my reflexive screens not only of race and cultural background became apparent, but also my class identity. In particular, such requests were based on views that I would be able to support research participants and other community members financially or be able to assist with future migration. These requests brought up questions not only related to my reflexive screens, but also the ethics of research. Navigating and being clear that I am unable to support such requests is essential to maintaining my research identity and not being unethical by supporting certain research participants and/or people financially. In addition,

it was important to maintain that I was at YARID for research purposes and not as someone providing financial support. Hence, while I did speak with participants if they requested that I hear the story of another individual, I made clear that I was only in Kampala in a research capacity and that it is through the research that I am hoping I would be able to support refugees (if they even wish for me too).

This dilemma raises further questions about my identity, particularly around class, and the significance of research. How might have participants viewed me as someone to financially support them rather than seeking to uncover their lived experiences? Did any participants expect – through involvement in the research – more immediate (e.g., financial, sponsorship) impact and/or see me as someone who might be able to provide support beyond the research? While in these instances, I discussed with staff and participants who requested certain things, I also sought to question the importance of the research – how will it impact participants’ lives in the ways that they hope it does? In what ways does my class and identity lead to certain requests that I am unable to fulfill? How might participants, as I discussed earlier in this chapter, view the research as contributing in their lives and for YARID? Does or will it have any impact? These questions and more made me think about dynamics of insider-outsider positionality, how my class and Western background influenced views of me, and how in many instances, I had to consider the way – with participants themselves – in which the research would be useful for refugees, given that the research as mentioned is useful for my degree completion.

These interactions highlight the significance of reflexivity in this study. In particular, my own identity, in ways that I may be able to reflect on and others I may have never realized due to my own subjectivity and reflexive screens, influence knowledge production and the very undertaking of research. My own identity – as constructed by research participants and people in

the research setting – display the complexity of the research, including how my positionality as a Western, white Canadian male played a role in the research as well as perpetuated or maintained social inequalities within the research setting.

Chapter 5 – The lived experiences of refugees: Displacement, relocation, and everyday struggles

Refugees face a number of social inequalities, challenges, and difficulties due to forced migration. As discussed in the literature review, many of these issues are driven both by individuals' initial displacement such as having to leave family and friends unexpectedly, effectively losing social connections with others; having to give up personal belongings, such as their homes, jobs, education, and other important factors of their lives; incurring travel expenses; and having to relocate to a new society, environment, community, and place to live within different social, cultural, political, and economic contexts than they are accustomed to (Jacobsen, 2016). In addition, upon relocating due to forced migration, such displacement challenges that refugees are confronted with are compounded by new issues within the new host society they live in, such as language barriers, difficulty finding employment, social exclusion, discrimination by host communities, and sometimes host community residents and/or organizations disregarding attained educational certifications and livelihood skills (Jacobsen, Ayoub, & Johnson, 2012; Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016; Landau, 2006). Hence, forced migrants face a number of physical and psychological traumas as well as societal and cultural inequalities, before, during, and after displacement.

Many participants in this study spoke of the struggles they faced in their day-to-day lives based on forced migration to new host societies. In order to understand the experiences of refugees in SDP programs at YARID, as well as the benefits and challenges of participation in such programs, it is necessary to first detail the everyday lived experiences of participants in Kampala, Uganda. It is additionally important to discuss the lived experiences of participants as both postcolonial management theory and diaspora seek to explore the way in which humans

construct identities based on their subjective experiences of migration and colonialism (Chariandy, 2006). Hence, in this chapter, I focus on the research question, “What issues are of central concern to those refugees participating in social entrepreneurial and employment-focused SDP programs, and how are these issues linked to their everyday lived experiences?”

The chapter is organized into three sections that describe the lived experiences of participants in this study and the challenges they face in their day-to-day lives, in relation to: (1) initial displacement experiences and its effects; (2) host community relations with refugees in Kampala, Uganda; and (3) everyday struggles of refugees. While there is considerable overlap in Section 2 and 3, these sections are separated in order to, first, discuss host community relations given the application of diaspora in this study, and second, to discuss in more depth the challenges refugees face in their day-to-day lives to provide context about why YARID focuses on certain social issues in their SDP work. Given the focus of this chapter on the issues that are of central concern to refugees, and how these are informed by their displacement experiences, there is no inclusion of photos from photovoice as images were captured more in relation to the benefits and challenges of SDP-related programs at YARID.

5.1 Initial displacement experiences and its effects

Most individuals who participated in this study and identified as a refugee were forced to migrate from their homeland in the DRC as well as, in fewer cases, Burundi, South Sudan, and Somalia. As discussed earlier, it is important to understand refugees’ forced migration experiences as not a distinct and/or separate ‘before’ and ‘after,’ but rather as involving complex and dynamic processes that inform their lived experience of migration (Wahlbeck, 2002). Hence, in this section, I describe the varied factors that individuals faced in their homeland that led to, or at the very least influenced, their migration to Uganda. The ‘push factors’ identified by

participants of this study that led to displacement of individuals and sometimes their families primarily related to community, tribe, and/or family conflicts, war, including experiencing violence and a sense of insecurity, and political troubles. As there is much variance among and heterogeneity in participant experiences, this section is intended to provide a brief background on some of the reasons refugees in this study were forced to migrate, rather than a historical overview of the reasons why refugees have been displaced from their homelands specific to their country of origin, while recognizing that these factors are interconnected (or are similar) in many ways. The purpose of discussing the initial displacement experiences of refugees in this study is to provide context for the ways in which sport-for-development and other social initiatives are structured and utilized at YARID, discussed in later chapters.

Many research participants spoke of political conflict as a reason for why they migrated to Uganda. Individuals discussed how tribal or community conflict influenced migration: “There is a tribe called Wutu and Wootoo. They were fighting against each other” (Bebe, Burundi, community member). Similarly, refugees from Somalia mentioned that clan-based conflict, particularly when such conflict impacted their families and their immediate lives, was a key push factor for their displacement from Somalia:

One day my sister was sitting in front of me, she was serving me food. For me I was standing like here [points about one foot away from him]. I was sitting for her to serve me, she was cooking the lunch. So, she was distributing, then a bullet went straight through here and went in her leg. So that day we decided to leave the country, that was too much. And then the bullet remained inside the leg. Immediately we went to the hospital, we tried here, here, we failed to get treatment for her. So, we said then now the

risk is too much, if you get a bullet or are wounded there's no hospital, so we better run away with our lives and that's what we did. (Abdifatah, Somalia, community member)

Refugees from Sudan also discussed how war had affected their lives in their homeland: "In Darfur, there is too much fight, too much war and that's why I left to come to Kampala" (Ryhan, program user). Due to various conflicts within nations such as Burundi, Sudan, and Somalia, refugees had to make difficult decisions to either remain in their homeland with a sense of insecurity or uplift their lives to move to a host land where they may feel more safe and secure.

Various refugees from the DRC likewise discussed the impact of war and how this subsequently led to forced migration: "We left Congo because of the insecurity and war... There are rebels. Remember Congo is a warrior country. There are so many rebels and especially from Rwanda. Some are also from Uganda. They are doing this, kidnapping people, stealing, robbery, raping" (Aime, program user). Christine (DRC, program user) also said that because of "the war, we decided to come to Uganda." Other reasons for displacement from the DRC were due to more localized or regional rural, tribal, family, and/or community conflicts. Helene (DRC, program user) explained that,

I ran because of a small rural conflict, a small but big family conflict. Because when you see when there is this kind of conflict in the family or in the area where you live where people want to kill these ones, what if this generation will die.

Michel (DRC, program user) similarly discussed how such conflicts forced him to migrate: "I left Congo because of these rural conflicts, familial conflicts, ethnicity, insecurity, and so on." Another participant, Mamy (DRC, program user) experienced ethnic conflicts due to the tribe she was in:

It was in 2009. My parents had fled before that but I was in a different area. And the time when my parents fled I was living at my mom's place. And my father fled because of the insecurity... And when my father ran away they started looking for me...because my grandfather is a [unintelligible], a certain tribe that came from Iran that so many years ago [were] living in Congo...Then they started persecuting the other family that remain. The place where I was living, some of the people gave out information that I was his daughter...And she told me there was no more way for me to keep on living there because I had brought them troubles. And when I saw like this I decided to leave my country, I fled here. I came here in Uganda.

Some community conflicts were also influenced by cultural relations and (mis)assumptions about particular people's ethnicity. For example, in the DRC, there has been tensions amongst DRC residents and rebel groups that are allegedly supported by the Rwandan government (in particular, the March 23 rebellion or in short form, M23 groups) which have destabilized certain communities, particularly in the region of North Kivu (from where many refugees in this study have been displaced). Pascal (DRC, staff) said that him and his family, after he finished secondary school, had "some little problem in Congo. It was at that time of M23 raiders, which made me go from home up to Kampala." The presence of rebel groups in Northern Kivu have also led to people within the region remaining suspicious about individuals who may appear or be suspected to have a Rwandan background. Antony (DRC, program user) talked about how his father was falsely suspected to be of Rwandan ethnicity:

We were living in Congo but we faced troubles since they were accusing my father to be a Rwandan and they was wanting to kill my father for they accusing him to be Rwandese and we shifted from the province where we lived, then we went to the village but they

pressured my father wanting to kill him. Then we saw that this was very tough and we fled away. We thought better we come and seek for asylum here in Uganda.

In these cases, refugees' identity was part of the reason for migration. Misassumptions about whether or not a person and their family were associated with rebel groups thus reveals that people's identity – prior to and during forced displacement – plays an influential role, as it does after forced migration as well.

Moise (DRC, program user) also discussed how violence occurred in the DRC due to conflict with Tutsi-identifying groups from Rwanda:

One day they raped this sister of ours that we remained with. And after they raped her, they shot her to death. Then I and my brother became – we don't have either of our parents, any people to support us because our parents had died. And the other relatives that our sister had – also died. And these boys started to persecute the children of this aunt of ours. They wanted to kill them all. But I and the other three brothers, the other three brothers from our aunt, we looked to how to escape from this. We went to report this case, but these boys brought bribes to the lawyers so that they will not pursue this case. When we saw like this that nothing was provided, we ran to the village, the place of our grandparents. And unfortunately, the village we were in, there was crimes of killing people.

For Patrick (DRC, staff), who is a journalist, insecurity was brought on by investigating the presence of rebel groups in the DRC:

We were doing some research in Congo, especially in the town Goma, Goma is Northern Kivu. And then rejoined them - I think everything that was going on war, drought. We were doing some research to know why some people decide to join those rebel groups.

Because I remember in Goma there was a town - I remember there was a town one hundred kilometre from Goma, and I remember doing the research and then we found more than fifteen different rebel groups. And that region is full of those - those groups. So, we were trying to do research about why people were joining those groups, and then for me I felt insecure, I was alone there, it was not easy for me to stay there that side. And then one day people even came to my place, looking for me, with guns, and the next day I just decided to leave.

Evidently, many refugees who participated in this study faced insecurity, conflict, and challenges within homelands that influenced forced migration. Cultural relations and the identity of individuals and certain groups are tied up in the 'push factors' that lead to displacement.

Furthermore, several women and girls had experiences of sexual abuse, gender-based violence, and rape, highlighting how refugee experiences differ according to race, ethnicity, class, and gender (Sigona, 2018). One of the reported impacts of conflict within the DRC, at least in areas where conflicts are occurring, is rape of women and girls (Leaning, Bartels, & Mowafi, 2009). Aime (DRC, program user) said that: "I have a bad memory of my country because I was gang raped and I was mistreated when I was living in Congo. They gang raped me even when I was still virgin and actually I have a bad memory of my country." Judith (DRC, program user) also faced brutalizing traumatic events that led to her seeking asylum:

I got an attack when I was living in Congo and I was gang raped there. My husband was tortured on the same day. All of my young relatives were kidnapped and afterward we forsook that place and decided to run to Uganda.

Despite seeking refuge and escape from gender-based trauma by migrating to Uganda, as discussed in the following section, gender-based violence of refugee-identifying women and girls

continued in many ways in host communities within Kampala, Uganda, in which individuals have relocated, and further perpetuate the traumatic experiences women and girls have had in their homelands.

The initial displacement experiences of refugees and push factors which influenced migration had many effects on their lives once they relocated to Kampala. For instance, many individuals were separated from relatives and friends after displacement and then found themselves alone in urban Uganda upon resettling. Pascal (DRC, staff) expressed how, “It wasn’t easy [migrating from the Congo] because I am alone...I was really lonely because you don’t have any member of the family who you can call. And still like now I’m not feeling good...” Likewise, Merveille (DRC, program user) was separated from her family:

OK, actually, at present, since I forsook my country, I have never heard of [from] my father, never heard of [from] my mother. And I’ve never heard of [from] my young sister because they went with my mother. She was still very young. I think right now, I really don’t know if they are dead, if they are alive, what happened to them.

Many refugees were in similar situations as Nick and Merveille upon migrating – experiencing loneliness, living amongst strangers, and having limited social connections. Helene (DRC, program user) expressed that, “I had no connection, no friends, no relatives living here in Uganda.” Michel (DRC, program) similarly commented,

I am here in Uganda alone...it’s very difficult. It’s so hard. I have nothing to do. Because to pay my rent, it will need me to go and make a lot of deals, to get enough to eat, also clothing, it’s becoming oh so very hard. And I see that it could be easy if I was with my parents in the Congo or at least here.

While several participants had migrated with their families from their homeland, and remained living with them in Kampala, high costs of travel, leaving their homes and personal lives (including livelihoods) behind, and living in a new host community were challenging for many participants: “The place where we are living, it’s not really that easy to live with the strange people that you don’t know and they don’t know you but we are actually struggling and forcing ourselves to live there” (Judith, DRC, program user). Such challenges were further exacerbated through interactions with host community members.

5.2 Host community relations with refugees in Kampala, Uganda: Employment and livelihood challenges, living costs, and identity

Relations between those dispersed from their homeland and host community residents is a key element of diaspora, and the forced migration of refugees (Brah, 1996; Clifford, 1994). It is thus important to discuss how interactions with host community residents played a significant role in participant’s day-to-day activities. In doing so, we are able to better contextualize the challenges that refugees face in their lives, and which YARID SDP and other social programs seek to respond to. More specifically, cultural relations amongst host community residents and refugees were often influenced by assumptions about the ‘burden’ of forced migrants and how refugees have brought problems to Ugandan communities; discrimination of refugees seeking employment; stereotypes based on specific ethnicity or nationality of Congolese individuals; and gender discrimination.

For instance, various participants, such as Nikuze (Burundi, program user) said that Ugandans:

Sometimes don’t like refugees. Because sometimes they say refugees are the ones who brought those [unemployment] problems, they say that the Ugandans don’t get jobs

because of those refugees. Sometimes they complain. One day I heard someone say that look at that lady, they came here to steal our husbands, they have many, many things.

Many participants in this study discussed this as a reason why some Ugandan host residents were not pleased with the influx of refugees into Kampala. Given Kampala's urban setting and large population, jobs outside of agriculture are more difficult to attain. In Uganda, unemployment rates have decreased in past years, with an unemployment rate of 3.2 percent for adults and 5.3 percent for youth aged 15-24 years of age (World Bank, 2020). However, two thirds of the workforce have jobs in agriculture where individuals work for their families and themselves (World Bank, 2020). Many jobs, including within agriculture, are of low quality, where people work in the informal sector with low wages, work for only a few hours, and/or are in precarious positions (World Bank, 2020). Hence, many unemployment statistics do not reflect the labour market in Uganda adequately, where there are many individuals without suitable paying jobs. In fact, other participants emphasized that the unavailability of jobs was a major factor in shaping how host residents viewed refugees: "Ugandans treat refugees badly because they dislike refugees entering their country and be burdening them. Because some, most of them, say these foreigners have come to take their jobs, take their places like that" (Bebe, Burundi, community member).

Such perceived assumptions by participants about some members of the host community were complicated by postulations that refugees were receiving funding from the Ugandan government, while many of the citizens of Uganda were also facing similar challenges of unemployment and rising prices of the cost of living. Helene (DRC, program user) remarked "When they [Ugandans] look at us, they think that maybe we are getting some money from their government to smarten ourselves, and they don't really know that we have trouble and

problems.” Joselyne (Uganda, staff) said that a large part of YARID’s work is to convince the host community how to work with refugees and why this is important:

They're like OK so you are working with these, what about us Ugandans as nationals?

We also need these things. It was a challenge when we were giving out these IOM

[International Organization for Migration] things [resources for livelihoods]. They

[Ugandan citizens] will be like you have given this, what about us? You don’t even think about us.

Interviews with participants also revealed that some host community members felt the focus of the Uganda government on accommodating large numbers of people forced to migrate from surrounding countries was unfair given that many Ugandan nationals also face various challenges in their day-to-day lives. Indeed, Abdifatah (Somalia, community member) made an interesting point about unemployment in Uganda and the challenges of employment for the whole nation, including Ugandan citizens and refugees: “Because Uganda itself is a third world country, Uganda itself has its own unemployment problems. So, a host country like Uganda cannot share all the responsibility.”

Several participants also noted the rising costs of living in Kampala. Saaeid (Somalia, community member) emphasized this was happening within the capital city and was a challenge for all residents:

The biggest challenge is financial in Kampala. Because the income and the expenses there is some difference. The income is very little and the expenses are very high. Every year its increased, the rent is increasing. Now for example last year, every new year, they add more money on the rent.

Rising costs within Kampala led to some host residents assuming that the higher prices for rent, food, and basic needs were due to the intake of refugees:

You see, Ugandans actually for some other times when the refugees have come here in Uganda, the Congolese, things start becoming higher and higher... The houses to get and becoming expensive, food, and the market is also becoming expensive and basically.

Ugandans are prejudging us that we are the ones who have caused these things to become very expensive (Aime, DRC, program user).

Suzanna (DRC, program user) likewise discussed some of these assumptions held by host residents:

First of all, they are saying that we have brought to them bad ends. They are saying that houses to rent before we came here were very cheap. But now they are very expensive.

They are saying that food before we came here was very cheap, but now it's very expensive. They're saying – they're prejudging that clothes and everything was very cheap. But now, they are becoming so expensive. And they are prejudging because that's all of this. And I really think this is what is causing their hearts to spread hate against us.

Thus, host community relations were sometimes tense between Ugandan citizens and refugees.

Many participants in this study felt that misplaced assumptions led to discrimination of forced migrants by host community residents.

Discrimination of refugees by the host community took place through various means and interactions. For instance, when seeking housing or buying products at the market:

Ugandans did not agree with aliens, foreigners, entering their country. When you're going to look for a house, they are making the price higher, whenever they learn that you are not a fellow Ugandan. When you go to the market for a little shopping they gonna

make all the prices higher. But now that is what has been happening for refugees. (Bebe, Burundi, program user)

It was expressed by Suzanna (DRC, program user) that the way individuals dress played a key role in host residents identifying that a person was not a Ugandan: “Even the way we dress. It’s very different...The authorities are recognizing us very easily. They are discriminating us.”

Encounters with host community residents sometimes additionally included assumptions about refugees being uneducated:

The way that refugees are treated here in Uganda, the way I see it, for me it’s not good. How can I explain this - some people in Uganda they don’t treat refugees as human beings. When you go to their offices, some of them they consider them as if they didn’t go to school, as if they’re uneducated people. (Francine, DRC, staff)

Even within school settings, there was possibility of refugee discrimination as detailed by Beatrice (DRC, program user) who was a participant attending secondary school:

Like at school, you can be at school but some teachers do not like you because you are not a Ugandan, even if you are better at something and know something very well, but they can just - even if you pass, they can remove you and put you last, because they don’t love you. Even children they don’t love you, stealing your things, even you can be in class and they cut off your hair, like that.

Pascal (DRC, staff) had similar experiences of exclusion while in University in Kampala:

At school you may find whenever there is a presentation, something like that, they start laughing or people start saying ‘banu acole’ – refugees – which are making me feel that I am not part of this life, and that is really, really bad.

Hence, there are many different settings in which participants of this study had experiences of discrimination from host community residents and felt that they were treated unfairly in certain settings or interactions (e.g., school, the market, locating housing), including employment.

Many of the programs that YARID implements, as discussed in Chapter 4, have a focus on enhancing the employability opportunities and livelihoods of refugees. This is to respond to many YARID members reporting that they faced discrimination from the host community when seeking jobs and locating employment. Indeed, several participants discussed how it was difficult to attain job opportunities. Oscar (DRC, program user) explained that discrimination, in his view, underpinned hiring practices and unemployment:

The lack of jobs of refugees here in Uganda is because of discrimination. You see, Ugandans are not really in love with foreigners because, first of all, the jobs here in Uganda, the wages, the salaries are very little. They are very little. And the Ugandans are also in need of a job, so it's becoming so difficult. The Ugandans give the foreigner a job instead of giving it to refugees.

As part of applying to jobs, any individual living in Uganda must present some form of identification. Refugees who relocated to Kampala often register with the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) upon arrival and receive an 'ID card' that specifically identifies them as a refugee. This card was used for routine activities, such as police checkpoints within Kampala (where police officers check people for identification and/or vehicles and if they are registered), receiving medical services, and applying for jobs. However, since the ID cards specifically referred to certain individuals as a refugee, for some jobs offered in the formal sector, Mbonigaba (DRC, staff) suggested that Ugandan employers would discriminate against refugees upon seeing at their identification:

Whenever you go and look for a job, you present your refugee ID. They [employers] ask for the reference letter from the local council, you provide that reference letter from the local councillor, and they say okay, you go we'll call you but they'll never call you. And if you are capable of doing that job, they will not give you that job because they have seen your status as a refugee.

Finally, various participants of this study who identified as being from the DRC felt that host community residents made assumptions about their wealth based on their homeland. Indeed, this seemed to be related to what many participants described as a tendency to think of Congolese refugees as having gold based on the DRC's reserves of natural resources (Congo's Gold, 2021). As Pascal (DRC, staff) explained:

Sometimes they [Ugandans] are mistreating refugees, for example people from Congo, they usually think that every Congolese here in Uganda they have golds in their pockets, stuff like that. So, for example you go to the markets, stuff with one dollar if they just see you are Congolese or refugee, they put a price higher, that's the big problem.

Such assumptions about Congolese refugees were also interpreted by some participants as a reason why Ugandans would raise prices when refugees shop:

You know when we are refugees - the big problem here - and not all of them [assume] especially Congolese, Congolese have money, they're from the rich country, they have gold. I can tell you that in my region gold is...if you are going there is just a necklace [on you]...but for them [Ugandans] they think 'oh Congolese has money,' but when we are going to buy something for example to buy something in the shop, they say no this guy is a Congolese, if something is for one thousand, they say no its two thousand because they say them people have money. (Patrick, DRC, staff)

Still another participant, David (DRC, program user), suggested that, based on assumptions that Congolese refugees are from a country laden with civil unrest and conflict, the host community perceives some forced migrants as criminals:

And maybe they think that we may be suspect because remember, we [DRC refugees] are from a warrior country, they would think that maybe this man is having some criminal dealings...They will not feel comfortable when they see you work at night.

Hence, particularly for Congolese-identifying individuals (who make up a majority of the participants of this study and members of YARID), assumptions about refugees based on their homeland were sometimes influential in how host community residents viewed and treated them.

Furthermore, refugees who identify as women and girls experienced inequality, gender-based violence, and sexual abuse in the host community, as well as, for many female-identifying participants, in their home nations. For instance, some participants experienced harassment when seeking out job opportunities:

Actually I would say that women refugees are treated very badly in Uganda. You know when we are coming in Uganda, we don't know their language. Yet, we are in need of doing a little job for survival. And when we are going somewhere to seek, to look for a job, these Ugandans when they see a woman and learn she is an alien, she is a foreigner woman, they will be like if you want to get a job, you first come and we have sex together. Some women because they are in need of getting the job, they will agree. And when they go, some of them are getting sickness, AIDS, some of them are getting pregnancy, then some of them are making abortions of this pregnancy. Some of them are giving birth of this children and things are very complicated. (Bebe, Burundi, community member)

Beatrice (DRC, program user) expressed similar points to Bebe that women and girl refugees faced harassment by host community members when seeking out jobs: “When looking for jobs, someone can say ‘hey first sleep with me and I give you money’.” Two participants in this study reported that they were raped by Ugandan men after migrating to Kampala. As said by Christine (DRC, program user), when travelling at night and in rural areas, it was sometimes dangerous for women and girls as they may “sometimes find violence.”

It is notable that while participants identifying as male did not speak to any gender-based violence such as rape that they had experienced, some did discuss that women and girl refugees faced hostility or sexual harassment by the community: “Let me give this example, some time you may go downtown, like doing your shopping, I am saying this especially for the ladies. And someone you don’t know, a man you don’t know may grab you, touching you inappropriately” (Josue, DRC, staff). Thus, as discussed throughout this chapter and the subsequent chapters, women and girls participating in programs at YARID, and living in Kampala, had different experiences of displacement and relocation and were faced with gender inequalities influenced by patriarchal relations in the host community.

Despite the many negative and in various cases abhorrent experiences refugees reported having with host community residents, it is important to recognize that not all refugees experienced discrimination or felt that host community residents viewed migrants in a negative light. Indeed, some participants felt that they had freedom and rights in Uganda similar to host community residents:

We have the same right to citizens. If you have your capital, you are allowed to work. If you want to access this or that to move around Uganda as a country, you are allowed to

do so. If you are able to attend any capacity building, if you have that ability, you are allowed to do so. (Junior, DRC, program user)

Saaied (Somalia, community member) also said that: “Everything is good, the Ugandan government, because we have the right to work, which other refugees in other parts of the world don’t have.” Hence, participants in this study had both positive and negative experiences with host community residents. Still, it was nonetheless notable that most positive experiences were reported by male-identifying participants, as seven of a total of 20 male-identifying participants noted positive experiences with host community residents (outside of the YARID space specifically). David (DRC, program user) said that, “The way we are living I don’t see any problems. We are friends to the neighbours, they are friends to us, we cooperate together, we deal together, there is no problem with it.” Abdifatah (Somalia, community member) from Somalia also supported David’s experience: “The people themselves, they are not that bad, you know they are very welcoming. The offices you know, in case you have something to do in their offices, they always welcome you and overall it is good, government wise.” Beatrice (DRC, program user) offered an overarching view of the treatment of refugees by host community residents that encapsulates possibilities of both positive and negative experiences: “Refugees are not treated too badly, there are some people who love us but some who don’t.”

While some staff above also expressed that refugees are treated unfairly by some host community residents, similar to YARID program users, a number of staff felt that the host community treated refugees fairly and equally. Patrick (DRC, staff) said that:

But in general, Ugandans are okay, good for sure, because the way they treat us here, we are refugees, I feel they are okay with refugees. Because we can move, if I decide to go to another town, I can go with just my ID, and if someone asks me, I can show my refugee

ID, and I am accepted to everything as a Ugandan [is]. Other than small things but in general usually.

Sheila (Uganda, said) said that refugees can: “access different hospitals, medical care, rights in case they’re offended. They [refugees] can go to the police and also hear them out, they can go purchase something without being cheated.”

Nevertheless, despite some positive experiences when interacting with host community residents, YARID as well as its staff and program users suggested that there was a need to find ways to change some host residents’ views of refugees. Several participants felt that more education of host community residents about forced migrants, and why they are migrating to Uganda, is required to challenge assumptions and for host community residents to better understand refugees, as evident by Elvis (Uganda, staff) saying that “some of the people in the host community do not understand who a refugee is.” For instance, Christine (DRC, program participant) suggested that individuals must inform host community residents about the reasons why those displaced have migrated to Uganda:

We [refugees] are not badly treated but sometimes we have some challenges. But it is not bad at all, it is about those people who doesn’t know why you were in Uganda and how you came to Uganda... There are some who treat refugees badly, but it is about just informing them why you’re in Uganda, but about government, we are good with them.

But people who do not know about refugees are the ones we have problems with.

Christine’s view was also shared with several YARID staff, including Joselyne (Uganda) who felt that a key goal of the organization was to educate Ugandans about the importance of equality and the rights and challenges of forced migrants: “There is also conflict between the refugees

and the rest of the communities, because the rest of the communities are not sensitised, most of them don't know who [a] refugee is.”

Overall, the experiences that participants of this study have had with host community residents, both positive and negative, underpin the social inclusion and exclusion of refugees in Kampala. Such experiences are thus important to highlight and discuss to explore how YARID SDP and other social programs contribute to participants' lives in Kampala. At the same time as refugees dealt with encounters and interactions with host community residents, they are also faced with other everyday challenges and struggles that are related to both their initial displacement and experiences with host community residents, which are discussed in the following section.

5.3 Everyday struggles of refugees

In addition to the challenges refugees faced in relation to interactions with host community residents, as well as effects of initial displacement, participants of this study discussed specific struggles that they experienced in their daily lives. These struggles revolved around: (1) financial constraints; (2) unemployment; (3) education, especially high costs of school fees for children, and healthcare; and (4) language barriers. Numerous participants, due to losing their homes, social connections, and former employment or livelihoods in their homeland, had little economic capital which could be utilized for school fees or the cost of healthcare. Host community relations, and discrimination as discussed above, were also influenced in part by the (in)ability of some refugees to speak English – the most used language in Uganda and which host residents speak in many regions. Hence, once again, refugees' migration experiences of before and after forced displacement merge together – playing a role in their daily lives even after leaving their homeland.

In terms of financial constraints, many refugees expressed that they lived in poverty. Multidimensional factors of poverty play an important role in the institutionalization of poverty for those living in base-of-the-pyramid markets. Poverty cannot be understood fully without an examination of the varying factors (e.g., gender relations) that contribute to its institutionalization for certain populations (Easterly, 2006). As seen by the above, refugees faced a number of interrelated factors that contribute to poverty: discrimination, limited employment opportunities, loss of social and economic capital, devalued educational credentials, and trauma. In addition, limited financial capacity of many participants of this study were perpetuated due to unemployment and the inaccessibility of banking services.

Unemployment often was associated with discrimination from host community residents or the discounting of educational qualifications:

Like the employment part, most refugees are not employed, they are not employed by like this Uganda people, businesses. There's a little people that are employed, but not too much... And yet some of these people they are qualified like us. Some of them are qualified doctors, some of them are qualified lawyers and the only challenge that they might have is the language, but some of them still learn the language. But because of their differences in qualifications, that is why some of them don't get employment and yet they are qualified and that I feel like is not good. (Daniel, Uganda, staff)

In addition to the disqualification of educational credentials by some organizations or host community residents in Uganda, other participants in this study, such as Dady (DRC, program user) commented that forced migration led to the incompleteness of his studies and makes attaining a job more difficult in Kampala: "Yeah, due to the trouble I faced in Congo I fled and did not complete my studies. And as I did not complete my studies finding a job here in Uganda it has

been a problem.” Thus, both staff and participants alluded to challenges of unemployment for refugees in Kampala. Kelvi (DRC, program user) said that: “Most of refugees here in Kampala are unemployed. They don’t have jobs.” Patrick (DRC, staff) also commented that “When I reached here in Uganda, the other big challenge was to gain employment, because of the Ugandan system speaking English coming from a French country. You know when you are far from your country, getting a job helps a lot. And so having no job is a big problem.”

Similar to other commentaries and research about the livelihoods of refugees (Betts et al., 2019; Hakiza, 2014), many individuals forced to migrate within this study sought to be self-employed: “There is no jobs for refugees here in Uganda except to become self-employed. If you have some little cash. But if you don’t have it, you cannot be engaged” (Suzanna, DRC, program user). Indeed, a key point made by Suzanna includes that to be self-employed, refugees require adequate financial capital to fund their business ventures. However, it was often difficult to acquire such capital. This was due to several factors, including inaccessibility of traditional banking services (including more formal microfinance banking institutions, for example, with storefronts).

Joselyne (Uganda, staff) said, “The challenge was that most banks don’t want to give loans to refugees because they are temporary people. They [banks] don’t know how they will recover their money.” The potential for future migration from Uganda presented a risky situation for banks to lend to individuals: if they offer a loan, and a person who is seen as living only temporarily in Uganda leaves the country, there is no promise of repayment. In other cases, religion and cultural institutions played a key role in the decision by refugees not to pursue traditional banking services, particularly by some individuals from Somalia who follow a specific Muslim religion: “Like they [refugees] don’t open bank accounts, they are all Muslims”

(Abdifatah, community member). Some refugees who follow specific religious principles are forbidden from the benefit of lending money or receiving money from someone (i.e., a bank), meaning that interest is prohibited. Other refugees, due to the high interest rates and bank fees of formal banking institutions, were not interested in opening savings accounts or taking out loans.

Without the ability, in some cases, to take out loans or borrow financial capital, many refugees were faced with financial challenges to create or start a new business which might be able to support the accumulation of economic capital. For example, taxes to begin a new business, or to operate a business in a building, constrained participant's attempts to engage in livelihood activities:

Yeah they [Kampala Capital City Authority] are wanting you to pay for a tax and rent for a shop. And remember not everyone is capable to rent for a big shop, maybe six by seven, everyone is not able to pay for this tax, it is so expensive comparing to everyone's capacity to pay. (Bebe, Burundi, program user).

The Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) is the governance body of Kampala and oversees a number of different administrative divisions of the capital city, including business and market activities. Officials of the KCCA monitor and investigate business operations to ensure residents follow city guidelines whilst pay taxes. Many study participants, without economic capital, were unable to pay taxes for business operation (some participants therefore sold products or offered services – such as hairdressing and tailoring – in the 'informal' sector, not paying taxes or having a registered business). It was notable that participants were constrained to create or run businesses due to their limited financial backing. Aime (DRC, program user) said that "But the hugest challenge is to rent the place that we can go and in store come see that... We don't have finance to support that."

However, financial constraints did not only impinge on the livelihoods or businesses of refugees. It also impacted their lives in other ways: “How we live, you know sometimes it’s not easy, it’s difficult. Sometimes we don’t have anything to eat...Sometimes you don’t have money, and you miss money for buying clothes” (Mimi, Burundi, program user). Antony (DRC, program user) remarked that life in refugee settlements (where he used to live) was deemed ‘easier’ due to the support received: “It’s easy in the settlement because they don’t buy food, they don’t pay rent. They give them lands for free, building equipment.” Housing and food costs were particularly troubling for various participants. Philomene (DRC, program user) said that “We are also lacking our rent money. We are some other [taking] three months and two months not paid, getting this money to provide food stock.” A few participants discussed how they received remittances from family members or friends living in their homeland or in other nations. For instance, Ryhan (South Sudan, program user) mentioned that when her family was faced with challenges to pay rent, she overcame such challenges with landlords by calling “someone else in Sudan and he sent some little money to pay rent.” Abdifatah (Somalia, community member) also said that some Somalian refugees receive “help” from their families living outside Uganda, primarily in Canada and the US.

Financial constraints also fed into other day to day challenges of refugees, particularly in relation to school fees and healthcare. In Uganda, while there is a public school system, parents must pay school fees for their children to attend, and boarding schools are often higher costs although are considered of better quality for education. However, many participants in this study had difficulty paying school fees for children. Junior (DRC, former participant) said that “most of their [children] parents cannot afford the funds to take them to school.” Christine (DRC, program user) also commented that many parents “don’t have money for school fees for their

children.” Philomene (DRC, program user), who has three children, mentioned that her children were currently not in school due to costs of education: “Even today, my children are not going to school. They are not going to school, because even right now they are home.” Relatedly, Oscar (DRC, program user) wanted to continue his education after leaving the DRC, but due to financial constraints, was unable to return to university:

And here in Uganda I am living unemployed, no money to go or ... no money for studies.

I am just living at home. And my intention was that I could continue with my studies and maybe God could provide me to finish my studies, at least to be a doctorate.

Jeremi (DRC, program user) also was not able to continue on in his university studies:

And at that time [after displacement] I wanted to continue my university studies, but I failed due to the financial possibilities that my mother had. And I waited for one year ... and then the second year I was hoping to start my university studies, I saw that it was impossible for my mother to provide.

Some participants of this study, such as Beatrice (DRC, program user) emphasized that since she was not attending school due to the educational costs, the football program at YARID was where she would spend most of her time: “I am not again learning from that school. I learnt there P-six and P-seven - no I didn’t learn P-seven because the money was not there and these days I am not learning. I’m just there [YARID] at soccer...” As will be discussed in the following chapter, for some participants or children of participants who did not attend school due to the financial costs associated with education as well as travel, YARID programs – including English studies, SDP, and livelihood training – filled many gaps in relation to educational opportunities. In addition, and as seen by the quote by Beatrice above, many youth were

sometimes faced with what staff and program users termed ‘youth idleness,’ where youth were not enrolled in school and ‘keeping busy’ through various means (e.g., sport) was important.

Healthcare was another area where participants commented that they faced financial challenges to access. For instance, Junior (DRC, former program user) suggested that many refugees had healthcare concerns, “Yet, I know that the curing medicine is costly high.” Some individuals mentioned that, due to brutalities preceding or during forced migration, they required healthcare, although financial support for medication was difficult to attain:

After three years I started getting sick due to the torture I suffered in Congo. People tried to assist me taking me to different hospitals for medication, but since the highest refugee NGO stopped working, I have not got any assistance with medication. (Mbonigaba, DRC, program user)

However, only a few participants discussed the financial burden of healthcare. In other cases, such as for Michel (DRC, program user), he felt that healthcare was one of the more accessible services in Uganda:

Actually, I can say that refugees here in Uganda are not living a kind of bad life, or they are not treated that kind of bad. Because for some other time we can fore-see and we can go to any office we beseech for medicine and they can provide medicine.

Of course, as mentioned earlier, refugees have diverse experiences. Some participants, with pre-existing health concerns, found that they were not able to receive the care they required, whereas others did not speak of challenges of healthcare services or that they had difficulty accessing medicine. As further discussed in the next chapter, SDP programs at YARID were seen as key for providing essential social (e.g., constructing relationships with other refugees and Ugandans),

economic (e.g., locating job or livelihood opportunities) and health-related services (e.g., emergency medical care or healthcare costs).

Lastly, another everyday struggle that participants spoke to included language barriers and communication with host residents as well as other refugees. While Uganda is host to a number of Indigenous local languages (such as Luganda, which is one of the most spoken languages in the nation), English and Swahili are Uganda's two official languages. The language of Swahili was added as an official language in 2005, while the English language was inherited from colonial invaders during British Empire rule in Uganda. While many Ugandan citizens speak local Indigenous languages, as well as English (especially in urban areas of the nation, such as Kampala), many refugees who are forced to migrate to the urban capital city are not fluent in English, and local languages of Uganda were deemed more difficult to learn: "English is like a common language here in Uganda to communicate with the Ugandans. Their local languages are very hard for us to learn. At least English is somehow easier so that I can integrate, I can affiliate in the community where I am living, and easily communicate too" (Philomene, DRC, program user). Daniel (Uganda, staff) supported this statement, saying that

Cause they [Ugandans] have their local languages. Because sometimes its difficult to teach someone - when someone comes to teach them [refugees] the local language, because there's so many, you can't really know all of them. So it feels sometimes difficult to teach someone in the language that he or she does not understand and you feel like this person is not understanding.

Francine (DRC, staff) made the important point that language was essential for social inclusion and community belonging, saying that "It's [language] very important because you can't work when you don't know the language. The second one is to know people whom you are living

with, you have to interact with them. If you don't interact with them [host community residents] you don't know anyone." Refugees thus sometimes found it challenging to be able to communicate within Kampala with host community residents in local languages, but also in English. This impacted the ability to simply converse with others but also other aspects of their lives, including locating jobs.

For instance, Michel (DRC, program user) said that:

The first challenge I am facing here in Uganda is the challenge of the language because it's becoming very difficult for me to express myself with the Ugandans because I am speaking a different language from they are and it's becoming hard to speak together...

And it's becoming the same challenge as, like, you maybe you know how to do this work and because of the language, the Ugandan will not engage you to do this work unless your language is of Uganda.

Simon (DRC, program user) discussed how languages other than English were not usually accepted in markets when purchasing food or products: "English is very important because it's the official language of Uganda and it's mostly popular because we cannot go to the market and start speaking our French or our Swahili, but we are speaking English at the market and elsewhere." Ryhan (South Sudan, program user) also said, "Here in Uganda everything is very difficult, we don't have jobs and things are also very hard because of the language, we don't understand it very well." Other than language impacting the ability to attain jobs or purchase items at the market, Sheila (Uganda, staff) also mentioned how if an individual without understanding of local languages, including English, found themselves in need of the police, it would be challenging:

There's difficulties in communication. I can't access anything I want, or that I need if I can't communicate properly with that person. I can't go to the police station and reporting somebody who has harmed me and I don't know how to communicate unless I have a translator, so that would be difficult for me.

Many participants of this study spoke languages associated with their homeland, such as Swahili (DRC), Arabic (South Sudan), French (Burundi and DRC), and Somali (Somalia). Several participants suggested that the ability of people to recognize that an individual is a forced migrant was through the language they spoke: "If you learn Luganda, you can't speak it like pure Ugandans. Also the English it's not the same. That's why it's easy for them to know you are not Ugandan" (Mimi, Burundi, community member). Nikuze (Burundi, community member) also commented on how the way she spoke English was different from how Ugandans often spoke: "How you speak your English is not how the Ugandans speak."

Indeed, Joselyne (Uganda, staff) suggested that many host community residents were able to identify who was a refugee based on what language they spoke, which would lead sometimes to discrimination:

Because initially the bulk of Uganda is that most people who used to go to Congo would come back with minerals, gold. So if – because anyone who is speaking Swahili, you know is from Congo, must have minerals...they weren't even being given accommodation, like they don't give them attention, because they can't speak the language, they can't communicate. And then when the landlord sees them, they increase the rent or they triple it, or some landlords say I don't want you here. I don't want...they are terrorists. I don't want Congolese here, I don't want – it's that kind of thing.

In these cases, the inability to speak English or another Ugandan language was a significant factor for refugees being unable to find affordable accommodation. Joselyne went on to say that, “Yeah they [landlords] will triple the price. But if you can speak the language – so we encourage them to learn the local language, learn how to speak English.” Hence, learning the English language in order to support refugee’s integration in Kampala, enhance relations with host community residents, and to foster easier communication with other individuals in the city (both Ugandans and other people forced to migrate) is a main focus of YARID’s social programs.

Many participants, as is discussed further in the following chapter, were thus involved in English-speaking programs at YARID, in order to be able to communicate with host residents as well as engage with other individuals utilizing the common language of English. Helene (DRC, program user) commented,

YARID programs are helping in the mistreatment because when they are teaching people the trainings that are being given here, especially this one of the language, is another help because when they are teaching the language, you will know how to deal with your neighbor, or you will know how to deal with the person mistreating you, because you will know the language.

In addition, several participants commented on the usefulness of learning English for future migration. That is, many refugees had current or future plans to migrate to another country (mostly nations in the Global North such as the US, Canada, and the UK) and spoke about the use of English not only in Uganda but also if they were to migrate to another nation:

English is a very important language and to know it, I really think that a benefit. It will assist me in so, so many things because it’s so even the official language of Uganda here where we are living... We may go abroad or we may go back to our country, and if we

have this chance of going abroad in western, maybe we'll go in an English speaking country and if we have learned it here in Uganda life will be somehow easier for us.

(Antony, DRC, program user)

Moise (DRC, program user) also said that, "I really wanted to learn it because it's a language that is one of the most spoken language in the world. And it's an important language, particularly in Uganda, but also outside of Uganda." Similarly, David (DRC, program user) commented that "And about English [it] is a very great help to add everywhere we are going in the world." For many participants, learning English was not only important in their day-to-day lives living in Uganda, but also for possible future migration to other nations. Speaking the language of English, an 'international language,' was a challenge that many refugees were confronted with in Kampala, Uganda, but also – through their involvement with YARID – was a way to learn the language and communicate with other refugees and host community residents.

Taken together, participants of this study noted several challenges related to forced migration – whether in regard to their initial displacement experiences, interactions with host community residents, and everyday struggles. Many of these challenges, such as employment, financial capacity, language barriers, and school costs, were associated with displacement, relocation to a new host society, and their lived experiences. As YARID implements programming according to a human centered design approach (i.e., directly involving community members to develop solutions to social issues) as described in Chapter 4, many of these challenges that refugees face is sought to be ameliorated or responded to through the organization's social programs, including SDP. In the next chapter, the work of YARID, and how participants of this study viewed the benefits and challenges of SDP-specific and other social programs, is discussed.

Chapter 6 – Refugees’ participation in YARID SDP and other social programs

In Chapter 2, I discussed how there has been growing research into the experiences of refugees in SDP programs, particularly in Western contexts (Luguetti et al., 2021; Spaaij et al., 2019). In this chapter, I focus explicitly on the ways in which research participants described their involvement in YARID SDP and other social programs in order to address the research question: “What are the challenges and benefits to refugee participation in SDP initiatives, particularly in Kampala, Uganda, in relation to facilitating social inclusion, promoting gender equality, locating SE and employment opportunities, and navigating cultural difference?” First, I discuss the various SDP and sport initiatives that YARID runs, and how participants viewed the programs in relation to their so-called development potential (e.g., with regards to facilitating conflict resolution or social inclusion), and the benefits and challenges of participation in SDP. Second, I briefly discuss the other related social programs that YARID operates as part of its four ‘streams.’ Third, and last, I highlight the connections between SDP and other social programs, based on participants’ experiences.

6.1 Social development programs at YARID

As mentioned earlier, there are four streams of social development programs offered at YARID: (1) sport for development; (2) education; (3) women empowerment; and (4) innovations hub. Each participant of this study was actively involved in SDP programs at YARID. Some, but not all, were also involved in other social programs, such as education, and almost all women and girl participants – except for a select few – were involved in women empowerment initiatives, as seen in Table 2 in Chapter 4.

YARID programs were not clearly ‘defined’ in practice (i.e., according to the four social program ‘streams’ outlined in Chapter 4). Rather, some initiatives operated more routinely, such

as every weekday at a certain time (e.g., English language classes). Others ran depending on physical availability of space, such as the football pitch (e.g., football training ran some weeks daily or on weekends, or sometimes only once to twice a week), while some programs (e.g., innovations hub) ran informally or when a member of the organization brought an interesting idea to YARID staff. Still other initiatives operated more or less regularly based on if YARID had sufficient funding to support organizational members (e.g., livelihood training). In addition, it was likely that participants - depending on their daily activities, ability to travel to YARID, and any pressing issues in their lives – would be unable to attend every program session, although many participants did say that they attended as much as they could and for some, everyday (particularly those taking English classes since they are held every weekday in the morning. Participants also highlighted how, even though sport activities, such as football training, ran almost daily, SDP-related classes or ‘meetings’ sometimes occurred less regularly (often once or twice a week, or more informally every day after sport activities). Despite this, many participants noted that SDP was inherently associated and connected with the other social programs at YARID. To provide clarity about the operation of SDP as well as the other social program ‘streams’ offered at YARID, in the following sections, I describe the distinct streams of YARID social initiatives based on research participants’ perspectives, before discussing how participants described connections across programs. Given the focus of the study on SDP, more space is allotted to the sport-focused programs rather than the other social initiatives (i.e., education, women empowerment, and innovations hub).

6.1.1 Sport for development

It is interesting to note that YARID, as an organization, was first imagined and created via the implementation of football activities with refugees. The ‘Our Story’ section of YARID’s

website provides a clear overview of the organization's origins and the role of football in its evolution. The quote below outlines the progress of the organization:

Football match was the first activity of YARID, since the football pitch was the only public space available to gather in. The intention at that time was to use sport as a tool for uniting people together. The leaders believed that once people came together there were more opportunities to work together to help one another. In turn, this would lead to innovative solutions to the challenges faced by refugees in the community. In the first two weeks, the football games attracted over 350 people, including both refugees and Ugandans from a diverse of background. The games united people where before there had been some social conflict. People would stay to talk after the game, providing a space to speak to one another about any issues they faced in their daily lives (YARID, 2021b, para. 7).

Hence, football has played a central role in the organizational operations of YARID since its inception and progress into a more fully developed NGO supporting refugees in Kampala, Uganda. Football is the main sport utilized in YARID's SDP programs, as it is popular with both those identifying as Ugandans and refugees. Football acts as a 'pull' factor (Coalter, 2013) in many instances at YARID – a way “to bring people together” (Junior, DRC, former participant) and attract individuals to SDP and other social programs. Joselyne (Uganda, staff), who is one of the longest tenured staff at YARID and has worked with the organization since its beginnings in 2007, noted the important role of sport in YARID's early days: “Sport for development, first of all, it started as one – it was our first main activity. One of the main reasons was to reduce idleness and to impulse behaviour change among refugees and then the whole community.” YARID, based on documents provided, did not previously refer to their sport programs as ‘sport-

for-development.’ In fact, a 2011 grant application document discussed YARID’s football and life skills academy that seeks to address ethnic violence, youth unemployment, and conflict resolution. While participants used terms such as sport-for-development during fieldwork, the actual uptake of the term ‘sport-for-development’ did not occur until approximately 2013 or 2014 based on Robert’s account (Fieldnotes, June 27th, 2019). With SDP growing in Uganda, it is likely YARID adopted the term for the purposes of attracting funders; yet, when considering ‘SDP’ aims, YARID was utilizing sport for development much prior to the actual uptake of ‘SDP.’

The popularity of sport not only in Uganda, but in homelands where individuals have been displaced from, continues to be a major reason why football is utilized at YARID today. Daniel (Uganda, staff) said that,

Because in Africa sports are like a, it’s like a disease, like a virus [laughter], that can affect so many people at once, eh? So, it’s not like say, if you call someone for a meeting and come for a meeting and mostly the turn out would not be so much. But if you call people that you come you have a football match and you have to play...the number will be so big and the feedback will be so much and with that feedback we are able to share with them like what we are doing, because then you can get the coaches to join them, to get people to say what you want to join [YARID programs]?

As discussed in other SDP literature, the ability of sport to act as a pull factor, and sometimes attract ‘hard-to-reach’ populations, was noticed by the YARID founders (who identify as refugees themselves – one of whom is the Executive Director to this day, Robert Hakiza) while organizing football matches and activities in 2007. Sport continues to be seen as a way to bring people of different ethnic backgrounds, both refugees displaced from their homeland and host

community residents of Kampala, Uganda, together in a safe space to foster cultural understanding, conflict resolution, and build social connections. Since 2007, YARID has become more formalized as it grew as a recognized NGO and nonprofit organization, and as discussed in the following sections, has several specific SDP programs, ranging from formal to informal, to more sport development (e.g., training of athletic skills) to SDP-focused (e.g., life skills training), and to gender-specific initiatives.

6.1.1.1 Types of sport programs

6.1.1.1.1 Sport training program. A basic program that YARID runs and is influenced by its early days of organizing sport matches and activities is weekly sport training (ranging from once or twice a week depending on whether the football pitch outside of YARID's offices is available). Trained YARID staff, who are the football coaches, carry out one- to two-hour sessions where football-specific skills are taught to any interested individuals, mostly women and men refugees. This includes athletic skills such as cardio, running with the football, ball control, striking the ball, goalkeeping, juggling, one-on-one techniques, dribbling, passing, and receiving. The football coaches who participated in this study have either semi-professional experience in leagues in their homelands (e.g., DRC) or Uganda, or have played in university settings, and/or have received formal accredited training. For instance, Daniel and Patrick, who were the main football coaches for YARID SDP programs, were trained by a FIFA representative in 2016 to become 'qualified' trainers. Image 15 displays a photo that Patrick explained was him coaching youth outside of the YARID space in his community.

Image 15. Photo taken by Patrick coaching youth in his community.



As will be seen throughout this chapter, while Daniel and Patrick were the primary football coaches and often led sport training sessions, many other participants of this study also acted as coaches, or role models, in their communities and for external football matches or leagues (i.e., football activities outside of YARID).

A key part of the sport training program is that time is dedicated to teaching life skills (e.g., conflict resolution, cooperation, respect) related to football and how to be a role model as a ‘football’ player. Daniel (Uganda, staff) said,

So since we have mostly players, we try to give them some skills, like some sport skills that they can get from sports. More knowledge about the field, what we can do, the nutrition they can use, hydration, things like that, try to give them those simple things that they can use even if not playing on the field.

These ‘life’ skills are taught in addition to athletic training for purposes outside of the football pitch and to promote positive development of athletes. For example, David (DRC, program user) selected a photo of him posing in front of the YARID offices (Image 16) and explained that:

Image 16. David outside the YARID office.



Our mentor is teaching us, he's advising us to be of good behaviour, to be of good heart when we are playing at the football pitch. And that we must behave well, must not behave wrong. We must be of a polite morale and not only at the football place but also at home. And when we are reaching home we are trying to be of polite morale, we are trying to be respectful, we are being of good behaviour.

Such sessions that were held were deemed not to only focus on enhancing athletic skills related to football but also to build confidence, promote 'good' behaviour (e.g., peace building), and live healthy lives. Beatrice (DRC, program user) commented that, "They [football coaches] help us to know our talents, to keep us strong to know we can do those things, confidence." In relation to living a healthy life, Dady (DRC, program user) said, "They [football coaches] are teaching us how to live as a football player, teaching us about the food that we have to eat and the one we

don't have to eat as sport people. They're also teaching us how to be heard where, be polite in front of people, how to live in a way of good morale."

Many of these life skills, or ways in which football promoted morale, self-confidence, healthy living, and athletic abilities, have been discussed in SDP literature in relation to the presumed or myopic nature of sport (Coalter, 2013; Forde, 2014; Levermore, 2011). More specifically, such 'automatic' benefits of sport often relate to attitudes and behaviours associated with responsibility, improved self-esteem, decision-making, and other individual outcomes of sport that may relate to positive youth development (Coalter, 2007, 2010; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Staff and participants of the sport training program discussed similar aspects as seen above; teaching about such skills or behaviours to participants was also meant to support the training of individuals as coaches themselves, and which is a second initiative (intertwined with and a component of the sport training program) that YARID implements.

6.1.1.1.2 Coaching program. The coaching program is both an initiative of YARID and a component of the above sport training program. While learning athletic skills related to football and other behaviours associated with being a football player of 'good morale,' YARID football coaches sought to encourage individuals participating in sport to become role models and leaders not only within sport settings, but also within their communities, whether in relation to football or not. Many study participants referred to this as becoming a coach themselves, where they would have skills and abilities related to leading others, particularly youth with refugee backgrounds, in the local surrounding areas in which they lived. Unlike the FIFA training which awarded a certificate that identified an individual as a qualified and accredited coach, YARID training was less formalized. Daniel (Uganda, staff) said that: "We were just doing it [coaching]

as a person who loves sport, we love to play sports, so we were trying to help people, trying to mobilize people and try to play with them some kind of sport.”

The coaching program often involves many of the components discussed above that aimed to be distilled through sport program training: living healthy lives, promoting ‘positive’ behaviour, discussing nutrition, and developing leadership qualities such as confidence and respect. Many participants of the coaching program spoke about being a coach who acted as a role model in their own lives outside of YARID. For example, Kelvin (DRC, program user) explained that an image (Image 17) he selected displayed how he was a role model in his community by being a coach:

Image 17. Coaching in the community.



They [football coaches] taught us how to be a good coach. Taught us that a good coach is a role model. So a good coach, you have to be smart, you have to give the advice to your team...I was just a simple player, but when Patrick told us that there is an opportunity to be a role model, to be a coach, that's when I say let me go there [my community] and be

a role model. Because a role model, you know, they [youth and other football players] can respect you and you can lead your team.

Mustapha (DRC, program user) also said that after completing the coaching program at YARID, he sought to be a role model to others through his actions and selected a photo (Image 18) that showed him teaching a football player:

Image 18. Mustapha teaching a football player.



As a leader, people are looking up at me, so it also helps me as a person, and it helps me to control my life, to not get upset with my life, and to do the right thing, so it helps me to look responsible and to behave responsible.

Evidently, staff and program users both discussed how sport is used for behaviour change, being ‘responsible’, and developing good citizens. As further discussed in Chapter 9, many of these aims follow and reflect neoliberal and colonial approaches within SDP (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011) which seek to control and ‘develop’ individuals to become

upstanding citizens. Participants of this study emphasized that the ways in which football and SDP are used was organically developed based on discussions with what refugees sought from YARID. However, when examining organizational documents, particularly grant applications where YARID created initiatives to receive funding from UNHCR or other international organizations, outlines of football and life skills often revolved around such behaviour change – pointing to how SDP at YARID may also be influenced by Western ideas about what life skills are, should include, and how these aims of SDP fall within a neoliberal ethos. Of course, such applications by YARID may additionally be strategic – a way to acquire funding as well as a way to conform to what funders and donors are seeking to support in SDP work. Ideas about life skills may therefore be strategically taken up because of YARID’s belief in sport to develop life skills as well as because the organization sees the use of life skills as a way to receive financial support.

Individuals within the coaching program were mostly males who sought to be a football coach in the areas where they lived and act as a ‘mobilizer’ to begin their own football teams: “My role in the community, I am a mobilizer. As I am starting the coaching, learning the coaching, I am really hoping to form my own team” (Dady, DRC, program user). As further discussed in following sections, such teams were not just meant as a way for refugees in a community to compete in sport, but also to offer social support to one another and collectively gather in a safe space. As above, most participants of the coaching program also sought to teach youth in their communities. Oscar (DRC, program user) said that, “And also in the community, all the things that I am learning from YARID and outside of YARID, I am sharing these ideas with my fellow youth. I am sharing the same instruction and the same advice that I am being given.” Jeremi (DRC, program user), who discussed how he takes care of his brother and sister

daily (e.g., preparing and travelling to school), acted as a leader by working with young Ugandan children in the homesteads around where he lives (Image 19), utilizing skills from both the English and coaching program at YARID to be a mentor and role model:

Image 19. Mentoring young children.



In these photos you will see that I am somewhere with the other young people who are Ugandans, that we live within the same compound and before I wasn't their friend before because we couldn't communicate, but from the language I am learning here at YARID we are trying to communicate.

Merveille (DRC, program user), one of the few females in the coaching program (and who led sport training and activities at YARID sometimes) also discussed how she had formed her own team in a local community and would travel to the football pitch outside YARID (see Image 20) offices for specific matches or activities:

They [local football team] are related to YARID because we were coming from the football training. Because YARID didn't get a name to go and organize another time down there where we are staying, because it's somehow far away from here. But then they told me to organize another team there. We'd be playing there. On some other days they would be inviting up here...So, this is another YARID team that are in there.

Image 20. Photo of the football pitch across from YARID offices.



Merveille's team was not operated by YARID but was still affiliated with the organization. Part of the coaching program at YARID sought to have participants go to their communities and begin their own football teams, whereby individuals are coaches themselves and lead – both in terms of sport-related activities and as a role model – youth and other football players. Having individuals from the coaching program form their own teams was intended to meet other goals of YARID – such as promoting the organization (via coaches explaining to other community members that they may participate in activities at YARID), reducing youth idleness, and having

individuals engage in actions that exhibit leadership within the areas in which they live. People in the sport training and coaching program also were involved in more SDP-driven work through sport club and meetings hosted by YARID staff.

6.1.1.1.3 Sport ‘club’ and meetings. Sometimes after sport training and coaching program sessions, sport ‘club’ or group meetings with football coaches, other YARID staff (e.g., educational coordinator, interns), community members (e.g., football ‘fans’) and program users would take place either on the football pitch or in YARID offices. Sport club and group meetings involved more SDP-related activities; for instance, focusing on specific topics relevant to program users with refugee backgrounds and discussing pressing issues or challenges that they faced in their lives. Such meetings are similar to other SDP programs and research that have an educational component and that are carried out in more of an educational setting outside a traditional sport space (McSweeney, 2020; Spaaij, 2012, 2015). Sport club or meetings were also a fall-back option if the football pitch outside of YARID was unavailable and a way for program users as well as coaches and community members to share ideas (about anything deemed important to them in their lives):

That’s why we have the sports club. Cause apart from the sports only, the playing of the football or doing other types of sports, at least you can get some time and you sit down with your fellow soccer players...and you sit and share ideas...So that we can have weekly sessions between them and discuss very many different topics. And we try to come to a conclusion together because apart from - when we are not playing, at least we can be having a sports club that we can try to engage these players more and more. Because sometimes in case we get availability of pitch to play, we can try to play some.

And if it's not available we have the sports club, so we have an option. At least we try to get something to keep people busy. (Daniel, Uganda, staff)

Topics that are discussed in sport club and group meetings are decided upon by football coaches and program users, to ensure that topics are relevant to participants of programs and hold meaning or educational value to them. Patrick (DRC, staff) showed an image of sport club (Image 21) and said,

Image 21. Sport club meeting.



We have some sessions for capacity building. We have to choose some topics, like how to resolve conflicts, and then we take them [program users] somewhere, we sit, we talk, we explain. That's why that program we change it, apart from sports for development it's also sport club, and everyone can join, even if you are just a fan you can come. And then you talk about sports, talk about the topic, and then have the time to exchange ideas and everyone is friends... Like last month we talked about HIV, and we sat with guys and girls and discussed this. And then sometimes we choose another topic, like how to deal with conflicts. And that's for everyone in the sports program.

Joselyne (Uganda, staff) commented that sport club and meetings were a way to – after using sport as a pull – work with program users to think about their lives and what could be done to support forced migrants: “Let us play and then – so after every, after the match we would have discussions like about employment...Just sitting and discussing with the girls and the boys, what is the way forward, how can we move from here?” As is discussed in the following chapter, various sport club meetings were in relation to employment, job opportunities, and ways to find solutions to the economic barriers refugees face in Kampala.

Many program users within sport training and coaching programs found sport club and meetings to be effective for learning about barriers refugees face in Uganda and how to overcome challenges in their lives. For example, Mustapha (DRC, program user) said that such sessions:

...help both myself and others. So to myself, SFD [sport for development] has helped me to learn a lot of things, to learn more, we learn each and everything, good leadership, how to take care of yourself, how to help yourself and also helping others what they might have not understood before. So SFD has been a good program to everyone and also changing our community here because people are lacking a lot of things sometimes. So, like in sexual and reproductive health, we’ve been doing that under SFD, and it’s helped a lot to youth to understand those types of things.

Sport club and group meetings also involved YARID staff and program users acting as mentors and counsellors to one another. Mbonigaba (DRC, program user) said, “At the YARID meetings they do counselling to refugees, they teach them how to behave in the communities where they live, because some of them are thinking they don’t have the same rights as Ugandans, they talk about development.” In some cases, if individuals came to sport training or coach

programs “stressed,” staff would seek to support them through inquiring gently with them individually at sport club or meetings about any personal issues or what could be done to relieve “stresses” (David, DRC, program user).

For example, Merveille (DRC, program user) mentioned that she “remember[s] the day when I came, I was really filled of distress. And my mentor was trying his best, to comfort me, so that I may really – I may really always draw that the stress that I was carrying in my mind.” Coaches at YARID are thus not only teachers of sport and SDP, but also supportive leaders to participants. Mentorship by football coaches and other program users during sport club and group meetings were meant to inspire individuals to be counsellors as part of their coaching work in their communities, and to support youth and other refugees in their communities in sport-related and other ways (e.g., acting as a mentor). For example, Oscar (DRC, program user) said that “I really like to gather people together, instruct them and mentor them about their future life.”

A key aspect of SDP training was hence not only for the purposes of coaching and counselling program participants about certain life skills and other ‘developmental areas’, but also to grow as leaders and coaches who may find jobs in the future through sport (further discussed in the following chapter). These elements of SDP, which primarily were fostered through sport club and group meetings, were one of the suggested differences between football training at YARID and other football programs or organizations in Kampala. In particular was the way in which sport club and group meetings took place as a collective activity where program users were included as a clear member of the organization. Dady (DRC, program user) noted that sport club and meetings, and opportunities to be mentored and be a mentor, made it possible to feel like an active member of YARID:

The difference that is there is that the YARID team, I am a member. I am coached in a very good way, I am mentored in a good way, I am counselled here at YARID. Outside there, I am just playing for them [other sport programs], but I am not their member, after the match I am to go back [to my community].

Thus, refugees involved in the sport training, coaching program, and sport club and group meetings also seemed motivated to create their own community football teams or sport groups.

6.1.1.1.4 Community football teams, sport groups, and sport microfinance savings groups. Based on sport and SDP activities at YARID, program users were encouraged to create their own sport teams and groups that were affiliated with YARID, but not as formal as the sport activities described above. That is, while such groups (and the individuals included in the groups) would still train and participate in YARID programs, they would initiate their own team, club, or group separately from YARID activities and participate in such groups both within and outside YARID spaces. There were two clear examples noted by participants about the creation of sport teams or groups. First, was that some sport groups were based on gender. For instance, one specific group formed, termed a ‘sport microfinance savings group,’ or as Christine said “sako” (i.e., savings), is specifically for women and girls who are members of YARID. The savings group operates by incorporating sport into traditional savings groups strategies that have become increasingly popular in Uganda in the last 20 years (Easton-Calabria & Hakiza, 2021; Morris & Barnes, 2005). Members of the group would meet once or twice a week and engage in sport before saving.

Although football was often the sport that the microfinance savings group engaged in, they would also alternate between other sports and physical activities: “Okay, sometimes football. Some other time we run together, and some other times we play basket[ball] together”

(Mamy, DRC, program user). The women and girls sport microfinance savings group had a savings, loan, and repayment schedule and plan, which was collectively decided upon by its members. Specific information about the savings plan as well as how a key goal of the sport microfinance savings group was to support entrepreneurial endeavours and livelihood activities of women and girls are shared the proceeding chapter. What is relevant here, however, is that the teams and groups were also a significant source of social support.

For instance, Helene (DRC, program user) said that the women and girls sport savings group provided an opportunity to share personal problems within an open and safe space: “Because all the problems I was having in my heart, I had nobody to share them with. But when I got this connection to when we were meeting with them, I was sharing these problems with these people, they were doing some kind of supporting me, mentoring me.” Judith (DRC, program user) made a similar point, commenting that,

And it's [sport savings group] so important to me because the women, the ladies that we are gathering with, some of them are giving advice to each other and if I have a problem, I can expose it to those ladies, they can give me some kind of advice and it's really helping interesting.

The sport microfinance sport group also offered an environment for mentorship and counselling, similar to sport club and meetings that YARID staff host. Judith went on to say that: “When I am saying it's helping me morally, it's when we are sitting together, we are bringing advices to each other, we are mentoring each other, we are sharing ideas. Something that I did not know before but I am knowing it right now. That's how it's helping me morally.” In cases where a member of the group was sick or facing medical emergencies, the group would rally around the individual to support them:

Problems are very many. In the group, one may get in an accident, another one may be sick...and we are gathering together and try to assist. Maybe we'll bring sugar, we go and visit this one. We go and visit this one that got an accident, this one that is sick.

(Christine, DRC, program user)

While the sport microfinance savings group would reach out to YARID for support or resources if necessary, it was led and run autonomously by women and girls. That is, there were no YARID staff who were a member of the group; however, all women and girls were affiliated with YARID.

A second sport team or group affiliated with YARID, but again operating mostly autonomously from the organization, was formed based on nationality. There were multiple sport teams made up of refugees from specific countries. For example, a Burundian football team was created for individuals wishing to compete in YARID tournaments (discussed further in the next section) and other community football events (e.g., a pay-in competitive tournament). Such groups were created primarily for athletic participation. However, like the sport microfinance savings group, the Burundian group was also a significant source of social support that included pooling resources in a collective nature for specific purposes. For example, multiple research participants touched on how the team would share resources with one another when necessary for business ventures (e.g., start-up capital, physical resources such as sewing machines) or emergency healthcare. Although the Burundian sport group is not as 'formal' as the women and girls' sport saving group (e.g., with saving plans, loans, repayment schedules), both shared similar traits. For instance, Nikuze (Burundi, community member) mentioned how the Burundian sport group was a place to talk about struggles: "You know when they meet, they can discuss, they can plan what they will do in the future. Also, they can help each other, you know if you

meet with someone, they can - for example if your heart is broken, I can talk with you and they can feel okay, no stress.” In particular, the Burundian team was a way for refugees to connect with one another: “We created that team because we wanted to share, to discuss as Burundians. We can meet somewhere, we can discuss...When we meet, we sing our songs, or sometimes we do the drums” (Mimi, Burundi, community member). Bebe (Burundi, community member) also discussed how the sport team led to memories of the homeland: “We narrate home stories to each other, we talk about stories back to Burundi, and some other time we are organizing, we dance, we make music. And we try to forget about all the stresses and all the travel.”

Other sport teams and groups were also created based on nationality, including DRC and South Sudan teams. A key element as discussed by participants was not only that sport groups and teams were a source of social support, but also meant to offer a sense of belonging, identity, and consciousness that seek to provide collective and imagined communities for refugees to foster a sense of homeland (see also Joseph, 2012). For example, the Congolese team would gather in sport groups and pray together: “We [Congolese refugees] have our own language, our own style of praising and worshiping. We have our own style of preaching and teaching which all of these ways are very different from the Uganda one” (Aime, DRC, program user). It is interesting to note that in this case, Aime points to the differences that Congolese people have in comparison to Ugandans. In doing so, Aime also highlights how sport groups were not only meant to play football, but also to engage in other cultural forms prior to, during, and after sport, such as prayer, that relates to and maintains a sense of a collective identity and diasporic community.

Another DRC refugee, David (program user) said that during sport gatherings, there were certain ways in which Congolese people act and symbolically exhibit their attachments to their

homeland: “The way singers sing, the way they [DRC refugees] behave, the way they dress is the Congolese one.” Joselyne (Uganda, staff) recognized the unique ways in which Congolese sport teams fostered a diasporic consciousness, saying that: “Like the Congolese they play music...they dance at functions and more traditional music...they’ve created these [sport] groups among themselves.” Such sport functions and gatherings were an opportunity for forced migrants to share memories and be nostalgic about their homeland: “With the friends we will narrate our stories back home. And it is bringing me to reconnect our courage” (Suzanna, DRC, program user).

Food and the sharing of food was an additional component to sport groups that allowed Congolese people “to keep up with our culture” (Christine, DRC, program user). Christine took a picture of chapati that often would be shared amongst the group (Image 22):

Image 22. Chapati that is bought and shared amongst women in the sport microfinance savings group.



Again, participants would clearly delineate these practices from the host community: “For us from Congo, we really know that if we are in a group like we are here [at YARID], we are to eat all together in a group. But here in Uganda, they will give you your own plate, his own and mine, we eat differently” (Michel, DRC, program user). Other interviewees expressed how the type of food sport groups would eat together in restaurants fostered nostalgic memories of their homeland, which has been similarly reported in other studies of diaspora and sport (e.g., Joseph, 2010; Nakamaura, 2019). As explained by Moise (DRC, program user) who shared a picture of the outside of a Congolese restaurant (Image 23):

Image 23. Outside of a Congolese restaurant.



Here's even [a] restaurant with a Congolese woman in Kampala. We go and visit. We eat. We drink some beer. Even our flag is there on the door of restaurant. There, I find that I am reconnected back with the Congolese culture.

Relatedly, Ryhan (South Sudan, program user) expressed that Sudanese sport groups would enable a sense of homeland: “Actually the food, the food is trying to make me relate to our culture, because we are not able to eat this Ugandan food unless we are making our own.” Thus, while sport teams and groups were formed as a way to engage in sport activities (mostly football), such teams and groups hold relevance for refugees in Kampala beyond athletic competition and performance. Rather, such groups and teams offered ways to build social connections with fellow displaced migrants from their homelands, relate back to their homeland through activities such as eating and memory-sharing, and to foster social support through the provision of resources. Many teams also participated in football events and initiatives held by YARID.

6.1.1.1.5 Football events and initiatives. An additional component of YARID’s sport programs is the hosting of football events and initiatives. Football events include the hosting of regular tournaments for athletic competition. For instance, depending on interest from YARID sport teams and players, the organization hosts a monthly or bi-weekly tournament where teams (e.g., Burundian team, Somalian team) are invited to play against one another in a structured tournament. Such tournaments are meant to encourage friendly competition between teams as well as provide an opportunity for community members to spectate, sell merchandise (discussed further in Chapter 7) and meet with other refugees and Ugandans.

YARID also hosts a yearly, more SDP-inclined tournament called Soccer for Peace every December. Although funding since 2016 and 2017 has been more difficult to attain, YARID does still hold the tournament every year. The tournament

seeks to develop refugee youth as local leaders using soccer to build community...It addresses idleness, conflict, and lack of integration by using sports to create a

collaborative space. A space youth use to connect, share, resolve conflict, and innovate ways to improve their lives. Through this project, a youth-led soccer league will combat idleness through regular matches, creating consistency, accountability to a team, and hope (something to look forward to each week). Once teams are established and games begin, other youth will come to watch. This project creates multiple opportunities for youth to grow in their leadership and teambuilding skills. With youth leaders at the forefront of this project, other youth will be inspired to be involved and the community will develop a respect for the youth population as change makers and contributors of society. (Soccer for Peace Concept Note)

Image 24. Picture provided by Elvis of Soccer for Peace trophy award to winning girl's football team.



Elvis (Uganda, staff) was able to speak clearly to the activities and implementation of the Soccer for Peace tournament:

So here basically the program was we had around four girls' teams and eight boys' teams from Somali, Burundi, Congolese and South Sudan communities and here we had some tournaments but apart from the tournaments, we had trainings: leaderships skills, human

rights, we also took them through the human-centred design approach...Then at the end of the day apart from the tournament and apart from the trainings, these teams were supposed to implement a project in their communities, like a give-back to the community. And some of the projects that I remember, there was community clean-ups, there was fumigation, there was helping the elderly, then there was HIV testing and counselling and giving out sanitary towels.

To clarify, the human-centred design approach that Elvis mentions is a specific strategy that YARID adopts when working with organizational members in their innovations hub and SDP programs. A human-centred design approach is:

...a creative approach to solving problems in the community, whereby the community is involved in designing programs that solve problems in their community. The community identify the problems, and the community is consulted while possible solutions are considered. (YARID Human Centred Design Training, n.d.)

Hence, the Soccer for Peace tournament, while providing an opportunity for athletic competition, was meant to spur further development projects by sport team coaches and players for the purposes of driving community development in varying ways. Elvis went on to discuss how the tournament also supports cultural integration and understanding of refugees in Kampala:

We have the tournaments, we have the trainings and we had something that these teams would give back to their communities and it was something really impactful. It brought many youth on board and they were very busy...It created that integration, you know, you find the Somalis interacting with the South Sudanese, the Congolese. These mingle and mix which was really something great. And to me I think sports is something that is powerful.

Image 25. Photo provided by Elvis of Soccer for Peace training where participants are attending a session led by a lawyer discussing house and tenant rights in Uganda.



Although Soccer for Peace is an event that has been held in previous years, there was no current plan to hold a Soccer for Peace event in 2020 (the year following fieldwork) as funding was limited and such a tournament required financial resources for the football pitch costs, water, trophies, jerseys, soccer cleats, and other equipment necessary for hosting such an event. Nonetheless, YARID emphasizes in Soccer for Peace documents that the tournament is an event that moves beyond a focus on athletic competition to stimulate community development whilst also influencing YARID members to be changemakers in their communities through projects they identify.

Some initiatives that transpired from Soccer for Peace included environmental initiatives, whereby sport teams and clubs would engage in community work. For example, Simon (DRC, program user) referred to one of his photos (Image 26) and said that,

Image 26. Environmental clean-up.



Actually football is helping the community in different development because I'm going to take an example here [points at picture]; we have a great football team that we are coming for some days, we go to the pitch, we clean and we'll remove all the scrap that is in the pitch to avoid those kind of things [injuries] in the pitch.

A key concern discussed about participating in sport was football pitch conditions, as the physical conditions of the pitch were sometimes not safe for playing football, due to garbage or environmental effects (e.g., mud). Many initiatives that sport teams or groups undertook thus focused on 'community service work' to clean up football pitches as well as surrounding areas.

Hence, there are various ways in which sport and SDP is run at YARID, ranging from activities organized by YARID, to sport groups run almost autonomously by YARID members, and initiatives that range from formal to informal and with more focus on athletic competition to more 'development'-oriented. As discussed in the next section, participants of this study saw

sport and SDP programs at YARID contributing in many ways in the lives of those forced to migrate.

6.1.1.2 SDP benefits and goals

6.1.1.2.1 Reducing idleness. One of the main benefits of SDP identified by research participants, and as discussed above in YARID's origin story, was the use of sport to reduce idleness of individuals in Kampala and to 'keep people busy'. For instance, multiple staff members discussed the importance of sport in the lives of YARID members who had been displaced from their homeland:

Basically, here the idea of sport was when most of the refugees were really idle in the communities and some of them were into issues to do with alcohol and drugs, so these sports was used as a tool to bring about the behaviour change among these youth. (Elvis, Uganda, staff)

Image 27. Sport meeting with youth.



YARID uses sport for refugees because you can find some youth, they don't go to school. Like maybe parents can find the school fees, it's very hard on price, they can't achieve. And you find that youth they are just running and then down in that area. So, to avoid those things of moving up and down, they create that sport, bring them together, so they

can spend a lot of time when they are in sports and then the other time they can go home and help the parents. (Francine, DRC, staff)

When you are playing football, you're not occupied thinking about a lot of things, you are free, it's a time that you enjoy. Because if we check properly when these people have no job, though they pass through some of this training that we offer here. When they are alone, it's a time that they think that's where they are. They are involved in many things, violence, extremists. But once they are in the sport part, they are playing, it is a time when they are not involved in that. I think that is very important for society. (Josue, DRC, staff)

Participants supported the idea that sport helped occupy their time. For example, Dady (DRC, program user) said that:

Actually, football is much helping for the development because, first of all, it's helping to occupy the youths that are unemployed, and they don't go to school. So, its first occupying the time, keep them out of stress, keep them from committing unimportant things at home, going to smoke weed, cigarettes, drinking alcohol. This one is helping because its occupying youth, put them together, teach them, and training them.

Similarly, Judith (DRC, program user) noted that,

Actually sport is helping in so many ways because some other time you will find the parents don't have any finance possibility to take this youth to school but when they are going to sport, sport is occupying them to not do bad and all wrong behaviours at home.

Indeed, almost every participant in this study, both program users and staff, commented that sport and SDP programs were a way to 'occupy the time' of refugee-identifying individuals in Kampala, and was one of the primary benefits of sport that YARID viewed as important.

6.1.1.2.2 Fun, stress relief, and healthy aspects. A second identified benefit of SDP at YARID by study participants included the idea that sport was an enjoyable activity that contributed to being healthy, having fun, and reducing stress from the difficulties of forced migration. Dady (DRC, program user) said that: “I feel happy doing sport, it inspires me about life.” Beatrice (DRC, program user) similarly commented that, “I enjoy the most playing with my friends, seeing them happy, all of us we are happy, even they help us to forget some bad things that we have in our minds.” In addition to having experiences of sport that were enjoyable and fun, many participants emphasized that it was a form of stress relief.

For example, Bebe (Burundi, community member) said that:

Yeah, the benefit of football is that when you are at the pitch and doing the sport, it is trying to pull you out from the stress. Its taking out all the stress, the troubles, and when you are in the group of sport, it is as if you are one family, you really feel comfortable because you are one of the group.

Specifically, various participants discussed how, when playing sport and being around others, their experiences of forced migration and the difficulties from being displaced and relocating to Kampala were, at least in these moments, forgotten: “Sport is helping in making us forget about the bad things we went through” (Mamy, DRC, program user). Simon (DRC, program user) also highlighted how sport took his mind off the troubles he faced due to forced migration:

Accordingly, to what I said before, doing sport or participating in this sport program here is much helping me to not have so many thoughts about the bad things I passed through, I went through when I was living to Congo prior to come here to Uganda.

Commonly associated with SDP was the ability for sport to not only provide a stress relief, but to contribute to fitness levels of members of YARID. Judith (DRC, program user) said:

Sport is very good because of the body building, the fitness and some other time you may be having distress, you may be having some kind of troubles in your mind. Whenever we meet together, we find ourselves in a group, we play together, we love together, we talk together and this kind of distress comes.

Likewise, Helene (DRC, program user) commented on how sport helped reduce body fat:

I will say that sport is very important not only to refugees but to everyone. And sport is helping us reduce fats because you see here in Uganda the food we are eating, it is not a very good food, it is food that is cultivated with fertilizers, you will see that somebody's having fats, and sport helps to reduce these fats.

SDP programs, and the fitness benefits of physical activity through sport, were also mentioned to play a positive role in participants' lives by building healthier bodies that would be able to fight sickness. Indeed, many refugees emphasized that this was one of the basic benefits of the SDP programs that they took part in. Participants of this study felt that it was particularly important to mention health given that some individuals would be exposed to sickness (such as the flu) in communities in which they lived. Moise (DRC, program user) said:

The benefit of sport, actually I am getting benefit of sport because it's making – it's bringing fitness to the body and changing somewhat – chasing some other sickness from the body. And maybe reducing fat [...] Somebody who doesn't do sport can die quick and get sick easily.

Aime (DRC, program user) supported such a statement, commenting that: “I think the most important thing that sport is doing for woman and for all the people is to keep strong your body and maybe to chase some other sickness out of the body.” The idea of healthism and responsibility of individuals to keep one’s body fit and healthy thus was evident in many participants’ accounts of SDP. While benefits of SDP including being a stress-reliever, fun, and way to maintain healthy lives, were discussed primarily with regards to more noticeable and immediate effects of sport such as reducing idleness as outlined in the previous section, broader or more implicit effects of SDP were also identified by participants, including, as discussed in the next section, inclusion, cultural belonging and fostering social connections.

6.1.1.2.3 Inclusion, cultural belonging and social connections. A broad goal of the use of sport, similar to the early days when YARID first began football activities in 2007, was to encourage cultural togetherness and enhance intercultural relationships amongst refugees with different ethnicities and Ugandans. Many members of YARID felt that SDP programs enhanced social inclusion and fostered cultural understanding amongst host community residents and those identifying as refugees. For instance, Aime (DRC, program user) said that:

I really appreciate the way that YARID works because they are taking Ugandan’s community [members] and all the refugees and they put us together and they educate us all together... The hope is there that maybe what even you can find they have a bad heart, they have a wrong heart, but still they are also having life challenges. They also having life difficulty. To see that maybe they will not manage to assist themselves. That they also need some assistance as that’s why it’s important also to mix them with us.

Similarly, Simon emphasized that: “the most activity that I like in this Sports for Development, I really like when we organize the match. We come and we fetch the Ugandans, or we fetch

Burundians or other nationalities, this is the most activity I like because it's bringing nationalities together." Many other research participants, including staff, when asked about the use of sport at YARID, discussed how sport allowed for social connections to be built amongst refugees from the same nation (e.g., different tribes and regions of the DRC), various nations refugees had migrated from (e.g., DRC, Burundi, Somalia), and Ugandan nationals. In relation to interethnic cultural understanding amongst people of refugee backgrounds specifically from the DRC, Antony (DRC, program user) said that:

First of all, sport is contributing on the social development of the community. Why?

Because you see, Congo is a very – second biggest country of Africa. So there are some other people from [Mokambo], Kinshasa, Bunia, Goma and the sport is bringing us all together. We are making friendship. We are becoming as one family.

SDP built social capital amongst refugees, who – often based on forced migration – may have found themselves with limited support or relationships with others due to their exile: "And because of YARID we are meeting so many people from different nationalities. We are recognising each other. We are getting friends. We are familiarising. We are becoming as family. We are getting more information, maybe, from abroad and everywhere because of we are groups that are meeting" (Oscar, DRC, program user). Erick (DRC, program user) supported such a point, sharing a photo and saying that:

Image 28. Diverse groups playing football.



In this picture we are all playing football together, boys and girls. You know we come to play football and we come from different backgrounds, Congolese, Sudanese, you know everyone is different. So from there the coaches call us together you know we are from different societies but we need to cooperate. When you are here, operate as a team, and when we finish, cooperate too. And they usually tell us, what you see, what you face in football, like misunderstanding, you reach out your hand and get to understand each other.

Building social connections through relationships with other migrants as well as Ugandans was identified by participants as one of the primary benefits of SDP: “I will say that it’s contributing because when we are coming here for place of football, we are meeting friends, South Sudan, we are getting connections to Somalis, and many other people” (Dady, DRC, program user).

Philomene (DRC, program user) commented that: “And it’s bringing all the refugees and mostly important as Congolese because we are Congolese and we don’t know each other, whereabouts, where does he stay, where is he from. But when we meet here at YARID together with the other refugees, we make that kind of [family group].”

Hence, in terms of stimulating social inclusion amongst various ethnic and cultural populations, sport was seen as a tool to bring refugees together in a way that fostered cultural belonging and understanding (including with other Ugandans), strived to create intercultural relationships amongst one another, and build connections for social support. SDP was seen to assist with integration of individuals into Ugandan society: “Sport for development can try to keep them busy and try to make them integrate even more in the communities they live in” (Daniel, Uganda, staff). Of course, as discussed by Spaaij et al. (2019), sport programs that seek to encourage the integration of forced migrants into host societies may further perpetuate expectations and assumptions about refugees to conform to host community lifestyles and ‘fit in’ – in essence, needing to address ‘deficits’ that forced migrants have in order to be active citizens who contribute (especially economically) to their host communities. This critique is returned to in Chapter 9 when discussing the role of YARID, SDP, and integration in the lives of participants in this study.

Overall, SDP was seen as a crucial way in which development could occur – beyond its immediate benefits as highlighted in the two previous sections. Indeed, when speaking to staff, SDP was defined as a way for development to occur beyond the individual: “Let’s say football, it’s not just playing football, but we can just use sports to change our community, to change life, even your life. And then to change the community through sports” (Patrick, DRC, staff). Likewise, many participants in this study, both staff of YARID and users of social programs, had similar views as Patrick on the use of sport. Staff members spoke to both the potential benefits for the individual, community, and wider societal effects that SDP may have. Namono (Uganda, staff) said that she views SDP as:

using sports and any form of physical activity as a tool. Yeah, using sport as an activity that can bring any positive impact on someone. Anything positive to someone both physically, so – cause like development is not only economic, so it can be social. So, if they go for a sport, they are making friends and that’s a good thing. It can also be emotional if it distracts them from something that is not making them happy. Like sports is their safe place, yeah, so for SFD, I think it’s like someone’s - any positive influence that sports can have on an individual, like holistically.

In addition, and as discussed further in the next chapter, many participants identified that sport and SDP led to entrepreneurship and/or livelihood opportunities, which presented important possibilities for enhancing their lives given the challenges of unemployment discussed in Chapter 5. Yet – and at the same time – as both YARID staff and program users viewed SDP in a positive light, there were also challenges raised by research participants.

6.1.1.3 Challenges of SDP

6.1.1.3.1 Physical resources. Many challenges research participants highlighted in relation to sport and SDP at YARID were in relation to physical resources. For instance, it was noticeable that many football athletes lacked the proper equipment to play games in: “The challenges about this program is we don’t have equipment, no uniforms, sport shoes, and we don’t have our own football pitch. Because before we played the football here, we are supposed to pay for the pitches. So, we supposed to pay for its ownership” (Dady, DRC, program user). Kelvin (DRC, program user) also selected a photo (Image 29) and explained the limited sporting equipment available:

Image 29. Lack of sporting equipment.



This is our goalkeeper, but he has no equipment. He's a very good goalkeeper, but the challenge is the equipment.

Oscar (DRC, program user) also mentioned the lack of equipment:

We are facing challenges, especially in this sport program, because we are being trained as coaches, to become coaches tomorrow and now we are football players, but the challenge is becoming that today, in our team, or the tomorrow team, we are in need of equipment, uniform, shoes, sport shoes, football, because it would not be good to bring a child from home, training him when there's no football, there's no shoes, uniform, and for us, the coaches, even the football players will show we are not having any support; just playing. But gambling. We are risking for nothing.

Beatrice (DRC, program user) further emphasized the lack of equipment, saying that “We don't have the shoes or the clothes, those are challenges.” While YARID was able to provide football jerseys and cleats sometimes for players, there was often not enough resources to provide all players with equipment. Many interviewees emphasized how the lack of equipment would sometimes lead to or make players at risk of injury, which would also sometimes lead to

incurred health or emergency costs: “Sometimes, for example, if someone injures themselves, it costs money to bring the person to the hospital” (Mimi, Burundi, community member). Dady (DRC, program user) also voiced concerns: “When maybe someone gets hurt from the football pitch there is no assistance that will be provided. You can just go and suffer from it at home and no help will be provided because of the lack of money.”

Risk of injury was also compounded by the conditions of football pitches, as explained by Daniel (Uganda, staff):

Image 30. Conditions of football pitch and potential for injury.



You can't see so much in this photo, but when you try to use the other part of the upper field, sometimes it's not safe, because it has so many rocks, and you can't - someone can get easily injured, so that presents some challenges. So, you have to try and use the down one which is more safe, which is not so safe, but safer than the upper side of the field. Some staff even specified that the risk of injury, due to both availability of equipment, pitch conditions, and other factors (e.g., risk of injury in any sport) influenced people in deciding whether to join sport and/or SDP programs at YARID: “Okay they [families or potential sport participants] will be like, in sports it may be dangerous, how am I gonna deal with this or just I

don't want you [children] to be there" (Josue, DRC, staff). A related challenge, therefore, was family support and resistance to the participation of children and family members in YARID programs.

6.1.1.3.2 Family support and resistance to SDP. Most participants in this study had family members who were supportive of their involvement in SDP programs at YARID. For example, Simon (DRC, program user) said that,

Actually these family members are doing nothing except of encouraging me because since my childhood I was a football player till right now and whenever they see me going they do encourage me because they know it's something that I am really impacted in, I'm talented in and I really love it.

Philomene (DRC, program user) had similar comments about receiving encouragement from family members: "They [husband and children] are encouraging me and congratulating me, because they also know how helpful YARID is to people." Many other participants shared similar experiences and felt that their family was supportive of their involvement in both SDP and other social programs at YARID. However, there were a few individuals who discussed that SDP, and sport more specifically, was viewed negatively by some families or community members due to its potential for injury, and that sport is a waste of time as children could instead be at home helping with everyday activities such as chores.

For instance, Junior (DRC, former program user) who runs his own SDP organization in Kampala after he left YARID, also noticed that some families were not supportive of sport: "There's other parents who deny their children to do sports. So the other parent who deny maybe their children to do football." Josue (DRC, staff), who commented on the potential for sport to

cause injury above, went on to suggest that families saying sport was dangerous was possibly an ‘excuse’ for keeping children at home:

Sometimes they may discourage that program not because it’s bad but only because they need to find a reason, you need to give a reason why you don’t want your kids there.

Instead of saying okay I want the kid to stay here and do all the chores in home, you just say okay we don’t like your program because it’s dangerous and so on. But I don’t think there’s any clear reason why they should not support this program.

However, with regards to the quote above by Josue, UNICEF has recently led discussions on safeguarding sport in order reduce risks of participation by youth in sport which has been an important factor to consider for SDP (Twyford & Borkowski, 2020).

Indeed, Patrick made an interesting point of how an injury in sport or SDP does not only relate to the physical and physiological toll it has on a person, and/or the health or emergency costs of an injury, but also that injury may lead to inability to help with family duties: “When they are here for football they can get a problem, someone can get injured. And then that is one of the problems because they are not contributing something to their family and then they go back home and they have to take them to the hospital which costs money.” Patrick (DRC, staff) further commented on how the need for refugees to contribute to home life meant that some families viewed sport and SDP as a waste of time:

Maybe you know because refugee lives everyone has to contribute, when someone is losing their time playing football maybe some parents will be angry, you know you go your playing sport we don’t know if you’re coming back or we may lose one hundred schillings, so you know what are you coming with, what are you gonna contribute to our life here.

When considering sport in relation to gender, particularly refugees identifying as women and girls, family restrictions or pressure to not engage in sport became even more apparent.

6.1.1.3.3 Women and girls in SDP. While YARID held SDP training and programs for both males and females, and supported gender-specific teams and sport clubs within the organization, multiple interviewees discussed how gender relations constrained football or sport participation of women and girls. For example, Daniel (Uganda, staff) said that: “We have that challenge for the girls team...Some parents were like saying, no, girls can’t play football.” Beatrice (DRC, program user) additionally emphasized that some girls who do not play sport is due to families or parents who do not support them, and selected a photo of her family (that was supportive) to emphasize that other families or parents were not supportive of women’s participation in sport:

Image 31. Family support of women and girl’s football participation.



You see this is my family...but other girls don’t play football...Because they don’t have faith and their parents don’t make them strong. Some of them they think about their ancient life, their ancient life that girls are not free, yes.

Another staff member, Sheila (Uganda), while recognizing that gender equality has greatly improved in recent years in Uganda (particularly urban areas such as Kampala), commented that: “I think it is kind of traditional because [for a] long time we used to think football is meant for men and these other games, maybe netball, those are the ones that are meant for girls. But football we have grown up with that mind of guys are the ones that play football.” Sheila did go on to say, however that:

They [YARID] also put that ladies are also needed in order to participate in this game. So that they can also get a football team which is for ladies, I think that will motivate also other young girls to join the team. And some bit of counselling maybe because there are some girls who maybe still fear to play football. Maybe they have fear from some family and so a bit of counselling will be good and advertising.

Nonetheless, such comments about women and girls’ (non-)participation in sport and SDP reflect similar insights into gender relations and inequalities in other communities and regions around the world (Hayhurst et al., 2014; Saavedra, 2009; Seal & Sherry, 2018). YARID actively sought to challenge such gender structures or resistance by families by visiting homesteads and discussing with parents and other family members (e.g., husbands) the benefits and importance of sport for women and girls. For example, Patrick (DRC, staff) said that:

The only strategies are just to go and if we have time to go and talk to them, because most of the refugee families, there is a big number of the families, and everyone has to contribute something. And so you have to convince them how sports can also contribute to life.

Participants in this study also highlighted that gender norms restricted women and girls from participating in sport and SDP programs at YARID based on expectations that they would assist in housekeeping and domestic duties. Joselyne (Uganda, staff) said that:

So we live in a community whereby we are shaped by our own families. You are raised to believe that you have to take care of your families. You have to take care of your relatives, they are part of you. So you have this heavy burden on your shoulders....It's a heavy responsibility on you, like you do according to what culture demands.

Joselyne went on to say that: "The parents won't allow them to leave home. You are supposed to do housework, first do this before you go to the pitch. That part of the parent's thinking that girls can't play football." Thus, patriarchy and gender inequalities influenced many women and girls' participation in YARID SDP initiatives. Bebe (Burundi, community member) commented that:

Bebe: Let us take an example, many of the women are told that if you are playing sport at the pitch, you see like this African pitches of ours, they are not constructed, they are not clean. You will get wounds on your leg, on your feet, and damages. Those scars, there is no man who will love you if you have those scars, wounds on your feet. Some women when they learn about this, they say that I don't want to grow old, let me leave these issues of sport, and at least better get a man to love me...

Mitch: So how about the ones [community members] who are not happy you're participating in sport, what do they say?

Bebe: Some of them are saying that ah you are going to become a man. And some of them are saying that you will not be married because the women that are involved in sport are not easily married and if they get married they cannot produce children. And if they produce it will be by struggling. That's what some of them say.

In addition to comments about how sport would lead to women and girls' difficulty to find a partner, Christine (DRC, program user) spoke to the expected domestic duties women and girls have which leave little time for sport and selected a photo showing her tailoring:

Image 32. Women's domestic duties and tailoring.



Most women who are in Kampala, they are the ones who work to get something for their families. Yes, men can work but the money he is earning is not staying in the family... Maybe you have five or six children, they have to go to school, they have to eat, they have to wear, they have to do everything. And you have to work, morning you have to wake up and do work. After you have to go somewhere to work to get money. You come evening you have to cook for that family. I don't think you have the time to do sports.

Philomene's (DRC, program user) photocollage presentation pointed to how her usual day went and the way in which she was often responsible for the preparation of food in her household:

[illegible]

Finally, there was a glaring absence of women leadership in sport and SDP programs at D, which has been highlighted by Saavedra (2009) as an important facet needed for men and girls-focused SDP (see also Meier & Saavedra, 2009). Namono (Uganda, staff) said “There’s no female trainer, at least what I have noticed, so maybe that’s a gap. Because if there was a female trainer at least the ladies would feel like, maybe ‘it’s something for us.’” While

sport groups and clubs (e.g., women sports savings group) was led specifically by women and not men, the more formal sport training at YARID did not have a women or girl leading the sports training that is held for both males and females. While YARID is working with Merveille (a program user) to become the coach of the sports training specifically for women and girls, this was still being developed. Thus, although sport and SDP programs are offered for both male and female refugees at YARID, gender relations, patriarchy, and norms that place women and girls in domestic roles as responsible for housework, childcare, and cooking influence the ability of YARID to effectively implement sport and SDP programming for women and girls. It also requires further work on the part of staff to reach out to and encourage families to recognize that the benefits of sport are worthwhile for women and girls. Gender inequalities and relations thus hinder the utilization of SDP for different genders of refugee people, and is enmeshed with patriarchal relations, gendered divisions of labour, gender stereotyping and norms within Kampala, Uganda, as well as other homelands from which individuals have been displaced. Indeed, SDP at YARID faces challenges given gender structures which prevents social inclusion and the achievement of gender empowerment which YARID strives for through other social programs. In the next sections, the other ‘streams’ of YARID social programs are outlined briefly before discussing the connections amongst the four streams.

6.1.2 Education

Education is a second ‘stream’ of social development programs that YARID offers. As also discussed in the ‘origins’ story of YARID, the need for education, particularly in regard to speaking English, was an issue that individuals displaced from their homeland highlighted in the early formation days of the organization in 2007:

A common issue raised by the young refugees partaking in the football games was that the language barrier between them and the national population prevented them from finding jobs or fitting into their new society. As a result the team decided to dedicate their mornings to providing English classes for free and open them to all refugees in the area. (YARID, 2021b, para. 8)

Today, YARID offers numerous educational classes and initiatives, most especially related to learning the language of English. These include: (1) education for adults (English classes at beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels; (2) functional adult literacy (classes that teach girls and women literacy skills in their local languages from their homeland to prepare to join education for adults); (3) bridge to formal schooling (a project that supports children of those forced to migrate who have limited means to access traditional schooling in Kampala to mainstream into formal schooling); and (4) special workshops (including those that are implemented in conjunction with SDP and other community-based organizations to focus on gender and development, conflict transformation, refugee rights, and business classes). Most participants in this study were involved in education for adults and special workshops, particularly business classes. In speaking to the importance of English classes, Jeremi (DRC, program user) said:

I am first doing English here at YARID because I saw that it would be impossible to pursue any study like mechanics without knowing English. And I am first doing English because I am a newcomer, it's now three months here in Uganda... I myself I will say that the benefit of this English is to see that it's a language that is commonly spoken in Uganda and somewhere else outside of Uganda because when I came from Congo I was

limited, I couldn't communicate with anybody except a fellow Congolese but now as I am studying English I will be able to communicate with different people.

David (DRC, program user) who is also involved with English classes, made an interesting point about the benefits of English in relation to sport:

And about English its benefit is that English is a very great help to add everywhere we are going in the world. And English, remember it's related to sport so it will help us in sport because we will meet people in the sport that can only speak English. And it will help us also find job opportunities because you can look for a job somewhere but if you don't speak English it will not be possible.

Many participants in this study suggested that the educational programs were connected to SDP initiatives that YARID hosted. Indeed, some SDP sessions or meetings as discussed above were also more formally educational than athletically-oriented. The English classes, however, were held much more routinely and on a running basis than some of the above-mentioned SDP programs.

Education for adults ran every weekday from 8 AM to 10 AM at a church in a separate location than YARID offices (about a 60-minute walk from the YARID headquarters in Kampala). YARID staff, including interns who are proficient in English, would gather with refugees to teach English. Classes ranged in size, anywhere from 20 to more learners a day. The goal of education for adults' classes was to teach forced migrants English to be able to integrate into local communities and be able to communicate with other individuals with refugee backgrounds and Ugandans. Namono (Uganda, staff) explained her daily activities related to education for adults (Image 34):

Image 34. Education classes at YARID.



So, the major activity that I've been doing is teaching. The organization offers English classes for urban refugees, and most of them are Congolese. So, they speak French and Swahili. So teaching them English in the morning... when they come they can speak the language that is spoken here. So if you empower them - if you teach them English then it's a starting point at least they can be able to communicate.

Other than a few individuals (e.g., Joselyne, Robert, Patrick, Pascal), almost every staff member at YARID plays a role in Education programs, often as English teachers who work with those displaced from their homeland from 8 AM to 10 AM at the church. Given this, many staff members would not actually arrive at YARID offices until 10:30 to 11 AM, after travelling from the church where English classes are held. Following English classes is when sport and SDP programs would run, usually beginning around 11:30 AM or noon.

English classes were one of the most popular programs offered by YARID and the demand for classes was at an all-time high. As indicated by staff, it was sometimes challenging teaching large groups of learners in the same space at the church whilst other YARID staff were also teaching:

Then the other challenge which...cause sometimes the classes are too big. Like people come in numbers, let me say the numbers have been increasing every year. The demand to learn the English language also becomes too high. And sometimes our classes, the capacity goes over, the ones we can't manage sometimes. But because you can't really tell someone, if someone comes and wants to learn the language, you say go. If I do that, then I be like hurting someone's feelings. So sometimes it gets so big, to manage as one person. So you have to try and get some other person to try and manage it together. It's not quite easy to manage such a big class. (Daniel, Uganda)

Yet, despite these challenges, many participants of this study found that English classes, as well as other education programs at YARID, were key for refugees to interact with others in the host community.

6.1.3 Women empowerment

A third stream of YARID social programs is women empowerment. On YARID's website, they outline their approach to and the importance of women empowerment:

YARID's women's empowerment vocational training center creates a space for refugee women to achieve self-sufficiency. Refugee women are among the most vulnerable in society. They are often victims of rape, torture, grief, and cultural gender constraints. YARID seeks to support women to become self-reliant and facilitate the process of empowerment through education, vocational trainings, sports, sexual gender-based violence (SGBV) awareness, HIV/AIDS awareness, and hosting women-specific discussion groups. Vocational trainings are crucial to refugee women living in Kampala. Women attending YARID's tailoring trainings benefit from learning a new technical skill to carry them forward into increased self-sufficiency.

When examined separately, the components of women empowerment include specific educational initiatives as mentioned above (i.e., functional adult literacy), specific sport/SDP groups and teams, including both general sport and coach training as well as sport microfinance savings groups where women-specific discussion takes place, and special workshops with community members focused on, for example gender-based violence. There is also a separate location that hosts YARID's Women Empowerment Center, where vocational training and other activities for women empowerment take place. Joselyne (Uganda, staff), who is the women empowerment coordinator, discussed how special workshops related to vocational training:

So those ones who do restaurants also, we connect them to these people who got supported in restaurant business, you can go and learn from those ones. So in addition to that, we have also capacity building trainings, like in reproductive health, maternal health, ministerial hygiene. We have trainings in child protection. We have trainings in business management. Because for every skill that we offer at YARID, is for folks to earn an income from it. Gain employment and an income from it. That's why our skills are all interlinked. Like education, the English is linked to ICT [Information and Communication Technologies]. ICT is linked to the vocational skills. When you start a business, you have to be able to speak the language, to speak to your customers. You should be able to do it.

One of the primary components of women empowerment is vocational training, which includes building skills and abilities related to operating a sewing machine, making clothing, bags, stuffed animals, purses, backpacks, and toys, which are sold through YARID's social enterprise and used to support SDP programs. Hence, while the specific 'streams' of YARID social programs

may appear, or at least be outlined as is here, as separate, in many ways the social programs are interrelated and connect with one another.

6.1.4 Connections between programs

Given the different streams of social programs that YARID implements, and that many participants were involved in multiple social programs beyond that of SDP, interviewees spoke in many ways to the connections between programs and how they informed one another or supported people in other programs. Indeed, there was only a few participants in this study who were only involved in the SDP program and no other social initiatives. Given the ‘development’ focus of YARID, a holistic view by the organization was taken to their social programs – that is, they were not entirely separate but meant to interrelate and be beneficial to program participants. For instance, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the use of sport as a ‘pull’ was sometimes utilized to encourage refugees to join other YARID social programs. Daniel (Uganda, staff) said that:

And in this kind of program you can try to introduce other programs – try to introduce other types of programs that we offer at YARID. Because if someone comes to play football and then you tell him, oh you have a challenge of language, you can go and join those classes, so it’s like a way where we can put together them and try to show them other programs, something like that. Bringing the two together. Invite them to play soccer but then after soccer we can try and send them to where they can easily get support for the challenges that they have. Whether it’s us we can do it, or we can refer them to someone else so that they can be try to helped.

Indeed, many participants mentioned that they had initially joined YARID due to football and SDP programs, and following their involvement, either were recommended by staff or made a

decision to join other social programs. Josue (DRC, staff) commented on how programs were like a 'chain':

Yeah they are connected because sometimes the beneficiaries or the trainees that we get may come from the SFD program, they may be engaged in the job readiness program. Just like the one you interviewed, they're part of the SFD program, but their part also of the job readiness program. And we got them from the English class, so it's kind of a chain. And it's also connected because we say that we have different people from different backgrounds. And sometimes when we meet, its after class, it's a question you can ask, how can we meet after class in an activity that doesn't engage us sitting but us acting. And the SFD is something that we tell them to do. Because we always tell them that during - like in your CV, you write like your interests, your leisure and how you manage your time when you're free.

Thus, while 'explicit' connections amongst social programs were not readily apparent, many staff felt that the streams of YARID work were closely associated and benefitted one another. In addition, many participants felt that the programs often bolstered one another's effectiveness.

Specifically, many participants of YARID programs felt that there were strong connections between the education programs (particularly English learning) and SDP. Many examples included that playing sport with people of different ethnicities and languages allowed for opportunities to practice English and communicate with one another 'on-the-field':

Actually, I can really say that they are connected 100 percent. Why, because at the park that we go for the football playing, we are meeting the Sudanese, the Ugandans and Somalis, and maybe these people don't speak our Congolese languages, this English that we got from this program of English in YARID is helping us to communicate with those

people. And this is why I can say the English and the Sport really are connected. (Michel, DRC, program user)

Bebe (Burundi, program user) made a similar comment, talking about how the SDP also led to instances where more local languages of Uganda (e.g., Luganda) could be learned while engaging in sport: “Ugandans, we are talking Lugandan, their local language, and I am learning much from them. Congolese, we are speaking, talking in French, and they remember me, they are calling me about French.” As seen by this quote, learning local languages and teaching others homeland languages of refugees also contributed to social inclusion, one of the goals of SDP, while potentially enhancing connections amongst Ugandans and refugees.

However, while many participants were able to speak to the connections between the education programs and SDP, as well as the education programs link with computer training (that learning English enabled easier learning of computer skills and abilities), less direct connections between SDP, the innovations hub, and women empowerment were explicitly made. Nevertheless, as will be seen in the following chapter, these programs were interconnected in many ways, ranging from how sport led to innovative opportunities, including women business and livelihood activities.

6.2 Summary

In this chapter, findings were outlined in relation to the second research question: “What are the challenges and benefits to refugee participation in SDP initiatives, particularly in Kampala, Uganda, in relation to facilitating social inclusion, promoting gender equality, locating SE and employment opportunities, and navigating cultural difference?” Through outlining the specific streams of social programs at YARID, most especially their SDP work, it was evident that both YARID staff and program users viewed the programs as having various benefits, but

also numerous challenges. In particular, and in relation to social inclusion, participants of this research felt that – through SDP but also education programs – they had opportunities to build social capital via connections with other refugees as well as host community residents. At the same time, cultural understanding and belonging were fostered for refugees, specifically about informing Ugandans about the challenges faced due to forced migration, and also building a space where those displaced are able to engage in discussion of the opportunities, challenges, and day-to-day issues they face. In light of the numerous challenges refugees face (outlined in Chapter 5), having a space – both in relation to SDP and other social programs – to relieve stress, build specific skills related to technology, foster interpersonal connections with others, and overall feel more socially included in the host community of Kampala were identified as extremely important to participants.

At the same time, challenges of SDP were also noted, some more related to physical resources (e.g., equipment, pitch conditions) and others more specifically related to gender relations, inequalities, and gendered divisions of labour. In this sense, while YARID SDP initiatives may promote social inclusion, a closer look reveals that patriarchy, gender inequalities related to domestic work, and family resistance to sport may prohibit the social inclusion goals of YARID. Both staff and program users were cognizant that gender relations inhibited SDP success, whether due to not having a female-identifying SDP coach, or due to assumptions and stereotypes about the ‘negative’ nature of women and girls participating in sport. Hence, in terms of the benefits and challenges of refugees’ participation in sport, while there were many positives identified, further work must be done to ensure all – particularly women and girl refugees – are included. These challenges are returned to in Chapter 9. In the next chapter, I address the third research question focused examining the social entrepreneurship and employment opportunities

that participants of this research located, engaged in, and benefited from as well as faced challenges in.

Chapter 7 – Social entrepreneurship, employment, livelihoods, and SDP

In this chapter, I discuss findings in relation to my third research question: “How do refugee participants in social entrepreneurial and employment-focused SDP initiatives describe and interpret their activities?” As discussed in the previous chapter, YARID staff and program users identified both challenges and benefits related to their experiences as participants in the organization’s SDP programs. Many also shared perspectives pertaining to how SDP led to potential opportunities for social entrepreneurship and livelihood activities. In SDP, there has been limited insights into how sport, or SDP programs, might contribute to the livelihoods of participants (with some exceptions, see Coalter et al., 2020; McSweeney et al., 2020).

Additionally, while there has been growing discussion of social entrepreneurship (SE) and social innovation within the SDP literature (e.g., Cohen & Welty-Peachey, 2015; McSweeney, 2020; Svensson, 2017; Svensson & Mahoney, 2020), much of this work (with some exceptions, e.g., Hayhurst, 2014), has been in relation to the conceptualization of SE, its possibilities and constraints for the SDP field, and organizational and/or practitioner viewpoints on the use of SE. This chapter seeks to extend current insights into SE and SDP by providing an in-depth examination of how refugees involved in YARID social programs, specifically SDP program users, described and interpreted their experiences with SE and employment programs at the organization.

The chapter is organized into three parts. First, I provide an overview of the educational components that YARID utilizes to teach and encourage entrepreneurial business activities of its members. Second, I discuss how SDP (and other YARID social programs in relation to SDP) offer opportunities for employment and livelihoods to refugees. Third, I describe the ways in which specific participants of this study engaged in social entrepreneurship, including how

YARID employs a social enterprise model, and how this contributed to various individuals' livelihood activities.

7.1 Business classes and vocational training at YARID

As mentioned in the previous chapter, YARID's education program holds special workshops, including business classes and training, to teach refugees about the intricacies of business creation and entrepreneurship (e.g., financing mechanisms, creating a business plan), in efforts to encourage organizational members to engage in innovative ideas and practices for the purposes of building social and economic value for themselves and their communities. Many members of YARID also have experience in business creation from work in their homeland.

Business classes are offered at YARID based on the recognition that many refugees face employment and livelihood challenges within Kampala. For example, YARID clearly positions worker's rights as essential to their operations on their website:

Worker's rights common to Ugandan locals are not available to many foreign refugee groups. Yet many YARID members were business owners and professionals in their home countries. YARID assists refugee entrepreneurs seeking to create some income by offering business development workshops and special training in micro enterprise.

The dismissal or non-recognition of refugee-identifying individuals' educational or professional credentials has been a long--discussed issue within forced migration literature (Phillimore & Goodson, 2006). It is often that individuals displaced may not be seen as qualified for particular jobs in a new host community that they were practicing in their homeland (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). In other cases, individuals may have abilities and skills to run a business that they operated in their homeland, but may not have the necessary financial resources to start up the business due to their migration (Betts et al., 2017; Betts et al., 2018). Hence, in addition to

offering business classes, and with support of different partners and funders (e.g., UNHCR, International Organization for Migration), YARID provides start-up capital and micro-enterprise training.

A micro-enterprise is a business which usually operates with fewer than six employees, one owner, and often are of different types (e.g., full-time, part-time, home-based, street-front) (Al Mamun & Ali Fazal, 2018). The business classes and micro-enterprise training often includes steps and ways to start a business:

For these business classes we were teaching people basic business skills, like they could use for their own businesses, that they could try to open in case they access the resources... Because we believe someone can't really just start up a business, just try to do the business - to start up a business without having that skill, of knowing how to manage the money, how to get the business going, how to monitor the business, whether it's doing well or bad. (Daniel, Uganda, staff)

Training in business skills ranged from longer-term initiatives, such as a week-long business workshop, to a one-day class on business creation and operations. Business skills training and classes are meant to teach about financial literacy and management of cash flow for program users to identify how they can save, invest, and run their own businesses: "So with business management, it's evolved like training them on record keeping, how to do the cash books, how to balance their books. Capital profits, how do they balance that. And then how they can save" (Joselyne, Uganda, staff).

YARID also has a job readiness program related to computer training which operates on a longer-term basis (e.g., weekly) for interested program user. Josue (DRC, staff) spoke in detail about the program (Image 35):

Image 35. Photo of participants in the job readiness program.



The program I'm involved in at YARID is called job readiness program...And the job readiness program is a program where we can bring people and try to talk to them about career writing, cover letters, application letters, CVs, how to write CVs, how to face an interview, and so on. And the projects have, we have the idea that we can have a placement part to it where after you pass through the training and you've seen your abilities, we see if there is any place for you. And they [participants] receive a certificate when completed, here are some who completed the program last month.

Other SDP researchers have highlighted the ways in which programs offer professional development opportunities (e.g., Coalter et al., 2020; Spaaij, Oxford, & Jeanes, 2016; Warner et al., 2020). In this case, the job-readiness program seeks to support refugees in locating employment opportunities in Kampala and creating application materials for employment opportunities. As discussed in a later section, some of these employment and business opportunities are related to sport, while in other ways, YARID utilizes sport to enhance the possibility of locating a job via social networks. The job-readiness program is intended to connect with SDP programs, in the sense that similar skills, such as confidence for job

interviews, may be acquired through sport. Business classes and the job readiness program are intended to prepare people of refugee backgrounds to enter the workforce in Kampala in order to fulfill one of YARID's goals to have refugee-identifying individuals become self-reliant (rather than rely on NGO services or government funding). For example, Mbonigaba (DRC, program user), said that: "In this business opportunity they teach us like how, you have to first learn about the area, the area that you are going to start this business. Who are the clients that will be coming to you, what is the door that will be bringing customers to you." Business classes also intertwined with other components of YARID's programs, including vocational training and tailoring programs offered mostly at the women empowerment centre.

7.1.1 Vocational training: Reinforcing gender roles and relations while fostering deeper connections to the homeland?

In addition to business classes and the job-readiness program, some members of YARID, mostly women and girls, also participated in vocational training. Vocational training, business classes, and the job-readiness program, as detailed more explicitly in following sections, are offered alongside and in a complimentary manner with SDP programs, similar to other scholarly work that discusses livelihoods and SDP programs (Spaaij et al., 2016; Warner et al., 2020). Vocational training is mostly implemented at the women empowerment centre. Based on a partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), YARID received sewing machines for a vocational project whereby program users would be trained and provided equipment for specific livelihood activities, in this case, tailoring. Other equipment that was awarded for the vocational project included hairdressing materials (e.g., scissors, buzzers) and funding for other individual-specific livelihood or agricultural activities on a case-by-case basis requested by YARID program users (e.g., an individual requested chickens for a poultry project).

After program users are taught about business creation and operation, and ‘graduate’ from business training, they are often provided a sewing machine or other resources for the specific project that they have identified, to create a business or micro-enterprise that is run independently. Kelvin (DRC, program user) remarked that he had seen various people start their own business with YARID support:

I know so many people, they have started this salon job and they got the financial support from YARID. For example, my maternal aunt, she has a salon and she was supported by YARID. I know another one who has a tailoring shop, a workshop in and the support came from YARID. Another one has a boutique, the small shops. There are three of them that I know and the support came from YARID.

Furthermore, Daniel (Uganda, staff) said that:

And then with the women empowerment where we give them the skills of tailoring. That’s a skill that you don’t even need to - it’s not so much expensive to start a tailoring shop. Because the only thing you need to do is to have a machine, let me say one tailoring machine and maybe five pieces of fabric that you can start with. Because it’s not so much, let me say it can be like two hundred dollars to start up a tailoring shop. Not too much capital, and a woman can easily do that at your home, take care of your family, so it helps these ladies to get that kind of capital to make.

Of course, the quote above by Daniel implicitly points to some of the assumed expectations within Kampala of women and girls. Not only does the vocational training at YARID engage mostly female-identifying members of YARID as tailors (although, as will be seen in later sections, there were male-identifying participants who engaged in tailoring), but there is an underlying assumption that women and girls, by way of potentially setting businesses up at

home, will be able to generate financial capital while at the same time fulfilling domestic duties related to taking care of their family. As I further explain in the discussion (Chapter 9), the gendered division of labour and involvement of primarily women and girls in vocational training questions the supposed purpose of social entrepreneurship and business creation by women and girls in development programs. The ideals of creating social change through entrepreneurship by women and girls may be effective for the purposes of generating economic value for individuals, their family, and/or community. However, from a postcolonial feminist lens, gender relations, cultural and gender norms, and static gender roles often influence how development programs (do not) achieve broader social structures that maintain inequalities (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017). In this case, the program may have reinforced the perceived roles of women and girls as responsible for the care of their families, while possibly perpetuating patriarchal structures (e.g., gender-based stereotypes of women and girls) that were discussed by women in this study. Hence, when considering the different identities of those forced to migrate, gender is an important factor to consider in terms of the differences of entrepreneurship and livelihood activities.

At the same time as gender inequalities and relations influenced the offering of the vocational tailoring program, the program was first implemented at YARID after realizing the prominence and importance of tailoring amongst Congolese program users. More specifically, interviews with participants underlined how many of the livelihood activities (e.g., tailoring, hairdressing) that are offered at the Women Empowerment Centre and more generally at YARID, hold meaning to Congolese people due to the connections and nostalgia they have with their homeland through such activities. Tailoring in particular is a common cultural practice in the DRC that various participants in this study noted as their livelihood prior to being displaced. YARID, which recognized the significance of tailoring to Congolese refugees, implemented the

vocational program to provide opportunities to engage in livelihoods and business activities that program users were familiar with and interested in. While mostly women and girls received sewing machines, men and boys who were interested in tailoring were also supported by YARID and other program users. For example, Antony (DRC, program user), discussed how he was trained by his mother (also a YARID program user) and how tailoring fostered a sense of consciousness back to his homeland:

Image 36. Tailoring and diasporic consciousness.



This is an activity that we are doing because my mother has a workshop and she has taught us how to sew with that machine and we are all working there as tailors because since from Congo my mother was a tailoress and when we reached here she tried to train us and we all became tailors...When we are doing this is taking me back to Congo. Namono (Uganda, staff) also commented on how tailoring was an opportunity for refugees to relate back to their homeland:

Yeah so many people are from Congo, like they have this thing where people from Congo are tailors. So the plan is they get the basic training stuff and then they can use

that as a source of income. If they can maybe help people sew their clothes or make clothes yeah.

The tailoring program at the women's empowerment centre was meant to offer refugees an opportunity to engage in business and livelihood activities that they were well-versed in and had experience within their homeland. Aime (DRC, program user) explained during her photocollage presentation that tailoring provided opportunities to engage in a livelihood activity and build some economic capital:

Image 37. Tailoring, livelihood activity, and economic capital.



If you see these photos [first photo top left], they are photos when I not doing anything, photos just sitting in the house...and the second picture [second photo from the top left] is when I started the training at YARID in tailoring which I also did in Congo...but this picture here [fourth top picture from the left] I am now more of an expert and I am now making clothes for my clients and making money.

Although it was mostly women and girls who were provided with sewing machines upon completing business classes, vocational training, or the job-readiness program, as seen above, a few male-identifying refugees also took up sewing as a livelihood activity – whether on their

own, with a family a member, or as part of another individual's micro-enterprise business.

Tailoring was also uniquely engaged in by participants of this study by crafting sport-specific products that signified connections to their homeland (e.g., a Congolese flag on a jacket). In the next section, I discuss how SDP, in various ways, was described by participants as a way to engage in livelihood and employment activities.

7.2 SDP, employment and livelihoods

There were three key ways in which participants of this study described connections between YARID SDP programs, employability and livelihoods: (1) in relation to professional and/or paid opportunities for either playing or coaching football; (2) based on social connections built via sport teams, clubs, and SDP programs; and (3) through receiving financial support or capital to begin their own business or social venture.

7.2.1 Professional and/or paid sport

One key way in which participants of this study spoke to the possibility of gaining employment or livelihood opportunities through SDP was based on athletic and/or coaching abilities and skills. Various participants had a vision to become a professional football player or suggested that their involvement in sport competitions and matches was an opportunity to find paid work through sport. For instance, David (DRC, program user) said that:

The sport program is helping the social development of refugees and, in the community, because it's first helping us, it's promoting us to be taken by some football clubs from the sport, from the pitch here and they see that this guy is talented [...] They will be giving him some donations, some assistance, some salary that will promote development in his social life in the community.

Merveille (DRC, program user) also commented that: “Some other Uganda team or other refugee team may be interested and maybe attracted of the way that I play or some other place. And they will invite us when they organize a match to go and play for them. Not for free. We will be paid some wage.” In many of these cases, participants mentioned that scholarships or a sponsorship through sport was particularly appealing. Sponsorships and/or scholarships often would be from an individual or organization (e.g., a university representative) willing to pay school fees of an individual based on their football skills and participation in matches either at the school or in other league matches. For instance, Dady (DRC, program user) commented that:

This is helping in that way because someone may come on the pitch and he will find where you are playing and he will get interested in the way I am playing. Then he will come say gentlemen, I want to sponsor you like this. So, it will be like it has promoted [us] to find an opportunity, and maybe he can promote me, I get a business.

Oscar (DRC, program user) similarly remarked that:

Actually, it is promoting some opportunities, like when we engage in sport we organise the match against the Ugandans. It's giving us this chance of being known by them, that refugees also have a great team and maybe from that organisation we can get sponsored, one or two of us can get sponsored, and whenever you get sponsored there will be some wages that will help you and help your family; yeah, this again is opportunities.

Such opportunities of SDP, or perhaps more likely sport development that relates to the building of athletic skills and abilities to perform at higher levels, has been discussed extensively in SDP literature (e.g., Bowers & Green, 2016; Houlihan & White, 2002). For instance, scholars have highlighted that one potentially immediate – although sometimes rare – effect of participating in SDP programs is that program users may find ways to earn a living wage with a semi-

professional or professional team based on their athletic ability (e.g., McGee, 2019; McSweeney et al., 2019). Many of the male-identifying participants of this study most especially had visions to locate such opportunities and saw football as a way to potentially even migrate elsewhere. For example, David (DRC, program user) said that there had been two players in YARID SDP programs that had moved out of Uganda to compete in other nations:

Yeah, they were two friends that we were playing with them football here, one of them was bought by the team. They came and they bought him, they say, "You come, you are playing for us. We will be paying like this, like this, like this. And for your team we are giving this." And another one has already travelled to Spain, he's playing in Spain football now.

Erick (DRC, program user) also remarked that, "I know some refugees it's helped them with some things, like maybe they might get talented here and when they go out the country, you get a good thing. I think most of the people are players." The possibility of SDP programs or football matches to offer individuals an opportunity to migrate to other nations has also been discussed at in studies of sport (e.g., Darby, 2007; Darby et al., 2007). For refugees, possibilities of future migration based on football or athletic abilities offered potential opportunities to relocate to a different host nation beyond Uganda. Beyond the potential of sport to lead to professional opportunities (e.g., coaching), participants of this study spoke about how social connections that were built through SDP programs enhanced pathways to locate employment and livelihood opportunities.

7.2.2 SDP, social connections and refugee livelihoods

A second way in which participants of this study described their participation in YARID SDP programs was the way in which social connections fostered within sport settings led to

opportunities to locate employment opportunities and promote livelihood activities. Indeed, according to YARID staff, one of the main premises of the formation of sport teams and groups was to encourage refugees to discuss with others their livelihood activities and to stimulate refugees to (re-)consider their own livelihood:

Through the sport, just sitting after with your friends and your fellow teammates, maybe you can just think about what can we do? Of course, they probably get into those conversations where they're like, how, what do you do, what are you doing after this, where are you going? Yeah, so after that, imagine noticing that all your friends are doing something after that. Like, oh I sell shoes the other side, or I run a saloon, or I do this, maybe it will give you room to think about something that you can also do. (Namono, Uganda, staff)

As seen by the above quote, sport and SDP are seen as a way for social connections to be generated amongst refugees. Many of these connections, however, are meant to lead to productivity, whereby – although individuals may build networks of support – program users are encouraged, or even peer-pressured, to become self-reliant and/or self-sufficient via discussing in sport groups ways to engage in livelihood activities. Sport teams and groups hence seek to build a community-driven informal economy of sorts, through communicating and developing ways for refugees to be 'productive' – ultimately pushing a neoliberal agenda on individuals to become self-reliant.

Indeed, Daniel (Uganda, staff) expressed that a critical element of the aforementioned sport club was to have program users share ideas and think about opportunities to locate jobs:

That's why we have the sports club. 'Cause apart from the sports only, the playing of the football or doing other types of sports, at least you can get some time and you sit down

with your fellow soccer players or fellows, or soccer fans or something, and you sit and share ideas. Maybe there can be something an opportunity of a job, or an opportunity of something – someone can say something.

Through sport team and group gatherings, program users utilized social connections to gather and find opportunities for economic activity that were shared with one another. For instance, Aime (DRC, program user) met a fellow refugee in her sport group who became a friend and began to work with him: “We were suffering as we came here in 2012, but in 2017, I met a friend of mine that was making clothes and I began helping him in arranging this clothes.” While gathering with their sport team, Burundian program users would tell each other about small jobs or activities that they could do: “When we are together...and I am telling them some other time they are getting some task, and they are inviting me to do this little task with them” (Bebe, Burundi, community member). Hence, sport teams and groups fostered cultural belongingness, but also was an opportunity to build social networks that, ideally, would lead to possible ways for refugees to make a living, and in the future, “become self-reliant” (Joselyne, Uganda, staff).

More interestingly, however, was that participants emphasized how livelihood activities that were discussed and taken up by refugees was related to their homeland – and that sport offered opportunities to engage in livelihood opportunities that built diasporic consciousness and communities. For example, Judith (DRC, program user) discussed how each person in sport groups often has specific skills and expertise for certain livelihood activities that other refugees would seek out when in need of a product or service:

Actually, the sport and the saving group is really helping women because of the first reason, we are living together as one family...We are all not talented in one thing. These one[s] can be tailors, these ones can be hairdressers. This one can be in need of dressing

her hair when she has no money, she comes to me and I dress her hair. Tomorrow I may have my material and I don't have any money to go and pay the tailor and I bring it to her and she makes it for me. So this is really making us as one family.

Sport groups were thus a way in which refugees were able to seek out social connections for the purposes of engaging in livelihood activities.

Not only did sport offer spaces to learn and be encouraged to engage in economic activities – but sport or physical activity *were* the livelihoods of some refugees. For instance, Abdifatah (Somalia, community member) discussed how, after being involved in sport, business, and vocational programming at YARID, he opened up a gym in his community and provided a photo (note: community members did not take photos however Abdifatah requested a camera to take a picture of his gym):

Image 38. Abdifatah's gym.



For me, I have first a gym. And it has also a massage. A massage inside, gym with different equipments... That area, that Somalia area, there was no gym. So I decided to open a gym that area to help young people. You know, some young people there, they meet and organize themselves there.

Apart from the fact that he charged small membership fees for the purposes of making a living, Abdifatah intended the gym to be a place where Somalian young people would be able to gather, meet with one another, and share memories and raise consciousness of the Somalian homeland. Relatedly, David (DRC, program user), as seen in Image 39, engaged in tailoring to both relate back to his Congolese roots, but also – through sewing sport jerseys and other clothing that was marked by Congolese flags and gold lining (a curated fabric popular in the DRC) – connected to his homeland through livelihood activities.

Image 39. A jacket with the Congolese flag made by David.



The key point here is to highlight the ways in which refugees, through a number of sport teams and groups, created diasporic spaces in which to pursue and engage in livelihood activities that serve a number of purposes; perhaps first and foremost of which is to make a living, but just as importantly, to connect back to their homeland, recall jobs and activities they have expertise in (even if it is discredited by the host community), and build consciousness with other refugees

who have been forced to migrate and live in a new host society. As Van Hear (2006, p. 11) notes, the diaspora is “an important conduit of resources” for economic, social, political, and cultural means. Despite the apparent limitations that displacement may have on refugees from engaging in livelihoods due to their mobility across borders and the significance of traumatic effects and events, refugees utilize *and build* diaspora communities through – and to – make a living (Olwig & Sørensen, 2002). The role of sport was an important conduit in the sense that it both built social connections amongst refugees to find ways to engage in business activity, but also, in a few cases, be the primary way to make a living at the same time as relating back to their homeland.

7.2.3 Financial support, community-building, and sharing of resources through SDP

Perhaps the most notable way in which SDP led to employment and livelihood opportunities for members of YARID was through the provision of resources offered within sport group and team settings. In Chapter 6, I discussed the various sport teams and groups that members of YARID participate in. These sport teams and groups, as mentioned, were not only sport-oriented – that is, meant to foster opportunities for football matches or participation, but rather, also to create spaces where refugees could discuss challenges in their lives, share ideas and potential employment opportunities, and pool resources in a collective manner to support one another. For example, some groups that did not operate as formally as the women and girls sport microfinance savings group with a repayment and loan plan, instead pooled resources together whenever necessary based on a member’s need.

This occurred in almost all ethnic-specific groups, ranging from Congolese to Burundian sport teams and groups. Erick (DRC, program user) selected a photo of him and other football players and explained that,

Image 40. Football teams and social support.



We contribute money sometimes so that we can support each other...so we can have transport...but each individual has to contribute.

In this group, money or resources were pooled together, for instance when seeking to compete in a football tournament, for transportation back to communities where members live, and for food. While these contributions may not have been a significant amount of money, it was important to be able to ‘mobilize’ one another: “There is another way, cause like, when we are in need of something that we are not capable to get at the exact time. In the team, we can organize ourselves, mobilize each other, we make some little contributions, and we buy that something” (Dady, DRC, program user). Even in instances where a group or team member may require healthcare or become sick, there was a feeling that the sports team would be able to support one another:

Yeah. This one is helping us to know each other because you never know, tomorrow or after tomorrow I can face a problem. I can fall sick. I can be in need of something in which I will not rush to a Uganda who doesn’t know me or recognize me as a brother, but I will rush to this fellow Congolese that we met from the sports program and he will be

wanting to assist me because yeah, he will consider me as a brother (Antony, DRC, program user)

Hence, sport teams and groups built a sense of community where people of refugees felt that they could access financial support if needed (as also discussed by Spaaij, Magee, & Jeanes, 2013). This was expressed as particularly important for research participants given that many had limited economic capital and various challenges in their day-to-day lives as identified in Chapter 5.

Similarly, the Burundian sport group was created not only for sport, but also to share memories and support one another:

We created that team because we wanted to share, to discuss as Burundians. We can meet somewhere, we can discuss... We created that team to know each other. For example, if he has a problem or if another person has a problem, we can solve that problem together. If there is someone who has a problem we can put together money and we can support our friend. (Mimi, community member)

In this case, the Burundian group may not explicitly save biweekly or weekly, but instead act as a network for refugees to attain financial resources if necessary, essentially pooling money when needed for particular purposes. The key is that these groups are less formal yet still uniquely organize refugees as a collective for both sport participation and resource-sharing. The Burundian team goes as far to sell shoes (often football cleats) to raise money for the group:

When we get something we contribute to our team and sometimes we can also lose small amounts. We sell the shoes and sometimes that money goes to the team. The money I receive, it's a small amount, I contribute to the team and other money I use it myself. Its

small like one hundred [Ugandan schillings], you can go and buy a tea and share it with your friends. (Bebe, Burundi, community member)

The pooling of resources and the use of sport to foster social, economic, and cultural capital, are not unique to this study. For example, Spaaij's (2009, 2012) work that examines the experiences of refugees in Australia community sport clubs has identified various ways in which individuals accumulate such forms of capital. A unique aspect of the resources that are pooled in sport teams and groups, however, is that these resources are then used for specific livelihood activities – often that not only seek to build economic value for individuals themselves, but for their communities and families, and furthermore, also respond to key social issues that refugees in Kampala face. In other words, many of the sport teams and groups find unique ways to utilize business tactics for the purposes of social entrepreneurship.

7.3 Social entrepreneurship at YARID

A key facet of YARID is to encourage innovation and entrepreneurship by refugees to create businesses and community groups (e.g., sport clubs and teams) that not only increase the economic welfare of organizational members, but also serve a social mission (e.g., to foster cultural belonging). The ways in which social entrepreneurship (SE) occurs at YARID is across levels of the organizational, within groups, and by individuals. In this section, I discuss three ways in which social entrepreneurship is carried out by actors at YARID: (1) by the organization itself; (2) via the sport microfinance saving group; and (3) by individual past and/or current members of YARID with specific strategies for SE.

7.3.1 YARID's social enterprise

YARID has an 'arm' of its organization that operates as a social enterprise and has multiple ways of operation (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Examples of different types of economic transactions via YARID's social enterprise.



Based on the partnership with IOM as discussed earlier that provided physical resources to members of YARID, such as tailoring, hairdressing, and other livelihood activities, YARID actively seeks out partnerships and/or ‘customers’ who are looking to purchase ‘special order’ products and/or services from the organization. While the social enterprise arm is formally located within the Women Empowerment Centre, and mostly aligns with the vocational training program, any member of the organization may play a role in developing products that are requested in a ‘special order.’ How the social enterprise works is usually as follows: a special order is requested to YARID; specific members of the organization with the skills, abilities, and resources necessary to fulfill the order are asked to create the products or provide the service (e.g., brickmaking); the YARID members sell their products to the ‘customer.’ Joselyne (Uganda, staff) said that “they have different products that they do. So when we have an opportunity to design, when we have an opportunity, we call them, they bring their products. Then they can sell their products, that they get an income from it.” For instance, some opportunities for members (and former members) of YARID to sell their products or merchandise occurred during sport events:

Yeah, you know the sports program is helping in business and for the social development...When some championships are organized here at YARID or somewhere else, I come with my merchandise and tell the person in charge of the mobilization, and

he will mobilize for me or for the business and say that before we start the match, we have some business here, it's being sold like this. (Bebe, Burundi, community member)

In addition, Suzanna (DRC, program user) provided a photo of someone selling food at a sporting event (Image 41):

Image 41. Suzanna's picture of someone selling food at a football competition.



Most products that are sold as part of the social enterprise include laptop bags, clothes, small Christmas decorations, crafts, molds, purses, stuffed animals, and other requested items that may be created by a tailor. While YARID members would run, for instance, tailoring businesses independently after receiving start-up support from YARID, if there were times when their products were not being sold, items would be purchased by YARID and then at different times, 'showcased' and sold by the organization with profits being reinvested into social initiatives. As Joselyne (Uganda, staff) went on to explain,

So when we have like where we can showcase things, we sell those and so it's from that money...is what we use like maybe to pay rent for the place and maintaining the machines... The income that comes in supports all the programs, all YARID programs. How we did it is we buy the products from them, then YARID sell those products. So

buy from them, then we sell. So the times when you have like - maybe you can call them themselves, maybe there's a workshop in Munyoyo or here where they can showcase their own products and they can sell on their own, that you bring your product and then you sell. Yeah, or there's a market day, bring your products, we have a table. Put your products and sell your products, yeah.

Such social enterprise 'arms' of organizations have been discussed in SDP research (Hayhurst, 2014). These social enterprises often are similar to YARID's, whereby hand-made products are sold in local communities and profits are then reinvested into organizational social programs. For example, World Bicycle Relief, which operates on a much larger scale, sells manufactured bicycles that are made specifically tailored for rural areas in sub-Saharan Africa and profits are utilized to sustain the organization (WBR, 2021). Hence, YARID uniquely adopts a similar approach to sustaining their organization, most especially through their social enterprise.

However, researchers have pointed to challenges of SE within SDP organizations (McSweeney, 2020; Svensson, 2017). A primary concern is that, due to the use of business tactics for the creation and operation of social enterprises, organizations, such as YARID, that aim to build social value and strive towards social change may succumb to 'business' logics or ideas that are adopted in social entrepreneurship. In other words, given the paradoxical nature of social (e.g., community development) versus business (e.g., for-profit ideas or strategies) logics, both in practice and more ideological terms, organizations may be susceptible to running social programs in a more neoliberal sense (Svensson et al., 2020). Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 2, such critiques raise questions about the effectiveness of SE in the context of development, and SDP more specifically, and its ability to lead to transformative change and differentiate from traditional entrepreneurship commercial aims. One way to distinguish how SE is taken up by

organizations and people within SDP, is to gain insight from staff about the purpose of social enterprises.

Staff of YARID spoke to the dynamics of their social enterprise and their aims of development with refugees in Kampala. To Joselyne (Uganda, staff), YARID's social enterprise program was:

Something that is created in the community to mainly support the community, but bring some small income too. Mainly focusing on supporting the community, not focusing on the profits, profit making, but supporting the community. Yeah, like something that supports the community, not necessarily for profit yeah.

As seen by this quote, Joselyne – who has firsthand knowledge of the social enterprise as she is the women's empowerment coordinator – views the social enterprise program as something that is mainly geared towards supporting people rather than explicitly seeking to build a profit. Elvis (Uganda, staff) made a similar point, although discussing the tensions of 'social' and 'business' aims from a viewpoint of social and economic development:

When it comes to the economic development, I don't really think we're so much into the social and a bit of the economic development ... you know, this is something that we're looking at but it is not an easy side to deal with, the economic development. The social development even talking to people only, you can change their mindset. It's easier than when you look at the economic development.

Still, despite the focus of YARID on social development as discussed by some staff, other staff members, such as Josue (DRC, staff) felt that there was a 'blend' of logics, or ideas, around social and economic development:

The main focus I may say is social development. But maybe I would say fifty five percent and forty five percent because that's how the program are split into two. I may say we have the English, the job readiness program, it's part of the social part. But if you look other ways, it's also economical. Because you can't say if you don't know the language, you can't go and find yourself a job, if you don't know how to find a job, you don't know how to understand the Ugandan system. It's both but mostly - maybe I may say firstly it is the social one. Because you want the person to understand first the society he is coming in, in order to expand himself in the business.

It is unsurprising, given YARID's various streams of social initiatives, that the organization blends social and business logics, or, relatedly, social and economic development. An interesting follow up point made by Josue (DRC, staff) was that, in terms of SDP, some community members or families preferred, or at least were more interested, in more material or economic effects of SDP at YARID:

I think this is just - there are people who have this mind that the only help they need is the material one. So, when you tell that this is important for this and this, they want just to see that the outcome material, what they can touch. So in their mind they think maybe we are using them, were exploiting them for some of our interests, they can't see what we are talking about like results, being in touch with other communities, they just think maybe we are there to advocate for your own fundings and so on.

It is thus interesting to note that, perhaps for some community members and participants of YARID, the economic development aspect of programs is most important for their lives. Indeed, as discussed earlier, many refugees live in poverty in Kampala, and locating employment or

livelihood opportunities, as well as creating a business to build economic capital, remain one of the most pressing issues for their day-to-day lives.

Finally, YARID also utilized other business tactics to sustain their social programs, similar to the concept of SE that suggests adopting specific business tactics may support the sustainability of organizations. For instance, for the educational program at YARID, participants – if they can – are asked to pay 2500 Ugandan schillings a month in order for resources needed for English classes and other social programs to operate. Elvis (Uganda, staff) said,

The other thing is that – for example – the education program, we request these people to contribute some money. Five thousand, that is registration then \$2500 per month for sustainability purposes so that we can be in position to buy the whiteboard, markers, we can be in position to buy paper. Then for the women empowerment project, they also contribute some money.

Hence, rather than offer free-of-charge services in all streams of the social programs YARID runs, some initiatives (specifically the education program) do require payment by interested participants and funds are used to pay staff and for educational program costs (e.g., rent, whiteboards, teaching materials, etc.). A large part of this is, as Elvis identifies above, for sustainability purposes. While YARID does partner with a number of other organizations and receives funding for some projects, payment for some services by program users ensures the continuation of certain programs. While SDP programs are free-of-charge, the money that is received by YARID members is reinvested into the organization. As discussed later, this aspect of payment for some initiatives within YARID may negate a constant reliance on external actors for funding, resources, and financial sustainability; at the same time, it may lead to the exclusion

of some refugees without monetary resources to join programs. It should be noted however that various individuals, without paying monthly registration fees, are still welcomed to participate.

Thus, YARID utilizes business ideas – or at the very least – social entrepreneurial strategies to sustain social programming. At the same time, they also seek to enhance opportunities for refugees in social programs to engage in entrepreneurship and business creation themselves – both through the aforementioned sport groups and teams, but also the sport microfinance savings group for women and girls as discussed next.

7.3.2 YARID sport microfinance saving group

As described in a previous section, YARID encouraged the creation of sport teams and groups for the purposes of pooling resources, offering social support to members, and to share stories and build consciousness back to homelands where refugees had been displaced from. The most notable group however, in relation to SE, was the sport microfinance savings group for women and girls. The group, which was formed by women and girls participating in vocational training programs at YARID, was run by women and girls and met weekly. As Judith (DRC, program user) explained:

Before saving, we [women's group] first go and [do] some kind of sports and after that we make this saving...We get together every Thursday for 2 hours and make this kind of saving...This saving group and the sport are both helping me. They are helping me morally, physically and financially.

Sport is particularly useful for the women savings group as a stress reliever for refugees – many of whom had faced trauma during and after displacement such as rape, sexual and physical abuse, and the loss of family members. Sport hence brought people together routinely (i.e., every

Thursday) in a trusting, collective space to share knowledge, support one another, and save, but also in order to “free the mind” (Suzanna, DRC, program user).

Importantly, both due to unemployment and limited banking institutions for refugees, YARID realized an opportunity to introduce their organizational members to the practices of microfinance and savings groups specifically for the purposes of accessing capital for business creation and activity. For example, Christine (DRC, program user) said that:

It’s [saving group] much helping the social development of the community because whoever is unemployed is coming to the saving group, what if she or he doesn’t have any possibility of starting but we are looking anyway to initiate [business] and we give some loan, then they go and start a little business that will be helping them.

Suzanna (DRC, program user) supported this view and noted how the savings groups are helpful “because some of the other time you can realize that you are down [on money]. But you rush again to the saving group, and you get a loan... Then you can go and sell your jewellery or your small merchandise.” Women and girls in the sport savings group create and develop regulations, procedures, and practices themselves through participatory voting and collective decision making for interest rates on loans, payment schedules, meeting times and places, and the type of sport(s) (e.g., running, basketball, football) that is used weekly to bring together members.

As noted by various scholars, one of the ways in which SE became more well-known both in practice and research was the creation of microfinance in Bangladesh (Chemin, 2008; Karim, 2011; Khandker, 2005). Today, microfinance and microenterprising are utilized in various nations to create banking services for people living in poverty or in BOP markets (Kistruck et al., 2011; Vassallo, Prabhu, & Banerjee, 2019). In terms of its SE connection, the idea is that, through savings groups and microfinance, individuals who once may have had

limited access to capital to begin their own businesses or enterprises may now be able to do so, through smaller amounts of loaned money and lower percentages of interest from more traditional bank institutions.

In the case of YARID, staff adapted the idea of microfinancing savings groups and added sport as a component to their operations, which the women and girls utilized for the creation of their group to bring together members routinely. The role of sport was to bring women and girls together, but also, to challenge patriarchal inequalities related to women's sport, utilize sport in conjunction with savings to increase participation in sporting activities. For many women and girls, the savings group was helpful for the cost of school fees, healthcare, rent, and running of their own businesses, such as tailoring, which many of the women and girls were engaged in after receiving sewing machines from YARID. In fact, multiple participants commented on how the savings group assisted in starting their own business, and thus contributing to their livelihood in Kampala. Loans would be provided to members of the savings group (with an interest rate applied for repayment) when requested and savings would be distributed twice every year amongst the group. For instance, Aime (DRC, program user) had been able to create her own tailoring business: "It has helped me start a business...it's a tailoring business." Mamy (DRC, program user) also commented that:

Okay. Yeah, it's helping people start little businesses because whenever they are willing and they have a little cart of starting, it is helping them. There are some people who have started a salon. And there are some other people that can rent a little space and be selling canned goods there. For example, it's helping me to get money, I go and hire a land worker to cart equipment, maids and we harvest with them.

Hence, while sport only plays a minor role overall in the savings group (mostly for the purposes of bringing people together routinely in a safe, supportive space), women and girls are able to generate some form of financial backing to create their own businesses, even if these businesses are mostly focused on generating economic capital. A key element of the sport microfinance savings group, however, was for women and girl refugees to move away from relying on external support and instead rely on one another in cases of emergencies. As Judith (DRC, program user) said:

Actually, challenges, problems, difficulties are very many in life but mostly we are advising each other of doing jobs because some other ones don't want to do jobs. They just want to sit home but we are taking this duty of advising them that you go and work, it will help you like this. Some other ones, when they get children that are sick, they only hope for help from the refugee offices but some other time we advise them that no, you're going to be waiting for the aid from the offices. If you have little money, you can take your child to a private clinic, something like that.

At the same time, Suzane (DRC, program user) made a comment about how some members of the savings group would not be able to contribute savings routinely: "Actually, there have been some little challenges, but not that much conflict. Because some other members are not getting money for some other days. And they are not saving for those days that they don't have money." In these instances, while the savings group is supposed to enable women and girls to move away from external funding (e.g., through UNHCR), savings group may perpetuate a monitoring and surveillance culture that potentially further marginalizes members who cannot contribute to the group routinely (see Rankin, 2002). While these challenges were not discussed at length by research participants, it is important to consider whether women and girls who do not have the

financial capacity to be a member of the savings group further marginalized through such practices.

Whilst the resources that are pooled collectively in sport teams and groups are only minor steps in the direction of providing economic and social capital to refugees in Uganda, the teams and groups are one of the ways for refugees, at least in this study, to receive and acquire resources due to unemployment and inaccessibility of banking services as discussed in Chapter 5. Finally, following YARID's own approach to SE, various participants of this study engaged in their own social entrepreneurial work.

7.3.3 Refugees as social entrepreneurs

In this study, sport not only led to unique ways to engage in collective saving, but also led to social entrepreneurship for supporting other refugees, building financial capital, and most importantly, fostering business activity for the purposes of challenging poverty. Mustapha (DRC), a former participant of YARID programs in 2015, moved on from the organization as he was offered a job opportunity as a football coach for a local sport-for-development organization. Through his involvement in sport, however, he realized that refugees were unable to afford proper sport equipment and shared a photo of him coaching youth and explained:

Image 42. Teaching life skills through sport.



Here in this photo I am teaching youth about water and hydration. After coaching after sitting down [with football players] and then you see around you and identify the needs of the people you are working with, for example, on the pitches some of them are playing barefoot. But when you go and get a soccer boot [shoe], give it to someone and explain to them, you need to contribute something [money] so you can use it. It helps you individually and it also helps the other person.

In this instance, Mustapha recognized an entrepreneurship opportunity that both served a need (i.e., playing safely) of refugee sport participants and an opportunity to generate some profit from the sale of a specific product (i.e., sporting equipment). Notably, Mustapha emphasized the need to take risks and be creative:

Sometimes it's risky, because you have to be creative sometimes. When you see that here it's not working, there's other pitches around, pitches are so many in different places. So when you see it's not working here you move to another pitch... When you go purchase for example football balls, socks, each and everything, football kits, and then you go to the different pitches, then it could be a good business for you.

Other interviewees discussed how they would engage in entrepreneurship for both social and economic value, for example through the creation of their own sport-for-development organization. Junior, another former program user of YARID in 2015, created "Sport for Social Change" based on the immense needs of refugees and shared a photo while explaining that he formed the organization because,

Image 43. Sport for Social Change flyer.



Because the social work is still huge and because there's so many refugee needs, one organization cannot cover them all. I said I can also create my own organization so that we can expand and help more people in need.

A key component of Junior's organization is its operation of a social enterprise. Refugee volunteers whom Junior coached during his time at YARID are hired for small jobs (e.g., painting, brick making, construction, carpentry) and contribute part of their salary to Sport for Social Change. These profits are then utilized for other programs including sport-related life skills training as well as free vocational training taught by the above volunteers to other refugees. A photo Junior shared was a carpenter he identified who taught Sport for Social Change participants about woodworking and also contributed part of his income to the organization:

Image 44. Photo of a carpenter who teaches youth participating in Sport for Social Change.



Junior emphasized that the creation of his organization was based on how YARID encourages program participants to invent their own businesses. In particular, business training includes discussion of sport-related businesses, such as the formation of community football groups (similar to sport savings groups), preparation to become coaches to make a living and serve the needs of refugee communities, or establishing a business related to a sport or physical activity (e.g., a football team, gym). Joselyne (staff) said that, “We train them to start their own sports groups or help gyms, or helping people exercise. And basically they can also be coaches, maybe go to school, primary schools and start coaching young kids as sports teachers or something.” Key to the teaching of forming sport-related businesses was the need to address social issues whilst also making small profit. As mentioned earlier, Abdifatah (program user) opened a local gym that charged minor membership fees, but, primarily, was created to serve Somalian youth refugees. Similarly, Junior emphasized that he was motivated to create his Sport for Social Change organization based on youth and community development, in addition to responding to poverty levels of refugees:

My vision was exploring these youth abilities...I just think of the community development, that was my highest motivation...When giving these life skills topics, one life skill can be just - maybe specific to the way of tackling the poverty. So, the games implemented just for tackling poverty, so how are you going to tackle the poverty, you're going to tackle the poverty by becoming self-reliant. How will you become self-reliant, by creating a small business, an enterprise, things like that.

In sum, refugees in this study engaged in a number of entrepreneurial activities focused on building social and economic value for refugees, whether they be through the creation of sport-for-development organizations, gyms, or the sale of sport equipment. The key point of these various forms of entrepreneurship, however, was a dual focus to both generate profit for an individual (e.g., Mustapha, Abdifatah) whilst fostering social impact (e.g., collectively gathering youth refugees or selling equipment at lower costs for the safety of sport participants). In some cases, such as the work of YARID business training and Junior's Sport for Social Change organization, refugees also seek to build avenues for others to engage in jobs and market activity (e.g., training to become community coaches). In essence, the social entrepreneurship work of YARID and members of the organization thus seeks to create opportunities for refugees to find a way to build economic capital. Regardless of how minor these efforts may be, and possibly seem small in scale with regard with regards to challenging poverty, the work being done by various participants in this study nonetheless seeks to offer alternative strategies for refugees to increase financial resources and engage in market activity. However, the way in which SE, development, and employment is taken up and contested by refugees is crucial for the purposes of exploring the lived experiences of participants in this study.

Chapter 8 – Refugees’ understandings of and resistance to Western ideas, concepts, and practices

In the previous three chapters, I discussed: (1) challenges that refugees in Kampala face in their day-to-day lives; (2) benefits and barriers participants of YARID SDP and other social programs experienced; and (3) how individuals described their experience with employment, livelihood, and social entrepreneurship at YARID. Across these chapters, there were clear threads of how YARID SDP programs relate to various notions of development, SE, employment, inclusion, and exclusion, amongst other ideas and practices. In this chapter, I further discuss how such terms and notions were understood, taken up, and – in some cases – challenged by participants of this study. Specifically, I respond to the final research question: “How are potentially Western notions of ‘SE,’ ‘employment,’ ‘inclusion,’ ‘exclusion,’ and ‘development’ taken up and/ or challenged by the refugee participants in SDP initiatives? What are the dynamics of power behind understandings of these concepts?” These questions are particularly important as they unravel some of common Westernized assumptions rooted in such concepts, particularly as they relate to SDP, and how refugees view such concepts, and in some ways resist their usual definition, at least based on Westernized knowledge.

The chapter is organized into three sections. First, I discuss how participants viewed YARID’s approach to development and how the organization operates in a bottom-up manner, including in relation to SDP. Second, I discuss how participants’ strategies and activities in relation to (social) entrepreneurship challenge traditional and dominant ideas of who and what entrepreneurship is. Third, I highlight how refugees navigated relations of social inclusion and exclusion, in relation to ‘integration.’

8.1 Development and SDP

8.1.1 Development at YARID: A bottom-up, refugee-led approach

As discussed in Chapter 6, one of the strategies that YARID utilizes to establish the focus and goals of their social programs is a human-centred design approach. This approach seeks to examine community needs and strengths, and with feedback from community members, particularly refugees, create new development programs and adapt existing social initiatives. It became apparent throughout the study that YARID, while having a number of partnerships with both local and international organizations, is an organization that makes decisions based on their organizational members. This is an important distinction to make about ‘development’ at YARID as there has been long established critiques in SDP literature that some organizations (though not all) are often influenced by global North funders, donors, and other partners (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Darnell, 2012; Giulianotti et al., 2016). Such organizations may diffuse specific development foci, direct funding to particular areas based on their own ideas of development, and Western ideologies within SDP (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; McSweeney & van Luijk, 2019).

YARID’s approach to development, however, was almost entirely bottom-up (Black, 2010, 2017). That is, participants spoke to how program users (i.e., refugees) informed the organization’s development focus and priority areas. Elvis (Uganda, staff) provided an overview of how the organization engaged in such practices, which I quote at length:

So the human-centred design approach is a creative way of solving problems in the community. Let me give you an example. For example, you bring youth and you talk to them about how you start a project...you need to have something that is inspiring you, ok? So if you have something that is inspiring you, you need to really think about it for

some good time. So that's something that is despairing you is the need in your community. So when you have that, you think of a need in the community. Go back to the community first and ask them. "OK, this is what I'm thinking about. What are some of the needs that you have?" The youth can go back to their communities to find out, "What is this need in the community?" Then they can come up with maybe ten. Ask the community out of ten to prioritize, then get them to prioritize... Then when you develop something that they think can work, take it back to the community. Test it. Test the idea. Does it really work? If it does not really work or there are some issues that are missing, you can refine the idea so that you get the best out of it.

A key element of this human-centred design approach is to work together with the people who are targeted as 'beneficiaries,' or, in other words, the end users of social programs. As seen in the above quote, there is an underlining entrepreneurial tone within the human-centered design approach – where ideas are continuously generated, discussed, tested, and, if considered workable with program participants, implemented fully. YARID uses such an approach for all of their social programs, including SDP. For instance, Patrick (DRC, staff) the SDP coordinator, said that: "We start by our members, and with members first." This approach is significant for the purposes of YARID as it recognizes the importance of working with the community in a bottom-up manner to identify pressing issues – sport club and meetings as discussed earlier was one space in which ideas as well as challenges of refugees would be shared to envision how change may occur.

Many program users made note about how YARID differed from other development organizations they were involved with in Uganda because YARID staff sought to listen to

program users and be guided by refugees' suggestions about what was required for programs or individual purposes. For example, Oscar (DRC, program user) said that:

There is a very huge difference between YARID programs and those other programs.

Because I am studying English there from [other NGO], but I can never express my needs there. I am only open here at YARID. I am in need of this, need of that, in need of the sport equipment. I am giving this proposal to our coaches and they are bringing it to their administrations and it's being pending to seek for assistance.

Kelvin (DRC, program user) similarly remarked that, "Here at YARID there is a diversity of people and everyone is free, everyone has that kind of democracy to do everything that he feel like." The key point here is that YARID supported the self-determination of refugees. Through the organization's bottom-up approach, staff sought to listen to community needs and desires, and structure social programs and SDP around program users' decisions. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter 6, many sport programs, such as the sport microfinance savings group, operates with limited connection to YARID or involvement by YARID staff. This is done purposely to allow program users to direct how they utilize sport for their own purposes and in what ways.

Furthermore, YARID's approach to development was refugee-led and operated in close proximity with refugees in the local community. Abdifatah (Somalia, community member) discussed how YARID's role in the community as a refugee-led organization meant that the work they do was to support refugees 'on-the-ground:'

I think they do very good work because I think they are the only refugee led organization that you can see actually doing something. They are still not very big, but again most refugee led organizations are not that big. So I think they're doing a very good job

education wise, football wise, so I think they are very excellent given what we have now, what we can see.

Moreover, the work of YARID was deemed extremely valuable as larger organizations, such as the UN, were often limited in their ability to create change or support refugees in an immediate way:

So the whole system [refugee assistance] kinda needs an update maybe, so that even the actors on the ground level, they need to be included, and now they become very fast, their reaction. But the other reaction is oh something happens, if you try to handle like any other issue, like bureaucracy, in 1994, there was genocide in Rwanda, a neighboring country. It took the UN three months to even make some suggestion like what should we do, who's going to contribute. Three months one million people died in those three months. So if they had actors on the ground things could have changed swiftly. So they don't have that, but I think now they are becoming multilateral and hopefully it is going to work. But we always learn from mistakes but then again we come up with solutions. So I think YARID is very good, because it is closer to anyone than we can see here.

(Saaeid, Somalia, community member)

The slowness and far distance in which UNHCR operated with refugees was commented on not only by Saaied, but also by YARID staff with regards to the UNHCR's bureaucratic nature and how this created difficulties for YARID:

When you compare other organizations, if you go to maybe UNCHR, they lock people outside – the refugees. You're serving refugees but you don't want them to access your offices. So that is the difference. We're more close to the community because some of the

programs are down in the community rather than people just coming but at least we work with the community itself. (Elvis, Uganda, staff)

Many refugees participating in YARID programs had experience with UNHCR officials, given that Uganda ranks as one of the highest refugee-hosting nations in the world and received approximately \$165 million USD from UNHCR in 2020 for their refugee response (UNHCR, 2021). YARID has also partnered with UNHCR in previous years for program implementation, mostly in terms of receiving financial support. The differences between UNHCR and YARID, however, in terms of development approaches, became clear throughout the study and talking with participants about their experiences.

Most clear is that UNHCR, to many program users, community members, and staff, feels at a far distance to refugees, too bureaucratic, and inaccessible in situations where immediate support is required. Indeed, during one lunch I had with Joselyne, Elvis, and Joseph, they went into depth talking about the UNHCR offices, and how there are three gates that all require authorization to pass through to talk to a UNHCR representative (Fieldnotes, June 25th, 2019). Many refugee-background people found this to be just one challenging aspect of accessing UNHCR support (particularly for those in the urban area of Kampala), among other challenges such as required paperwork that needed to be completed to request assistance. YARID, as seen by the above, took an approach to development, including SDP, that works first-hand with refugees and supports them in self-determination to make decisions and suggestions about what is needed in their lives, what could be done with regards to social programs, and operates in close proximity with forced migrants to be a refugee-led organization and advocate for the participants of this study. In essence, YARID takes up and utilizes a bottom-up, on-the-ground approach for the purposes of development.

While this bottom-up approach may appear to be a minor difference in comparison to other development organizations (e.g., UNHCR) that participants made note of within interviews, this difference is important to highlight as there have been critiques of some SDP programs being driven by and funded by actors in the global North who operate in far proximity from on-the-ground programs in the global South (Darnell, 2012; McSweeney et al., 2019). The refugee-led approach by YARID follows calls by scholars that SDP organizations should be, at least in practice, bottom-up (Black, 2017). Although many NGOs working in SDP and other development sectors often claim to utilize bottom-up approaches, YARID staff *and* program users emphasized specific ways in which the organization exuded a bottom--up approach since its formation. Although YARID does receive support from external actors, such as UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration, they have remained committed to being a refugee-led organization: listening to, working with, and delivering development programs, including SDP, that hold value to refugees.

The closeness in which YARID operates with refugees was noted by Abdifatah (Somalian, community member): “When you come here [Kampala], you find only one organization, InterAid, not even a refugee organization, which is a Ugandan NGO. When you go who is very near to the refugees, right now YARID, you want Congolese, he is very, very near. Robert [Executive Director] is much closer to the Congolese than any other organization you will find.” The way in which YARID operates with close proximity and feedback from the refugee community in Kampala has also been an increasing funding strategy for the organization, emphasizing that refugee-led organizations should be directly funded (rather than receiving financial support through multiple levels such as the UN and UNHCR offices, or funding with specific mandates). Indeed, YARID is part of a new Refugee Leadership Coalition of six

refugee-led organizations which has received a \$10 million Larsen Lam ICONIQ Impact Award in 2021, and the coalition argues “that movements led by those most affected are most likely to be successful; that’s why the coalition’s solution is rooted in the importance of transferring ownership and resources to refugee-led organizations” (Relief Web, 2021, para. 3). Such a bottom-up, refugee-led approach also informs YARID SDP programs and how they work with refugees.

8.1.2 SDP at YARID

The key aspect of SDP, as mentioned in Chapter 2, is that SDP moves beyond a focus on sport development and seeks to foster some form of social value and/or social change (Coalter, 2013; Kidd, 2008). There have thus far been various thematic areas in which SDP has been identified: gender equality, positive youth development, life skills, health, conflict resolution, social capital, entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employability (Svensson & Woods, 2017). Yet, the latter three thematic areas of SDP in this list, as discussed in Chapter 2, have had limited focus within SDP literature. Based on this study, the thematic areas of entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employability stood out as most important in SDP to research participants. That is, while they discussed other elements of YARID SDP programs such as social inclusion, gender equality, and conflict resolution, the emphasis on how SDP may impact participants’ lives pertained to finding ways to make a living and engage in activities – whether through or supported by SDP – that were innovative in nature and potentially able to generate financial value. In Patrick’s (DRC, staff) photocollage, he discussed how sport offered opportunities for refugees, particularly youth, to locate jobs such as brickmaking. He further explained how these jobs (although informal in nature) were often attained through the creation of interpersonal relationships playing football in the community.

Image 45. Patrick's photocollage.



These photos are from Goma [area of Kampala]...and here I coach and play football with youth from YARID...and these people do business here they make bricks...[explains steps to brickmaking]...and you can see this is the site where they make bricks and play football. Bricks are then ready and you see someone comes to buy. And the last step here these kids are playing football and this is where many youth are asked and paid to make bricks, you can see the men asking the youth...and this connects to YARID because we have sport club and in sport club we try to organize many capacities and even if we don't train them how to make bricks we tell them about jobs of brickmaking and about jobs in Uganda like these.

The focus on how sport may lead to potential social networks and relationships with others for refugees is a significant point that I also highlighted in the previous chapter. With regards to Patrick's photomontage above and other participants' experiences at YARID, the organization, staff, and program users themselves sought to utilize their capacities, social networks, and skills to engage in livelihood activity and self-employment. As discussed by Spaaij et al. (2019), a large majority of sport, physical activity, and forced migration research takes a deficit-based

approach – that is, associating refugees with often depressing circumstances in relation to trauma, health, social exclusion, and discrimination (see also Paraschak, 2013 in relation to SDP and Indigenous peoples and a deficit versus strengths-based approach). While these challenges must be noted as they significantly affect and influence the lives of refugees, and such issues have been highlighted in this study (most especially in Chapter 5), there is a need to advance a strengths-based approach in studies of sport and forced migration, one whereby forced migrants’ “strengths, capabilities, knowledge, and resources” (Spaaij et al., 2019, p. 13) are highlighted and brought to the fore of analysis.

In this study, particularly in Chapter 7, I emphasized how participants utilized their knowledge, resources, and skills, through both SDP programs and other activities, to engage in entrepreneurship and livelihoods. Importantly, these types of activities highlight the agency of refugees in Kampala, and furthermore, their skills and creativity in the work they do and entrepreneurial strategies they employ. For example, as Junior (DRC, program user) emphasized in the quote below – part of his SDP organization’s social enterprise focused on involving individuals who have skills for specific vocations or livelihood activities, and hence seeks to identify the diverse knowledge and skills that refugees already have:

With vocational training, there are so many skillful refugees in Uganda, so I said its good for me to seek for someone who can be in help of organizing an activity, he can show others what he has and do. So I got someone who can volunteer, because he was talented in mechanic, in plumbing, in painting. So we also just started giving out these skills for free of charge, as program coordinator of vocational training. So he volunteered to train six first participants. These six first participants were also given a task of training at least

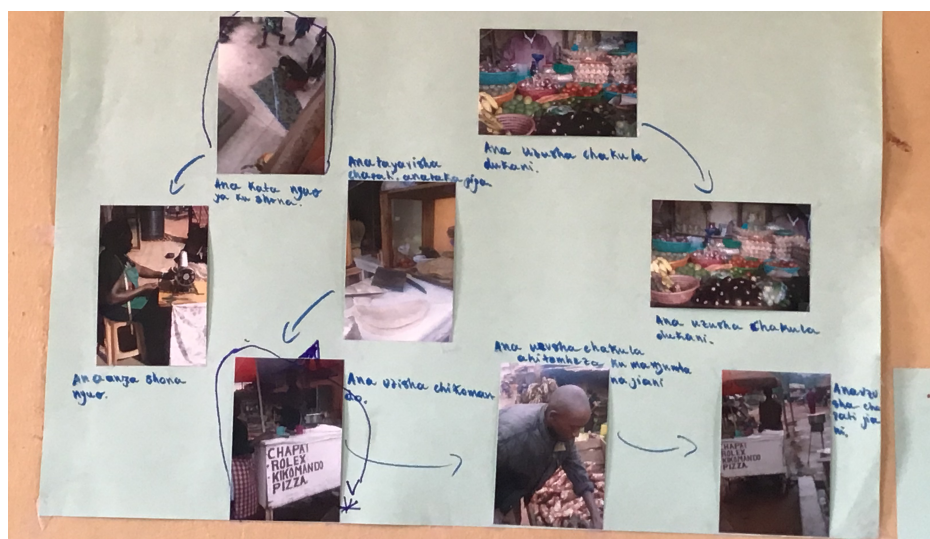
two participants, each one of them. Now this participant after being impressed of this opportunity they said no we should also give back to the organization.

Organizations such as Junior's that focus on the skills and resources that refugees have demonstrate a strengths-based approach to sport and forced migration. While YARID often took a strengths-based approach to their work, the organization also exhibited a deficits-based approach in various ways. For example, YARID identified the needs of refugees regarding employment and livelihood opportunities, English speaking, and social inclusion in order to reduce social exclusion. Although the identification of specific needs reflects a deficits-based approach, YAIRD also notably adopted a strengths-based approach. Previous research on SDP, for example, has demonstrated that football: (1) is a popular sport played by refugees from different nations of origin; and (2) provides a space where refugees may share knowledge about their homelands and lives (e.g., McDonald, Spaaij, & Dukic, 2019; Spaaij & Schailée, 2020). Another example is the specific way in which refugees from the DRC have capacities and skills related to tailoring, which YARID acknowledged and specifically sought – and received – funding for from IOM. Both YARID staff and program users made note of their past experiences with tailoring in their homeland. Helene (DRC, program user) said, “When I came here to Uganda I was so bored, but YARID recognized and realized that I am a tailor and they engaged me to be a trainer in their tailoring.” Even more interesting is how the IOM partnership has actually led to refugees themselves submitting requests for equipment for livelihood and employment activities that individuals are skilled within and may utilize for the purposes of self-employment and the building of social and economic capital. For example, Daniel (Uganda, staff) noted that the IOM program was important for: “Giving these people refugees some type of start-up capital to start up a business of their own choice.” Joselyne (Uganda, staff) also

discussed that the IOM partnership allowed for refugees to decide what they would like to pursue: “Like you decide on your own, what do you want to do? It’s you to choose. Maybe I want to make fabrics, and they provide the things that you need to do fabrics. Maybe you want to do sport coaching, or maybe I want to do salon, they [IOM] provide you things that you need for salon, weaves and what, dryers, everything.”

Furthermore, YARID’s sport programs are not solely ‘organized’ around the deficits of refugees. Instead, these programs are somewhat informal and unorganized in relation to SDP (sport clubs, meetings, programs that range from sport to more SDP) and are operated in a way that program users themselves find helpful in their lives – whether that be learning about coaching and being leaders in their communities, collecting and saving resources together, or finding ways to identify and challenge day-to-day issues that individuals have in their lives. For example, Suzanna (DRC, program user) emphasized the way the sport microfinances savings group was crucial for program users to support their own businesses but also, as discussed earlier, led to unique ways to collectively eat and share food with one another:

Image 46. Suzanna’s photocollage.



I want to begin from here (far left photo). I am a tailorist in Congo and have training here from YARID. You see I am cutting the material down and the benefit I am having is that I got the machine and now I am sewing here...And here in this photo is a chapati (bottom left). The chapati is important to us because we are having a savings group here and when we are doing saving and we are hungry we are chopping down on a nice chapati...and this food is helpful for us here in Uganda because you see here in Uganda sometimes we don't have money, but we are gonna take some little money, like 1000 [Ugandan schillings], 500, and we buy for us and kids one plate of kikomando and we eat...and this relates to sport because you see we do sport before our savings group every time. And apart from that it brings us together.

This approach to SDP is one not so much tailored to a deficits-based approach surrounded by traumatizing and difficult experiences of refugees (although of course is informed by these experiences and does address challenges of individuals' lives), seeks to highlight, build, and extend the skills and capacities of program users that YARID has knowledge about and accumulate resources for (whether that be for livelihood activities, food, business creation, sporting experiences, and so on). More specifically, YARID has uniquely utilized SDP and other social initiatives to bolster the social entrepreneurial, employment, and livelihoods of refugees.

8.2 Social entrepreneurship and employment

As discussed in Chapter 2, scholars have called for a reorientation of entrepreneurship for the purposes of understanding the concept in broader ways, related to its social, cultural, and political value (Essers et al., 2017). In other words, there is a need to examine entrepreneurship and the way it may lead to social change, or fall within the concept of social entrepreneurship. Furthermore, exploration of how individuals and groups not commonly associated with the term

entrepreneur (e.g., ethnic minorities, refugees, women) is required to reimagine the way in which entrepreneurship occurs in different ways, by various people, and with nuances in practices and settings. More specifically, Weston and Imas (2017) call for more insights into “barefoot entrepreneurs” (those who dwell at the margins of society) and how historically marginalized peoples utilize entrepreneurship as a transformative activity, whereby art and socio-economic strategies are practiced for the purposes of building solidarity amongst communities and redistributing economic value to specific communities. In the following section, I discuss how participants in this study sought to engage in innovative and entrepreneurial practices as outlined in Chapter 7 that moved beyond profit maximization but rather did so to build economic value and solidarity amongst their communities. The section is somewhat brief as I also discuss further the contestation of entrepreneurship in the following chapter.

8.2.1 Commercial and social entrepreneurship: Challenging the dominant perspective of entrepreneurship

In this study, refugees took up understandings of entrepreneurship both in relation to the building of economic value, but also with regards to social value. Entrepreneurship was thus taken up by numerous participants in a way that went against the common Western notion of entrepreneurship that emphasizes profit maximization (Essers et al., 2017). As discussed in Chapter 7, through entrepreneurial work, participants sought to respond to pressing social issues or challenges that refugees face in their lives: the unavailability of sporting equipment (Mustapha); creation of other SDP organizations to address forced migrants’ needs (Junior); and sport microfinance savings groups to generate resources for women and girls’ business activities.

In this study’s context, as discussed in Chapter 2, the hegemonic discourses and practices that often align with entrepreneurship is the idea that it is powerful, resource-laden individuals

and/or organizations that engage in innovation and novel forms of primarily economic development (Essers et al., 2017). In addition, the dominant narrative of entrepreneurship is often one positively related to wealth accumulation done through the activities of Western, white, male individuals who maximize profit. In this study, there are clear challenges to this dominant narrative of entrepreneurship as exhibited by refugees' experiences in Kampala.

First, is the idea that entrepreneurs have resources at hand to engage in entrepreneurship. Participants of this study often did not have many resources, specifically financial backing, that has often been associated with entrepreneurship within the Western world and high-growth ventures including, for example, companies capitalizing on new technologies (Baker & Welter, 2015). Aime (DRC, program user) said that: "Because we are refugees and refugees, especially we don't have money." Additionally, as participants of this study lived in the capital of Kampala, compared to refugees in refugee settlements, less support from the Ugandan government and UNHCR was provided: "In the urban centre, they [Ugandan government] believe you are able to take care of yourself. So when you come to Kampala, most of them are not given anything, nothing like that. Money, or something like that, food or anything, no one pays for them" (Daniel, Uganda, staff). Yet, as seen in this study, this did not eliminate the possibility of engaging in entrepreneurship, whether that be through creating a social-focused SDP organization, a gym, utilizing sport microfinance savings groups to pool money for certain businesses (e.g., tailoring, salons) and/or producing sport clothing that could be sold to consumers. Of course, it is questionable whether YARID's integration of entrepreneurship within their development programs moves away from a neoliberal ethos that the Ugandan government follows for refugees in urban centres: i.e., a 'take care of yourself' approach. YARID's focus on enhancing refugees' own self-reliance, and the entrepreneurial focus of

programs, remains embedded within a neoliberal framework that places responsibility on refugees to support themselves. In other words, providing support to program participants to engage in business-creation and to locate ways to become self-reliant does little to challenge the structural conditions in which forced migration, poverty, and other inequalities such as patriarchy and social exclusion have been shaped by neoliberalism and colonialism.

A second key contrast to the dominant narrative of entrepreneurship is how it was not a panacea for economic development. In fact, while some participants did note that they were able to build economic value through the creation of businesses or innovative activities (e.g., the sale of sport equipment), this did not lead to the dominant idea of profit maximization and wealth accumulation. In reality, such activities – while they did support the day-to-day lives of individuals – held very limited economic impact, both in their lives and the wider communities and nations. Rather, these activities related to entrepreneurship were mostly discussed and favoured by refugees given the expected *social* impact. For example, when discussing his gym, Adbafitah (community member) made a note that while his gym charges a small monetary fee, the main goal of the gym was “to help young people.” Likewise, Junior’s (program user) sport for development organization was meant to address “refugee needs” rather than focus on building economic income for himself. Even the sport microfinance savings group, which is mostly intended to increase the economic capital of women and girls’ refugees, was noted by various participants as a way to enhance the social development of refugees in the community: “It’s [sport savings group] contributing in the social development of refugees in the community, of course. We are having maybe some friends, somebody’s sick, somebody’s having a mourning. And we are contributing in some little things to go and comfort them” (Suzane, DRC, program user).

As discussed in Chapter 7, many participants engaged more closely in social entrepreneurship – a concept that must be also questioned but at the very least reorients entrepreneurship more generally to the way in which it is used *beyond the individual*; instead, the focus is on the benefit for the community. Indeed, the goal is to challenge the inequitable circumstances certain groups live in and to relate back to a homeland and foster diasporic consciousness (e.g., through making clothing with the DRC flag). For instance, Bebe (Burundi, community member) made note of how she and other individuals from the Burundian sport group were also involved in cultural dancing, and how this was not only a way to generate some form of economic capital but also to foster connections to her homeland: “I am a cultural dancer. For example, these Sudanese, when they have a wedding, they are calling me and say that we need dancers, will you come and dance and perform at our wedding. How much do you need, we discuss like that and they provide me [money] and my team we go and dance for them...It [dancing] makes me feel like I am back home.” These contrasts are further discussed in a following section; in the next section, I expand on how refugees’ experiences were also influenced by social inclusion and exclusion.

8.3 Social inclusion and exclusion: Navigating community and organizational relations

8.3.1 Contesting inclusion by ‘integration’: Self-reliance and diaspora

In many studies of migration and sport, the integration of refugees into host communities and nations is often seen as a positive function of the use of sport to support assimilation (e.g., Nathan et al., 2013). Yet, while sport may present a context that facilitates social inclusion, belonging, acculturation, and relationships amongst refugees and host community residents, other scholars (e.g., Jeanes et al., 2015) have critiqued the ways in which sport may align with an assimilation approach to refugees, whereby dominant cultural and social norms of the host

community (and nation) are taken up by forced migrants (Spaaij et al., 2019). Indeed, in this study, there are various staff and community members who described how YARID programs, including its SDP initiatives, as facilitating the integration of refugees in Kampala, Uganda.

For instance, and as Joselyne (Uganda, staff) explained: “We [YARID] aim at integration, building – because how – there is no way you will be able to integrate in a community when you really don’t know what that community is about.” Elvis (Uganda, staff) echoed such sentiments, highlighting how the Soccer for Peace tournament allows for integration of refugees with one another: “It created that integration, you know, you find the Somalis interacting with the South Sudanese, the Congolese.” Likewise, Josue (DRC, staff) suggested that SDP was key for building relationships with other people living in the host community:

So it’s a nice time to practice their language, but also to get in touch with different people. Because sport for development, sometimes its playing with South Sudanese, playing with Ugandans, and so on. So this I think also try to help the integration in the society.

A few other staff also commented on how English classes, SDP programs, computer training, and the range of other social initiatives at YARID sought to support the integration of refugees in the community. Interaction between different ethnic groups was often associated by staff as a pathway to integration – whether this truly influences the social inclusion of refugees remains questionable given that interaction is unlikely to fully eliminate refugee discrimination, unemployment, and gender inequalities. Two community members (Bebe and Abshir) also made note that one of YARID’s goals is to “integrate people” in order for them to feel more welcome in Kampala. Hence, one aspect of social inclusion espoused by some participants of this study suggested that integration of refugees in the host community would lead to belonging and

cultural understanding in addition to forced migrants being able to live more comfortably (and assimilate) in Kampala.

Yet, what was noticeable was that many program users who identify as refugees made limited *specific* mention of “integration.” Only Philomene (DRC, program user) explicitly said that the English program makes it easier for her to “integrate” and communicate with the community where she lives. While other participants, as seen in Chapter 6, did discuss how SDP, English classes, and other programs at YARID enhanced their ability to live within the host community, integration was not discussed extensively by program users. In fact, many program users referred more to becoming self-sufficient and self-reliant through their own activities and with support from YARID, rather than assimilate to cultural and social norms of the host community. Even further, as highlighted in previous chapters, participants’ diasporic consciousness and homespaces created a sense of multilocality and hybrid identities. That is, participants were involved in English classes, SDP events and programs with other refugees and Ugandans, and sought to develop and engage in entrepreneurial and livelihood activities that would contribute to host communities. At the same time, many of these activities were couched in specific attempts to construct social, cultural, and political processes that related to their homeland. In other words, various refugees in this study did not fit ‘neatly’ into the host community or adopt a singular and linear identity, one that is aligned with host community social and cultural practices related to the nation of Uganda.

For instance, Helene (DRC, program user) suggested that, through the tailoring program and creating clothing and other products, individuals may become “self-reliant and they will maybe be responsible of their own needs.” This quote clearly depicts a neoliberal ethos that places responsibility on refugees to support themselves through their own means. At the same

time, however, tailoring – which as discussed earlier is a common and well-known livelihood practice in the DRC – offers a way in which DRC forced migrants may become self-reliant themselves, whilst also holding on to and exhibiting specific social and cultural practices related to their homeland. Through these activities, then, various participants were able to challenge, and even resist, the idea of ‘integration’ into the host community – by practicing a livelihood activity to build economic value within Kampala but still drive a social practice that is affiliated with and builds consciousness of their nation of origin.

The key point here is that some YARID staff, including Elvis and Joselyne, suggested that their programs and work support the integration of refugees in Uganda. Josue (DRC, staff) commented specifically about a main goal of YARID being integration: “I think the main goal of YARID is helping refugee populations and the host community to cohabit, to coexist together, its all of us integration. Because just by looking at YARID programs that they provide here, it’s all about integration.” Staff who discussed integration emphasized that it was beneficial for refugees to be able to communicate with others in Uganda, be able to locate job opportunities, and to enhance social inclusion. Yet, many program users did not emphasize this in their lived experiences and narratives, or even within semi-structured interviews. Indeed, the differences between some staff and program users in naming integration as a key goal of YARID appears to be an important note given that integration is often argued to be crucial in terms of how sport and SDP may contribute to refugees’ lives (Spaaij et al., 2019). While participants did not *specifically* mention integration, it was often program users who discussed SDP as a key tool to lead to social inclusion: “I will say that its contributing because when we are coming here for place of football, we are meeting friends, South Sudan, we are getting connections to Somalis, and many other people” (Dady, DRC, program user). Creating socially inclusive spaces through

and within sport was deemed as important for becoming self-employed through entrepreneurial practices (whether via sport or not) and business activities (e.g., via networks in sport groups) as discussed in Chapter 7. At the same time, as such inclusive spaces are formed, participants also sought to ensure that such spaces were constructed in relation to and maintained flows and connections with their homelands, as seen for example by the creation of Burundi sport groups where stories of home are shared. While these diasporic spaces created a sense of belonging for those from the homeland and social inclusion was enhanced via participation in sport, there remained traces of social exclusion through such practices and at YARID as an organization.

8.3.2 Social inclusion and exclusion: Transportation, ethnicity, and gender relations

As seen throughout the previous chapters, many participants emphasized, in varying ways, how social inclusion and belonging was fostered through SDP and at YARID. Indeed, the inclusion of individuals of various genders, ethnicities, and class was emphasized by a number of participants when asked about who has access to YARID programs. While discrimination of refugees by host community residents was discussed in Chapter 5, Judith (DRC, program user) spoke to how at YARID, there appeared to be no explicit discrimination of any people:

I really thank YARID so much because YARID does not discriminate, which tribe are you, which country are you from or which village are you from, what is your colour, your size? I really thank YARID because it doesn't discriminate.

David (DRC, program user) made a similar point, saying that, "All the people have access to sport, female, young female, youth and everybody that is involved has access." In addition, Jeremi (DRC, program user) mentioned that both Ugandans and refugees participated in programs:

Actually here at YARID there is no one who has access or hasn't ... all the people are having access in YARID programs because here at YARID you can even easily find Ugandans are also participating and refugees. Yeah, all the people have access here at YARID.

These points align with other participants' experiences about the benefits of SDP for social inclusion and belonging in Chapter 6. Indeed, Bebe (Burundi) a community member, even 'congratulated' YARID's ability to treat women and men as equals:

First of all, I would really congratulate YARID to initiate this sport program because it's really helpful to people. And secondly here at YARID and in the community, because of this sport program, the male and female are all treated equally. Here at YARID and in the community, you cannot see that the man is being exulted and the woman is being humiliated. They are all being risen equally.

Yet, when looked at more closely from other participants' perspectives, there remained some challenges in relation to social inclusion at YARID. For instance, one immediate challenge that led to exclusion of refugees accessing YARID programs was in regard to individuals who had limited financial capacity for transportation costs and/or lived at a farther distance from YARID offices:

Okay. I would say that yes, there are people who don't have access to YARID's programs but not by discrimination. Because for example, you will see some people they don't have money to pay rent here in the central because the rent amount is somehow expensive, then they will go so far away because the rent will be at least less there. And then the transport of bringing them here and taking them back will become a challenge

for them. So because of them being far away, they are not getting access to YARID programs. (Michel, DRC, program user)

Other participants made similar comments regarding the challenges of transportation:

Mitch: So how many women total are there in the group?

Judith: At first we were many but there are some complications of some people that are staying. So far the transportation is causing them be absent. Some other ones went to the refugee settlement. Some other ones are doing some other businesses that are making them busy. But for now we remain 35 (Judith, DRC, program user).

Saaied (Somalia, community member) stated that:

Yeah, we do participate sometimes, but the issue is the distance. So if you were located around here people may be participating. So they cannot participate if they have to pay boda [taxi] every time.

The point here is not to suggest that YARID does not strive to include all individuals in social programs, but rather that transportation to and from the YARID offices (including the football pitch) may lead to some refugees not being able to participate in social initiatives. YARID has sought to cover transportation costs of participants in some instances, for example when funding is available for the Soccer for Peace tournament. Regardless, the cost of transportation is a challenge that remains for some refugees.

Furthermore, in addition to gender inequalities that underpin the inclusion of women and girls in SDP programs as outlined in Chapter 6, there was notably almost all DRC refugees that participated in this research study as program users. Abdifatah (Somalia, community member) shared regarding this observation:

Yeah but the only problem with YARID is they concentrate on the Congolese community. We wanted to talk to Robert about this issue, we were looking for him the last two weeks. He was travelling - yeah the last month we wanted to meet with him about that issue. Because that community, the Somali community they're neglected. It was notable that, as a community member, Abdifatah made this point as someone not as closely involved with YARID. Abdifatah – along with the other two participants of this study from Somalia – were seeking to address this issue with Robert to find ways to focus on refugees of different ethnicities than those identifying as Congolese.

Again, the point here is not to disparage YARID's work or suggest that their organization is not inclusive of all refugees. Rather, it is to highlight that social inclusion and exclusion are experienced differently by different people, particularly in relation to ethnicity and gender. Almost all participants I spoke with were from the DRC. Men and boys did not speak to challenges of participation in SDP and/or social inclusion due to gender inequalities as some women and girls in this study did. This is important to highlight as refugees and diaspora communities, face difficulties and have different experiences depending on gender, class, ethnicity, race, and other social position factors (Anthias, 1998). In this study, even though there were only a limited amount of participants who spoke to these nuances of social inclusion and exclusion, such points remain significant in their lives and is something that must be taken into consideration by YARID.

Furthermore, YARID offered a space that fostered inclusion and constructed diasporic spaces through participation in SDP; yet, at the same time, as cultural identities are constructed through, for instance, sharing memories of home, other relations of exclusion are perpetuated. More specifically, while participants of this study were able to relate back to their homeland in

specific sporting spaces (e.g., Burundian sport team, Somalia gym, YARID itself), many of these spaces were *ethnic-specific*. That is, the compartmentalizing of teams, gyms, and spaces according to where refugees are from meant that these spaces exclude other forced migrants given their ethnicity. This is most clearly seen in the quote above by Abdiftatah about how YARID perhaps unintentionally supports and provides social programs mostly to DRC migrants – whether due to the organization’s location, the staff (who are either Ugandan or Congolese), and even the founders (as Congolese refugees). Hence, diaspora spaces that are constructed for social inclusion are nonetheless influenced and underpinned by complexities, differences, and social inclusion and exclusion (Joseph, 2011, 2014; Fletcher & Spracklen, 2014; Fletcher & Walle, 2015). In sum, and as discussed further in the following chapter, SDP, entrepreneurship, and social inclusion and exclusion at YARID must be considered in relation to the nuances and different experiences of participants.

Chapter 9 – Discussion

Throughout this study, I sought to investigate and understand the experiences of refugees participating in YARID SDP programs in relation to entrepreneurship and employability. As I pursued this research, it became apparent that the context, nuances, and power relations in which SE takes place are critical for understanding the everyday work and social dynamics that contribute to, or hinder, refugees' lives. Indeed, in the previous chapters, there were a multitude of factors that impacted and influenced refugees' day-to-day activity, whether related to SDP, entrepreneurship, livelihoods, or simply their lived experiences in Kampala. There are various takeaways based on the results of this research, but four specific findings that stand out in relation to diaspora, postcolonial management theory, and previous studies of SDP.

First, I critique the focus of some of YARID programs that emphasize reducing idleness, enhancing self-reliance, and promoting the responsibility of refugees, that ultimately reflect neoliberal and neocolonial traits of SDP. Second, I provide a discussion around how the livelihoods of refugees as discussed in previous chapters relate to diaspora studies and the transnational nature of forced migration. Third, I examine how the SDP and social entrepreneurial work being done by participants of this study as well as YARID relate to critiques of entrepreneurship and SE, particularly neoliberalism and Western ideas of entrepreneurship. Fourth, I conclude the chapter by highlighting the way in which SDP, SE, and employability and livelihoods, as experienced by participants in this study, relate to gender inequalities and patriarchy. In doing so, I seek to expand insights into the intersections of postcolonial theory, diaspora, SE, and SDP.

9.1 ‘Idleness,’ self-reliance, and responsibility of refugees: Neoliberal and (neo-)colonial underpinnings at YARID

It was notable that throughout this research, both YARID staff and program users discussed how sport and SDP were tools to have refugees ‘keep busy,’ enhance self-reliance, and become economically independent (i.e., rely less on NGOs, family remittances, and refugee organizations such as UNHCR). Whilst participants of this study made multiple remarks about how SDP was significant for combatting ‘idleness’ of refugees and how sport potentially enhances opportunities to engage in livelihood, employment, and/or entrepreneurship activities, it is crucial to underline that such approaches to development tend to be underpinned by neoliberal and colonial ideologies.

SDP, and sport more generally, have been critiqued for reflecting and driving neoliberal ideologies, particularly in relation to entrenching ideas and beliefs related to the free market, individual self-interest, and “inequality as the foundation for progress and development” (Coakley, 2011, p. 69). SDP, likewise, has been critiqued for operating within the neoliberal system – whereby upward mobility via participation in SDP programs may be achievable, yet programs do little to challenge the structural inequalities within society which have led to the need for ‘development’ in the first place (Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst, 2014). While local agency may be exercised, such as in this study whereby refugees may engage in entrepreneurship through sport and SDP to accumulate social and economic capital, this agency often does not challenge the hegemony of neoliberal and colonial development. Rather, SDP is a way for refugees to locate and participate in strategies to survive in an oppressive system (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012).

One of the key benefits of SDP discussed by participants in this study was the idea that sport may reduce idleness. However, critiques of SDP, the ‘problem’ with idleness and ‘youth-at-risk’ discourse have been raised in the literature (e.g., Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Spaaij, 2009). The youth-at-risk discourse frames young people as ‘troublesome,’ in need of interventions, and requiring protection and control (Threadgold, 2020). Youth who are often framed within the at-risk discourse are often, like younger participants in this study, unemployed, migrants, and/or live within low-income neighbourhoods (Steinmann et al., in press). Related to the youth-at-risk discourse are also critiques of neoliberal development and (neo-)colonialism that have plagued international development programs for many years, especially with regards to the way in which Northern actors implementing SDP initiatives may be focused on social interventions and risk prevention (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). SDP programs may target populations (e.g., refugees) with initiatives that “resemble experimental social policies aimed at governing the ‘conduct of conduct’ of ‘unskilled’ youth by equipping them with tools for self-improvement and self-management” (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011, p. 288). Initiatives framed in this way often seek to produce ‘upstanding’ citizens, in which individuals who are deemed as deviant or uneducated are socialized, disciplined, and uplifted in order to move out of challenging and marginalizing circumstances (Coakley, 2002; Darnell, 2007, 2010).

Though not all participants in this study were youth (considering youth here to be age 14-30), such critiques resonate with SDP at YARID. In fact, the idea of reducing idleness and keeping refugees busy as said by staff, program users, and community members, concretely positions SDP programs as ways to create active, productive citizens. Research participants seemed to associate idleness with ‘laziness,’ and various accounts by refugees made note of sport as a tool to address restlessness among individuals who may be unemployed, troubled, and/or

unproductive, similar to youth-at-risk discourses (Wilson & White, 2001). Furthermore, these discourses were not only directed at youth in this study, but also older age groups of refugees targeted by YARID SDP programs.

Critiques of youth-at-risk discourses in producing ‘upstanding citizens’ are also intertwined with YARID’s approach to SDP and other social programs to enhance refugees’ ability to be self-reliant and self-sufficient. Although many participants found ways to engage in entrepreneurship and perhaps become self-reliant in some capacity, discourses utilized by YARID about self-reliance and self-sufficiency reflect the neocolonial and neoliberal elements of SDP that have been critiqued in studies of refugees more generally (Darnell, 2010; Easton-Calabria & Omata, 2018; Giulianotti, 2004). The entrepreneurial focus underpinning much of YARID’s work, including in relation to SDP, as well as their focus on job-readiness programs, business creation, and vocational training, that uses language such as managing time, creating CVs, and using sport to find ways to enhance economic capital, seeks to produce neoliberal citizens. Enhancing the self-reliance of refugees also connects with the idea of making people ‘entrepreneurs of themselves.’

Neo-liberalism...represents a new modality of government predicated on interventions to create the organizational and subjective conditions for entrepreneurship – not only in terms of extending the ‘enterprise model’ to schools, hospitals, housing estates and so forth, but also in inciting individuals to become entrepreneurs of themselves (Hart, 2006, p. 92).

The issue with YARID utilizing language of self-reliance and self-sufficiency is that refugees have a responsibility placed on them to become independent, yet they are often not supported structurally to pursue economic independence. Even further, for women and girls in this study,

they are tasked with becoming self-reliant, for example through their involvement with sport microfinance savings groups, yet do not receive the structural support required to challenge gender norms due to patriarchal inequalities within Uganda.

Hence, discourses of productive citizens, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency at YARID that are emphasized by neoliberalism, as identified in this study, invoke refugees to participate in the economy even though underlying structural, institutional, and political issues that continue to perpetuate inequalities and also that have led to their refugee-status remain in place (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018; Rajaram, 2018). In essence, SDP programs at YARID focused on entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employability do little to change structural conditions of inequality, and the discourses utilized within the organization are enmeshed with and continue to advance a neoliberal and neocolonial agenda that drives refugees' marginalization.

Indeed, there are specific elements of YARID's SDP programs that are couched in neoliberal tendencies. For instance, sport microfinance savings groups for women and girls may create supportive networks amongst members but, at the same time, as said by Rankin (2002), perpetuate a monitoring and surveillance type culture. YARID's SDP programs are also mostly run in English (or French depending on who is participating at the time – Congolese refugees participating in SDP means that French would spoken). Documents outlining SDP applications and projects are all written in English, and YARID also runs English education programs. Though such educational programs as elucidated in previous chapters may enhance employability skills by teaching English, at the same time, possible language loss and disconnection from cultural roots of refugees may occur by not preserving local languages or languages used in forced migrants' homeland. The use of English in SDP has been critiqued within the SDP literature as a form of linguistic and neocolonialism, in which the Western

dominance of English is given priority and reduces the importance of other culturally-rooted languages (Hayhurst, 2017; McSweeney et al. 2019). Yet, YARID faces challenges in this regard – participants emphasized learning English as significant for their lives as a forced migrant in Kampala and as a form of diasporic capital which offers potential for mobility and a site of connection across difference. Overall, YARID seeks to provide participants with a skill set to succeed, even if this is located in the current Eurocentric-global capitalist economy.

Despite the above critiques of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, participants did notably challenge the idea of becoming self-reliant, independent, and individualistic in line with neoliberalism. Indeed, participants made note of how much of their work, whether SDP, livelihoods, or/and entrepreneurship, was not an individualistic endeavour. Instead, many participants discussed the collective nature of what they did – whether that be opening a gym for Somali youth, sharing stories with one another and pooling resources in sport groups, and/or creating spaces for women and girls to participate in sport within savings groups. In these instances, it was not only about the ‘self’ becoming self-reliant; rather, a focus on supporting one another and collectively building social capital, economic capacity, and networks was key. Though self-reliance discourses may perpetuate neoliberalism and neocolonialism, participants did seek to disrupt such an individualistic focus. Relating to social entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship literature, recent work has highlighted how moving beyond a focus on the ‘individual’ is important to contest Westernized, neoliberal understandings of entrepreneurship, and how there are various groups, communities, and people working together to engage in business, economic and social value creation, and livelihood activities (Montgomery et al. 2012; Moulaert, 2013). In this way, participants did not conform to the expectations of self-reliance and a neoliberal ethos as promoted by YARID. In addition, they resisted ideas of self-sufficiency

and integration by building diasporic consciousness uniquely through SDP and livelihoods activity, as discussed in the next section.

9.1 Diaspora, SDP, and livelihoods

In this study, the concept of diaspora was adopted to investigate the ways in which refugees utilize sport to build collective and imagined communities. Sport, whether in relation to sport teams and groups, or simply sporting spaces, was a way to foster cultural belonging and connections of refugees back to their homeland. In addition, in numerous cases, sport provided a space to locate livelihood opportunities based on social networks that had been constructed through football activities, and in a few cases, sport had a direct connection to the livelihoods of participants (e.g., coaching, crafting sport jackets). Hence, in more direct and non-direct ways, sport played a key role in the lives of forced migrants for the purposes of creating homespaces (i.e., a sense of identity, belonging and home) and forming a sense of identity and belonging even while in a new host community.

Broadly speaking, participants of this study were a part of a community that shared experiences of forced displacement, primarily from the DRC, but also from South Sudan, Burundi, and Somalia. Yet, almost all participants, while being separate from their nation of origin and having limited opportunity to return to their homeland due to insecurity, war, and/or political or ethnic conflicts, still had a sense of multilocality and poly-consciousness (Agnew, 2005). That is, through fostering a sense of belonging and home through their involvement with SDP programs, participants rejected the view that they have linear cultural identities based on being displaced from a homeland and relocating to a new host community; instead, they adopted hybrid and multiple identities (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). For instance, multiple participants commented on how sport groups enabled ways to build social connections with other refugees

and Ugandans in the host community. At the same time, participants made note of how they also maintained their diasporic consciousness and multiple identities through cultural practices (e.g., prayer), telling stories of the homeland, and crafting sport jackets with the Congolese flag despite living within Ugandan society.

Diaspora as adopted in this study illustrates the usefulness of the concept for understanding the complex and nuanced lived experience of displacement for forced migrants. Through social and cultural practices that relate both to their homeland and hostland, particularly the sport of football, individuals negotiated and constructed heterogeneous identities that challenge the idea that identities are static and fixed according to nation-state belonging (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). The construction of homespaces that included knowledge, languages, and cultures of refugees fostered diasporic consciousness (Gilroy, 1993; Vertovec, 2000). More specifically, utilizing sport teams and groups, refugees' built solidarity spaces through cultural practices that were not confined to the borders of a nation-state (e.g., Uganda, DRC, Burundi), but instead displayed the rituals, including livelihoods, forced migrants engage in across borders. For instance, the production of culture by participants in this study included traditions related to the sharing of food, discussing with one another pressing issues in their language (e.g., Arabic, Somali), and creating sport groups and teams that were nationality-based. SDP programs played a role in facilitating such practices by crafting a space in which refugees shared food, stories, narratives, and traditions. Vertovec (2000) also identifies diaspora as involving social forms, that is, maintaining a connection to both a homeland and a homespace through social networks, economic strategies, and memory sharing. As mentioned earlier, sociological studies of sport and diaspora have highlighted how dispersed groups create consciousness through sport by way of fostering imagined connections to their homeland via narratives and memories despite having

limited attachment to their homeland such as returning to their nation of origin (Burdsey, 2006; Fletcher, 2012; Joseph, 2011, 2014). Sport evidently produced such a homespace for refugees in this study to build social networks – such as through connecting with other forcibly displaced people from their homeland at YARID within sport teams and groups – and offered a way to maintain connections to their homeland via memory sharing, narrating stories from the homeland, and discussing relevant issues occurring in their nation of origin.

More notably, however, in relation to the research questions guiding this study, was that refugees engaged in economic strategies (Joseph, 2012) that produced a diasporic consciousness and sense of identity with their homeland. Whether engaging in tailoring activities that are a popular livelihood in the DRC, crafting sporting equipment with DRC flags, and/or operating a gym where Somali youth can gather and share ideas as Somalians, participants took up economic strategies for the purposes of their livelihood that in some cases fostered nostalgia with their homeland. Despite conditions of unemployment, discrimination by the host community, poverty, and everyday barriers that refugees faced in Kampala, participants of this study sought to make a living through unique activities that not only sought to build economic value but also that related to back to their homeland and built social communities (Betts et al., 2017). In other words, diaspora consciousness contributed to livelihood opportunities for refugees.

YARID's role in the livelihoods of refugees is multifaceted and the programs the organization operate falls under both “supply-side” and “demand-side” strategies (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). For instance, on the supply-side, YARID offers tailoring programs, resources for individuals to create their own business, English classes, encourages entrepreneurship of program users through business classes and the creation of microfinance groups, and builds individuals capacities for sport-related jobs (e.g., coaching, athletic performance) and ventures

(e.g., creating an SDP organization). On the demand-side, YARID seeks to create work opportunities for refugees through computer training (e.g., creation of resumes, ability to use technology to locate jobs), connecting individuals with other refugees and Ugandans who may have job opportunities, and through YARID's organizational social enterprise, pays for products and services that are crafted by refugees. While the connection to SDP in some cases is limited, the SDP-component of YARID is one that is nonetheless interconnected with livelihood programs and activities of refugees in disparate ways: it may be in regard to how sport groups and teams lead to discussions of who works in what area and who to go to for products and/or services (e.g., hairdressing). It may be related to how SDP simply attracts program users to other programs at YARID more directly connected with livelihoods (e.g., business classes); and/or SDP may offer a space for individuals to further build skills relative to employment or livelihoods, such as practicing the English language in a real-world environment on the football pitch. Regardless, as discussed in Chapter 6, the SDP and other streams of YARID's social programs are interconnected.

A key point here, however, is that – through sport and livelihoods – refugees drew on their connections to their homeland and social networks to build consciousness through their experiences of displacement, cognizance of multilocality, and collective nostalgic memoirs (see also Joseph, 2012). Hence, refugees “produce a multiplicity of histories, ‘communities,’ and selves. Yet instead of being represented as a kind of schizophrenic deficit, such multiplicity is being redefined by diasporic individuals as a source of adaptive strength” (Vertovec, 2000, p. 148). Indeed, through building diasporic communities, refugees in this study displayed how they claimed identities to their homeland that generate belonging, recall their roots, and engage in

livelihoods for political and cultural purposes – displaying the strengths of refugees living in diaspora rather than their deficits (Spaaij et al., 2019).

Scholars have also emphasized that diaspora is produced and constructed via division and difference (Brah, 1996; Clifford, 1997). Brah (1996, p. 180) proposes the idea of diaspora the concept, an approach that “[historicises] trajectories of different diasporas, their relationality across fields of social relations, subjectivity and identity” (Brah, 1996, p. 180). When considering the challenges that refugees must navigate in their day-to-day lives, as well as the ways in which refugees engage in SDP, livelihood activities, and entrepreneurship, the subjectivities and identities of refugees play a role in producing diaspora through difference. For example, rather than acculturate or assimilate to a Ugandan national identity, for instance by taking up social and cultural practices associated with Ugandan society, the role of sport groups and teams that are nationality-specific (e.g., Burundian, Somalian) facilitate oppositional identities to that of the nation-state. The sharing of narratives, food, and using homeland languages within sporting contexts work to embody an ethnic identity; one that is not in solidarity with Ugandans and the host nation in which refugees live, but rather with their homeland, even if there is limited or no possibility of a return to home as discussed by participants (see Brah, 1996). In essence, refugees “are able to create a distinct imaginary and geographical space of belonging” (Burdsey, 2006, p. 266). that is rooted in the histories of their homeland, forced migration, and social and cultural interactions.

Moreover, when considering the way in which refugees are faced with unemployment, limited livelihood opportunities, and host community discrimination, the distinct ethnic and cultural identities of refugees construct a diaspora space that works against common understandings of entrepreneurship which have been historically produced by Western society.

That is, the work of social entrepreneurs and YARID in this study – along with the novel livelihood activities that refugees engage in that relate back to their homeland – seek to disrupt Westernized understandings of entrepreneurship that have been constituted by structural forces of neoliberalism and neocolonialism (Essers et al., 2017). Indeed, via SDP, entrepreneurship, and livelihood activities, diaspora is performed in the public sphere, whereby refugees signal attachments and practices associated with their homeland (see also Burdsey, 2006). Discourses of traditional, commercial entrepreneurship are resisted and reconstituted, disrupting associations of entrepreneurship that have become commonplace. Taken together, the exclusion of refugees and experiences of discrimination have led to the construction of diaspora spaces that are constituted through difference and divisiveness in sport contexts – as well as to the production of ethnic and cultural identities that, rather than align with dominant ideas of entrepreneurship, actually oppose neoliberal and (neo)colonial understandings of entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, as highlighted by Nawyn (2016b), whilst there have been growing studies of forced migration, there have only been limited studies into the experiences of refugees in the Global South – including in relation to sport and physical activity (Spaij et al., 2019) – and hence the dynamic experiences of refugees in Global South nations are overlooked. In the context of Kampala, Uganda, this study highlights the varying ways in which refugees utilize sport and physical activity for livelihoods, which interestingly contrasted in some ways with recent literature. For example, Smart et al. (2020) found that the livelihood activities of migrants in Toronto, Canada, were not directly related to sport but, in fact, found sport participation to hinder – or at the very least not be of interest to migrants – due to their need to find job opportunities after resettlement. In contrast, the study herein shows how sport and physical activity acted as both a tool to foster diasporic space that, in some cases, led to livelihood

opportunities, and in other cases, was the actual livelihood of refugees. This points to new avenues of research for sociocultural studies of sport and sport management, livelihoods and forced migration, especially in how cultural forms within diasporas may both enact connections back to a homeland, as well as build opportunities for refugees to navigate host community discrimination and inequalities (e.g., employment) and find opportunities to make a living.

Overall, the diasporic communities created in this study through sport teams and groups “places the discourse of ‘home’ and ‘dispersion’ in creative tension, *inscribing a homing desire while simultaneously critiquing discourses of fixed origins*” (Brah, 1996, p. 192-193, emphasis in original). Participants of this study engaged in social and cultural activities related to dispersion to a new host community. A clear example of this was the use of the English language and participating in football as a common sporting activity in Uganda (and their homelands). But at the same time, refugees did not exude a singular identity (Carrington, 2010; Spaaij & Broerse, 2019) – one that aligns with the nation of Uganda and ‘integrates’ forced migrants into the host community; for example, by using English as one of the official languages of Uganda. This is significant as forced migration research has critiqued the usual focus of international governmental organizations, NGOs, and policy-makers on ‘refugee integration’ into host communities and nations (McPherson, 2010; Strang & Ager, 2010).

While YARID, staff, and program users in this study did discuss how social programs, including SDP, assisted with integration into the local community; at the same time, refugees highlighted how they challenge the ideal of ‘integration’ and maintain identities with their homeland through ethnic, social, and cultural practices. In other words, while ‘integration’ is a key goal of YARID as an organization, the SDP and social initiatives that YARID runs still allows for the self-determination and agency of refugees to foster a diasporic consciousness that

connects with their cultural heritage and deconstructs the idea that identities are static and fixed but rather hybrid and multidimensional (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Joseph, 2012; Vertovec, 2000). SDP activities led to refugees practicing prayer, sharing food, and reconnecting with their homeland through stories, similar to other work within SDP (Spaaij et al., 2019). In addition, and perhaps distinctly from other studies of sport and forced migration, there were ways in which refugees engaged in SDP for livelihood activities and via entrepreneurial strategies which fostered a diasporic consciousness, such as crafting sport jackets with Congolese flags or creating spaces where refugees could gather with others from their homeland.

9.2 SDP, SE, and critical perspectives of entrepreneurship

As discussed in Chapter 2, SDP research in relation to SE has increased in recent years (e.g., McSweeney, 2020; Svensson & Seifried, 2017; Svensson et al., 2020). In particular, research into how organizations and SDP practitioners understand and employ SE has offered insights into the benefits and challenges of SE in SDP spaces. Like other SDP organizations (Svensson, Mahoney, & Hambrick, 2020), YARID has noted the effectiveness of SE for the purposes of sustaining their organization. Indeed, one goal of YARID is to in fact completely move away from external funding and donors to become self-sufficient via their social enterprise:

That's what we hope so, that's what we are hoping for...Or there's a school, you can make bags for this school, for the students. Or there's a company you can make sweaters and embroider with their logos and yeah. So that is our dream, to be able to reach that level. If we are able to reach that level that we have these products and we have these clients, where we are making orders. We have maybe 10 schools every year, we have to make bags for them or we have to make for them uniforms. Every year we have schools

we are making uniforms. So that income will be able to maintain YARID as a whole.

(Joselyne, Uganda, staff)

While not yet able to have their social enterprise support their organizational operations fully, YARID envisions the social enterprise to maintain the sustainability of their organization. One key insight of this study is thus that SE may offer alternatives to Global North funders and donors that often provide the bulk of financial or physical resources to SDP organizations (Hayhurst, 2014) – and sometimes, in so doing, end up directing program goals, priorities, or underlyingly influencing the uptake of Western ideologies for development (Darnell, 2012; McSweeney et al., 2019; McSweeney & van Luijk, 2019). Hence, while SE is still layered with inequalities and occurs within a power-laden context, SE approaches may at the very least move away from the dominance of Global North funders and donors as the main financial providers in SDP (McSweeney, 2020).

At the same time as SE has experienced growth in SDP research, there has also been less attention paid to how SE is taken up by program participants. In other words, much of the focus of SE in SDP has been on the organizations and/or practitioners that deliver SDP programs, rather than those individuals intended to be the ‘beneficiaries’ of SDP initiatives. The study here points to the myriad of ways in which social entrepreneurship occurs (e.g., via individuals creating their own SDP NGOs or pooling resources together in sport savings groups) and the nuanced practices (e.g., savings groups to contest poverty of refugees) that disrupt social relations and inequalities – through “small” activities. Efforts to address poverty are complex and often must be gradual with a focus on the local and those impacted directly by poverty (i.e., the poor) (Mair & Marti, 2009). Micro-solutions and grassroots activities, particularly within SE, are crucial to highlight in order to expand on the day-to-day and on-the-ground work of a diverse set

of actors who seek to build inclusive market spaces and challenge inequalities in the economic sphere (Lawrence et al., 2011; Mair et al., 2012). Organizational members of YARID in this study were involved in numerous entrepreneurial activities, including the sale of sport equipment, the formation of new sport-for-development organizations, organizing community teams and groups to share money and resources, and opening gyms, all of which sought in various ways to build *social value* (e.g., youth development) while simultaneously building *economic profit* (in minimal ways although not insignificant to participants). Importantly, these innovative activities were motivated through refugees' involvement with YARID and were not only meant to produce some form of economic capital, but more specifically address refugee needs (e.g., sport safety, limited options to access money). These findings are theoretically important as they point to the need to reconsider how entrepreneurship and structures of inequality (in this case poverty) are not only challenged, transformed, or disrupted by highly visible and powerful actors (e.g., Maguire et al., 2004; Lawrence et al., 2006). Rather, when considering long-lasting and prevalent structures of inequality such as poverty, low profile actors (e.g., refugees) have the opportunity to engage in less aggressive strategies and practices to challenge (i.e., poverty) or enhance (e.g., banking services) opportunities for marginalized populations (Mair & Marti, 2009).

Notably, by examining the work of individuals at YARID, it becomes clear that – while the entrepreneurial endeavours of study participants in many ways did seek to fulfill certain economic functions (e.g., by making money to support one's daily life) – many individuals did not define their work as solely economically-focused. That is, rather than take-for-granted that entrepreneurship is a panacea for economic development (Fong et al., 2007), the motivations of innovative activity sought to also fulfill a social function, whether with regards to providing

equipment for sport and SDP activities, creating new SDP organizations to address social issues, and/or making clothing that – while would be sold – also built connections to refugees’ homelands. Hence, while it was indeed certain individuals who located opportunities to engage in entrepreneurship, the value creation goals of such activities were not explicitly only for the purposes of economic value – but also social and cultural (Baker & Welter, 2015).

Such entrepreneurship falls under the concept of SE as outlined in Chapter 2. Notable, however, is that many program users who discussed the creation of business ventures or products did not refer to their activities specifically as SE (acknowledging that translation of ‘SE’ or this specific term may not be part of the vernacular of local dialects of participants), even though their activities may be interpreted as SE). Yet, while SE in this study evidently occurred through ‘smaller’ activities by refugees with less resources than often ‘heroic’ entrepreneurs who have economic capital to back entrepreneurial practices and strategies, and pointed to the innovative activities of individuals that are not Western, it is important to highlight the nuances of entrepreneurship activities in relation to ongoing critiques of traditional, commercial entrepreneurship.

9.3 Neoliberalism, SE, and refugees

This study investigated how ‘ordinary entrepreneurs’ and individuals with less resources than larger ‘big businesses’ (Baker & Welter, 2015) engaged in entrepreneurship in relation to SDP and sport at YARID. The way in which participants of this study engaged in entrepreneurship through SDP and other YARID social programs, as discussed, was motivated by both economic and social purposes. Importantly, the ways in which SE was employed by refugees challenges prevailing and dominant assumptions of entrepreneurship as a functionalist, economic, instrumentally reasoned activity that is often framed in individual heroism and

masculinity (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Williams & Nadin, 2013). The study thus seeks to challenge common theoretical and ideological assumptions upon which traditional, commercial entrepreneurship is based (Essers et al., 2017) and views entrepreneurship as a more communal sense of the social and economic rather than purely individualistic (Tedmanson et al., 2015).

Yet, although the activities in relation to SDP, social entrepreneurship, and business creation by participants in some ways reorients entrepreneurship to be considered more broadly in relation to political, cultural, and social means rather than primarily economic, this does not mean that SE, and indeed the work of refugees, escapes the political and structural relations of a neoliberal economy. Entrepreneurship – though being understood better with regards to different nuances, cultures, geographical locations, economies, and political circumstances in recent years – is still a concept that has been popularized and heralded in the Western world, particularly the US. In this context, entrepreneurship has been considered vital for the market economy and global competitiveness (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017). Entrepreneurship has been studied as something replicable, whereby the antecedents and traits of entrepreneurship may be taken up by individuals and organizations to promote innovation and enable profit-maximization (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). Such understandings of entrepreneurship are “a strategy and practice embarked upon by individuals and states in their attempts to become financially and economically ‘successful’ in an interdependent global economy” (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017, p. 196). From this perspective, entrepreneurship is a neoliberal concept that furthers the structuration of a global market economy, and entrepreneurship is taken up and imported in different states, regions, and communities based on the Westernized ideals of entrepreneurship. Hence, while entrepreneurship – and SE by extension – grows in popularity, the ways it drives neoliberalism and people’s activities remains rife with inequalities (Hoogevelt, 2001).

For instance, taking a closer look at the experiences of refugees at YARID and who live in Kampala, the *context* in which SE is derived and needed in the first place becomes clear. In Chapter 5, the various challenges and struggles that participants faced in their day-to-day lives pointed to discrimination, gender inequalities, and social exclusion. Based on gendered division of labour and discrimination of refugees, it is clear that the processes through which entrepreneurship is enacted in the context of marginalized groups are important to identify in studies of SE (Essers et al., 2017). In the case of entrepreneurship by refugees, SE and other business activities were driven by social exclusion whereby job opportunities and the acquiring of economic resources were limited. In essence, SE activities of participants were shaped and influenced by social inequalities, leading individuals to navigate and uniquely find ways to create opportunities of self-employment. The effects of forced migration, including relocating to Kampala where ethnocentric inequalities existed due to some host community residents' views of refugees, hence leads to not only YARID seeking to support individuals in finding entry into the job market, but individuals themselves being responsible for their own livelihoods and self-employment. While these activities may, in some way, be 'empowering' to refugees by exerting agency in participating in activities that relate to their skills, abilities, and homeland; entrepreneurship and self-employment has at the same time advanced a new class of precarious workers (Berglund, 2017). That is, the self-employed work of refugees in this study is often precarious in nature, with unstable situations, insecure conditions of employment, short-term jobs, and often low-paid work (Standing, 2011).

Thus, though refugees may challenge the inequalities of poverty, discrimination, and social exclusion that they live within; at the same time, they must be the ones responsible for adapting and being flexible to the changes in the labour-market and their own (already)

precarious situations of forced migration – by becoming self-employed through SE and entrepreneurial tactics. As Berglund (2017, p. 18) says

It is not social entrepreneurs' activities per se that appear to be the problem but rather that their activity is held up as a superior (and individual) solution to tackle all kinds of problems against the background of a progressive neoliberal society that undermines collective and political action [...] With neoliberal life comes an expectation for individuals to be active, flexible and to take responsibility [...] This undoubtedly opens up the construction of myriad creative solutions through which complex problems may be tackled, be they social, ecologic or economic.

Sharing the stories in this study of refugees, SDP, and entrepreneurship is nonetheless important to give voice to often 'forgotten' entrepreneurial subjectivities and communities, and how they struggle against colonialism (e.g., Western understanding of entrepreneurship framed around profit maximization) and ethnocentric inequalities, in order to advance discussions of entrepreneurship as a possible "emancipatory activity that redistributes economic and helps communities grow sustainably" (Essers et al., 2017, p. 8).

The 'Other' entrepreneurs outside Western contexts in this study, and how they utilized diasporic consciousness to construct multiple identities and integrate their ethnic identities with entrepreneurship, is one way in which discourses of entrepreneurship is challenged. Importantly, as distinguished in the above paragraphs, it is the surrounding structures (of inequality) that 'push' refugees into self-employment and SE, whether through SDP or not. Indeed, "this makes the phenomenon of migrant entrepreneurship less an individual choice made by 'them,' but rather a latent potentiality of society which should not be exoticized and played down as a topic" (Essers et al., 2017, p. 9). Participants of this study both 'fit in' by displaying to host community

residents their role in the host community and market, but at the same time ‘stand out’ through the way in which they do so – through sport and through the connections they make to their homeland (Thoelen & Zanoni, 2017). The agency of participants and their strengths (e.g., collective support for one another, pooling resources) are thus taken up through entrepreneurship within structures of inequality at the same time as entrepreneurship and its dominant ideologies are challenged. Still further, when considering women and girl participants of this study, the context in which entrepreneurship is shaped and engaged in is complex and nuanced.

9.4 Women and girl’s entrepreneurship: Patriarchy, agency, and neoliberalism

The way in which sport, social entrepreneurship and business creation occurred at YARID was gendered. As discussed in Chapter 6, an identified barrier of SDP were gender inequalities which, in some instances, impacted the low participation or involvement of women and girls in YARID programs. In addition, it was apparent that gender structures and patriarchy in Kampala, as well as other homelands refugee women were displaced from, influenced women and girl’s participation in business creation. Joselyne (Uganda, staff) encapsulated how patriarchy and taken-for-granted expectations of many families that women and girls are to be primarily involved in housework:

You are supposed to sit at home and do this housework. And then - so the woman also, because she has been raised that you have to sit at home, do nothing, wait for your husband to bring for you. Even if she has an idea that she can implement, she will not do it. Because culture doesn’t allow it. You are married, you have a husband, why should you be doing this? The husband should take care of you. It’s kind of, patriarchy is one of the biggest causes of poverty in households, because some men want to be to men that ego that’s just, ‘I’m the man. I am the man, you are the woman.’

Such nuances of SDP, social entrepreneurship, and business creation at YARID bring attention to the social political nature and gendered structures that underpin entrepreneurship. In particular, while YARID has sought to increase opportunities for women and girls to engage in sport, entrepreneurship, and livelihood activities, at the same time, like other studies have suggested, women are still tasked with carrying out a majority of unpaid care work (Barker, 2005; Pearson, 2013). The ideas of SDP, entrepreneurship, and business creation, align with the neoliberal development agenda that claims entrepreneurship (in whatever way) may empower women and enhance gender equality (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017). In other words, the social entrepreneurship aims of YARID often align with forms of compensatory SE (Newey, 2018) – one that does not transform the pre-existing gendered structures and patriarchal relations for women and girl refugees.

Indeed, the high participation numbers of women and girls in the tailoring program – while there were men also engaged in tailoring and this activity offers opportunities to relate to forced migrants' homelands – supports research that suggests women's jobs and/or livelihoods in the economy are associated with gendered assumptions (Pearson, 2011). Female entrepreneurs are often “clustered in stereotypically feminine fields such as sewing, catering and crafts” (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017, p. 198), which make these activities reflective of domestic work within the public sphere. Hence, while these entrepreneurial and livelihood activities may be ways for refugee women and girls to build economic (and social) capital, such activities may not instigate structural changes of gender inequality given the social and political nature of such work, and may even perpetuate patriarchy due to reinforcing stereotypes of women's role in the economy (Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2015; Calás et al., 2009; Özkazanç-Pan, 2015).

Thus, the entrepreneurial work being done at YARID via SDP is influenced by patriarchy, structural gender relations, and gendered divisions of labour, which produces a gendered subject whereby women and girls are often assumed to fulfill traditional gender roles. This is concerning given that women and girls who are engaged in entrepreneurial or business endeavours also must take on reproductive and caregiving work that reinforce the separation of the private/home sphere from the public sphere and where domestic work is not considered as part of economic growth or work (Barker, 2005; Özkazanç-Pan, 2017).

Still, while the work of women and girls participating in YARID programs are underpinned by patriarchy and gendered structures, the lived experiences of participants, as outlined in previous chapters, remain important to emphasize and discuss. In particular, although tailoring and the creation of crafts align with stereotypically female entrepreneurship or livelihood activities, women and girls did see this as a skill they had and that were influenced by their own desires, life orientations, and embodied individual histories, particularly in regard to their diasporic consciousness and homeland – suggesting that they deploy agency through and within contexts of social and political power relations (Aygören & Wilinska, 2013; Spedale & Watson, 2014). While women and girls in this study are enmeshed within inequalities of gender, at the same time, they struggle with and recognize power relations of patriarchy and utilize entrepreneurship to engage in an agency of intentions – whereby they adopt and participate in “projects, purposes and desires” (Aygören, 2016, p. 208), such as sport microfinance savings groups. Take, for instance, the earlier quote by Joselyne, that women are to stay at home to provide care for their family. Participating in YARID programs, such as tailoring, underlyingly aims to resist patriarchy by seeking to challenge – and perhaps change – their social status as primarily responsible for domestic work, and even further, through sport participation, challenge

assumptions about women and girls within sport often seen by families and community members. Furthermore, sport microfinance savings groups, similar to what Aygoren (2016, p. 213) discusses in relation to women entrepreneurship in Sweden, allows for “distinct strategies in relation to economic resources, as such economic freedom meant securing their independence, especially from the patriarchal structures they suffered,” and potentially severing financial dependence on husbands or other male figures in families. Of course, while their participation in sport and livelihood activities may be a way to challenge patriarchal relations, there remain gendered assumptions of such work given that, particularly tailoring, reproduces existing gender roles and responsibilities by having women and girls do work that is largely already considered ‘women’s (domestic) work’ to begin with (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017).

Thus, the nuances of SDP, entrepreneurship, and livelihood activities of women and girls who participated in this study include struggles (within not only relations of forced displacement but patriarchy), resistance (to assumed gendered roles), and agency (by pursuing their own strategies and tactics constituted through their life trajectories, diaspora, and histories). While women and girls are enmeshed within gendered structures, and the difficulties that take shape due to gender inequalities, they have also found ways (e.g., sport microfinance group) which support in developing their own social and economic capital free of men’s expectations and engage in entrepreneurship that potentially creates “new openings for more liberating forms of individual and collective existence” (Verdujin et al., 2014, p. 98). The relationship and complexities of agency and power relations within which women and girls in this study navigate thus fall within dominant (gender) structures, patriarchy, and stereotypes, but also with regards to resistance, where women and girls utilize entrepreneurship to provide purpose and meaning in their lives. Investigating the entrepreneurial activities of women and girls involved in YARID

programs displays how entrepreneurship is not just an individualized activity utilized for economic gain (Steyaert & Katz, 2004), but rather is an activity and process riddled with power relations. Here, the individual, organization, and socio-cultural context of entrepreneurship must be considered to move beyond oversimplification of how entrepreneurship is a totalizing discourse and concept employed as a figurehead of capitalism and neoliberalism (Aygoren, 2016; Spedale & Watson, 2014).

9.5 Summary

In sum, this chapter has sought to examine and explore how – while SDP and other related social programs at YARID have supported refugees in undertaking livelihood and entrepreneurship, particularly SE, in Kampala, the social and power relations in which such activities are taken up and challenged are of upmost importance to consider. Participants may exert agency and self-determination by building diaspora consciousness and hybrid identities to engage in self-employment and entrepreneurship. At the same time, the broader neoliberal context as well as the masculine, colonial, and Western understandings of entrepreneurship that inform and shape entrepreneurship remain influential. The work of refugees in SDP contexts and at YARID may reorient entrepreneurship away from a primarily economic functionalist idea. Despite this, SE remains shaped and produced by the context and structures of inequality that forced migrants are located within. Nonetheless, studying the lived experiences of refugees in this research highlighted the struggles, challenges, and opportunities that SDP, SE, and livelihoods may present. Doing so not only moves away from a focus in SDP literature on organizations and practitioners employing SE, but also displays the critical and reflexive considerations inherent in SDP and SE.

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

In this chapter, I first discuss the scholarly implications and key contributions this study has to the existing literature. Second, I outline the challenges and limitations of this study. Third, I highlight some future research directions based on the study's findings. Following this, I then discuss the study's substantive implications and the key recommendations for the organization involved with the study, YARID. The brief final section includes concluding remarks for the study and dissertation.

10.1 Scholarly implications and key contributions

10.1.1 The field of sport for development and peace

This study contributes to existing SDP literature in various ways. First, the study examines refugees' participation in SDP and their lived experiences. Extending research into SDP and forced migration is crucial for understanding the diverse experiences individuals have with SDP, including differences across race, ethnicity, gender, and location (Spaaij et al., 2019). In the broader context of sport management and the sociology of sport, while there have been some studies within the context of forced migration and the global South (e.g., Apriadi & Yulianto, 2018; Wright, 2009), empirical study in these contexts is comparably less than empirical analysis with regards to South-North migration, similar to the wider forced migration field (Nawyn, 2016b). Hence, this study highlights the importance of context in conceptualizing forced migration in relation to sport, which is critical to better understand the lived experiences of refugees. Indeed, and as Eastmond (2007, p. 252) states,

To understand the stories people tell us and one another about who they are and their pasts, we must relate them to the social and political contexts that have shaped and continue shaping the circumstances of their lives and which engage their commitments.

Thus, this study and the experiences of refugees at YARID in Kampala, Uganda, responds to the call by Spaaij et al. (2019) to conduct more empirical investigations into sport and forced migration where most of the world's displaced people live – the global South.

Furthermore, this study builds on and extends existing literature related to SDP and entrepreneurship. In particular, there has been a call by scholars to more fulsomely investigate the different ways in which SE takes place in sport contexts, and the individuals, groups and organizations that engage in SE (McSweeney, 2020; Ratten, 2019). Within this study, the previous chapters detail the reasons and motivations, including the environment in which refugees live (e.g., employment possibilities, discrimination by host community residents), that partly constitute their desire to engage in forms of SE that contribute to both social and economic well-being (for themselves and others). The environment in which SE takes place through or in relation to SDP and sport is particularly important given that broader structures of inequality are often present where SDP programs are implemented. That is, social structures, such as gender inequality, must be taken into consideration regarding SE and SDP (Hayhurst, 2014; McSweeney et al., 2021; Svensson et al., 2020). Such insights add to the contemporary empirical evidence within the field of SDP and bring a critical perspective to the practice of SE in relation to the environment and power relations in which such actions, processes, and work is undertaken.

Finally, a third contribution of this study within the SDP field is its focus on how sport, in both direct and indirect ways, relates to livelihoods and employment of refugees. While the study discusses livelihoods and employability in relation to the entrepreneurial activities of research participants, such an analysis displays the ways in which sport might play a unique role in offering opportunities for, in this case refugees, to locate livelihood and employment. Whether these livelihoods and employment activities are sustainable, given the often-minor roles such

jobs or entrepreneurship played in accumulating economic capital, they remain important to the participants of this study. In SDP, employment and livelihoods are areas that are interrelated, yet have required further research (McSweeney et al., 2020; Schulenkorf, 2017). Although scholars have highlighted that SDP programs may lead to social, cultural, and economic capital that may prepare program participants for employment and the workforce (e.g., Coalter et al., 2020; Spaaij, 2012), limited work has specifically identified *how* sport in various ways contributes to and relates to the actual livelihoods and employment activities participants engage in. In this study, YARID provided business classes and vocational programs in connection with SDP; but also, through specific initiatives (e.g., sport club, sport microfinance savings groups) supported refugees' livelihoods. At the same time, some participants used or connected sport with their livelihood, business and (self-)employment activities (e.g., tailoring activities, SDP NGO) – adding to the literature by highlighting that sport can, in certain contexts and ways, build social and economic value for individuals and groups.

10.1.2 Critical perspectives of (social) entrepreneurship: Postcolonial management theory

Scholars studying entrepreneurship have noted that there is a need to bring a critical perspective to entrepreneurship (Baker & Welter, 2015; Essers et al., 2017; Peredo et al., 2004). In addition to advancing insights into entrepreneurship by focusing on contexts that have received less attention in regard to innovation and entrepreneurship (e.g., Global South nations and communities), there have also been calls for research into the 'ordinary' entrepreneurs (i.e., those without assumed 'special' traits of entrepreneurship), individuals and groups that have less resources to engage in entrepreneurship, and into the innovative activities of people other than those in the Western world (often whom are white, middle class, and male) (e.g., Al-Dajani &

Marlow, 2015). Responding to such critiques and calls, this study adds to the literature in three distinct ways.

First, this study advances insights into how entrepreneurship contributes to both social and economic value, rather than strictly economic development and profit maximization (Baker & Welter, 2015). In addition, through activities related to their homelands, entrepreneurship may also support the cultural capital of refugees – thus building on studies related to ethnic minority entrepreneurship (e.g., Jones & Ram, 2014). Second, and relatedly, this study advances calls for a reorientation of entrepreneurship. This conceptual shift recognizes and identifies the ‘smaller’ activities, less-resourced actors, and strategies that go into innovation, and how entrepreneurship may not be a process that requires a high amount of resources, but rather one where entrepreneurial practices seek to challenge structures of inequality (e.g., poverty, gender structures) (Mair & Marti, 2009). Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, is the utilization of postcolonial management theory in this study to examine SDP and SE at YARID by refugees. In particular, as discussed in Chapter 9, critiquing the neoliberal, Western underpinnings of entrepreneurship, including how entrepreneurship and SDP in this study is gendered, and in what ways traditional capitalist understandings of entrepreneurship are maintained and/or disrupted, adds to the growing literature that seeks to contest entrepreneurship as a panacea for economic development. Rather, by applying postcolonial management theory in this study, entrepreneurship is explored both with regards to social change (Steyaert & Hjorth, 2008; Steyaert & Katz, 2004) and in relation to its role in maintain and sustaining gender inequalities, (neo)-colonialism, and global capitalism (Özkazanç-Pan, 2017).

The use of postcolonial management theory in this study brought attention to the consequences of ‘modern’ Western colonialism for NGO practices in social entrepreneurship,

SDP, and knowledge production. YARID, though a refugee-led organization and one that uses a human-centred design approach which seeks to have programming informed by program users, has been influenced by assumed (Westernized) understandings of social entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employability vis-à-vis SDP that places refugees as passive, ‘idle,’ and docile. That is, the way in which YARID promotes social entrepreneurship and employability ultimately is framed by (neo)colonial and neoliberal understandings of the need to create ‘productive’ citizens via SDP (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012). Sport, as has been critiqued, is utilized as a technology of ‘control’ to discipline refugees to become self-reliant as neoliberal subjects (Darnell, 2012; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). Postcolonial management theory in this study adds understandings of how participants resisted some neoliberal components of entrepreneurship (e.g., as an individual process or activity), but also displayed the contradictions in how SDP, social entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employability remains intertwined and ideologically influenced by (neo)colonialism and neoliberalism. Future studies of SDP in relation to social entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and employability are needed to further unpack the way in which such SDP programs contribute to, but also resist, (neo)colonial and neoliberal traits of development.

10.1.3 Sociological studies of forced migration and sport: Diaspora and transnationalism

Spaaij et al. (2019, p. 15) and Spaaij and Broerse (2019) have called for research into sport and migration that adopts a transnational research approach, one that counteracts the view of the nation-state as the “natural basis of analysis.” In this study, the use of diaspora as a conceptual lens highlighted the ways in which refugees at YARID involved in sport did not have a linear, singular identity aligned with the Ugandan nation-state, but rather, engaged in a number of social, economic, and cultural practices that related both to their homeland and the hostland.

The construction of homespaces – in particular, through sport-related and SDP activities – fostered diasporic consciousness and demonstrated how various research participants adopted hybrid and multidimensional identities (e.g., sharing stories, building social networks with other migrants) (Joseph, 2012; Vertovec, 2000). Thus, this study responds to calls by scholars that transnational research approaches may provide further insight into the dynamics of forced migration, and also challenges the idea that refugees ‘integrate’ into host societies. Instead, individuals in this study sought to maintain diasporic connections to their homelands and for some, seek to become self-reliant while resisting integration including adopting social and cultural practices of the host community.

In addition, McSweeney and Nakamura (2019, p. 15) suggest that future research into the sociological study of diaspora and sport should consider how diasporic communities view the “‘dominant’ or majority group of the host society.” Many of the activities that refugees undertook in this study (e.g., engaging in livelihood activities related to their homeland), were premised at least partially on their views that host community residents were discriminatory to refugees and social exclusion of those forced to migrate. At the same time, other participants viewed the ‘dominant’ group (i.e., Ugandans) as being welcoming and that refugees had access to resources, jobs, healthcare, and other services equal to host community residents. These insights shed light on how diasporic communities and refugees’ lived experiences differ even *within* diasporic spaces (Anthias, 1998).

Furthermore, this study also brings together streams of literature related to: (1) refugee livelihoods; (2) diaspora; and (3) SDP. In doing so, this research extends understandings of how refugee livelihoods are influenced and enacted in connection with diasporic consciousness – and how such livelihood activities take place within SDP contexts and, in some instances, through

sport. This was evident, for example, when Adifatah opened a gym for Somali refugee youth to gather, as well as when Antony tailors clothes, specifically sport jackets, with the Congolese flag. Connecting these streams of literature highlight how refugees are purposeful and agentic in their efforts to engage in economic means while at the same time relating back to their homeland and navigating the process of forced migration. Finally, and as further discussed below, Spaaij et al. (2019) have called for the use of innovative research methods in the study of forced migration and sport – including the use of visual and digital methods.

10.1.4 Methodological contributions: Participatory action research and visual and digital methods

Methodologically, the use of a participatory action research (PAR) approach and visual and digital methods in SDP and forced migration research was an important contribution. While PAR has been both advocated for and critiqued within studies of forced migration (e.g., Doná, 2007; Ellis et al., 2007), there has been calls for PAR to be utilized in studies with refugees due to potential exploitation of refugee-identifying individuals if empirical investigations are not collaborative, ‘refugee-centred,’ and considerate of ethics including respect, confidentiality, and ‘do-no-harm’ principles (Krause, 2017; Müller-Funk, 2020). In forced migration and sport studies, Spaaij et al. (2019) have highlighted that most studies, with some exceptions (e.g., Luguetti, Singhebhuye, and Spaaij, 2021; Robinson et al., 2019; Stone, 2018), have employed traditional research methods, although there is growing interest in PAR. In addition, though PAR approaches have been increasingly adopted in SDP research (e.g., Hayhurst, 2017; Sherry et al., 2017), there is a need to use this approach more often, especially to attend to the colonial histories of international development and neoliberal underpinnings of many SDP programs and of research more generally (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Darnell & Millington, 2019). In so doing,

there is an opportunity to advance the use, applicability, and process of PAR in studies of SDP, especially due to the ways visual and digital methods may contribute to empirical analysis (Hayhurst, 2017).

The use of a PAR approach and visual and digital methods had many benefits for this study. First, a PAR approach was necessary given my own positionality as a Western, white, male, and that I have no history or experience of forced migration. Working collaboratively and closely with research participants, shaping the study with constant reflection, feedback, and direction from YARID staff and program users, and overall engaging in research as a collaborative endeavour were useful for deconstructing, and attending to, the inequalities embedded in researcher-researched relationships (Lugueti et al., 2021). Of course, while numerous research participants made note that this collaborative approach was different from other studies they had been involved in and felt that it was more of a collective process, it is also important to highlight that my role as a Western, white researcher (e.g., translating interviews to English), may reinforce and perpetuate colonial power relations (Hayhurst, 2017).

Second, the use of visual and digital methods, as discussed in Chapter 4, holds potential for deconstructing power relations in research by promoting local knowledges, narratives, and knowledge production that prioritizes research participants' viewpoints and enhances critical dialogue (Wang, 2006; Willox et al., 2012). Photovoice specifically benefitted the research by enabling refugees to capture their experiences both within the YARID space as well as outside of the 'research setting.' For instance, participants were able to express, via photos, the way in which sport and SDP did not only take place within YARID but also within their communities; and how such sport impacted their life, as well as how relations with community members and family influenced sport involvement. Photocollage sessions also benefitted this study by creating

an opportunity for research participants to share narratives with one another, discuss community strengths (e.g., importance of sport to promote social inclusion) and barriers (e.g., gender inequalities), and conduct collaborative analysis. Digital storytelling as discussed later in this chapter, was crucial for the purposes of engaging in knowledge mobilization – in particular, to share research findings more broadly outside academia (to the public, to YARID stakeholders, etc.). Such methods in this study contribute to ongoing calls both in forced migration and sport research and the SDP field for non-traditional research methods (Hayhurst, 2016; Spaaij et al., 2019).

Third, and relatedly, the use of PAR and visual and digital methods has led to unique knowledge mobilization and translation strategies, a key benefit of such methods that move beyond the conduct of data collection and into dissemination of findings for participants, stakeholders, and the general public (Mitchell et al., 2014). In this study, in addition to a research report which is to be provided in the following months to YARID staff and all program users involved in the research, there are three additional plans for knowledge mobilization, including: (1) the dissemination of a photobook/magazine (available in PDF form as well) that includes key research findings and images taken by participants from photovoice to existing and potential partners, funders, donors, and community members, as well as all research participants (translated to Swahili, French, Lingala, and Arabic for participants); (2) the distribution of DVDs with the digital story to be accessed at YARID offices where laptops and DVD players are located; and (3) the distribution of flash disks with the digital story to participants and other program users not involved in the research. The digital story, once finalized, will also be shared on YARID's WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram pages for public access. Research participants have consented to the sharing of the digital story on social media once finalized. In order to

maintain long-term connections with participants, a staff member requested the creation of a website for refugee journalists in Uganda to share reliable news about current issues with other forced migrants. Although not directly related to the research, myself and YARID staff are currently planning to disseminate research findings on a specific section of this site as well.

10.2 Challenges and limitations

All research studies, although driven by theoretical and conceptual frameworks, methodologies, and methods that are aligned, also often face both practical challenges and research limitations (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). In this study, two particular challenges project were noteworthy, as well as certain limitations of the study despite the thoroughness of the empirical investigation.

10.2.1 Visual and digital methods

The first challenge, more practical in nature, was the use of visual and digital methods and the time, resources, and commitment by both researcher and research participants that is required when using such methods (Mitchell et al., 2014; Wang, 2006). As noted above, there were a number of benefits of visual and digital methods. However, certain elements of data collection (e.g., participant compensation) required adjustment after discussing with research participants the time and commitment required to essentially be involved in four different stages of fieldwork (i.e., photovoice, semi-structured interview, photocollage sessions, and digital story presentation). While this was not an issue given funding for the research, other studies may need to consider the available resources necessary to fully engage participants while being able to appropriately compensate individuals for their time.

Other resource challenges did arise, such as the process of creating the digital story. As noted in Chapter 4, the limited quantity of iPads and additional time needed for each research

participant to create a digital story led to myself creating a single digital story with participant input and based on collaborative analysis. Ideally, each participant would create their own digital story if time and resources are available, as this would allow each participant to craft their own narratives, in their own words, based on their own experience rather than a narrative based on collective experiences. In addition, some participants only had two days to capture photos using cell phone cameras or digital cameras. While this does go against the recommended one to two weeks that would be ideal to provide participants time to capture photos (Wang, 1997), this decision was collaboratively made with support and feedback from staff at YARID. Overall, whilst there were challenges of visual and digital methods, I believe the benefits outweigh such difficulties – and, through the use of a PAR approach –decisions related to the above challenges and how to navigate them were made through discussion and negotiation with research participants.

10.2.2 ‘Participation’ of who? Considering challenges of PAR

The second practical challenge of this study is in relation to who and what research participants were involved in reviewing and confirming findings upon the completion of research. This challenge also applied to those who were involved in deciding the best knowledge dissemination strategies. Though I was guided by all research participants while in the field, and since leaving, have been guided by the advisory board and staff research participants on the best possible way to engage in knowledge dissemination, the program users themselves have had limited involvement due to unavoidable challenges, including the discontinuation of YARID programs due to the global coronavirus pandemic, and the inability to reach out to program users due to changing phone numbers and contact information. While full participation, particularly when communicating using technology, is difficult to attain from all study participants, working

with ‘multipliers’ – that is, collaborating with people in the community where the research has been conducted who share findings with those who participated in the research and beyond (Krause, 2017) – has been a way to ensure that knowledge mobilization reaches program users. Collaboration with multipliers enhances the ability to translate research findings not only by the primary researcher, but by community members (YARID staff in this case) who share results with program users and communities (Krause, 2017). Another benefit of visual and digital methods is that all participants have seen the digital story and have approved of its dissemination using other forms of technologies (e.g., DVDs, flash disks, websites, social media pages).

10.2.3 My own identity and positionality

The first main limitation of this study is that I, as a white settler, Western educated, Canadian, heterosexual male, led this study. With no history of forced migration, I also could not share experiences related to displacement with participants, and in addition, have rarely been marginalized or discriminated against based on my identity. Hence, while every effort was made through a postcolonial lens, PAR approach and my own research background that emphasizes critical approaches to knowledge production, colonial histories, and SDP, it is likely that my very presence may have perpetuated existing power relations regarding colonialism, Global North and Global South power structures, and other social inequalities such as gender. Due to this, and although I developed rapport with staff and program users throughout fieldwork, I was concretely positioned as an outsider in the research context. Thus, research participants may have interacted and acted around me differently, and for some, may not have felt comfortable sharing the full extent of their lived experiences with me.

While ideally, future research I conduct in such research settings will include the hiring of community-based researchers (although Joselyne and Elvis as well as Wisdom were in many

ways guiding me) and use PAR approaches, my role as an outsider based on my identity has to be recognized and unpacked, as I did in the reflexive section of Chapter 4. My position as a Western, white, Canadian male researcher did make me an ‘outsider’ to the context in which research was conducted (see also McSweeney, 2019). At the same time, the PAR approach utilized and rapport built with research participants during fieldwork enabled trust to be fostered with refugee background people, and the transparency in which the research was conducted meant that I was partially able to become an insider within the *organizational context*. Yet, given my own positionality, it was not possible to be a ‘complete’ insider, and hence I navigated an insider-outsider perspective throughout the research. While my identity may have influenced the totality of the research project, it is important to recognize that as a qualitative researcher, I am intertwined with the entirety of the research process based on my own identity, knowledge, and perspectives, and research participants themselves bring their own identities, knowledge and perspectives to the study that combine to make ‘ultimate truth’ difficult or impossible to ascertain.

10.2.4 Context-specificity of the research

A second key limitation of this study is that the research was conducted in a particular context, during a specific period of time, and was informed by the qualitative research paradigm. While this study (and based on my own worldview) does not aim for generalizability, the transferability of findings to examine in relation to other contexts may not be possible given the very nature of the research, research participants, and the social, political, economic, and cultural context the empirical analysis took place in. However, the findings, as I have discussed, are significant for a number of different fields including that of SDP and further studies exploring SDP, social entrepreneurship, and livelihoods would do well to highlight similarities and

differences based on this research. At the same time, Spaaij et al. (2019) have called for research beyond single qualitative case studies in forced migration and sport, and have advocated for mixed methods, multiple case study, and longitudinal research.

10.3 Future research directions

10.3.1 Critical research into entrepreneurship, sport and SDP: Studying ‘ordinary’ entrepreneurs, entrepreneurship for social change, and organizational creation

Throughout this research project, I have seen the varying ways in which entrepreneurship is not just considered in terms of relation to the ‘economic value’ that innovation may bring about or build. Indeed, I have emphasized that a reorientation of entrepreneurship that aligns with social entrepreneurship and social value rather than strictly economic development or profit maximization is needed, in line with growing calls for such work in the entrepreneurship literature (Baker & Welter, 2015). I have also seen how people – who may not be viewed as having ‘specialized’ traits of entrepreneurs or the resources necessary to engage in innovation (e.g., high quantity of resources) engage in novel activities for their own, and others’ social, economic, and cultural purposes.

Further study of ‘ordinary’ entrepreneurs in the sport and SDP sector is a worthwhile endeavour to more fully understand how individuals and groups create organizations, particularly non-profits, that combine sport with other social goals and ultimately use novel practices for social change. For instance, there is an abundance of organizations within the sport and SDP sector that have been created focusing on social change. This is not new *per se*, as evidenced by the growth of the SDP field. However, what is less known is how these organizations have been crafted in an entrepreneurial manner that views the creation of a new venture, non-profit, and/or service primarily for the purposes of social change. For instance, Fitriya Mohamed founded a

Muslim Women's Summer Basketball League in 2020 for the purposes of inspiring "the next generation of Muslim female hoopers around the world" (MWSBL, 2021, para. 1).

Understanding the resources, motivations, and strategies she mobilized to create such a league and how she acts as a social entrepreneur would build understanding of how entrepreneurship in sport and SDP works toward social change and/or social equality. Such studies in the SDP sector would enhance theoretical and practical understanding of the many organizations that have been created in the field of sport and international development and reorient entrepreneurship beyond a panacea for economic development, instead highlighting how individuals and groups work to create organizations that seek social change.

Furthermore, as Essers et al. (2017) have discussed, it is important to also conduct empirical investigations into the work, nuances, challenges, failures, perpetuation of social inequalities, and less recognized individuals and groups in the entrepreneurship literature (e.g., women and girls, refugees, people living in poverty) who engage in innovation for the purposes of building social and economic value. Such studies in sport and SDP contexts will add to the entrepreneurship literature by bringing attention to the innovative work of people who have not received the same attention. More specifically, such research will highlight and make significant the gender inequalities, marginalization, and the historical foundations of management and organization that are embedded within colonial histories and neoliberalism. In addition and relatedly, further studies should adopt postcolonial management theory and other critical approaches to understand how social structures are maintained, disrupted, and/or perpetuated by entrepreneurship. Doing so will also ensure that the power relations and social inequalities that entrepreneurship takes place through and in will be acknowledged within sport and SDP contexts.

10.3.2 Refugees and sport: Diaspora, livelihoods, and hybrid identities

A second, and related area of future study is empirical investigation into the way in which refugees engage in livelihood through and using sport. Based on this study's findings that refugees relate to their homelands through their participation in sport, as well as via certain livelihood activities (e.g., sewing sport jackets with Congolese flags), more empirical investigation into how sport may, or may not, play a role in the specific livelihoods and employment activities refugees engage in is needed. In addition, diaspora offers a conceptual framework for researchers to examine how social, cultural, and economic practices are constructed via the multilocal and hybrid identities many forced migrations adopt. Understanding how individuals relate to their homeland through sport and economic activities, at the same time as living in a different hostland and resisting nation-state or host community social, cultural and political norms or relations, would offer further empirical investigation of how those forced to migrate uniquely engage in innovation and entrepreneurship for the purposes of their livelihoods. Indeed, research has demonstrated that immigrants and ethnic communities engage in entrepreneurship utilizing transnational ties and resources (Honig, 2020). Further research in sport and SDP should seek to explore the relationships (if any) between transnational identities of migrants, entrepreneurship, livelihood, and employment.

10.4 Practical implications and recommendations for YARID

A PAR approach for empirical investigation works with research participants in a collaborative manner while also working to effect practical change in some way (McIntyre, 2007). Based on the previous chapters and the findings of this research, I suggest the following four recommendations for YARID:

- 1. Employ a female-identifying sport coach to lead women and girls' SDP activities.*

While participants did mention that there were some women who sporadically led SDP and sporting activities at YARID, there was no specifically designated female-identifying coach or a staff member who was formally hired to lead women's and girls' SDP activities. Some staff members did note that YARID was in the process of training a female-identifying coach who could lead SDP activities with all genders. It will be important to ensure that this training is completed and a female sport coach is hired formally as staff for the purposes of enhancing women and girl-focused SDP activities. As many participants in this study discussed the challenges of women and girls' SDP participation, and the way in which women and girls may feel discouraged from family to participate in sport, having a coach who can closely identify with women and girls about these challenges, work with them to discuss family and broader gender norms and inequalities in Uganda, and provide a support network is valuable for encouraging and enhancing women and girls' experiences with SDP. Continuing to hire and train female-identifying sport coaches, and having women and girls more involved in leading SDP activities and programs would also lead to more insights, suggestions, and strategies about how to extend and build SDP programs for women and girls.

2. *Reach out to external stakeholders, including the local and federal government, partner organizations, funders, and communities of Ugandan and refugee residents to host a community event highlighting and promoting the specific entrepreneurship and business activities of refugees.*

Many participants of this study emphasized that some host community residents, particularly Ugandans, view refugees as a burden who are taking jobs, making living costs rise, and overall would discriminate against refugees. However, this study displays how refugees contribute in many ways to the host community, whether through their own employment and

livelihood activities, or by supporting refugees and Ugandans to develop relationships and to enhance social inclusion, or by fostering cultural understanding and belonging. In turn, the entrepreneurial work of participants of this study, whether related to sport or not, demonstrate how refugees are contributing members of the community in Kampala, Uganda. YARID may wish to hold a community event where organizational stakeholders and community and government representatives are invited to attend. Indeed, this was a suggestion made by participants, as they illustrated how refugees engage in their own unique livelihood and employment activities. As YARID already holds various successful community events, having an event that specifically details the entrepreneurial work of refugees, and how YARID supports them, would ideally illustrate to stakeholders, the government, and most importantly, host community residents, that refugees are not an ‘economic burden’ but rather are members of the community who are contributing to economic and social development in various ways in Kampala and Uganda more broadly. A yearly or even monthly event, depending on organizational capacity, could specifically include the stories of participants of this study, and have opportunities for stakeholders and host residents to view and even purchase equipment, clothing, and other merchandise from refugees. In addition, YARID may wish to invite potential funders/donors and existing partners in order to display the important work the organization does in supporting refugees’ entrepreneurship and businesses – and possibly attract future funders and donors or build on existing partnerships.

3. Encourage the innovative work of refugees using sport to address social issues and create information sessions about using sport for both social and economic means.

Multiple participants of this study discussed how sport plays a role in both addressing social issues and contributing to livelihood activity, business, and entrepreneurship. However,

there were only a few participants who recognized specific opportunities to use sport for social and economic means, while others who were involved in sport programs recognized its importance for development. As many refugees are self-employed due to challenges in Kampala such as limited employment opportunities, YARID may wish to extend their sport clubs, meetings, and SDP activities that discuss employability, livelihoods, and other issues to include more formalized information sessions that train refugees in using sport in innovative ways to make some form of economic capital. These information sessions could be done in conjunction with YARID job readiness programs and vocational training and provide examples from this study as well as steps for how to form a sport organization or use sport in unique ways. For example, how Mustapha went about identifying the opportunity to sell sport equipment to earn money and also ensure individuals play sport safely could be discussed, or the way in which Junior created an SDP organization and the specific steps he took to launch the organization, including marketing, fundraising, organizational structure, and programs could be explained. In addition, how clothing and other merchandise could be made in connection to sport, such as stitching popular sport teams logos or asking sport teams if they would like tailor-made jerseys created by women at YARID could lead to unique ways to increase economic capital in relation to sport. The information sessions would be a means for refugees and YARID to think about new ways to engage in entrepreneurship through sport, and also be useful to have SDP participants envision innovative ways that social and economic value can be built.

4. *Continue to advance a refugee-led and strengths-based framework that is driven by and for refugees at YARID and that acknowledges and builds on their expertise, knowledge, capacities, and experiences.*

Lastly, many participants in this study made note of the importance of YARID's approach to development. The way in which YARID values, asks for, and respects refugees' opinions, suggestions, and feedback was viewed positively and demonstrates the collaborative nature of YARID staff and the organization overall. Most participants were very happy with the work of YARID and noted that YARID supports refugees in becoming self-reliant. In addition, the data from this study exhibit how YARID builds on and extends the knowledge, skills, values, and resources that refugees have rather than solely focus on the traumatic or difficult experiences refugees have had due to displacement and living in a new host society. While YARID does respond to many of the challenges refugees face, the organization and staff also aim to support refugees in and through sport, business, livelihood, education, and other social areas. Increasing research and practice has emphasized how focusing on 'assimilation' and 'integration' of refugees should not only be about having individuals adopt social and cultural norms of a host society (i.e., Uganda). Rather, refugees have their own social, cultural, and political values, and YARID should continue to advance a strengths-based, refugee-led approach that respects and acknowledges refugees' capacities, experiences, and social and cultural backgrounds that are part of refugees' identities. I also suggest that YARID expand their refugee-led and strengths-based approach by working more closely with individuals displaced from other homelands beyond the Democratic Republic of Congo, including Somalia, Burundi, and South Sudan. By working with more refugees from these nations, YARID will continue to enhance social inclusion of all refugees and build a more comprehensive refugee-led approach that considers the experiences and knowledge of refugees with different ethnicities and from various nations.

10.5 Concluding remarks

I am privileged in the fact that I was able to travel to Kampala, Uganda and learn first-hand the lived experiences of refugees at YARID. As I have prepared for, conducted, and written about this research study, I continue to feel that a critical lens to research, including in terms of theory, methodology, methods, and the overall approach taken, is necessary for studies of SDP, particularly when considering the researcher's positionality and the context in which empirical investigation is carried out. There is much more work required in the field of SDP, especially in relation to the complex experiences of refugees and entrepreneurship, and I seek to in the future continue collaborating and working with refugees to move towards further understanding of their lived experiences and the numerous social inequalities that continue to exist in their lives and within SDP – and how they challenge such inequalities through their own agency, work, and possibly even through sport-related activities. Future work must also consider the importance of a postcolonial research ethics and mutual accountabilities. How can we commit to a more ethical, responsible SDP practice? More sport management scholars, in my opinion, should consider postcolonial management theory to investigate SDP and SE, especially as SE gains further popularity within research and within the SDP sector. These are questions to consider as the SDP field moves forward.

Endnotes

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

ii The ‘modern form of Western colonization’ refers to the new ways of postcolonialism, imperialism, and neocolonialism (such as knowledge production) by which nations may be influenced and shaped.

iii I use the terms global North and global South throughout the paper, unless referring to an author’s work that uses different terms (for example, Third-World women). I follow McEwan (2009, p. 12) in my use of the term: “Rather than using terms that suggest both a hierarchy and a value judgement (‘First’ and Third World, ‘developed’ and ‘developing’), the terms ‘global North’ or ‘North’ and ‘global South’ or ‘South’ are generally used... This is, of course, geographically inaccurate and too generalized to encompass the complexities within and between nations, but it is perhaps the least problematic means of distinguishing between relatively wealthy countries and continents (Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the USA and Canada) and relatively poorer ones (Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Pacific), since it also implies an interconnected world and a global context in which to consider inequality and poverty... It is perhaps most useful to think of North/South as a *metaphorical* rather than a *geographical* distinction, where North refers to the pathways of transnational capital and South to the marginalized poor of the world regardless of geographical location.”

iv The term ‘post-colonial’ is used with a hyphen here in order to refer to a ‘period’ or specific time of ‘official’ decolonization that saw colonizers relinquish control of geographical boundaries and nations to the colonized,; however, as noted above, this did not mean the end of postcolonialism.

v The ‘re’ in ‘(re)presentation’ is meant to refer to the presentation and representation of other knowledges and peoples in modern social sciences, discourse, and universal understandings of the human. These (re)presentations or ‘likenesses’ come in written forms and material forms, and are never full, truly objective, or real, insofar as a written (re)presentation depends on the value, strength and constructed image it conjures through ideological content.

vi When I mention that scholars in critical MOS suggest a performative approach in which to ‘intervene in management’ discourses, actions, and workplace structures, a cautionary note is briefly needed. While I agree that practical attempts to disrupt marginalizing organization and management structures isare necessary, when discussing international MOS, or international development such as SDP, the role of the researcher, how they are viewed as an insider-outsider, and the context in which they seek to ‘intervene’ must be considered. In short, we as researchers must not blindly ‘intervene’ in contexts we believe are unequal, if only to ensure that we do not reproduce structures of hierarchies.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Initial email sent to YARID

Dear Young African Refugees For Integral Development (YARID),

I hope this email finds you well. I am a PhD candidate in Kinesiology and Health Sciences at York University in Toronto, ON, Canada. As an organization that is involved in providing sport-for-development (SFD) programming to African refugees, I am contacting you to inquire about potential research collaboration and participation in a study focused on how SFD in Canada and Uganda may provide opportunities for social and economic development to refugee and migrant groups.

The goal of this email is to request a phone or Skype call in the next week, or at your earliest convenience, regarding YARID's numerous programs focused on sport-for-development, women's empowerment, and education (particularly those focused on social and community development) in Kampala, Uganda. In particular, I have received funding in support of conducting community-based research focused on:

1. how SFD programs focused on economic empowerment, such as employability initiatives and social entrepreneurship programs, may facilitate social inclusion, group and individual empowerment, and promote gender equality;
2. the challenges and benefits of Canadian and Ugandan sport-for-development programs focused on economic development; and
3. what might be revealed about the role of the corporate sector and civil society in situating, facilitating, and/or mobilizing the inclusion and exclusion of refugees in communities.

If of interest to you, I am hoping to collaboratively explore your organization's experience with sport-for-development (SFD) programs, your knowledge of the funding of SFD programs, and your opinions regarding the utility, successes and broad operations of SFD programs for refugee and migrant populations. This research is in its development phase and I seek to discuss with you the possibility of conducting fieldwork in the future, in the hopes of working together to explore further the experience of participants in YARID's programs. Some of the potential benefits of this research might be using the results of the study to increase knowledge about the role that the sport for development movement plays in disadvantaged communities and refugee groups in Uganda and Canada, which could help foster stronger relationships with non-governmental organizations working in SFD and the communities they work in. Most importantly, we hope to share the stories of participants of YARID's programs and their experiences.

When you have had a chance to look over the above information, please let me know if you are interested in discussing further the research project and future research collaboration. I can be

contacted at [REDACTED] or by phone (number included below). Feel free to contact me if you have any questions or concerns.

Thank you very much for your time and for considering this request, and I hope to hear back from you soon.

Sincerely,

Mitchell McSweeney

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Appendix B – Memorandum of understanding

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING
Between Young African Refugees for Integral Development/ Robert Hakiza
And
York University/ Mitchell Mcsweeney

BACK GROUND AND PURPOSE

This MOU sets the terms and understanding between YARID and Mitchell Mcsweeney for the research being conducted between June 18th 2019, focused on sport/physical activity, development and refugee populations. Research methods as previously agreed upon with YARID/Robert Hakiza will be utilized and reporting of research will be completed by Mitchell Mcsweeney in 2019 or 2020.

FUNDING

York University/ Mitchell Mcsweeney will pay each participant (e.g. program user, staff, community member) 10000 Ugandan shillings for each cumulative research activity (see informed consent), for no more than a total of 30000 Ugandan shillings. This payment is to cover transportation and involvement costs of participating in the research.

York University/Mitchell Mcsweeney will pay the translator 60000 Ugandan shillings per day of interpretation. This payment will be provided upon completion of the research.

York University/Mitchell Mcsweeney will pay YARID/Robert Hakiza \$700 Canadian dollars for facilitation of the research and NGO mobilization costs. This payment will be provided upon completion of the research through an electronic fund transfer.

CONTACT INFORMATION AND SIGNATURE

.....*Mitchell Mcsweeney*.....
.....*Robert Hakiza*.....
.....

York University-Mitchell Mcsweeney
PhD Candidate/Primary Investigator
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Robert Hakiza
YARID- Executive Director
[Signature]

**YOUNG AFRICAN REFUGEES FOR
INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT**
26 JUN 2019 ★
(YARID)
P.O. BOX 71360, KAMPALA (U)

Appendix C – Letter of support from YARID



Young African Refugees for Integral Development | YARID
P.O. Box 71360
Kampala, Uganda
[REDACTED]

Mitch McSweeney, MA
PhD Candidate,
York University
[REDACTED]

Re: YARID support for grant Application

The purpose of this letter is to confirm that Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) will collaborate with you [Mitch McSweeney] on the IDRC Doctoral Research project grant *“Sport for Development and Peace and Refugees in Kampala, Uganda.”*

YARID is a refugee-led organization with a mission to empower refugees, orphans and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) around Africa to overcome the burdens of deprivation and vulnerability to become healthy, educated, self-sustaining and contributing members of society. We acknowledge that Soccer for Development and Peace can play a very big role in creating social cohesion and opportunities for people displaced by conflicts especially the Youths. At YARID, we support refugees to become self-reliant and facilitate the

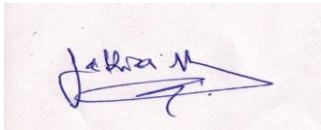
process of empowerment through education, vocational trainings, sports and women empowerment.

We have read carefully your proposal, and are happy to see that your project addresses the gap within the current field of SDP in relation to how refugee programs may provide youth and adults opportunities to acquire employment and labor skills necessary for social participation in the modern workforce.

Your proposal is timely as the number of urban refugee especially youths in Uganda is growing exponentially. Findings from this research will be benefiting our organization and others, supporting refugees in the region. As collaborator we will we are happy to provide an office, access to organizational documents, introducing to program funders and participants and assist in research.

We are excited to contribute to this project and wish you best of luck in your application submission.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Robert Hakiza', with a stylized flourish extending to the right.

Robert Hakiza
YARID Co-Founder & Executive Director

Empowering Refugees in Kampala Since 2008.

Appendix D – MAKSS REC and UNCST ethics approval

Notice of Approval (SS 4996): Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Isaac Makhuwa [REDACTED]

Wed 6/26/2019 12:13 AM

To: Mitchell McSweeney [REDACTED]

Cc: [REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Mitchell McSweeney,

This is to notify you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above named protocol on **24th June 2019**.

The approval is subject to the following condition:

1. Payment of the research administration and clearance fee of **300 US Dollars**. Payment is made to Standard Chartered Bank Speke Road Branch (or any other branch); the **account title** is **UNCST** and the **US Dollar account number** is **8705611811400**. If, however you wish to pay in **Uganda shillings**, the **account number** is **0105610632101**. If you intend to wire the research fees, the swift code is SCBLUGKA. Note that bank charges will entirely be the researcher's responsibility.

After payments, please bring the bank pay slip or transaction sheet to UNCST accounts office upon which a receipt will be issued to you. Please quote your name and the above reference number on your pay slip.

2. Obtaining of clearance to the study districts from the Research Secretariat, Office of the President; the process of obtaining clearance from the Research Secretariat, Office of the President is handled by UNCST on behalf of the researcher. Once approval has been secured, you will be notified.

Yours sincerely,

Isaac Makhuwa

For: Executive Secretary

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Appendix E – Office of the Prime Minister approval for research with refugees


THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA
OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER
PLOT 9-11 APOLLO KAGGWA ROAD. P.O. BOX 341, KAMPALA, UGANDA
TELEPHONES: General Line 0417 770500, Web: www.opm.go.ug, E-mail: ps@opm.go.ug


Uganda
Vision 2040

In any correspondence on this subject, please quote No: **OPM/R/107**

May 8, 2019

Mitchell McSweeney,
PhD Candidate, York University,
Principal Investigator.

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WITH YOUTH REFUGEES AT YOUNG AFRICAN REFUGEES FOR INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT (YARID)

Reference is made to your letter dated April 28, 2019 in regard to the above subject matter.

This is to authorize you conduct research with youth refugees at Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID), in Kampala for the purposes of completing you PhD degree for York University located in Canada.


Gerald Menhya
FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY

OPM Vision: A Public Sector that is responsive and accountable in steering Uganda towards rapid economic growth and development.

Appendix F – Translator confidentiality agreement

YORK UNIVERSITY

Title of Study: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 4700 Keele St. Toronto, Ontario, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 4700 Keele St. Toronto, Ontario, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Oath of Confidentiality

(Check the following that apply)
I understand that as:
☒ an interpreter
☒ transcriber _____

for a study being conducted by Mr. Mitchell McSweeney of the School of Kinesiology and Health Sciences, York University, confidential information will be made known to me.

I agree to keep all information collected during this study confidential and will not reveal by speaking, communicating or transmitting this information in written, electronic (disks, tapes, transcripts, email) or in any other way to anyone outside the research team.

Name: Wisdom Karungu Signature: Wisdom Karungu
(Please Print)

Date: 25 June 2019

Witness Name: Mitchell McSweeney Witness Signature: Mitchell McSweeney

Appendix G – Staff informed consent form

Informed Consent Form – Staff of YARID

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Study Title: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Introduction and Background Information

We are doing a research project about sport for development and peace (SDP) a movement of organizations, governments, and communities where sport is thought to play a key development role. The reasons we are doing this project are to try to better understand how individuals, particularly refugees, experience SDP programs and how the ways that this program works impacts social change through sport your community. Overall, the information for this study will be used to better understand SDP and the day-to-day experiences and lives of those involved in it (such as yourself). We can also learn about how SDP initiatives might be improved and help foster stronger relationships between partners and communities. The information gathered will be used in various publications and to improve SDP programming at the Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) in Kampala, Uganda. This research study has been supported by YARID and the Ontario Government in Canada. An Ontario Graduate Scholarship for funding has been provided by the government and the research has been approved by YARID, as well as approved by the principal REC in this study, the MAKSS REC.

What The Participant Would Be Asked To Do

We are asking for staff of the Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) to take part in this study. We would like to invite you to participate in a photovoice activity where you will be asked to take photographs (for example, photographs of the barriers and benefits of working and participating in YARID programs), a follow-up interview and sharing group about your photographs where you will create a photocollage showcasing your experiences with SDP and YARID, and digital storytelling where you will use photos from the photovoice to co-create a digital compilation such as an online video. We are asking you to take part in this research because you are a person who has had experience with YARID's SDP programs. The time commitment of photovoice, photocollaging, and digital storytelling activities will vary depending on how much time you would like to give to the project. The interview will be audio recorded and will last approximately 1 hour. The sharing group will be audio recorded and will last approximately 1 to 1.5 hours. If, however, you do not want the focus group or interview to be recorded, there will be no audio recording and we will take notes instead. You can withdraw

from the focus group at any time. You may be quoted or you can choose to remain anonymous, which means that your name will never be used in the research.

Your participation will be a big help. The information you share with us will help to understand your experience and work with SDP programs and sport. We hope that this research will potentially inform YARID about their programs and the overall experiences of program participants to help in the development of your community and of future individuals who will participate in the program. We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Risks and Benefits of Being In The Study

There are no known risks of participating in this study. Benefits may include contributing your knowledge and having the opportunity to tell your story in your own words, while also potentially improving technical and digital skills such as photocollaging and movie making through individual and group efforts between participants and the research team. Options to contribute to the project as a co-researcher will also be available to those who are interested. Benefits to broader society include having a better understanding of what people using SDP and what community development initiatives mean to those involved.

Confidentiality

Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. All data, including handwritten notes, video and audio tapes, photocollages, and photographs, is strictly confidential. No records which identify you by name or initials will be allowed to leave the Investigators' offices. A code number will be used to identify you. The information will be stored in a locked file cabinet and computer files will be password protected, and only research staff/research team members will have access to this information. The data will be stored for 25 years after the completion of the study, and then destroyed by deleting all computer files and shredding all paper data by May 2044.

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Voluntariness

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or program staff, or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Should you wish to withdraw after the study, you will have the option to also withdraw your data up until the analysis is complete.

Compensation/Reimbursement

Each participant in the study will receive 5,000 Ugandan schillings for each cumulative research activity, which includes: (1) photovoice orientation and activities; (2) sharing group and semi-structured interview; and (3) photocollage and digital storytelling activities. Participants will receive no more than 15,000 Ugandan schillings total.

Refreshment

Refreshments, such as a soda and biscuit for each participant, will be provided during each research activity as stated above.

Feedback/Dissemination

All participants will have the opportunity to receive a report of the research project and findings upon completion, as asked below. In addition, participants will be asked about potential outlets to disseminate research, in which ways, and how best to use data and findings to support their community and individual needs. This study involves processes of collaborative dissemination.

Ethical Clearance

This research has been approved by the principal REC for this study, the MAKSS REC. This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines (Ethics Certificate # STU 2019-007).

Contacts and Questions

The researcher(s) conducting this study are mentioned below. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have any questions later, you may contact them at:

1. Mitchell McSweeney
PhD Candidate, York University, School of Kinesiology and Health Science
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
[REDACTED]

2. Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst
Assistant Professor, York University, School of Kinesiology and Health Science
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
[REDACTED]

If you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) about; (1) concerns regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects' issues, please contact:

The Chair
Makerere School of Social Sciences
Research Ethics Committee
Telephone: +256- 772 457576
E-mail: sheisim@yahoo.com

And,

The Executive Secretary
The Uganda National Council of Science and Technology,
Kimera Road. Ntinda P. O. Box 6884 Kampala, Uganda
Telephone: (256) 414 705500
Fax: +256-414-234579
Email: info@uncst.go.ug

Or

Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information or had the above information read to me. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I consent to participate in this research. I am at least _____ years of age.

Consent to participate in photovoice orientation and activities:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Consent to participate in sharing group and semi-structured interview:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Consent to participate in photocollaging and digital storytelling:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____

Date: _____

Witness of person in case person is illiterate:

Name of Witness: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of witness: _____

Date: _____

Statement of consent to participate (in case of additional interviews)

I have read or have had the information read to me about additional interview. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I am at least _____ years of age.

☐ Yes, I agree to participate in additional interview about _____ at each follow up if selected as eligible. I understand that I can change my mind and refuse the additional interview.

☐ I do not agree to participate in an additional interview about _____ at each follow up visit if selected as eligible.

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____

Date: _____

Witness of person in case person is illiterate:

Name of Witness: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of witness: _____

Date: _____

Additional consent (where applicable)

1. Audio recording

☐ I consent to the audio-recording of my interview(s).

2. Video recording or use of photographs

I _____, consent to the use of images of me (including photographs, video and other moving images), my environment and property in the following ways (please check all that apply):

In academic articles	[] Yes	[] No
In print, digital and slide form	[] Yes	[] No
In academic presentations	[] Yes	[] No
In media	[] Yes	[] No
In thesis materials	[] Yes	[] No

Signature:

Date:

Participant: (name)

3. Consent to waive anonymity

I, _____, consent to the use of my name in the publications arising from this research.

Signature:

Date:

Participant: (name)

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____

Date: _____

☐ Check this box if you would like to receive a summary of the study findings (and please print your contact information in the space below).

If you do not check any of these boxes, you can still participate in the current study. You can also check these boxes off but decide in the future that you do not want to participate.

E-mail Address (please print): _____

Mailing Address or telephone #: _____

Appendix H – Program user informed consent form

Informed Consent Form – Participants of YARID

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Study Title: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Introduction and Background Information

We are doing a research project about sport for development and peace (SDP) a movement of organizations, governments, and communities where sport is thought to play a key development role. The reasons we are doing this project are to try to better understand how individuals, particularly refugees, experience SDP programs and how the ways that this program works impacts social change through sport your community. Overall, the information for this study will be used to better understand SDP and the day-to-day experiences and lives of those involved in it (such as yourself). We can also learn about how SDP initiatives might be improved and help foster stronger relationships between partners and communities. The information gathered will be used in various publications and to improve SDP programming at the Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) in Kampala, Uganda. This research study has been supported by YARID and the Ontario Government in Canada. An Ontario Graduate Scholarship for funding has been provided by the government and the research has been approved by YARID, as well as approved by the principal REC in this study, the MAKSS REC.

What The Participant Would Be Asked To Do

We are asking for participants of the Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) SDP programs and residents of the community in which YARID works to take part in this study. We would like to invite you to participate in a photovoice activity where you will be asked to take photographs (for example, photographs of the barriers and benefits of participating in YARID programs), a follow-up interview and sharing group about your photographs where you will create a photocollage showcasing your experiences with SDP and YARID, and digital storytelling where you will use photos from the photovoice to co-create a digital compilation such as an online video. We are asking you to take part in this research because you are a person who has had experience in YARID's SDP programs or live in the community in which YARID works. The time commitment of photovoice, photocollaging, and digital storytelling activities will vary depending on how much time you would like to give to the project. The interview will be audio recorded and will last approximately 1 hour. The sharing group will be audio recorded and will last approximately 1 to 1.5 hours. If, however, you do not want the focus group or

interview to be recorded, there will be no audio recording and we will take notes instead. You can withdraw from the focus group at any time. You may be quoted or you can choose to remain anonymous, which means that your name will never be used in the research.

Your participation will be a big help. The information you share with us will help to understand your experience with SDP programs and sport. We hope that this research will potentially inform YARID about their programs and the overall experiences of program participants to help in the development of your community and of future individuals who will participate in the program. We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Risks and Benefits of Being In The Study

There are no known risks of participating in this study. Benefits may include contributing your knowledge and having the opportunity to tell your story in your own words, while also potentially improving technical and digital skills such as photocollaging and movie making through individual and group efforts between participants and the research team. Benefits to broader society include having a better understanding of what people using SDP and what community development initiatives mean to those involved.

Confidentiality

Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. All data, including handwritten notes, video and audio tapes, photocollages, and photographs, is strictly confidential. No records which identify you by name or initials will be allowed to leave the Investigators' offices. A code number will be used to identify you. The information will be stored in a locked file cabinet and computer files will be password protected, and only research staff/research team members will have access to this information. The data will be stored for 25 years after the completion of the study, and then destroyed by deleting all computer files and shredding all paper data by May 2044.

Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Voluntariness

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or program staff, or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Should you wish to withdraw after the study, you will have the option to also withdraw your data up until the analysis is complete.

Compensation/Reimbursement

Each participant in the study will receive 20,000 Ugandan schillings for each cumulative research activity, which includes: (1) photovoice orientation and activities; (2) sharing group and semi-structured interview; and (3) photocollage and digital storytelling activities. Participants will receive no more than 60,000 Ugandan schillings total.

Refreshment

Refreshments, such as a soda and biscuit for each participant, will be provided during each research activity as stated above.

Feedback/Dissemination

All participants will have the opportunity to receive a report of the research project and findings upon completion, as asked below. In addition, participants will be asked about potential outlets to disseminate research, in which ways, and how best to use data and findings to support their community and individual needs. This study involves processes of collaborative dissemination.

Ethical Clearance

This research has been approved by the principal REC for this study, the MAKSS REC. This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines (Ethics Certificate # STU 2019-007).

Contacts and Questions

The researcher(s) conducting this study are mentioned below. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have any questions later, you may contact them at:

3. Mitchell McSweeney
PhD Candidate, York University, School of Kinesiology and Health Science
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
[REDACTED]

4. Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst
Assistant Professor, York University, School of Kinesiology and Health Science
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
[REDACTED]

If you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) about; (1) concerns regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects' issues, please contact:

The Chair
Makerere School of Social Sciences
Research Ethics Committee
Telephone: +256- 772 457576
E-mail: sheisim@yahoo.com

And,

The Executive Secretary
The Uganda National Council of Science and Technology,
Kimera Road. Ntinda P. O. Box 6884 Kampala, Uganda
Telephone: (256) 414 705500
Fax: +256-414-234579
Email: info@uncst.go.ug

Or

Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information or had the above information read to me. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I consent to participate in this research. I am at least _____ years of age.

Consent to participate in photovoice orientation and activities:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Consent to participate in sharing group and semi-structured interview:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Consent to participate in photocollaging and digital storytelling:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____

Date: _____

Witness of person in case person is illiterate:

Name of Witness: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of witness: _____

Date: _____

Statement of consent to participate (in case of additional interviews)

I have read or have had the information read to me about additional interview. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I am at least _____ years of age.

☐ Yes, I agree to participate in additional interview about _____ at each follow up if selected as eligible. I understand that I can change my mind and refuse the additional interview.

☐ I do not agree to participate in an additional interview about _____ at each follow up visit if selected as eligible.

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____

Date: _____

Witness of person in case person is illiterate:

Name of Witness: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of witness: _____

Date: _____

Additional consent (where applicable)

4. Audio recording

☐ I consent to the audio-recording of my interview(s).

5. Video recording or use of photographs

I _____, consent to the use of images of me (including photographs, video and other moving images), my environment and property in the following ways (please check all that apply):

In academic articles	☐ Yes	☐ No
In print, digital and slide form	☐ Yes	☐ No
In academic presentations	☐ Yes	☐ No
In media	☐ Yes	☐ No
In thesis materials	☐ Yes	☐ No

Signature:

Date:

Participant: (name)

6. Consent to waive anonymity

I, _____, consent to the use of my name in the publications arising from this research.

Signature:

Date:

Participant: (name)

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____

Date: _____

☐ Check this box if you would like to receive a summary of the study findings (and please print your contact information in the space below).

If you do not check any of these boxes, you can still participate in the current study. You can also check these boxes off but decide in the future that you do not want to participate.

E-mail Address (please print): _____

Mailing Address or Telephone #: _____

Appendix I – Community member informed consent form

Informed Consent Form – Community members

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Study Title: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Introduction and Background Information

We are doing a research project about sport for development and peace (SDP) a movement of organizations, governments, and communities where sport is thought to play a key development role. The reasons we are doing this project are to try to better understand how individuals, particularly refugees, experience SDP programs and how the ways that this program works impacts social change through sport your community. Overall, the information for this study will be used to better understand SDP and the day-to-day experiences and lives of those involved in it (such as yourself). We can also learn about how SDP initiatives might be improved and help foster stronger relationships between partners and communities. The information gathered will be used in various publications and to improve SDP programming at the Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) in Kampala, Uganda. This research study has been supported by YARID and the Ontario Government in Canada. An Ontario Graduate Scholarship for funding has been provided by the government and the research has been approved by YARID, as well as approved by the principal REC in this study, the MAKSS REC.

What The Participant Would Be Asked To Do

We are asking for residents of the community in which Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) works to take part in this study. We would like to invite you to participate in a photovoice activity where you will be asked to take photographs (for example, photographs of the barriers and benefits of sport and YARID programs in the community), a follow-up interview and sharing group about your photographs where you will create a photocollage showcasing your experiences with sport in your community and YARID, and digital storytelling where you will use photos from the photovoice to co-create a digital compilation such as an online video. We are asking you to take part in this research because you are a person who lives in the community in which YARID works. The time commitment of photovoice, photocollaging, and digital storytelling activities will vary depending on how much time you would like to give to the project. The interview will be audio recorded and will last approximately 1 hour. The sharing group will be audio recorded and will last approximately 1 to 1.5 hours. If, however, you do not want the focus group or interview to be recorded, there will be

no audio recording and we will take notes instead. You can withdraw from the focus group at any time. You may be quoted or you can choose to remain anonymous, which means that your name will never be used in the research.

Your participation will be a big help. The information you share with us will help to understand your experience with sport and YARID's role in the community. We hope that this research will potentially inform YARID about their programs and the overall experiences of program participants to help in the development of your community and of future individuals who will participate in the program. We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Risks and Benefits of Being In The Study

There are no known risks of participating in this study. Benefits may include contributing your knowledge and having the opportunity to tell your story in your own words, while also potentially improving technical and digital skills such as photocollaging and movie making through individual and group efforts between participants and the research team. Options to contribute to the project as a co-researcher will also be available to those who are interested. Benefits to broader society include having a better understanding of what people using SDP and what community development initiatives mean to those involved.

Confidentiality

Unless you choose otherwise, all information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. All data, including handwritten notes, video and audio tapes, photocollages, and photographs, is strictly confidential. No records which identify you by name or initials will be allowed to leave the Investigators' offices. A code number will be used to identify you. The information will be stored in a locked file cabinet and computer files will be password protected, and only research staff/research team members will have access to this information. The data will be stored for 25 years after the completion of the study, and then destroyed by deleting all computer files and shredding all paper data by May 2044. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Voluntariness

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer, to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions will not influence the nature of the ongoing relationship you may have with the researchers or program staff, or the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible. Should you wish to withdraw after the study, you will have the option to also withdraw your data up until the analysis is complete.

Compensation/Reimbursement

Each participant in the study will receive 5,000 Ugandan schillings for each cumulative research activity, which includes: (1) photovoice orientation and activities; (2) sharing group and semi-structured interview; and (3) photocollage and digital storytelling activities. Participants will receive no more than 15,000 Ugandan schillings total.

Refreshment

Refreshments, such as a soda and biscuit for each participant, will be provided during each research activity as stated above.

Feedback/Dissemination

All participants will have the opportunity to receive a report of the research project and findings upon completion, as asked below. In addition, participants will be asked about potential outlets to disseminate research, in which ways, and how best to use data and findings to support their community and individual needs. This study involves processes of collaborative dissemination.

Ethical Clearance

This research has been approved by the principal REC for this study, the MAKSS REC. This research has received ethics review and approval by the Delegated Ethics Review Committee, which is delegated authority to review research ethics protocols by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board, and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines (Ethics Certificate # STU 2019-007).

Contacts and Questions

The researcher(s) conducting this study are mentioned below. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have any questions later, you may contact them at:

5. Mitchell McSweeney

PhD Candidate, York University, School of Kinesiology and Health Science
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
[REDACTED]

6. Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst

Assistant Professor, York University, School of Kinesiology and Health Science
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
[REDACTED]

If you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s) about; (1) concerns regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects' issues, please contact:

The Chair
Makerere School of Social Sciences
Research Ethics Committee
Telephone: +256- 772 457576
E-mail: sheisim@yahoo.com

And,

The Executive Secretary
The Uganda National Council of Science and Technology,
Kimera Road. Ntinda P. O. Box 6884 Kampala, Uganda
Telephone: (256) 414 705500

Fax: +256-414-234579
Email: info@uncst.go.ug

Or

Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, Kaneff Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information or had the above information read to me. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I consent to participate in this research. I am at least _____ years of age.

Consent to participate in photovoice orientation and activities:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Consent to participate in sharing group and semi-structured interview:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Consent to participate in photocollaging and digital storytelling:

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____

Date: _____

Witness of person in case person is illiterate:

Name of Witness: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of witness: _____

Date: _____

Statement of consent to participate (in case of additional interviews)

I have read or have had the information read to me about additional interview. I have received answers to the questions I have asked. I am at least _____ years of age.

☐ Yes, I agree to participate in additional interview about _____ at each follow up if selected as eligible. I understand that I can change my mind and refuse the additional interview.

☐ I do not agree to participate in an additional interview about _____ at each follow up visit if selected as eligible.

Name of participant: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of participant: _____

Date: _____

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____

Date: _____

Witness of person in case person is illiterate:

Name of Witness: _____

Signature or thumbprint/mark of witness: _____

Date: _____

Additional consent (where applicable)

7. Audio recording

☐ I consent to the audio-recording of my interview(s).

8. Video recording or use of photographs

I _____, consent to the use of images of me (including photographs, video and other moving images), my environment and property in the following ways (please check all that apply):

In academic articles	[] Yes	[] No
In print, digital and slide form	[] Yes	[] No
In academic presentations	[] Yes	[] No
In media	[] Yes	[] No
In thesis materials	[] Yes	[] No

Signature:

Date:

Participant: (name)

9. Consent to waive anonymity

I, _____, consent to the use of my name in the publications arising from this research.

Signature:

Date:

Participant: (name)

Name of Person obtaining Consent: _____

Signature of person obtaining consent: _____

Date: _____

☐ Check this box if you would like to receive a summary of the study findings (and please print your contact information in the space below).

If you do not check any of these boxes, you can still participate in the current study. You can also check these boxes off but decide in the future that you do not want to participate.

E-mail Address (please print): _____

Mailing Address or telephone #: _____

Appendix J – Staff interview guide

Interview Guide – YARID Staff, Volunteers & Program leaders

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Study Title: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

1. Please tell me about yourself:
 - What is your position in this NGO?
 - How long have you been in this position?
 - What do you do as part of your work/ day-to-day activities?
2. How did you (personally) come to be involved in sport-for-development work? Is this your main focus or do you have other responsibilities as well?
3. What does your organization do? From your perspective, what are the main goals of YARID?
4. Why did your organization become involved in sport-for-development work?
5. What are some of the roles that sport plays in the communities where you work? (*Probes:* challenges/benefits of these roles? Examples?)
6. How, if at all, do you think sport connects to broader (community and/or international) development efforts? Why is it different (if at all) to other ‘sport’ or ‘recreation’ efforts in your community, or internationally?

7. How do people, and communities, use sport and sport-for-development programs through the work that your organization does? In what ways does sport contribute to social and economic opportunities for refugees and women, if at all?
8. Can you take me through the day-to-day sport-for-development work you do? Could you provide an example of a specific SFD economic and/or social program?
9. Have there ever been any concerns expressed about your NGOs work in using sport-for-development?
10. What challenges are there within this type of work, if any?
11. What strategies are in place to translate the experiences that people have in using sport through your organization's work to their families and communities?
12. What are the advantages and/or disadvantages of involving NGOs based in the global South in the work that you do?
13. If you were to give advice to another sport-for-development-focused NGO just starting out what would you tell them? Why? Any other advice you would give?
14. Are there any other groups/organizations/individuals with whom we should connect that you haven't yet mentioned?
15. Is there anything else you want to add to this interview that we may have missed?

Appendix K – Program user interview guide

Interview Guides – YARID SFD Program Participants

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Study Title: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Photovoice questions:

1. Where was this photo taken? Why was it taken?
2. What does this photo represent to you?
3. Please select two of the best photos (in your opinion) among your collection in terms of what is:
 - a. A barrier to your participation in sport for development programs and sport?
 - b. An enabler to your participation in the sport for development programs and sport?

Interview Questions:

4. Can you tell me about yourself and your life (Probes: Family/ household structure?) Can you share some of the challenges that you have experienced? Can you share how you approached or dealt with these challenging or difficult experiences? What are the things that make your life enjoyable?)
5. Can you tell us about the YARID program that you are involved in? How did you become involved in the sport-for-development program at YARID? Can you elaborate on how you have experienced this program? (Probes: Challenges/ problems with the program? Benefits of the program?) Why?
6. What does the YARID sport-for-development program mean to you?
 - a. What activities do you enjoy the most in the sport-for-development program and why? The least?

7. Has your participation in YARID's SFD program augmented and/or contributed to social and economic opportunities for refugees, women and their communities in Uganda?
How?
 - a. What are the key issues that the sport-for-development program focuses on? How would you describe the organization's goals? Have these goals changed over time?
8. What do your parents/guardians/community members think about your participation in YARID's sport-for-development program activities? (Probes: If they are supportive, have they always been this way? If they resist, how do you challenge this resistance or change their minds?)
9. Are there any other specific/organized sport programs that you participate in outside of YARID
10. Do you participate in sport on a day-to-day basis? In what ways? How often do you participate in sport?
11. How does sport impact community life (long term vs. short term)? Who has access to the sport and YARID's programs, and who does not? Why do you think this is the case? How do you think community members might gain access to sport if they needed to?
12. What is your role in your community? Has your role changed since your participation in YARID's sport for development programs? (Probes: If so, how? If not, why?)

Note: Next questions only for participants who identify as involved in social entrepreneurship or economic-focused programs:

13. How does YARID's economic programs work? In what ways does this program differ from other SFD or sport programs you know of or have participated in?
 - a. How does this differ from any other community initiatives you have been a part of?
14. Who is selected for the economic and entrepreneurial programs? Why?
 - a. How did you become involved specifically with the social enterprise program?
15. How has the social and economic SFD programs impacted your day-to-day life, if at all?
 - a. Benefits of the program
 - b. Issues of the program
16. If you were going to start your own NGO that was using sport to promote development, what advice would you give them? Why that advice? Is there anything else you wanted to share with me that I may have missed?

Appendix L – Community member interview guide

Interview Guide – Community Members

Principal Investigator	PhD Supervisor
Mitchell McSweeney PhD Candidate School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]	Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst Assistant Professor School of Kinesiology and Health Science York University 5700 Keele Street Toronto, ON, Canada M3J 1P3 email: [REDACTED]

Study Title: Sport for Development and Peace for Refugees in Kampala, Uganda

Photovoice questions:

1. Where was this photo taken? Why did you take it?
2. What does this photo represent/mean to you?
3. Please select two of the best photos (in your opinion) among your collection in terms of what is:
 - a. A barrier to your participation in sport in your community
 - b. An enabler to your participation in sport in your community

Interview Questions:

4. Can you tell me about yourself and your life (Probes: Can you share some of the challenges that you have experienced? Can you share how you approached or dealt with these challenging or difficult experiences? What are the things that make your life enjoyable?)
5. Do you participate in sport on a day-to-day basis? In what ways? How often do you engage in sport?
6. How did you become involved in sport? (Probes: Challenges/ problems with sport? Benefits of sport-for-development?)
7. How do you think the presence of sport and YARID influences community life? Who has access to sport, and who does not? Why do you think this is the case?

8. How does sport impact your ability to engage in economic and income-related activities?
How about social and cultural activities? Other activities?
9. How do you sport may respond to social issues in your community, and what is the added value sport provides when responding to social issues, if any? (Probes: how is sport used collectively? How is it used individually?)
10. What do your parents/guardians/other community members think about your participation in sport? (Probes: If they are supportive, have they always been this way? If they resist, how do you challenge this resistance or change their minds?)
11. Has sport augmented and/or contributed to economic and/or social development/improvement efforts and goals of and for refugees, women and your community? How? (Probes: economic development, sexual and reproductive health, social entrepreneurship, gender equality, sustainable development, conflict resolution, etc.). How? (Probe: Could you share with me how you think life without sport would be)?