

University of Alberta

**Learning to Play? : A critical investigation of the *Play Around the World*
program and student-volunteer experiences.**

by

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in

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Abstract

In this thesis project I critically investigate the experiences of past Play Around the World (PAW) student-volunteers in relation to the institutional tensions, borders and policies they willingly and unwillingly negotiate upon engagement with the PAW program. This project is historically situated within literature of international development and sport for development and peace, and takes into account the context inherent in international volunteering. Using a case study approach, I employ a combination of methods including Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis of key policy documents concerning the PAW program, as well as interviews with past student-volunteers. I explore the experiences of past PAW student-volunteers through the cultural theory of Raymond Williams (1977; 1980), which encourages a critique that entertains the complex interplay of social, economic, political and cultural processes that come together to legitimize a social phenomenon like the PAW program. By using PAW as a case to explore experiences of past student-volunteers within sport for development and peace, I am able to comment on the larger climate of international development that has evolved to encourage sport within its repertoire of development strategies, and demonstrate the ways in which these programs have the potential to both make and un-make traditional notions of culture, international relationships, and globalization.

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“Sport is increasingly recognized as an important tool in helping the United Nations achieve its objectives, in particular the Millennium Development Goals... by including sport in development and peace programmes”

Ban Ki-Moon
Secretary General of the United Nations

Research Question

How do volunteers within *Play Around the World* negotiate their roles and experiences in relation to ideologies inherent in sport for development and peace policy produced institutionally?

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The genesis of this research emerged as a result of personal experience as a sport for development policymaker, champion, and volunteer. I began international work with a small development organization in 2006 in an impoverished community in La Victoria, Peru. For two years we prepared our workshops and material to teach while never interacting with the communities with whom we would work, nor researching much about the country. When the time came for departure, I doubt if I could have picked Peru out on a map. I bravely trudged into South America devoid of critical thought but armed with the quiet reassurance that I was performing my Canadian and Christian duty. After this taste of international work, I was convinced it was my life's calling, and I continued with the intention of discovering ways to do it for the rest of my life. One year later (and older and wiser), I traveled abroad to Thailand with a different organization through the University for the express purposes of 'bringing' play and recreation to children with disabilities in a city in northern Thailand.

After spending a semester fundraising, learning about Thai culture, seeing images from previous volunteers and listening to anecdote after anecdote from these same volunteers, I found the reality was still very different from my imagined dream. At the end of this experience and after a summer of intense sweating, learning and playing, on a bed in a sketchy hotel room in Bangkok, the seeds were planted for this thesis project. A fellow volunteer and I were discussing our experience - the first time either of us felt free to do so candidly in a way that openly criticized the project. Why were we even there? For all the activities and fun of the summer, had we really made that much of an impact? How were we, two undergraduate physical education students from Canada, more equipped and well trained than the professionals in the schools and communities of the people with whom we worked? Is play and recreation really what these children needed or, based on my experience, could they be better helped by money for minor corrective surgeries and therapy? Having previously advocated the unequivocal benefits that sport and play can have on childhood development and being utterly convinced of the need for my unique role within this program, this discussion marked a tangible change in my thoughts.

This thesis project is an attempt to provide a supportive space for volunteers to debate the nature of their innocence when participating in *Play Around the World*. I want to know if, like me, other international volunteers are engaging in these tough discussions and reflexive questions that can potentially render them complicit in a number of imagined evils – symbolic or otherwise. Most importantly, I hope to question whether or not they feel the way I did when I went to bed in Bangkok that night three years ago: that we are not alone in questioning our innocence. This study is significant as it explores

from a critical perspective the institutional positioning of a sport for development and peace program through analysis of its policy documents, and then relates it back to the individuals who implement these programs.

Sport, within the international development community, has evolved within the past 10 years from a place of informal implementation, ad hoc employment and sporadic use into an integrated reality, adopted into current development practice (Levermore & Beacom, 2009; United Nations, 2003). Sport for development and peace (SDP) programs often involve athletes, students and other volunteers who travel from western and northern countries to low-middle income countries (LMICs)¹ as program administrators, sport experts, and/or policy informants. Like any other social subjects, volunteers are produced and re-produced as a result of many competing and intersecting discourses². They bring preconceived notions with them into the development context, which is a result of socially, historically, politically and institutionally specific discourses that intersect in various ways (Baaz, 2005; Hall, 1997; Laclau & Mouffe, 1990). While development initiatives and international aid efforts are no new players on the international stage, the role of the foreigner has yet to be teased out for all its complexities to the development situation (Kidd, 2007; Sugden, 2006). Regardless of the assumptions associated with the benevolence and altruism inherent in volunteering, the transformation of space and place (with respect to practices of domination and

¹ Previously referred to as 'third world countries', 'developing countries' or 'the global south', LMIC is the current term with which to refer to countries undergoing processes of development.

² My use of discourse is not in the Foucauldian sense, rather, I use it in the way Fairclough intends in order to gain insight into how language and experiences are constructed by individuals. Through these different discourses (or constructions) we may gain insight as to how they are used as ideological tools for oppression. Employing hegemony theory encourages sensitivity in the management, negotiation and contestation of power, through discourse.

subordination) through the presence of foreign volunteers is, as Razack (2005) argues, never innocent.

While these programs are unfolding on a global scale through organizations such as Commonwealth Canada's *International Development through Sport* program, as well as the United Nations' and the International Olympic Committee's joint initiative *Right to Play*³, they are also occurring locally in universities and communities all over the world. An example of a locally led international sport for development initiative is the University of Alberta's *Play Around the World* (PAW) program. PAW is a service-learning course offered through the University of Alberta in which students are intended to broaden their worldview as they learn, live and play in a different culture. The mission of *Play Around the World* is:

“To broaden the worldview of University of Alberta students through a cross-cultural service-learning placement. Students live and learn in a new culture while promoting the value of play and recreation with underserved populations and the communities who serve them.” (PAW, 2009)

Central to the mandate of *Play Around the World* is the belief in the utilitarian aspects of play and recreation, the right of the child to these benefits and finally, commitment to the global education experience of the volunteers. This global education process involves the students engaging with a new culture, followed by reflexive negotiation of their experiences after and during travel through journaling, dialogue, observation, reflection, advocacy and inquiry. Guided by Article 31 of the UN convention on the Rights of the Child, the aims of *Play Around the World* are twofold: first; to share the benefits and

³ For information on either the *International Development through Sport* program or *Right to Play*, visit their respective websites at: www.cgc.ca or www.righttoplay.org

utilitarian aspects of play with underserved populations in Thailand and Cambodia and second; to expand the worldview of students through global citizenship education.

This master's thesis will explore, using Raymond Williams' theories of *dominant, residual and emergent* cultural trends, how Play Around the World volunteers negotiate their experiences in relation to the ideologies inherent in sport for development policy and practice. Using a case study approach, I employ Raymond Williams' (1977; 1980) cultural theory, specifically his concepts of *dominant-residual-emergent* cultural trends, to consider the complexities inherent in the mobilization of a cultural phenomenon like sport within development. Discussions of PAW begin by situating Sport for Development and Peace as an entity that operates within cultural, political and economic global power relations. By analyzing the theoretical framework of *Play Around the World*, as well as the work of academics in the sport for development field, I identify current dominant attitudes that circulate within Sport for Development and Peace; both locally and internationally. These findings frame my exploration of volunteer experiences, told by their stories through interviews, and how these stories function within the policies that have become taken-for-granted truths within Sport for Development and Peace. I look into how volunteers approach Sport for Development and Peace within this local initiative in order to denaturalize, reinscribe, interact with and/or negotiate myths circulated within literature and popular thought regarding the benevolent and volitional nature of sport and international development. I also ask after how they situate themselves within the development context in terms of their role as foreign program administrators. The consideration Raymond Williams places on social, political and cultural components inherent in power relations allows me to interrogate how volunteers

negotiate, interact with, reflect upon, inquire into and critically investigate their own involvement in the various areas of sport for development and peace. Through this process one can begin to question the ideologies that come together to rationalize Sport for Development and foreign involvement regardless of time and place, as well as how this creates a business whereby Sport for Development legitimizes its own existence.

It is not my intention to represent *Play Around the World* volunteers as a homogenous and unchanging group; however, as Darnell (2010) suggests, it is reasonable to conclude that regardless of space and place in the Sport for Development and Peace context, “certain hegemonic, ‘northern’ interpretations of sport and development influence[s] interns work in the field” (p.58). In this respect, through their involvement with programs, volunteers contribute to ideological constructions of certain meanings of Sport for Development and are in an ideal position to comment on these meanings that influence efforts within the development situation (Darnell, 2010). By analyzing the experiences of volunteers within *Play Around the World*, I hope to contribute to the discussions in which Darnell (2007; 2010), Sugden (2006) and Nicholls (2009) have participated concerning the importance of the role of the international volunteer within the Sport for Development context. Furthermore, I hope to add to the reflexive and critical body conversation created by Truong (2007) and contributed to by Jorgenson (2009) concerning the theoretical implications of the *Play Around the World* program.

The next chapter in this thesis begins with a review of literature encompassing international development, sport for development and peace, past research of the *Play Around the World* program as well as information on the concept of volunteering. Through this review I will render self-evident the gap in literature that merits need for

more reflexive and thoughtful exploration into the experiences of the students and volunteers that sustain these programs. Following this review, I outline the methodology for this project in the combination of interviews and textual analysis. Chapter four encompasses the results of the study which then leads into chapter five, which is a discussion of the *Play Around the World* program as theoretically and ideologically linked to similar projects on the international scale. In closing, chapter six encompasses my conclusions, limitations, as well as suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Context

This literature review will chronicle the emergence of Sport for Development and Peace, beginning with a short history of international development, leading to the inception of sport within development and finally, exploring its current reality as a global force involving institutions, corporations and individuals world-wide. The following review is divided into four sections: international development, sport for development and peace, volunteers and theoretical framework. This review demonstrates how Sport for Development and Peace is gaining momentum as something implemented within international development as well as theorized and researched within academia. It also exhibits *Play Around the World* as an example of a local sport for development initiative embodying certain global characteristics and principles that it adopts and molds to fit its own goals and agenda. Most importantly, this review of literature demonstrates that academic research up until this point has largely neglected the contributive efforts of sport for development volunteers, and argues for a cultural studies analysis grounded in the work of Raymond Williams to contribute to the future of the PAW program.

International Development

While the focus of this thesis is grounded on the concept of ‘Sport for Development’, it is nevertheless necessary to understand international development as it has unfolded over the past 50 years to normalize a practice that sends foreigners to countries in the global south under the banner of ‘aid’ and now includes sport within its repertoire of strategies. Many scholars argue that development gained credibility after World War II as the assumed duty of the northern ‘first’ world to extend the benevolent

helping hand to their southern counterparts to help them achieve modernization (Black, 2007; George, 2005; Millet & Toussaint, 2004). Accordingly, this ‘white man’s burden’ was considered the solution to problems of poverty, ignorance, ungodliness and immorality that plagued the ‘third’ world (Black, 2007; Young, 2003; Willis, 2005). In his inaugural address in 1949, President Harry Truman spoke of the need for ‘developed’ countries to extend the helping hand politically, socially and economically to the ‘underdeveloped’ areas of the world. This marked the starting point for development, characterized by rationality (through technology and innovation) and decolonization (as was the practice after World War II). According to critical development theorists, the ontology of this wave of development was rooted in the notion of the ‘third world’⁴ as a single, homogenous entity which merited the same type of development throughout; that progress and modernization of industry and society was then the way to achieve development and that the nation-state was integral to success in the development process (Black, 2007; Darnell, 2010; Escobar, 1995; Schuurman, 2001). In other words, development was the description given to the process whereby the industrialized world would courteously assist backward and immature countries in catching up economically, socially, religiously and politically. Early northern development interventionist strategies usually failed and actually served to increase the marginalization of the global south (Frank, 1975; Willis, 2005). Development, during this period, was manifested by massive fiscal loans attached to exorbitant interest rates in the hopes that ‘3rd world’ countries

⁴ For the purpose of chronicling the history of international development, I use the term ‘third world’ in reference to the global south, or ‘developing’ countries. For the purpose of this thesis and analysis, I will continue to use the term ‘global south’ or ‘developing’ countries in reference to what has been traditionally known as the ‘third’ world. IN this respect, I am guarding against the creation of the stratification of the world along economic lines and heeding the lament of Ashis Nandy (1987) who argues that the ‘third world’ is “not a cultural category; it is a political and economic category born of poverty, exploitation, indignity and self-contempt” (p. 21).

would establish infrastructure and governance similar to the ‘enlightened’ and developed world (Cavanagh & Mander, 1994; Willis, 2005).

Due to this rise in lending and the inability of the ‘third world’ to make necessary loan repayments, the international financial institutions⁵ introduced structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the 1980s as a second wave of development in an effort to expedite loan repayment⁶. The reality of structural adjustment, however, was quite different from what was hoped because, as many scholars agree, that while it was intended to ‘kickstart’ the economy of underdeveloped countries, it instead left the borders of these countries open to trans-national corporate activity, foreign investments and monopolization of resources. Essentially, SAPs minimized the role of the state in favor of international corporate interests and economic global trade. Furthermore, ‘adjusted’ countries were not permitted to place tariffs on imports (making them cheaper than locally produced goods) while no such restrictions were placed on exports in order to encourage local purchasing in non-adjusted countries. As ‘underdevelopment’ theorists believe, this exacerbated the negative resource flow from south to north, increased the disparities between countries and placed the global south in the position of financial servitude and economic uncertainty (Black, 2007; Frank, 1975; McMicheal, 2005; Willis, 2005).

Up until and during the period of SAPs, development had manifested itself as serving the needs of capitalism and profit, which “eclipsed human values and marginalized diverse cultures which organize themselves based on other lines” (Shiva,

⁵ The international financial institutions consist of: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization.

⁶ As a neoliberal development initiative, SAPs intended to promote global trade by encouraging nations to devalue their currency, increase exports, subsidize foreign investments, give corporations free reign in fiscal activity, discourage public programming in favor of private investments, and prevent countries from protecting their own resources (Cavanagh & Mander, 1994)

2001; p 157). Many believe this type of development reduced to economy did not account for traditional ways of being that operate according to moral, cultural, ecological and different economic laws as opposed to simply money and profit. As Piertse (2001) argues, succeeding in such an economically reduced model of development is not to be celebrated so much as it should be feared. This model, which ignored tradition, culture, and custom, has since been exposed for its inadequacies as the development community searched for alternatives, this produced the notion of the right to development, measured by the Human Development Index (HDI) in 1990 (U.N.D.P., 2009; Kidd, 2007; Willis, 2005). HDI broadened the criteria of development success to include factors like infant mortality, primary education, hunger, and poverty rates. This and the 'right to development' established development as a human right in which individuals were encouraged to participate and reap its benefits. It, in turn, precipitated the inception of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)⁷, adopted in 2000 to be achieved by 2015. Since 2003, sport has been formally included by the UN and partner agencies within international development with the specific focus to achieve these millennium development goals (Beutler, 2008; Darnell, 2007; Levermore, 2008; UN, 2003). Sport, according to stakeholders, is considered an ideal tool to help bring about development 'solutions' in the wake of this new pluralistic model of development, as it is often considered not only part of a nation's culture, but also an indigenous method of

⁷ The millennium development goals have been adopted by the international development community as a framework for development initiatives of approximately 190 countries. They include:

- 1) Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger
 - 2) Achieving universal primary education
 - 3) Promoting gender equality and female empowerment
 - 4) Reducing child mortality
 - 5) Improving maternal health
 - 6) Combatting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
 - 7) Developing a global partnership for development
- (UN, 2008)

expression and can be used as a unique avenue to question and negotiate the status quo (Bale & Cronin, 2003; Harvey et. al, 2009).

For the purpose of this thesis, I have identified the starting point of 'international development' as the period immediately following World War II. However, although international development was articulated by Truman in 1949, it has a great deal of historical precedents. For example, during the period of the late 1800s- early 1900s in Australia, modern 'sanctioned' sport was employed to subvert indigenous Australian sporting practices, symbolically affirming the correctness of the British social order (Mandell, 1984). Furthermore, in the Indian context, football provided a reason for active British colonial intervention, emphasizing the importance placed on strength, virility and masculinity of the British body in opposition to the inferior Indian body (Mills & Dimeo, 2003). Scholars like Said (1979) and Fanon (1963) argued that where traditional colonialism ended, development took over in continuing to legitimate white/British/western/Eurocentric culture as the authoritative basis for government, economics, law, science, language, music, art and sport (Young, 2003). In consideration of global relationships, this historical contextualization is important as many global interactions are wrought with instances of domination and subordination and characterized by colonialist and imperialist tendencies.

Development may be measured, quantified, and rationalized through economics, but it is also deeply entrenched in the belief that one way of living is superior to another. These attitudes naturalize the need for development to the extent where international aid involvement is no longer debated in LMIC foreign policy. In the same way that the 'need for development' became a taken-for-granted truth of international relations, so too has

the 'need for sport' within development. These ideals and utilitarian aspects that legitimized the presence of sport in colonization are the undercurrents guiding the basis and rationality, articulated by the millennium development goals, for the inclusion of sport within current international development.

Sport for Development and Peace

While the United Nations is the main supporter and promoter of sport as a tool for development, this idea has been adopted by governmental and non-governmental institutions, private sports clubs, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), and the Union of European Football Association (UEFA), other initiatives are sponsored by corporations like Nike, Reebok and Adidas (Boje & Khan, 2009). The creation of *Play Around the World* by the University of Alberta is a perfect example of the principles of the United Nations and Olympics adopted as a local initiative that acts internationally. While sport was employed traditionally within international development in a sporadic and haphazard fashion, it is only recently that international [and local] actors have been convinced of the potential effects sport can have on realizing the millennium development goals and achieving universal peace (UN, 2003; SDP-IWG, 2006; 2008). As a result, sport is gaining momentum as a feasible development alternative, which can be used creatively when other development efforts fail (Darnell, 2007; Levermore, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

While the UN and IOC depict sport as the new elixir for development, according to many scholars both in context of sport and international development, sport is not to be considered an *a priori* good. As Giulianotti (2005) argues: "I accept that a significant role

has been carved out for sport to play in promoting peace and enhancing human dignity. This does not, however, entail that we must subscribe to the more naïve or evangelical arguments regarding sport's *innate* goodness..." (p. 75). According to Kidd (2007), research that involves sport is usually conducted with the notion that positive by-products automatically result from participation and research is designed to discover these intentions. Keeping in mind Giulianotti's view of sport as without *innate* goodness and framing it in terms of its social construction, I am able to question the experiences of volunteers as they enter this socially contentious field of Sport for Development. Furthermore, contextualizing the current reality of sport for development through the history of international development implicates the roles of volunteers in a wide series of global relationships problematizing their innocence (Darnell, 2010; Harvey et al, 2009; Kidd, 2007).

Proponents of Sport for Development and Peace have written that within international development, sport can be employed to foster nationalism (Jarvie, 2003; Sugden, 2006; Miller, Lawrence, McKay & Rowe, 2001), used as a method of resistance against or adherence to the status quo (Bale & Cronin, 2003; Harvey et. al, 2009), as a valuable tool in diplomacy (Houlihan, 1994; Riordan & Kruger, 1999), and sport irrespective of development has the potential for expression and empowerment (Messner, 1990; Whitson, 1994). However, making claims concerning the benevolence of sport does not mean forgetting the potential of sport for discipline and indoctrination (Forsyth, 2007; Kidd, 2006), nor the times where this same celebrated nationalism in sport has turned its head in the direction of violent and dangerous ends. Furthermore, the increasing commodification of sport and its universal popularity, while idyllic for

development due to its participatory nature, makes it an almost natural entry point for multinational corporations to extend their influence in invasive and potentially detrimental ways (Boje & Khan, 2009; Harvey et al., 2009; Kidd, 2008). While there might be a version of sport that exists in the world the way the United Nations, the Olympics and sport enthusiasts promise, there are many examples, both historically and contemporarily, where this is not always the case. While *Play Around the World* policymakers would argue that ‘play’ rather than ‘sport’ is the principle guiding volunteer training and program implementation, there is still the argument that play, in the way PAW operates, is predicated on a notion of childhood that is primarily western. The division between work and leisure time is a distinction largely characteristic of industrialized societies. As such, separating out time in a child’s schedule in which to organize ‘playtime’ is often counterintuitive to the culture, social structures and family hierarchies in many areas of the world.

The following section chronicles themes from the theoretical framework of *Play Around the World* (Vallentyne, Truong & Jonzon, 2009) as well as the literature reviews on Sport for Development and Peace produced by the Sport for Development International Working Group (SDP-IWG, 2009). Using these two documents, I have identified instances of overlap between the two and have articulated the following themes that frame the guiding principles of the work of *Play Around the World* as a sport for development initiative: *Sport and the MDGs*; *Sport and Human Rights* and *Sport, Peace and Reconciliation*. Finally, giving consideration to previous work completed by the academy as well as examples of work in the field, I discuss the critics of sport for development. This review will supply an overview of the methods and ontology of *Play*

Around the World, the way in which it fits within broader international sport for development initiatives and will most importantly expose the neglect of voices of volunteers in contextualizing relations and roles within sport for development and peace.

Sport and the MDGs; The UN convention on the Rights of the Child

The millennium development goals (MDGs), created in 2000 with the intention of achievement in 2015, along with article 31 of the UN convention on the Rights of the Child underscore the rationale and purpose for the inclusion of sport and play within international development and consequently, *Play Around the World* (Darnell, 2007; Beutler, 2008; Kidd, 2007; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; SDP-IWG, 2008; U.N., 2003; 2006). As reaffirmed in the literature, sport is to be employed as a tool in achieving the millennium development goals to eradicate extreme poverty, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria & other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development (Beutler, 2008; SDP-IWG; 2006; 2008; UN, 2003). Additionally, the UN convention of the Rights of the Child recognizes the right of each and every child to engage in rest, leisure, play and recreational activities appropriate to the age and culture of the child (UN, 1996).

Beutler (2008) attempts to contribute to the body of literature surrounding the link between the MDGs and sport for development. As someone who works very closely with the Special Adviser to the UN Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace she outlines sport as an essential and irreplaceable tool in meeting the UN's millennium development goals. In her argument, she states that as one of the most developed aspects of society, sport offers the most unique and novel entry point in which to contribute to

social inclusion, health promotion and other MDGs. Instead of providing new insight into the field, her piece reads as a cursory literature review of the United Nations resolutions concerning sport for development as well as a summary of the policy document released by the Sport for Development International Working Group earlier that year⁸. The academic literature surrounding sport and its contribution to the MDGs is sparse and unsubstantial. While many authors vaguely refer to the correlation of sport to the MDGs within their discussions of sport for development, it is rarely teased apart and cast in a critical light to see whether or not sport is actually helping achieve the goals that formed the original impetus for it in the first place. Furthermore, they do little to address the impact and contribution of the relationships of sport for development volunteers in terms of helping or hindering the process of MDG actualization. They also refrain from interrogating the appropriate role of the foreigner within the sport for development context. As Nicholls (2009) reminds us, the role of young people as resources for feedback and accountability is paramount and should be used as a monitoring and evaluation tool within international aid. Beutler offers a superficial glance at the MDGs and the rationale behind the inclusion of sport within development.

Sport and Peace/Reconciliation

Many organizations, individuals, federations and governments have tried for peace and reconciliation efforts through the use of sport. Efforts such as the new Olympic Truce, Israel's Football 4 Peace, FIFA's Football for Hope movement and *Right to Play* are just some examples. While these programs are surely of value to those who enjoy their benefits, illustrating sport as the ultimate unifier and cohesive instrument begs

⁸ See *Harnessing the power of sport for development and peace: Recommendations to governments* (SDP-IWG, 2008)

caution and critical investigation. The documents produced by the U.N and the Sport for development international working group posit the role of sport in conflict mediation and peace building as a simple and apolitical way to initiate contact between antagonistic populations. They also argue that sporting venues provide a social dialogue in which groups can bridge divides, highlight similarities and dissolve long-standing prejudices. The value of sport in conflict resolution, according to the United Nations (2006), lies in its power to build relationships through participation, provide shared experiences between people, 're-humanize' opposing groups and connect these individuals to their broader communities. Much of literature surrounding peace-building and conflict prevention is tied to the building and maintenance of relationships. By focusing on building relationships, the promise of friendships between antagonistic populations can emerge and children can become united (Kidd, 2007). Furthermore, sport creates predictable social spaces in which people cross paths in normal and banal ways, thus re-inserting the 'real world' into previously contentious situations (Lederach, 2005). Sport, according to Keim (2003), has the potential to contribute to long-lasting peace efforts due to its entrenchment in social and relational activities.

While it is easy to imagine how sport can ideally provide all the U.N. promises, the examples of the 1972 Munich Olympics, the 'soccer war' that began between El Salvador and Honduras during a highly tense soccer game, and the 1968 black power salute demonstrates how political sport can, and has, become. Although the German and British troops halted war on Christmas in 1914 to play sports, this same war provides more examples of sport used as a tool for discipline and recruitment rather than of

reconciliation (Kidd, 2008; Tomlinson, 2005). This example is one that is often treated as the *truth* of sport and peace rather than the single instance that it actually was.

Sugden (2006), co-founder of the program Football 4 Peace, has written much on the potential for sport in easing tensions and conflict. Football 4 Peace is a coexistence program out of northern Galilee, Israel, for Arab and Jewish children. The program seeks to make interventions at a grassroots level in the sporting culture of Israel and Palestine while making a contribution to the political debates in the region. In responding to the success of the program, Sugden (2006) emphasizes the necessity of thoughtful and committed volunteers. Especially in times of contention and conflict, the presence of insightful and conscientious peace-builders ensures a higher likelihood of success⁹.

In both academic literature as well as literature produced by the U.N., authors understand that sport programs should be used as a part of carefully placed and strategically run efforts in coordination with other stakeholders (Kidd, 2007; SDP-IWG, 2008). When referring to Football 4 Peace, Lea-Howarth (2006) quotes Lambert on the necessity of sport as a part of other initiatives:

simply playing the game in the midst of conflict is unlikely to have a long lasting impact on peace. Meaningful sport-based peace projects need to be seen as part of a long game, a series of carefully structured sporting experiences that, alongside a wide variety of cultural, educational, economic and political interventions, can make an important contribution to the peace process (Lea-Howarth, 2006; p. 32).

⁹ Sugden's arguments regarding the necessity of committed volunteers have been echoed elsewhere in research completed by Keim (2003), Armstrong (2002; 2004a & 2004b) as well as Gasser & Levinson (2004).

Remembering the historical implication of sport in conflict is crucial when considering the context of how it can be used in contemporary conflict mediation. The utilitarian aspects of sport historically legitimated its introduction into a system of colonization where British games and traditions were often pushed on colonized populations in sometimes violent and unwelcome ways (Kidd, 2006; Mangan, 1986). Kidd (1984) has written about the early Olympic games; problematizing their idealistic posturing in terms of goodwill, physical prowess and skill, and has instead argued that they served to celebrate the political power of the classes responsible for controlling the means of warfare at the time. While involvement with a peacekeeping institution like the United Nations would lead one to assume that sport is departing from this earlier involvement with violence and warfare, framing sport for development and peace while remembering its place in earlier conquest and imperialism can help guard against the dangers of turning sport into a *panacea* for global ailments regardless of geographic and historical location (Elias, 1972; Mangan, 1986; Kidd, 1984; 2007). Furthermore, by analyzing sport within these historical examples, we may take care as to the biases existing in sport that continue to privilege certain groups over others and risk manifesting a contemporary form of earlier types of domination (Kidd, 2006). As Archbishop Desmond Tutu expresses:

...children who were alienated by apartheid, now they play together and barriers that were formed long ago are tumbling. And sport is making changes, miraculous changes, happen before our eyes. Children who were enemies are becoming friends and sport [is] helping the process of reconciliation in the wounded and traumatized land. We overcame

apartheid. Quite clearly, sport and all those who assist in this process will help us overcome disease, ignorance, poverty.

Sugden (2006) and Nicholls (2009) suggest that the actions and experiences of the sport for development volunteer offer a beneficial resource for insight into what tactics and tendencies can be beneficial on the ground in conflict mediation, as well as what improvements can be made in the field.

Sport and Human Rights

The right to participate in sport, play, recreation and activity was first recognized by the UN in the Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959¹⁰, cemented through the UNESCO International Charter of Physical Education and Sport¹¹ and later, the Convention on the Rights of the Child¹². According to Donnelly (1989), human rights are rights one has by virtue of being a human being and are needed to not simply live, but to live a life of dignity. This discussion introduces the rationale leading to a more multi-faceted and less economically reduced model of development necessitating sport. For *Play Around the World*, Article 31 of the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child forms the guiding principle on which the purpose of the program is founded. Furthermore, the 'Right to Play'¹³ as outlined by the United Nations guides the activities

¹⁰ Resolution 1386 Principle 7 states: "the child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavor to promote the enjoyment of this right."

¹¹ Article 1.3 states: "special opportunities must be made available for young people, including children...to develop their personalities to the full through physical education and sports programmes suited to their requirements."

¹² Article 31 states: "state parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts."

¹³ Play, according to *Play Around the World*, means more than just the United Nations' definition of "the right to rest and leisure, and to engage in play and recreational activities". Stakeholders of *Play Around the World* interpret play using Hughes' (1999) definition of "freely chosen, personally directed, intrinsically

and programming chosen by *Play Around the World* volunteers and stakeholders. In this respect, the 'Right to Play' forms the initial rationale for program implementation and *Play Around the World* involvement in Thailand and Cambodia, but is held alongside the goal of a global education for its volunteers.

The articulation and inception of rights are inherently political and equivocal. Rights negotiate the relationship between citizenship and society. Creating a right for one person creates a responsibility for another, thus giving someone (usually the state), the power in determining and defining what a right is and who should receive it (Kidd & Donnelly, 2000). Positioning sport for development as an entity concerned with the realization of rights is inherently problematic, for despite the claims of inclusion, fairness and equality that sport stakeholders make, sport was historically employed as a method for social control, social stratification and social differentiation (Kidd, 2008; Kidd & Donnelly, 2000; Mangan, 1986). As such, sports were used for the socialization of the upper class¹⁴. Even de Coubertin's Olympic games were so exclusive that parties excluded by the games formed their own alternatives (ex. Workers' Olympiads, the Women's World Games, etc.). As Darnell (2010) found in his work with the *International Development through Sport* program implemented by the Commonwealth of Canada, while sport is posited as inclusive, the very structure and reward system on which it is predicated is inherently meritocratic, thus intrinsically justifying inequality through participation. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, separating play and leisure time outside of work is most often necessary in industrialized societies. Therefore, the

motivating and culturally determined" and encourages the volunteers of *Play Around the World* to focus their activities with the children in ways that fostered child 'voice and choice' (PAW, 2009)

¹⁴ Various examples of this exist even in the Canadian context with the notion of amateur vs. professional athletics, legislation barring lower classes from sporting participation and other normalized practices that served to exemplify the dominance of the upper class through sport.

enforcement of the Right to Play over many other rights such as freedom of safety, freedom of expression and the right to provide for one's family can be viewed as a right indigenous to industrialized societies and; therefore, inherently culturally insensitive.

Peter Donnelly has researched the intersection sport and human rights as they act out on an international context. He concludes that rights are perpetuated thematically in the following contexts: 1) the right of the individual to participate in sports, 2) the realization of human rights through sport and 3) sport and the human rights of people of different classes. The first conclusion pertains to various legislative efforts and charters produced to help realize the individuals' right to sport participation, not unlike the theoretical framework of *Play Around the World*. The second of Donnelly's conclusions can be considered analogous to the efforts of humanitarian initiatives like *Right to Play* as a tool in achieving the MDGs and various other ameliorative strategies, borne of efforts to realize a more well-rounded, rights based type of international development (Molyneux, 2003; U.N., 1990). Lastly, Donnelly considers the ways in which people of various social classes and circles (such as women, aboriginal people, people with disabilities, etc.) employ sport to actualize their own human rights. While the link between sport and human rights is not novel, contextualizing sport while remembering the ways in which it was employed to infringe on peoples' rights is necessary especially, as is the case with sport for development, it is exported internationally where the meaning of one right can become contested by another.

While many scholars studying international development allude to the importance of the role of volunteers (Darnell, 2007; Nicholls, 2009; Sugden, 2006), their voices and experiences remain conspicuously absent. While volunteers are not entirely responsible

for program policy development or agenda determination, they are in a position formally requiring them to act in solidarity with it. They are required to straddle both the hegemonic representations of sport as perpetuated by Sport for Development and Peace and *Play Around the World* stakeholders, and reinforce it in many of the same ways within the development situation. This position of colonized/colonizer is a potentially violent one that can lead to interesting and ambiguous negotiations of the development situation. Considering the global relationships inherent in the history of international development, the role of sport within development, and the policy produced by the policymakers of *Play Around the World*, it is necessary to problematize the role of the international development volunteer and explore the ways in which they formulate strategies and tactics to interact with development concepts and make them their own.

Volunteers

Overview

According to the United Nations (2009), volunteers are “revolutionary” for the development project and significantly transform the pace and nature of development aid. Wilfred Lemke, the special adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on Sport for Development and Peace, acknowledges the importance that volunteerism plays in enabling and promoting sporting activities (UN, 2009). However, proponents and critics of Sport for Development and Peace alike still posit the question: what is the appropriate role of foreigners, such as *Play Around the World* volunteers, within international aid (Donnelly, 2007; Kidd, 2007)? This thesis is not intending to evaluate the effectiveness or efficiency of Sport for Development and Peace programs or *Play Around the World*.

While the act of volunteering is underpinned by a host of assumptions regarding benevolence and altruism, the conventional view of volunteering consists of an individual who travels freely abroad- often to 'developing countries' or LMICs- to perform tasks in civil service. They may fulfill an advisory role, informative role, political or professional role, or simply provide the 'needs for those in need' in exchange for less than what they would receive in their host country for the same job (Baaz, 2005; Palmer, 2002).

Caldwell and Andereck (1994) posit three categories of motivations for individuals engaging in consistent volunteering: purposiveness (contributing usefulness to society), solidarity (group and social interaction and networking) and tangible rewards in the form of material incentives such as scholarships, stipends, and various remunerations. Palmer (2002) deals specifically with the motivations of international volunteers, stating that motivations for this type of experience lie in either altruism, where the common heading is concerned with "making a difference" or self-centrism where the benefits that volunteers enjoy outweigh those available to their nationally established counterpart back home. According to Palmer (2002), altruistic motivations emerge as volunteers struggle with injustices at home and agree that, rather than campaigning in a group or making a difference locally, volunteering abroad can make a more worthy contribution. Self-centrism, Palmer (2002) argues, is concerned with the advancement of one's career or the satisfaction and pleasure derived from immersion in another way of life. Regardless of the motivation for traveling abroad, the fact remains that volunteerism is rapidly gaining pace and momentum as a feasible lifestyle, especially within the development community as they fulfill the assumed need that the 'underdeveloped' have for development (Baaz, 2005; Sugden, 2006; Nicholls, 2009; Darnell, 2007). According to Baaz (2005), the role

of the development worker has been revolutionized to include that of informer (in bringing knowledge and teaching practices to the host culture), politician (through mediation and conflict management), advisor (proposing alternative methods), savior (fulfilling the apparent 'need' populations have for development), development professional, and provider of results. In a volunteer capacity, it is possible to feel the pressure to 'make a difference' or have a 'meaningful contribution' towards the community, and it is often the goals and wishes of the partner countries that are forgotten in the ever-present quest for results (Houlihan, 1994; Tomlinson, 2005). While an individual may travel with an organization armed with certain expectations regarding the nature of their work, their role or capacity can be as diverse as the needs of the populations to which they serve.

Volunteers in Sport for Development

Darnell (2010) recently discussed the implications of the roles of international development volunteers, specifically in the Commonwealth of Canada's *International Development through Sport* program. He begins the dialogue by critically examining the roles and practices of volunteer interns within this program. By drawing on the experiences of 27 volunteer interns Darnell suggests, like this master's thesis, that volunteer interns are able to comment on the negotiation, production, and consumption of sport for development as it is situated within certain sociopolitical and economic power relations. In his conclusion, he argues that the involvement of international volunteers in organizations such as the Commonwealth *International Development Through Sport* context serves to entrench neo-liberalism and the social processes that allow for its perpetuation. Like neo-liberalism, Darnell argues that sport serves to socially segregate

children who participate through meritocratic means, while still espousing a rhetoric of equality. Furthermore, the ideal that sport builds character is employed within the international development through sport context to convince youth that this is the version of sport that will equip them with the social skills necessary to gain social mobility. Darnell argues that caution is necessary when celebrating success stories within Sport for Development as these successes have the potential to justify inequality through various levels of participation and that, through this celebration of success, one is applauding the capitalist and neo-liberalist development ethic that it inherently supports. Accordingly, he views the contributions of volunteers in this program as perpetuating a model of sport whereby the participation of the world's poor offers them little more than a context in which they can succeed in capitalist relations. He concludes that a more progressive stance on sport is necessary so that we may use it as a tool to challenge the neo-liberal ethic of individual achievement found in sport that is sometimes used to justify inequality.

The ideology of neoliberalism was thought to have vanished from international development and consequently sport for development initiatives after the implementation of SAPs in the 1980s. What Darnell's research has shown; however, is that attitudes underpinning sport for development are still very much entrenched in the neoliberal philosophy of market capitalism and that rather than dismantle inequalities, sport for development and the rhetoric of merit only serves to reinscribe power imbalance. Levermore and Beacom (2009) have determined three ways in which sport for development continues to exhibit neoliberalist attitudes for global/LMIC development: by strengthening physical and social infrastructure (i.e., industrialization efforts or

development of human capital), attempting to improve the economic and social climate for building capacity, and investing and opening the avenues for private businesses and corporations to become involved in development practices. Success in these activities, therefore, demonstrates success in a model with increasing involvement of the market economy in personal relationships and maximizes the role of the private sector in determining social and economic relationships. In this respect, Levermore and Beacom (2009) caution against celebrating successes in sport for development, for this may serve to solidify conditions of trans-national economic dominance and market inequalities. This theoretical context and penchant towards more neoliberalist tendencies demonstrates the context into which SDP student/volunteer/interns enter to implement international programs.

While Darnell's consideration of the perspective of sport for development volunteers in his analysis and findings are unprecedented contributions to the sport for development field, there are areas in which his arguments can be improved. Firstly, Darnell credits volunteers with decision-making power and agency solely within capitalist global relations. Regardless of the agency of volunteers, they still remain complicit in the re-affirmation of neo-liberalism and capitalism. Aside from one section in which he recognizes that volunteers resist sport for development insofar as they acknowledge how sport is often treated as too benevolent and overwhelmingly positive, he does not account for the subtle and nuanced ways in which volunteers use strategies and tactics to negotiate their own version of sport for development. Furthermore, that these negotiations could often involve resisting dominant practices rooted in capitalism. Additionally, Darnell is self-critical of the fact that he neglects to consider policy or the

point of view of policymakers in his analysis. Unlike Darnell's work, this study considers the dialogue of both the policymakers and volunteers within sport for development.

Through my use of Raymond Williams' cultural theory, I will be able to ask how volunteers navigate sport for development and proceed to make it their own, rather than simply reproducing relationships and sport for development models within capitalism and neo-liberalism.

Volunteers and Play Around the World

Truong (2007) and Jorgenson (2009) have conducted research specifically with the *Play Around the World* program. Truong (2007) sought to explore the question: *How does Play Around the World (PAW) contribute towards sustainable sport and play program in Chiang Mai?* Through his exploration, Truong discovered the various ways in which volunteers in the program, as well as recipient populations and partner institutions in Thailand, interpreted the *Play Around the World* program. Through his research he discovered various ways to improve the components and actual running of the program, specifically through an increase in correspondence between Thailand and Canadian institutions. Furthermore, Truong discovered that volunteers in the program were largely unaware of the needs of the partner organizations in Thailand and had little critical awareness of the social and political situations involved in the relationship. Truong was mostly concerned with the ways in which the *Play Around the World* program could be improved through capacity-building, participatory action research and an increased commitment to a community-based approach to program implementation.

Jorgenson's (2009) research with *Play Around the World* emerges within a global educational standpoint. Framing her analysis within postcolonial theory in specific

consideration of global education, she proposes to investigate the phenomenon of international education initiatives in order to promote globally educated citizens oriented towards social justice and equality. More specifically, she addresses the issues of colonialism and imperialism as they have the potential to be perpetuated through global education initiatives in order to showcase how students, in this experience, come to know and engage with 'the other'. Unlike Truong's (2007) conclusions that provided recommendations to participants in terms of program implementation and governance, Jorgenson's (2009) findings were primarily concerned with the students' educational process before departure as well as the nature of a potentially reciprocal relationship between University of Alberta students and their Thai counterparts. In her recommendations, she advocates a preparation process in which the students are encouraged to think reflexively and critically regarding their relationships with 'the other' and problematize their roles as Canadian students and global citizens. These roles, by virtue of their indebtedness to global power relations, are wrought with instances of domination/subordination. Most importantly, Jorgenson recognizes the struggle of people who want to work towards social justice and equality, but are often unwilling to give up their power that privileges them in order to do so. She advocates for a more reciprocal and interdependent mode of interaction between students from Canada and the students from Thailand by giving Thai students the opportunity to come to Canada and offer the same opportunities. This, she argues, would be the epitome of a global education model predicated on social justice.

Volunteers and Global Citizenship Education

Jorgenson's thesis uses *Play Around the World* as an example of a program that enacts the concepts of Global Citizenship Education. This builds upon Jorgenson's earlier work in Global citizenship education (GCE), in which GCE is outlined as a process through which students engage in meaningful activities to enhance their global perspectives (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). Shultz and Jorgenson (2008) share their concerns of the challenges inherent in creating and maintaining the relevance of academic institutions in a time of global problems such as militarization, climate change, extreme local and global poverty. The role of the University, in such times as these, should be to create a social justice mandate in which they encourage students to engage in meaningful activities that contribute to a more peaceful, environmentally secure and just world (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008, p. 2). They state that there is a specific and non-negotiable place for higher level learning in resolving current and emerging global problems instead of just focusing on the economic and financial repercussions of globalization, which is sometimes much simpler (Shiel, 2008). In an effort to guide fellow educators and post-secondary education institutions, Shultz and Jorgenson outline three tenets of global citizenship education that are necessary for the successful implementation of such programs: transdisciplinarity, citizenship, and globalization.

Transdisciplinarity is viewed as a necessary component to conscientious and successful GCE initiatives due to the complicated and complex nature of the problems in the world. With the increasing interconnectedness of people all over the world, as well as the dissolution of boundaries both physical and otherwise between politics and economics, an understanding grounded in a single discipline is insufficient (Max-Neef, 2005; Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). Shultz and Jorgenson argue that such a unilateral

approach contributes to fragmented, partial, and limited assumptions about the world and its problems. They argue that a transdisciplinary approach to GCE supplies the necessary conceptual framework to foster complex thinking about the world and its problems. This ensures a broadening of dominant power groups, and binds humans together through mutual respect (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008).

The second tenet of GCE is citizenship. The inclusion of citizenship within educational models follows the transformation from participatory learning/holistic learning to include human rights and obligations of the state (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). In this respect, citizenry and citizenship change from something that is contained by national and state borders into a global category where national boundaries pale in comparison to global problems such as climate change, food shortages, gun and human trafficking. (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). This is the aspect of GCE that reflects the political nature of the process, for GCE is deeply rooted in the notion of social justice and the creation of an arena in which a 'global citizen' transcends national citizenship to cooperate with individuals all over the world to secure a better life for people without cost to others (Abdi & Shultz, 2007; 2008).

The third characteristic of Shultz and Jorgenson's GCE is globalization. They believe that the creation and construction of individual identities comes as a result of the breakdown of time/space and boundaries all over the world. Advents in technology have increased the proximity that nations have with each other, thus increasing the levels of interaction between their citizens. They caution against the possibility that globalization of this kind can foster a type of human development that is based in developing human capital. Furthermore, they caution that globalization can increase reliance upon western

conceptions of economics, politics, society, and environment (Brodie, 2004). As such, the role of universities and higher-level education is to educate students to have the necessary skills to succeed economically in the world. Shultz and Jorgenson (2008) argue that in order to guard against globalization solely rooted in one nation, or in economic competition, more critical reflection needs to happen (Shultz, 2007; Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). Furthermore, they argue that tying local initiatives and problems in with international problems adds to a type of citizenship whereby participants are not always trying to 'fix' the 'other', but instead realize their own issues. Problematizing one's own place within global relations, being critical with regards to economic and political structures and analyzing global issues will encourage a more nuanced view of the results of globalization instead of thinking of these results as simply legitimate by-products of global interaction (Shultz, 2007; Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008).

While Shultz and Jorgenson (2008) provide a coherent and concise document concerning the nature of GCE and the place it should have within higher-level education, a critique of GCE is necessary adopted as a core value for the *Play Around the World* program (PAW, 2009). Fundamentally, while GCE promotes an interconnected version of humanity where individuals all over the world form very real relationships, this is problematic on an international scale where, traditionally and historically, some countries have assumed greater rights of representation and participation over others where they become removed from speech (Ahmad, 1992; Fanon, 1963; Said, 1979; Spivak, 1988). For example, through the history of international development and the current reality of sport for development and peace, the global north continues to export knowledge and expertise to LMICs in the global south.

Furthermore, Shultz and Jorgenson (2008) argue that money should never be the factor motivating a global citizenship education curriculum, but it becomes apparent that supporting programs with GCE initiatives also serves a business purpose. Therefore, as global initiatives and worldwide connections increase and attract scholarly interest, it means competing within the market of global initiatives for trans-national friendships and community building. In this respect, Universities must exercise caution when creating relationships based in providing a service, or characterized along the lines of 'recipient/donor', because this perpetuates professional hegemony or risks reifying colonialistic mentalities. This caution means considering the needs of partner and recipient countries before the needs and ambitions of the Universities.

Finally, when dealing with globalization and global initiatives, the GCE framework advocates that local problems morph into global problems as friendships and relationships increase in familiarity (Shultz & Jorgenson, 2008). In this respect, there is a danger of perpetuating a type of globalism that can lead to prescribing a type of 'aid' or 'help' to a homogenous globe regardless of location or history.

While both Truong (2007) and Jorgenson (2009) offer novel insights for program implementation and management as well as student education pre-travel, their projects add to the literature and depart from previous studies. This occurs insofar as they both discuss the experience of the volunteers as valuable while also considering the appropriateness of sport and play within international development procedures. Both of these projects were conducted with a specific ideal of the place and space that volunteers occupied while volunteering with the *Play Around the World* program. In this thesis, participants will articulate for themselves what this role meant for them; what the

implications of the role, both locally and globally, were for them and, perhaps most importantly, what were the resistances, negotiation and concessions they felt they had to make while in this role. Furthermore, I draw theoretical links between the *Play Around the World* program as a microcosm and locally led initiative of international development and other initiatives (such as *Right to Play*) perpetuated and run globally by institutions like the United Nations, IOC and the Commonwealth of Canada. *Play Around the World*, as a global education initiative on the part of the students and provider of sustainable play and recreation programs to underserved communities in Thailand and Cambodia is still a part of the larger global nexus of sport and international development. Such an articulation can even be seen historically, for in 2002 the *Play Around the World* program partnered for program delivery with *Olympic Aid* (*Right to Play's* predecessor). By contextualizing *Play Around the World* in relation to other international initiatives, I am able to place it within the historical, material, political, and social conditions that have helped it materialize in the first place. Furthermore, giving priority to the experiences of those who have been at the frontline of program implementation in order to understand how they negotiate their experiences with their own nuanced tactics, turns and tendencies.

Volunteers are intended as ambassadors of the values of play and recreation as well as the ideologies that are imbedded and circulated within the Olympics, United Nations, and Sport for Development. Furthermore, the discursive construction of Sport for Development volunteers and the selection criteria for aspiring *Play Around the World* volunteers hegemonically reifies what it means to be the 'appropriate' type of citizen for this type of development work. *Play Around the World* and the volunteers that sustain its

existence are open actors negotiating (consciously or unconsciously) many intersecting ideologies, information and assumptions. In this context, they are agents navigating the truths perpetuated by a hegemonic version of sport and international development rooted in colonialist relationships, maintained by neo-liberal foreign policies and manifested by, in this case, the University of Alberta, as well as the policies and practices of the IOC and the UN. Volunteers cannot be considered simply as ‘dupes’ passively consuming Sport for Development policy and enacting carbon copies of it all over the world as they are encouraged to fulfill certain needs of stakeholders as well as those of the development context. Rather, given the complex nature of international relationships, the nuanced characteristics of what it means to be a student volunteer as well as the countless other factors that intersect to form experiences from individual to individual, a framework that accounts for this complexity is necessary. Using an analysis informed by the work of Raymond Williams, I interrogate the diversity and contributive nature of this experience. My intention in this analysis is not to represent volunteers as occupying a preconceived role that serves a specific function in the *Play Around the World* program. Rather, through my theoretical lens and interviews, I show just how complicated and nuanced the roles of volunteers can be.

Theoretical Framework

According to Williams (1977; 1980), the strength and function of cultural theory lies in the consideration of culture as a sum total of all its components (literature, art, music, politics, economics) and the interrogation of the complex ways in which they relay, interact and negotiate with each other, informing how human beings live their daily lives. Williams’ sociology of culture at its most base and fundamental level, is an

interrogation of interrelationships of a series of whole and connected social processes that interact with, and are predicated on, each other. Defining culture, nevertheless, is decidedly and notoriously difficult. In the words of Williams (1976, pp. 76-77), “culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language... because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct systems of thought”. For the purpose of this thesis, I will borrow his definition of culture as “the entire way of life, activities, beliefs, and customs of a people, group, or society” (Williams, 1976, p. 80).

While Williams’ view on cultural theory encompasses many aspects, for the purpose of this thesis I use his ideas considering *dominant, residual and emergent* ways in which components of culture come together to elicit social change and evolution. According to Williams, the sheer complexity of culture lies not only in its variable definitions and the array of social processes within it, but also the ‘dynamic interrelations’ that vary at every point in history within every element in culture (Williams, 1977). He argues that while it is important to evaluate dominance at moments in society, it is equally important to include the processes outside of this dominance in order to recognize that social evolution is historically grounded and related to movements, tendencies and tactics outside of the selected dominant system. As such, the ‘residual’ and ‘emergent’ trends that exist within society away from the dominant are significant in and of themselves in terms of what they hold, as well as what they reveal about the characteristics of the dominant. This is an appropriate way in which to critique, evaluate and explore not only the phenomenon of sport for development, but also the involvement of volunteers as they negotiate the appropriateness and functionality of their

roles as it complicates their involvement. Furthermore, through this lens I am able to pinpoint how the student volunteer role has changed throughout the years to incorporate news values, ideas and ways of being that allow the phenomenon of sport for development to continue. This encourages a discussion of student volunteer experiences that move outside an 'either/or' binary in relation to the dominance and instead, allow for an experiences that move in, around, through, within and can be simultaneously both and neither.

In order to discuss the importance of the 'residual' and 'emergent', it is first necessary to understand the dominant, as well as how it comes to gain this position. Williams is indebted to both Marx and Gramsci in his views on culture (Williams, 1977; 1980). According to Gramsci, hegemony is the process by which one group or members of society gains dominance and does not depend on material or economic characteristics alone, but rather, in the ability to persuade the subordinate groups to accept the dominant system of beliefs and to share in their social, cultural and moral values (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemony, therefore, rationalizes a system of beliefs into the *sole* system of beliefs whereby it is not simply one enforcing a way of being onto another, but instances in which ways of being collide and cooperate. By understanding the ways in which culture is complicated, we see that cultural processes outside of the dominant act to change and modify it. In this respect, hegemony is not something that is totalizing or complete, but something that is constantly in flux. Where Williams contributes to and differs from Gramsci's hegemony theory is in his consideration of how past and present relationships form the future, and how cultural practices that are incorporated to different extents become instrumental in affecting social change (Ingham & Loy, 1993; Williams, 1977).

Keeping these tenets in mind, I now discuss how 'residual' and 'emergent' cultural practices contribute and act in relation to the dominant.

Williams (1977) defines 'residual' as something that has been defined in the past, but is still very alive in the present formation of cultural processes. It is very often that the residual exists outside of relationship with the past and is an effective element of the present. Residual processes are lived as not necessarily a part of the dominant culture, but are nevertheless "lived and practiced on the basis of the residue - cultural as well as social - of some previous social and cultural institution or formation" (Williams, 1977, p. 122). It is relatively easy to spot the residual, for their social location is always in relation to historical social formations and processes. In reference to this location, residual processes should never be confused with 'archaic' or 'traditional', for these are practices that remain rooted in the past, often alluded to or relived in the present for a calculated and deliberate purpose. Any culture has elements from the past available to it, but where residual practices distinguish themselves from those that are more 'archaic' or 'traditional' is that they continue to live and breathe in the present, rather than be incorporated for deliberate purpose and finite duration.

Ingham and Loy (1993) give examples of the residual as it can be found within sport. For example, they say the Olympic games provide an example of both the residual and the archaic, particularly in the relationship between the modern and ancient games. During the Olympic games in 1936, (which falls into the time period of the 'ancient games') the Nazis revived the flame during the Berlin games for a deliberate use and purpose. However, the flame itself also forms a historical motif that continues to reside within the modern games. Another example of residual can be found in sport for

development initiatives in the actual use of sport as a tool in international development initiatives. Before the articulated inception of sport, international development programs revived sport due to its historical salience of 'rational recreation' and 'muscular Christianity' so that it could act within international aid initiatives. Now, sport is entrenched within current development practice. While the residue of these utilitarian characteristics of sport still exists to rationalize sport, it is now its own form of international development, employed within the current wave of development ontology to help achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Williams is also clear to state that elements of the residual have the capability to be wholly incorporated within the dominant, or remain in opposition to it.

'Emergent', in Williams' (1977) analysis, embodies those practices that create new meanings, values and kinds of relationships. He describes some difficulty in distinguishing practices that are actually 'emergent' from those that are just a part or phase of, the dominant – from those practices that are simply 'novel' to the dominant culture, rather than actually oppositional or different (and thus emergent). The slipperiness of an 'emerging' cultural form is further exemplified by the degree to which it emerges in different areas in society, as well as the extent in which it is incorporated into the dominant culture. For example, international development, an 'emerging' cultural formation was present in the 1980s with the advent of postcolonial literature and scholarship emerging from 'third world' scholars. In this phenomenon, the complexity of 'emergence' is evident for postcolonial issues such as the crisis of representation inherent in historical representations of writing, literature, music, art, politics, and economics were either incorporated into the dominance of postcolonial literature or cast to the fringes of

scholarship. Therefore, as evident through this example, 'emergent' cultural practices are difficult to articulate for it is difficult to see if something is truly 'emergent' or has been co-opted so effectively that it is simply a part of the dominant. According to Williams (1977), this unevenness is usually dependent upon the extent to which these practices run visibly counter to and in direct opposition from the dominant. To further complicate the phenomenon, the process of incorporation can often be mistaken for acceptance rather than the absorption of a counter way of thinking.

Through these residual, emergent, and dominant processes of cultural practice we can understand how Williams not only views culture, but how he understands the changing nature of society and social norms. Williams (1980) proposes that one sees:

a temporal relation between a dominant culture and on the one hand a residual and on the other hand an emergent culture. But we can only understand this if we can make distinctions, that usually require very precise analysis, between residual-incorporated and residual not incorporated, and between emergent-incorporated and emergent not incorporated. (p. 41)

In other words, one cannot appreciate a dominant culture in isolation from residual and emergent forms of social process. They act, in different ways and at different times, to contribute to the dominant culture through emerging and residual cultural trends that are resisted and incorporated. This *dominant-residual-emergent* relationship serves to further complicate social change, as well as the process by which dominant groups exert dominance and subordinate groups subscribe to and agree with ideologies. This course also serves to explain the complicated way in which hegemony functions as a totalizing

process that is never a simple binary of 'hegemonized/hegemonizing' or 'dominant/subordinate', but rather, is a complex mix interrelationships that make it something that is lived, rather than undergone. Williams (1977) explains a 'living hegemony' in which

Is always a process...it is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities with specific and changing pressures and limits. In practice, that is, hegemony can never be singular. Its internal structures are highly complex, as can readily be seen in any concrete analysis. Moreover... it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own... That is to say, alternative political and cultural emphases and the many forms of opposition and struggle, are important not only in themselves, but as indicative features of what the hegemonic process has in practice had to control. (pp. 112-113)

Sport for development, as a social and cultural process, demands a type of theoretical analysis that can account for history as well as the manner in which it continues to evolve, refashion, develop, and change the nature of current international relationships. By employing Williams' *dominant*, *residual* and *emergent*, the evolution of international development from initially grounded in economy, to a more neo-liberalist paradigm to its current reality that is entrenched within health, wellbeing and development takes on a more nuanced texture. Rather than considering development, and specifically sport for development, as a prescriptive process implying passive reception by the global south,

one can see, through Williams' theory, how international development is more slippery and fluid and operates in ways to refashion itself to contribute to its re-inscription, re-articulation and continue to legitimize its existence.

Williams' consideration of the sheer complexity of culture allows an inquiry into to experiences of the student volunteer participants of the *Play Around the World* program that encourages an interaction with international development departing from previous literature and research in the area. By analyzing the textual documents I will pinpoint the dominant trends within the program, which I will then contrast with student-volunteer interviews. By framing student-volunteers narratives in terms of the notions of *residual-emergent-dominant*, I am able to showcase the fluidity and complexity of their relationships and roles within international development and how, through these cultural trends, the role of the student volunteer is continually made relevant.

Summary

This framework has served to illustrate a short history of international development as it has unfolded to include sport for development and peace. Within this discussion, it is easy to see the connections between development work and residual vestiges of traditional colonialism. I have also outlined the small body of work that concerns the volunteers that travel to provide these programs in countries all over the world. What this review demonstrates is, not only that sport for development is gaining momentum as a feasible development alternative to be implemented and researched, but as a whole, volunteers are constructed along a binary of those who behave altruistically, and those who act to unknowingly reify neoliberalism and colonialism. Discussing the experiences of volunteers from their perspectives and taking into account the fluidity of

their roles within international development is a noticeable theoretical and methodological gap. Using interviews with former *Play Around the World* student-volunteers and framing them within Raymond Williams' cultural theory, I will be able to ask what exactly is that nature of volunteer experiences within *Play Around the World*, and be able to understand their dynamic and complicated nature.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The following section outlines in detail the processes I used to pursue an in-depth exploration of my purpose of study: “what are the experiences of past *Play Around the World* participants”? Because of my theoretical framework and research question, the best course of action to understand the experiences of volunteers was to pursue a Case Study approach. Within a Case Study approach and keeping in mind my theoretical framework, I did a combination of textual analysis and interviews in an effort to explore my research question.

Textual analysis was necessary in order to articulate the dominant themes inherent in the *Play Around the World* program, and to engage in a critique of the PAW program at an institutional level. Interviews were necessary to gain in-depth information regarding the nature of the volunteering experience, as well as to compare and contrast with the textual analysis. My analysis of the interviews and textual analysis were rooted in critical theory, which also aligned with my choice of Williams’ views on culture. This chapter begins with an overview of my Case Study approach, and then proceeds to the textual analysis – the rationale behind analysis, the sampling of texts and the choice of analysis techniques. Finally, I end this chapter by sharing the rationale behind my interviews, explaining the sampling of participants, and describing the analysis technique for the interview transcripts.

Case Study

I used *Play Around the World* as the case study to explore the phenomenon of Sport for Development. According to Stake (2005), case study research is less a qualitative methodological choice than a direct choice of what is to be studied. *Play*

Around the World, in this instance, is an example of an *instrumental* case study as I am interested in how this case manifests general phenomenon that is also present in other cases (Stake, 2005). This refers to ideological similarities between the *Play Around the World* program as well as other international development programs. This differs from an *intrinsic* case study, as I am not limiting my analysis or understanding to this unique case, but rather, as they transcend *Play Around the World* and manifest elsewhere in international development. The reason behind the choice of *Play Around the World* as the case of interest instead of some of its international counterparts (such as *Right to Play*, for example) is due to its affiliation with the University of Alberta, my affiliation with the program which leads to ease of participants and sources of information, as well as the fact that the program is relatively under-researched¹⁵. By collecting, organizing and analyzing data specific to the case of *Play Around the World* I gathered comprehensive, in-depth and systematic information regarding the program (Patton, 2002; Stake, 2005) as it is implemented by the University of Alberta and informed by globally led international development projects and educational philosophies. It is necessary to conduct a textual analysis of the policy documents of the PAW program in order to pinpoint the dominant trends at an institutional level within the program. In addition, I conducted a combination of interviews with former student-volunteers to gain their perspectives of PAW.

The strength of a case-study approach in this study is that it allowed for a holistic inquiry into the data and phenomenon of interest. In this respect, I was able to employ several sources of information (interviews and textual analysis) that allowed me to form an in-depth picture of the *Play Around the World* program (Stake, 2005). Accordingly,

¹⁵ Truong (2007) and Jorgenson (2009) being the two examples of PAW research

the goal of a case study is similar to that of any qualitative project: to provide in-depth and holistic understandings of a social phenomenon in its natural setting. Specifically, there is a nature of ‘boundedness’ (Stake, 2005) to the information that can be included with the case study. In this case, the boundaries were set to past-participant interviews (as managed through criterion sampling) as well as textual analysis of the three PAW policy documents. Finally, the Case Study approach allowed for the most thorough exploration of my initial research question that examines the experiences of past *Play Around the World* volunteers.

Textual Analysis

As the written word is one of the main mediums for the transmission of knowledge and information, textual analysis as a method of social inquiry is becoming more of a common practice for qualitative research, especially in the Sport Sciences (Markula & Silk, 2011). Fairclough (2003) acknowledges that textual analysis neatly bridges the divide between the written and spoken word to other components of social practice. In this respect, text and the analysis of it is not separate from social interactions, rather, it is indicative of the ideological beliefs and underpinnings of certain social groups.

Sampling

Several factors contributed to the selection of texts for this study. First, I took into account my research question, which is to understand the experience of volunteers, in combination with my critical theoretical framework. Textual analysis becomes a significant method of inquiry into the PAW program when considering my theoretical framework. Textual analysis revealed the dominant trends in *Play Around the World*,

which I will contrast and compare with student-volunteer interviews to ascertain dominant and emergent themes. Second, since critical theory is concerned with exposing unjust relations of dominance as perpetuated through ideologies and taken-for-granted truths, it was necessary to choose texts that cycled the dominant discourses of the *Play Around the World* program. This, then, eliminated the majority of media depictions and articles circulated, for example, on the University of Alberta website, as well as other social and public forums. To further narrow down the possible texts, I used criterion sampling to obtain the best texts for analysis. According to Patton (2002), criterion sampling is the selection of texts based on predetermined criteria. The criteria for textual selection were the following:

- Must be affiliated specifically with the *Play Around the World* program.
- Must portray the dominant values and discourses of the *Play Around the World* program.
- Must be written and produced by administrators/stakeholders of the *Play Around the World* program in order to ensure authenticity.

While the first criterion for selection is self-explanatory, the second criterion for selection is necessary in order to align with my theoretical framework. Textual analysis using Fairclough's (2002) Critical Discourse Analysis permitted an analysis of texts that uncovered ideologies of dominance to which I compared and contrasted volunteer narratives and perspectives, as discovered through interviews. Choosing texts that are produced by administrators/stakeholders of the *Play Around the World* program ensured authenticity and quality of the text.

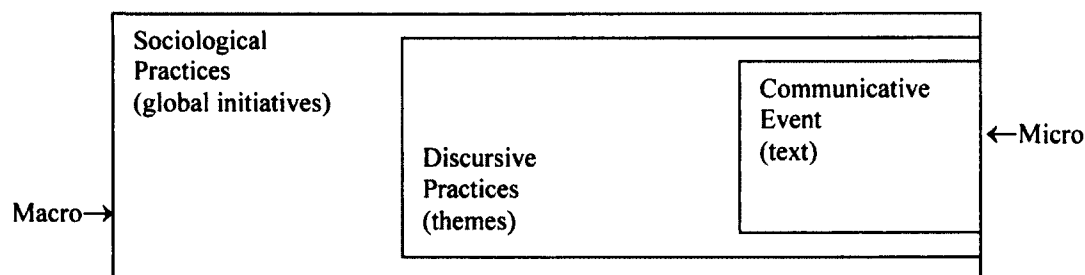
In order to remain consistent with my theoretical positioning, as well as my fundamental research question, the following texts were chosen for analysis: *Play Around the World: Theoretical Framework* (2009), Memorandum of Understanding (2010a) and Memorandum of Understanding (2010b).

Data Analysis of Texts

Using a modified version of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (1992), I analyzed these three policy documents that guide the international and local actions of the *Play Around the World* program. The theoretical framework of *Play Around the World*, as previously mentioned, includes the guiding principles under which the program trains their student-volunteers, decides how to implement their programs, and forms the basis and rationale of the program itself as well as the articulation between the PAW program and the University of Alberta. The Memorandums of Understanding outline the international aspects of the relationship between the University of Alberta and these Thai Universities. Although there is never any specific reference to the *Play Around the World* program or the individuals that sustain its existence, these memorandums are cited in the theoretical framework as documents that legitimate an international partnership between the two countries which then led into an eventual partnership with Cambodia.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a general term encompassing various methods of social critique (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2002). CDA has two goals: first, expose the dialectical relationship between discourse and ideology and second, to denaturalize these ideologies. In other words, CDA is concerned with demonstrating how communicative events at the micro level contribute to and reflect the broader ideologies of the classes to which individuals belong. The second goal of CDA is to denaturalize

these ideologies in order to bring about social change and awareness (Fairclough, 2001; 2003; Liao & Markula, 2009). Fundamentally, CDA is concerned with critically addressing social problems by examining the ideological workings that are perpetuated through conversations, interviews, media or, in this case, policy documents (Fairclough, 2002; 2006). Discourse, as Fairclough defines it, is a particular way of conceptualizing language, which can encompass images, texts, body language, spoken words etc. (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2006; Markula & Silk, 2011). As such, researchers interested in critical discourse analysis understand that the ‘communicative event’ reflects the beliefs and values of a given social group at a given point in time. By understanding this dialectical relationship, CDA encourages a critical viewpoint of the stakeholders and policy makers of the PAW program, and permits for ideological comparison between the *Play Around the World* program and agencies that are involved with similar projects on an international stage (such as the joint UN and IOC initiative *Right to Play*). I have illustrated this relationship (micro → macro) in the following diagram:



This illustrates the notion that even though these programs are occurring in different locations and scales, they are still ideologically interconnected.

CDA operates from the point of view that texts and language serve to maintain the power of the dominant groups in society who have greater access to production and consumption of language. In this respect, language serves the purpose of transmitting and

perpetuating the ideologies of dominant groups and maintains the power inequalities between social groups. CDA endeavors to explore how this dominance operates through texts and language, disclose these ideologies and then render explicit the workings of this dominance (Liao & Markula, 2009; Markula & Silk, 2011). Therefore, CDA for Fairclough is a dialectical process whereby language transforms and contributes to the construction of unequal power relations, which then in turn constrains language use (Markula & Silk, 2011). Discussions and analysis of text, therefore, must take place at both a micro and macro level, for there is a strong relationship between the formation of language and ideology. Analysis begins at a micro level, from a description of the discursive event (in this case: the policy documents), and then through intertextual analysis (tying it to underlying narratives of international development, colonialism) to linking it to broader social practices (ideological dominance). Fairclough outlines a three-step model for textual analysis, which I have summarized below:

1) Text

- *Play Around the World: Theoretical Framework*
- Memorandum of Understanding – Institute of Physical Education
- Memorandum of Understanding – Srinakharinwirot University

2) Discursive Practice

- Identifying emerging narratives of international development (colonialism, sport for development, etc.)

3) Social Practice

- Connection with dominant ideologies and power

The first step in Fairclough's (2002; 2006) model involves an in-depth analysis of the policy documents. In this process, Markula and Silk (2011) caution the researcher to concentrate on what is in the text without attaching any meaning to it. In order to maintain loyalty to this process, I coded repeatedly occurring concepts. Following this coding for 'repetition', I then cross-referenced them in terms of overlap between each of the documents – which concepts emerged in more than one of the documents – and then in terms of proximity to other concepts. Which terms were used to qualify other terms? Were there some terms used repeatedly in partnership with others? I paid special attention to descriptors: adjectives, key words and terms, and ways in which groups were described.

The second step in Fairclough's methodology involves intertextual analysis. In this step, I link the descriptors, terms and concepts to narratives within international development, sport and other narratives from my literature review. At this stage, I considered the context in which the documents were produced (both historical context and in terms of target readers), but most importantly, I conducted an in-depth reading of what themes and narratives emerged from the text. As previously mentioned, I took into account the historical context in which these documents were produced, but more so, I situated these texts within the larger narratives of international development, sport for development, volunteering, global education, transformative learning, culture and play and recreation. These were expanded upon in my literature review both in terms of what I believed would emerge from the texts, but then it was added upon as narratives continued to emerge from the text.

Finally, a connection must be made between these narratives and broader social practices and power relations. In this stage, I outline how these narratives contribute to, resist, and negotiate existing dominant discourses that serve ideological purposes. Specifically, articulating who constructs these ideologies and how their circulation serves to benefit one group at the expense of another. Furthermore, I analyzed the creation, and circulation of these ideologies. By tying the ideologies circulated through these texts to the broader social relations, I was able to comment on the relationship that *Play Around the World* has within the climate of global relations. While maybe PAW is not in direct affiliation with organizations like *Right to Play*, it is at this point that I am able to make ideological comparisons between organizations to see how, regardless of location, certain ideologies come together to legitimize and naturalize sport for development.

CDA has been criticized in the past for neglecting to understand how, exactly, people use and consume texts (Markula & Silk, 2011). For example, though I am able to infer the ways texts such as these reflect dominant ideologies, values and beliefs this does not accurately reflect the ways in which readers actually use texts. To account for this, I will conduct textual analysis in combination with interviews to explore the ways in which these texts at a micro level, and ideologies at a macro level, circulate and resonate with readers (*Play Around the World* volunteers). CDA alone, for the purpose of this thesis, would be insufficient to answer my research question and, as such, must be paired with *Play Around the World* student-volunteer interviews.

Validation of Textual Analysis

To ensure an accurate textual analysis of the Play Around the World theoretical framework and memorandums of understanding, several factors were taken into

consideration. Given the relationship of this researcher with the data and to the Play Around the World program, it is necessary to be transparent with regards to the reading and analysis of the text. It has been two years since I have been involved with the PAW program in any other capacity than attending the odd fundraising event. I have not contributed to the PAW program in an advising, policy-making or leadership role since 2008. As a result, I am coming from a place of experience, which can add context to analysis, rather than from a place of emotion.

Furthermore, I have outlined in detail the process through which I reached my results. I adhered to Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, beginning with his first step in the discursive event, finishing with his third and final step in connecting the ideologies, perpetuated through discourse, to power. I have outlined the findings and my path to these results expressly in the following section.

Finally, this textual analysis was undertaken with my theoretical framework and research question first and foremost in mind. Critical discourse analysis aligns with my choice of William's cultural theory, for they are both critical lenses through which to view the social world and inquire about social phenomenon. Given the political nature of CDA and critical cultural theory in general, I approach this project from a place of curiosity and reflexivity, but with a desire to expose unjust relations of dominance and denaturalize the nature of the power relations in the PAW program. According to Fairclough (1992) a discursive event, such as these policy documents, functions ideologically in a manner that does not make judgments based on the truth or privilege of the discursive events, but rather, does so in terms of the ability of the document to reproduce relations of power. As such, Fairclough advises theorists and researchers not to

retreat from making claims on truth or well-groundedness of the text, so long as they also take into account the values and beliefs the texts inherit from particular social groups. Keeping this in mind, pairing this textual analysis with interviews is a logical and natural next step in exploring my research question.

Interviews

The purpose of conducting interviews is to enter into another person's perspective under the assumption that this perspective is meaningful and able to be made explicit (Patton, 2002). Interviews are a natural methodological choice for this study as my research question is focused on the experiences and perspectives of the individuals in volunteer roles in the *Play Around the World* program. I conducted a series of semi-structured, formal, face-to-face interviews in order to allow for the diversity of experience of the individual volunteer, as well as some of the possible subjectivities that can occur from between contexts¹⁶ (Patton, 2002). I used a General Interview Guide approach which enabled a line of questioning open to the responses provided by the participant, permit a certain amount of focus on specific issues, while simultaneously encouraging flexibility for conversation and situation within the line of questioning (Andrews, et. al, 2005; Patton, 1990; Shaw and Amis, 2001). This approach ensured that I followed similar lines of questioning and sets of issues from participant to participant but still allowed for freedom to probe, explore and ask questions to texture particular subjects (Patton, 2002). The interviews took place in locations of the participants choosing for convenience and ease of the participant. The interviews will be between one and two hours in length.

¹⁶ For an example of the interview guide, please see Appendix C (pg. 148).

My questions were theoretically grounded in Williams' theories concerning the *dominant, residual and emergent* tenets of culture, and guided by previous literature in the area. Textual analysis revealed the dominant themes inherent in the *Play Around the World* program and interviews allowed me to inquire into these dominant themes. The specific interview questions were informed by the history inherent in sporting initiatives, colonialism, international development, other international sport for development programs and the *Play Around the World* program. Interviews within this project assume particular salience as they allow for an understanding of how student volunteers construct the world of Sport for Development within an organization such as *Play Around the World* (Andrews, et. al., 2005; Patton, 1990). Furthermore, these interviews encouraged an empirically situated evidence base of experience which, combined with my thorough literature review and thematic analysis, allowed me to make theoretical links to broader international development structures run by major international players such as the UN and the IOC.

Sampling

Using *purposeful sampling*, specifically criterion sampling, I engaged in seven interviews of former *Play Around the World* volunteers to gain an in-depth understanding of their experiences (Patton, 2002). According to Patton (2002), it is not the sample size that is of interest in qualitative research and, as such, participants should not be recruited for the purpose of interviews for interviews' sake. Rather, my intention was to gain in-depth information about information-rich cases by representing the experiences, perspectives and interests of the phenomenon under study in a reasonable and thorough manner (Patton, 2002). The criteria for participation in my study was the following:

- Must be a former *Play Around the World* volunteer.
- Must have volunteered for the program within the past 5 years.
- Must have traveled abroad only once with the *Play Around the World* program.

Participants for this study must be past PAW volunteers in order to be able to answer my research question. It is beneficial that they have traveled in the last five years because before 2005, the outcomes and certainty of the program were very much in question¹⁷. Traveling abroad only once with the program is necessary for, although repeated travels with the program often happen, the nature of the role of the volunteer changes with return trips.

Ethics

In compliance with the University of Alberta human research and ethics requirements, the ethical conduct of this study has been verified by the necessary ethics boards¹⁸ and deemed sensitive to the rights of the participants and researchers. According to Markula and Silk (2011), the suggested ethical standards for social research in Canada ensure all participants are treated with dignity and respect. This is achieved through adherence to the Nuremburg Code¹⁹ and can be encompassed through compliance with the following principles:

¹⁷ 2001 was the pilot year for the project. In this year, the program partnered with another group from Brock University
In 2003 there were only 2 participants in the program who were not even sure that they would be eligible and able for travel
2004 the program almost didn't travel to Thailand due to military and economic difficulties and unrest in the country.

¹⁸ For the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta, the council that approved this research study was the Human Research and Ethics Board (HREB)

¹⁹ The Nuremburg code was adopted during the Nuremburg trials after World War II. During the war, Nazi scientists conducted research experiments on Jewish prisoners where these participants did not benefit from the research and, in some cases, died. As a result, The World Medical Association formulated the Nuremburg Code as the standard for biomedical research in 1964 with the diploma of Helsinki. The Nuremburg Code outlines the following principles for ethical research:

- Respect for dignity
- Free and Informed Consent
- Vulnerable Persons
- Privacy and Confidentiality
- Justice and Inclusiveness

I will now discuss my compliance with each of these principles as well as the measures taken to ensure that this project was conducted ethically.

Respect for Dignity

Markula and Silk (2011) maintain that the respect for human dignity is the underlying concept guiding all principles for ethical research conduct. Regardless, I adhered to respectful and dignified treatment of my participants through careful and conscientious consideration of their individual autonomy. In other words, I worked to eliminate coercion and encourage intentional actions on the part of the desires and goals of the participants. I did this through retaining anonymity of the participants which guards against feeling compelled by the *Play Around the World* program to participate. A specific reason for choosing not to use snowball sampling when recruiting participants was to ensure that participants would not feel compelled to participate in this study by

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- Voluntary Consent is essential
 - The research must yield results that are 'good' for society [or a sub-set of society]
 - Research must be justified based on previous research
 - Research must work to avoid injury and suffering
 - Death or disability cannot be expected as a result
 - Risk should never outweigh the humanitarian benefit
 - Any risk should be mediated through preparations and adequate facilities
 - Research should only be conducted by qualified personnel
 - The participants have the right to withdraw at any point during the study
 - If there appears to be a risk of death, injury or disability as a result of research, the researchers has the responsibility to end the study.
- (McNamee, Olivier and Wainwright, 2007; Markula and Silk, 2011)

virtue of being asked by someone who had influence in the PAW program, or their academic careers. Furthermore, I am no longer actively involved with the *Play Around the World* program, therefore, I am in no danger of influencing their future with the program or program affiliates. Finally, every choice involved with the interviews – from interview location to questions in the interview guide – was made with utmost consideration for the rights of the participants.

Free and informed consent

In compliance with free and informed consent, all participants were asked to participate in this research study free of coercion or force. Furthermore, they were all provided with a Participant Information Letter [see appendix A] at the initial point of contact with myself concerning the topic of the study, as well as what they could expect from the study. At the point of the interview, each participant was presented with an informed consent form [See appendix B] in which signatures were required to indicate whether or not they would choose to participate. This consent form provides all the information that the participant has agreed to (participating in an interview, audiotaping, retaining anonymity through use of pseudonyms). Both the Informed Consent Form and the Participant Information Letter alerted the participants to the option of withdrawing from the study or choosing not to participate.

Vulnerable Persons

When conducting social research of this type and scale, ethical consideration requires an increased sensitivity to persons with a diminished capability to make decisions. According to Markula and Silk (2011), these populations include children, persons with disability, the elderly or people without the means or education to

understand the nature of the research. Keeping this in mind, both my Participant Information Letter and Consent Forms were written at a level consistent with a fifth grade education. Since all participants are in the middle, or recipients, of a University education, the likelihood of misunderstanding or a lack of comprehension is slim. Furthermore, all of my participants are able-bodied adults with the capacity to protect their rights, should they feel risk of violation.

Privacy and Confidentiality

In this study, participants have agreed to privacy and anonymity rather than confidentiality. In order to respect this, I have changed the biographical information of the participants in the study and substituted the names of the participants for pseudonyms in order to respect their right to privacy. The findings from the research, however, are confidential. I communicated this with the participants of the study and they understand that I, as the primary researcher, am the only person with access to the data from the interviews. Both the Participant Information Letter and Consent Forms indicate the ways in which data will be securely stored and, when the times comes, disposed of for the purpose of this study.

Justice and Inclusiveness

This research study provides no physical harm to its participants and the risk of psychological harm is minimal. Since participants were encouraged to withdraw from the study when they felt uncomfortable or upset, this project was considered to have some potential benefit for participants through participation. This study required that the stories, perspectives and experiences be heard and valued for social research. Finally, since the participants were informed of the research study and the nature of the questions

in advance, they were able to realize the potential personal risks for participation and understand the appropriateness for their place within this study.

Data Analysis of Interviews

In order to analyze the spoken word, relayed through the interviews with the student volunteers, I concentrated the meanings of the interview texts through what Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) term 'meaning condensation'. Kvale and Brinkmann describe 'meaning condensation' as the abridgement of long statements and interview meanings into shorter, manageable, formulations. This particular analysis technique is of interest in this study because it retains the qualitative nature of the data. Unlike other forms of interview analysis, condensing the meaning of interview statements into short units of meaning allows the interview to be organized according to themes and units, but avoids changing the data into quantitative expressions for ease of organization²⁰. Furthermore, since my research question is primarily concerned with the experience of the student volunteers of *Right to Play*, this analysis technique retains the integrity of what was said by the volunteers, rather than the researcher's interpretation of the data. This is not to say that the viewpoints and biases of the interviewer will not be present in analysis, indeed this can hardly be guarded against, but rather it is not actively encouraged as it is in other analysis techniques²¹.

This method of analysis involves five steps. First, it is necessary to read through the complete interview as a whole. After, the researcher determines the natural 'meaning

²⁰ Examples of other data analysis techniques that encourage quantitative data organization include 'meaning coding' as well as 'meaning categorization'. For more information on these techniques, see Kvale and Brinkmann (2009).

²¹ For example, 'meaning interpretation', according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), involves the researcher understanding the interviews and what was said by the interview subject to go beyond what was said to offer a deeper and more critical perspective that is not readily available in the text.

units' that emerge from the transcripts as they are expressed by the interview subjects. Third, the researcher, keeping simplicity in mind, reinstates the themes that dominate each meaning unit. What is important to follow in this third step is thematizing these statements from the participants' viewpoints, as understood by the researcher. Next, the researcher interrogates the meaning units in terms of the specific purpose of the study. Finally, the essential themes from the interviews are summarized and tied together in descriptive statements that depict the study in question. It is possible that the analysis of the interviews does not end here. According to Patton (2002), after undergoing the aforementioned five stages of analysis the interviews may then be opened up for further interpretation and theoretical analyses, should the researcher find it beneficial. Given my critical orientation inherent in Williams' cultural theory, I find it beneficial to link the descriptions of the interviews and meanings units to broader power relations and ideological underpinnings in society, which will partner with the findings from the textual analysis of *Play Around the World's* policy documents. In summary:

Read the Text as a whole

Discover 'meaning units'
expressed by the subjects

State dominant themes
from meaning units

Interrogate meaning
units through the study's
purpose

Summarize themes in a
descriptive statement

Link to broader power relations and ideologies

While I recognize the similarity between this type of textual analysis and thematic analysis, specifically as completed by Cresswell (2008) this method was chosen due to its affiliation and previous completion in the sports sciences (see Markula & Silk, 2011). Furthermore, the necessary component of the final step in linking the statements and themes to broader power relations and ideologies is absent in earlier forms of thematic analysis.

Validation of Interviews

According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), validation is not a separate and logical step in the interview process, but permeates the entirety of the research investigation. In this respect, validation acts as a method of quality control throughout the research project. Accordingly, I have employed Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009) *seven stages of validation*²² as guiding and overarching principles for research validation for the entirety of this study.

Thematizing

This stage of validation concerns the soundness of the theoretical approach as well as the theoretical presuppositions that underpin the logic of the interview questions. The cultural theory of Raymond Williams, as previously stated, underpins this study and is active in every step from the research question, to the reading of the literature, textual analysis and forms the basis of the themes for the interview questions. As such, the theoretical

²² Kvale and Brinkmann's seven stages of interview inquiry are as follows: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, validating and reporting.

framework of this study is woven throughout each stage of analysis and inquiry to guide the interviews.

Designing

In the design stage of validation, it is necessary for the design and methods of the research study to fit the purpose of the research. This study and the interviews conducted within it fulfill the requirements of this design stage, for the sole purpose of this study is to learn of the experiences and stories of student-volunteers. Furthermore, the ethical intention of this study is knowledge production for the benefit of the human situation, rather than its harm.

Interviewing

Interviewing validation concerns the trustworthiness and quality of the interview. I have ensured trustworthiness of data by returning transcripts of the interviews to participants for member-checking when requested. This also ensures accuracy of data.

Transcribing

In this interview study, I have transcribed the interviews verbatim. This is not always necessary in social research, but in order to ensure quality of data as well as accuracy, I have deemed verbatim transcription as the standard.

Analyzing

By taking into account the 'analysis' portion of the interviews, I inquire into the questions asked during the interview process to determine whether they are valid questions to ask and will actually obtain the information I seek to discover in my purpose and interview question. Furthermore, this portion seeks to determine if the interpretations made as a result of research are sound. In this respect, I have outlined the method of

analysis I will employ in interviews expressly in my methodology section and it will inform the way I analyze my participant interviews.

Validating

This portion of the validation deals specifically with checking and questioning my methodology, data and results. According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), it is in this stage of the research process that the researcher adopts a critical look upon analysis and plays ‘devil’s advocate’ to their own findings. In this study, this was informally done throughout all stages of the research process. Given the relationship of this researcher to the subject matter, research question and *Play Around the World* program, remaining critical and reflexive throughout the entirety of the research process was not only recommended, but necessary for research and result contextualization.

Reporting

This involves questioning whether or not the findings portrayed in the results of this research actually depict the main findings of the study and also situate the researcher within the research. I have depicted all findings in the study according to theoretical, methodological and contextual relevance, and also discussed deviant and outlying accounts. Due to my small sample size, representing most phenomenon that was inquired after was a challenge, but not impossible. In order to remain transparent with regards to my involvement within in this study, I have included a ‘reflexivity’ portion in my methods section for the readers to contextualize my involvement, potential bias and history with sport for development and the *Play Around the World* program.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Textual Analysis

Content

The purpose of the *Play Around the World: Theoretical Framework* (2009) is to articulate the core values of the program; its mission and vision²³; as well as the process that program managers, committee members and volunteers undertake to achieve program aims and goals. The intention of this document is to provide the stakeholders with information that underscores the program, and to provide guidance to the committees who oversee the management of PAW (PAW, 2009, p. 2). The document was written in 2009 and, as such, provides no information or specifics regarding the expansion of the *Play Around the World* program to Cambodia in 2010. However, as the stated in the document, the framework is “not intended to restrict PAW activities or to continue the ‘status quo’, but rather to ensure that any activities and processes that fall outside of the essential core of PAW are thoroughly examined before they are adopted” (PAW, 2009; p. 2). In this respect, I am able to include discussions of volunteer experiences in Cambodia within this thesis project as this expansion was examined by PAW and deemed consistent with its underlying principles and programming.

The mission of *Play Around the World*, according to the framework, is to deliver services to underserved populations in Cambodia and Thailand whereby license for delivery is predicated upon the ‘expertise’ of the University of Alberta students (PAW, 2009). This relationship between the University of Alberta students and the communities

²³ According to PAW (2009), the mission of the Play Around the world program is to “broaden the worldview of University of Alberta students through a cross-cultural service-learning placement. Students live and learn in a new culture while promoting the value of play and sharing the benefits of play and recreation with underserved populations and the communities who serve them. (PAW, 2009; p. 7).

with whom they work is characterized in the documents as a cross-cultural relationship in which they foster reciprocal learning for the mutual benefit of both parties. The benefits of this service-learning project for the students is in challenging one's ethnocentricity, fostering an awareness of multiculturalism and cultural diversity, emerging a more active and aware citizen, expanding one's worldview, problematizing previously taken-for-granted understandings and critically reflecting upon traditional ways of knowing of each other and 'the other' (PAW, 2009). The communities in Thailand and Cambodia benefit from participation in the PAW program through the psycho-social, physical and cognitive benefits associated with play and recreation, as well as the benefits derived from affiliation with an organization whose aim is to provide a fundamental human right to underserved populations.

Instrumental to the *Play Around the World* programming and rationale are the cornerstones of play leadership and global citizenship education. Play and recreation, as interpreted by PAW, is based on the notion of play as intrinsically motivated, freely chosen and personally directed (Hughes, 1999). Play leadership within *Play Around the World* is articulated and defined using the City of Edmonton/Alberta Recreation and Parks Association Play Leadership Manual (2005). The PAW program operates from the fundamental standpoint that play and recreation, as encouraged and fostered through playwork, is unequivocally beneficial and necessary for positive human development. Global citizenship education is based on the work of Shultz and Jorgenson (2008) that emphasizes a process-oriented approach through which students come to 'think globally, act locally'. Essentially, the goal is for students to develop into more conscious and

reflective people of this world rather than foster the skills necessary for international work, as might be typical of other international placement opportunities.

The Memorandums of Understanding (MOU) between the Thai Universities and the University of Alberta are very short documents that represent, on an administrative level, the partnership between the Institutes of Physical Education in Thailand, the Srinakharinwirot University in Chiang Mai, and the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. These documents outline a basis of collaboration²⁴ in which these Universities will cooperate on an intellectual level in response to the ‘global epidemic of physical inactivity’ (MOU, 2008). Furthermore, the MOU is designed to promote and develop opportunities for ‘collaborative education, research and training that will assist to meet the objectives for sport, physical education and recreation for children, youth and adults in Thailand’. (MOU, 2008). Specifically, the memorandums outline an opportunity for students of the Institutes of Physical Education in Thailand to engage in a practicum experience with the University of Alberta students centered on facilitating play and recreation opportunities with children in ‘under-served’ communities (MOU, 2008a).

These documents are produced by stakeholders of the *Play Around the World* program and were released in 2008 and 2009. They are overviews of the policies that guide the implementation of the program, both nationally and internationally, and supply some rationale for program selection and administration. In this respect, they manifest the

²⁴ This basis of collaboration is outlined in the following activities:

- a. Exchange of faculty and/or staff
- b. Programs for the mobility of students
- c. Joint research activities and publications
- d. Participation in seminars and academic meetings
- e. Exchange of academic materials and other information
- f. Special short-term academic and training programs

dominant ideologies and discourses that are circulated within the *Play Around the World* program. I will now turn to the method that will allow me to denaturalize and unmask these ideologies and discourses.

Read as a holistic document, the theoretical framework does not delve into the details of volunteer activities and the actual programming that occurs while student-volunteers are in-country. Instead, as previously mentioned, it is more of an overview that gives the reader an understanding of the premises under which the program operates, generalizations regarding program rationale and the theoretical affiliation of the program.

Step 1:

Beginning with Fairclough’s model for CDA, I interpreted framework by taking into account key words and terms, types of adjectives, sentence coherence, and proximity of key words to other key words. The following were deemed essential to the framework (and, consequently, the PAW project) due to their frequency and use in describing core values and tenets of the PAW framework. The headings in the table refer to the three-step model of Fairclough’s methodology and were adopted from Markula and Silk (2011):

1. Text Keywords		2. Narrative Connection	3.a) Ideological Effect	3. b) Connection to Power	
Learning Culture Worldviews Self-awareness Difference Variance Awareness Ethnocentricity Multiculturalism Reciprocal					

Provide Service Education Expertise Underserved Insufficient Development Global Local Exchange Diversity Unique Similarities Understanding Citizen Conscientious Human Right					
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These keywords were used in many ways throughout the framework. I paid attention to how these words were used in describing the main policies and values under which the PAW program operates. Furthermore, these words occurred at a high frequency throughout the framework and characterized the nature of the larger themes such as global education, transformative learning, etc.

Step 2:

Following the tracking of these words, I then completed the second step of critical discourse analysis by tying these keywords to larger narratives in the literature. These narratives are informed by my literature review or organically taken from the framework document. According to Fairclough (1992), this step is necessary to understand the relationship between the discourses circulated in text and sociocultural change. I organized the keywords into groups that pertain to the specific narratives in the

framework document by fundamentally asking the question: what themes or narratives emerge? and what is the text about? (Markula and Silk, 2011)

The following narratives emerged in the text:

1. Text		2. Narrative Connection	3.a) Ideological Effect	3. b) Connection to Power
Positive Enhance Human right Benefits Promote		Promoting the benefit and power of play and recreation		
Disability Provide Expertise Promote Delivery Leadership Underserved Insufficient Development Deficit		Providing a service to underserved populations		
Learning Self –awareness Ethnocentricity Individual Civic engagement Education Development		Transformation of participants of the program (volunteers and children)		
Culture Difference Cross-Cultural Thai 'the other' Partnership Multiculturalism Reciprocal Exchange Diversity Sustainability		Establishing relationships between PAW and participant countries		

Communities				
Worldview Cross-cultural Ethnocentricity Social Justice Global Local Civic Engagement Multiculturalism		Acting and engaging as 'global citizens'		

Step 3:

At this point, these narratives are connected with the ideological effects under which the text operates (Fairclough, 1992). This involves making the connections between each narrative to particular ideologies to show how texts in particular can be used for ideological purposes (Markula and Silk, 2011).

1. Text		2. Narrative Connection	3.a) Ideological Effect	3. b) Connection to Power
Positive Enhance Human right Benefits Promote		Promoting the benefit and power of play and recreation	Globalization – the world is a homogenous entity on which to exercise one type of development aid	Dominance of the western world [westernization] – the views and ideals of the western world transcends other types of knowledge
Disability Provide Expertise Promote Delivery Leadership Underserved Insufficient Development Deficit		Providing a service to underserved populations	Colonialism- aid and development delivered to one population based on the superiority of another way of being	Westernization
Learning Self –awareness Ethnocentricity Individual Civic engagement		Transformation of participants of the program (volunteers and children)	Individualism- learning to value oneself over the collective group	Neo-liberalism- shift government responsibility into individual relationships and behavior and

Education Development				characterize social relationships according to hierarchy and competition
Culture Difference Cross-Cultural 'the other' Partnership Multiculturalism Reciprocal Exchange Diversity Sustainability Communities		Establishing relationships between PAW and participant countries	Colonialism (an expressed interest in 'difference')	Westernization Voyeurism- introducing the notion of 'difference' to mask the social realities of the world and to legitimate a fascination with 'the other'
Worldview Cross-cultural Ethnocentricity Social Justice Global Local Civic Engagement Multiculturalism		Acting and engaging as 'global citizens'	Individualism	Neo-liberalism- (removing responsibility of the state and placing it on the individual)
Community Understanding Similarities Reciprocity		Programming intended for reciprocal learning	**Emergent	

The method in which these narratives and keywords are circulated within the framework document points to the service provided by the PAW program and the transformations that students undergo as an intrinsically individual process involving much self-reflection and self-responsibility. In addition, the texts connect the rationale of the PAW program: its mission, values, intent and programming, to insufficiencies and deficits in partner countries. In this respect, the current movement of the University (from knowledge-based education to education for the workplace) is reaffirmed and, through the insufficiencies of 'the other', the existence of the PAW program is continually reaffirmed.

The most pervasive narrative underlying and mobilized within the PAW framework is concerning the intrinsically transformative nature of the program on both the student-volunteers and the participants in country, to be achieved through Global Citizenship Education and transformative learning (PAW, 2009). In the framework, stakeholders measure this success through greater civic engagement, acting in ways concurrent with global citizenship and by behaving more insightfully and intelligently. As such, the PAW program supplies the environment to allow this change and transformation to occur. Essentially, the PAW program endeavors to challenge student-volunteers in terms of how they come to an actualization of their own world-view, to encourage them to become aware of cultural diversity and respect this diversity, and to be creative and reflective in the provision of quality play-related opportunities (PAW, 2009, p. 13). The nature of this transformation is all very individual and measured on an individual level through self-reflection and awareness.

This Global Citizenship Education is paired GCE with transformative learning²⁵ in order to reconstruct how student-volunteers “choose to relate to the ideas, events and relationships in their lives” (PAW, 2009, p. 11). Borrowing from Mezirow’s (1991) definition of transformative learning, they define it as:

... the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and

²⁵ The conditions and processes PAW outlines as required for transformative learning to occur are as follows (taken from Mezirow, 1995):

1. An activating event that exposes the limitations of a student’s current knowledge/approach
2. Opportunities for the student to identify and articulate the underlying assumptions in the student’s current knowledge/approach
3. Critical self-reflection as the student considers where these underlying assumptions come from, and how these assumptions influenced or limited understanding;
4. Critical discourse with other students and the instructor as the group examines alternative ideas and approaches
5. Opportunities to test and apply new perspectives

feel about our world; changing these structures of habitual expectation to make possible a more inclusive, discriminating and integrating perspective; and finally, making choices or otherwise acting upon these new understandings

Through both transformative learning and GCE, student-volunteers understand their own ethnocentrism and entertain multiple world-views and perspectives. By undergoing this process and participating in PAW, students become aware and conscious of their freedom to reconstruct a world of their own choosing in which they might unpack their previous held values and beliefs. With this newly formed global perspective, PAW hopes that students will reach out and interact with populations who they might have considered 'the other' (PAW, 2009; Spivak, 2004). This promotion of the individually transformative experience as supplied by *Play Around the World* is a very individual process that is promoted as the expected result of participation in the PAW program. Through a critical reading of this transformation, we are able to see the promotion of a neo-liberalist ethic of improvement, as well as valuing of the individual over the collective, also consistent with neo-liberalist ideologies.

Throughout the framework is the notion that children and student-volunteers alike that participate in the *Play Around the World* program undergo an individually transformative experience. The transformation of the student volunteers as well as the children in participant countries is consistent with an improvement and progressive ethic that is present in neo-liberalist ideologies. Underpinning the logic and rationale of *Play Around the World* programming and student involvement is the belief that play in the service of the *Play Around the World* program contributes to the production of

empowered, healthy, responsible and selfless leaders that are better prepared to contribute to the improvement of their communities. Furthermore, the nature of the transformation that the student-volunteers are expected to undergo is a very singular process, also consistent with the neo-liberal ethos of individualism and privileging of the individual over the collective. In this way, play and the involvement of the children in the program serves to rationalize a sort of meritocracy whereby those who are successful in the program have the potential to be so in their everyday lives (Darnell, 2010). This is problematic as it neglects to account for the socio-political and historical undercurrents that have constructed the reality that apparently merits the need of the *Play Around the World* program. In this respect, PAW is instrumental in producing the ‘type’ of people not only necessary for this type of development work, but also better prepared to enact their civic duties upon return from the experience. As such, PAW is investing in human capital to ensure their successful contribution to a society founded on neo-liberalist ideals.

While the notion of the transformative nature of play and the PAW program was the most pervasive theme throughout the framework and memorandums, the narrative concerning service provision underscored the rationale for PAW’s overseas presence. The PAW program acknowledges that children might play and engage in playful pursuits more so in Thailand or Cambodia than in Canada, however, there is still the implicit acknowledgement throughout the framework of the expertise of University of Alberta students in the areas of play and recreation. Through this expertise, play and recreation is transformed into a service that can be provided to populations that perhaps do not have the experts in the field, or the facilities or resources necessary, to provide the same

quality of service. In the framework document, student-volunteers were recognized as authorities in their field of working with children with disabilities, as well as in play leadership and playwork. Through the positioning of the students as 'experts' in relation to their Thai and Cambodian counterparts, this development interaction as defined by *Play Around the World* becomes one characterized by binaries of 'expert/novice'. In this respect, the authority assumed by the University of Alberta students in program delivery is based upon the failure of the Thai organizations and population to do so – not unlike the rationale behind traditional colonialism. Ahmad (1992) warns against the dangers of this type of international relationship predicated upon those who have knowledge, development and in this case, the right way to play, and the 'others' who do not. He argues that, through this juxtaposition of expert/novice, developed/developing, lacking/having that the dominance of those who 'have' (*Play Around the World*) continues to reify itself, is reinscribed and becomes dependent upon the relationship that the program has with 'the other'. As such, amplifying the differences between Thailand and Canada is necessary in order for *Play Around the World* to maintain the pertinence of their services overseas.

While the PAW program expressly acknowledges the dangers of colonialism that are inherent in this type of work (cross-cultural), the ontology of the program exists in a way that privileges North American knowledge. As Said (1979) and Fanon (1963) have argued, models of international development are simply echoes of contemporary colonialism in which, as we can see with the PAW program, relationships between countries and nations become constructed along binary lines of 'expert/novice'. Furthermore, the expansion of *Play Around the World* to include a second location in

2005 was through the invitation of the Thai minister of sport, as he recognized the ‘expertise’ of the University of Alberta in matter of play and recreation (PAW, 2009). Nandy (1997) speaks of a ‘colonization of the mind’ whereby individuals and nations who have been characterized as ‘the other’ begin to see themselves as such. Fanon echoes this same phenomenon when he speaks of colonization not simply in terms of appropriation of labor and physical changes to social processes, but through an “inferiority complex that rested in their souls” (Fanon, 1967, p. 18). In this respect, colonialism is not the violent or physical act found in traditional forms, but a psychological one where the West exists as an entity exerting influence on the minds and cultures of ‘the other’ (Nandy, 1997, p. 16). The invitation of the Thai minister to the University of Alberta for their services, based on expertise, is as a result of one way being privileged over another to such an extent that even populations see themselves through their own insufficiencies.

It was apparent throughout the frameworks and memorandums that the effects of play and recreation as offered by *Play Around the World* were only ever positive and beneficial by-products naturally arise from participation in the play programs. In this respect, the concept and notion of ‘play’ is ideologically fixed as a useful tool for *Play Around the World* initiatives. The utility of play is described as having the ability to enhance the human spirit, to develop children physically, socially and cognitively and to fundamentally engage children on a more human level (PAW, 2009). Guided by article 31 of the constitution of the rights of the child, *Play Around the World* student volunteers use the principles of playwork, articulated and produced in Canada, combined with their own educations to deliver equipment, toys, games and play to the Thai and Cambodian

Children. In this respect, regardless of location or culture, play and recreation is the type of aid to be distributed to cities in Thailand and Cambodia. This illustrates a certain globalization whereby these cities and locations in the global south meld into a single homogenous entity in which one type of development aid is merited. Western rationalization and principles guide the *Play Around the World* program and specific modifications due to culture, history or race are not taken into consideration.

Play Around the World states that play, rather than sport, is the service delivered to the children of Thailand in Cambodia. In this respect, the very articulation of the concept of 'play' is problematic as 'play' and the time in which to do so is chiefly characteristic of industrialized countries. Only in societies where there is a distinct division between work and leisure time is it necessary for children to engage in play and to use their leisure time accordingly. As such, the very concept of play carries with it certain western connotations that serve to assimilate the childhoods of Thai and Cambodian children to those of Canadian children. In this respect, we are able to see the world becoming organized according to lines of what Walter Mignolo (2000) calls the 'coloniality of power' whereby belonging to, or not belonging to, a north/western/European system of beliefs, practices and principles is what characterizes the development relationship, rather than difference. In the PAW program, difference is only ever discussed in a way to mask inequalities that become exacerbated through the very ontology of development that believes in a certain model of sport, play or recreation to be superior over others. This globalization contributes to the 'other-ing' of the global south whereby the distinction between the northern/western/developing countries and those who are 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' is reaffirmed, characterized simply as

being 'in need' of *Play Around the World*. In the following section I enter into the analysis of the interviews with the student-volunteers to gain further understanding into the nature of their experiences.

Analysis of Interviews

Following Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009) meaning unit condensation, I have created meaning units as thematic elements from the interviews with volunteers. These meaning units do not exhaustively represent all topics covered in the interviews, but rather, served as significant points of discussion between the student-volunteers and myself. They are not mutually exclusive and it is often that one excerpt from an interview covers multiple topics and leads into other meaning units of analysis. However, seven main meaning units emerged from this analysis: The superiority of the PAW volunteering experience, that PAW enriches the lives of people who need it, forming relationships, transformation, the development transaction, cross-cultural interactions, and global citizenship education. In this chapter, I will focus on summarizing the themes (step 5 in Kvale and Brinkmann's analysis) and will then link them to broader power relations and ideologies (the final in Kvale and Brinkmann's analysis) in the next chapter. I will begin with the view that student-volunteers had regarding the superior quality of experiences in volunteering with PAW.

The Superiority of the PAW volunteering experience

Throughout the interviews with the students, there was the notion that the student-volunteer experience as it exists for *Play Around the World* (PAW) was superior to other similar volunteering initiatives. The education and preparation process before departure to Thailand and Cambodia, the sustained interaction in the field and the general behavior

of the student-volunteers contributed to an overall sense that the type of volunteer experience that PAW had to offer was better, in many ways, than other international initiatives. Katherine expressed:

I definitely noticed a difference from us and other volunteers, there were other volunteers there and they were really into partying and that kind of thing and we didn't do really any of that because we really felt like a part of the reason why we were there was because that was a party town and the sex trade and it just felt sort of wrong to go out and sort of be involved in that scene when the next day you're going to see some of the products of those relationships and so you could definitely notice a difference between the 'Canadians' and the rest of the volunteers. There were other volunteers there... and they were really into partying and that kind of thing and we didn't do...really any of that because we really felt like part of the reason why we were there was because that was a party town and the sex trade and it just felt sort of wrong to sort of go out and sort of be involved in that scene when the next day you're going to see some of the products those relationships and so you could definitely notice the difference...

For Katherine and the rest of her team, it was their behavior in Thailand that served to distinguish them from other volunteering counterparts. According to Heron (2007), engaging as a Canadian in a development worker/volunteer capacity means self-identifying as someone from a peacekeeping nation, who is a modest, self-deprecating individual who is then able to gently teach others of civility. Not celebrating or taking

part in the 'partying' culture that is very commonplace with travelers in Thailand was indicative of a greater and more sensitive engagement with communities in-country. This reflects with Palmer (2002) identified as the altruistic tendencies of volunteering. According to Palmer (2002), the altruistic motivations for volunteering are concerned with a notion of self-sacrifice that can also be seen in the refusal of the PAW student-volunteers to take place in the partying culture characteristics of a Thailand travel experience. Throughout the interviews with volunteers, this notion of the difference between PAW student-volunteers and other volunteer organization was re-affirmed. For example, as Chloe shared:

Like we are there [in country] intensely for a longer period of time than just an average person would be, we still establish a different level of relationship with the kids than the other volunteers would because we're there for... so long.

In addition to the behavior of student-volunteers in Thailand, PAW participants self-identified as different than other volunteering organizations, or even tourists, due to the education and preparation they received before departure to Thailand and Cambodia. When speaking about the value she believed was inherent in international education experiences, Katherine shared the following:

I experienced it and I think there is huge value, you just have to negotiate how to do it respectfully and to be sensitive to the culture that you're going to. And I think PAW does a good job of that compared to other volun-tourism.

For Katherine, engaging respectfully and sensitively cross-culturally was indicative of an increased quality in the volunteering experience. Katherine believed a shorter engagement in country combined with a decreased level of cultural sensitivity was indicative of a type of volunteer-tourism whereby volunteering was part of the tourism experience, rather than a beneficial impact to the communities of Thailand and Cambodia. When probed as to what she meant by 'respectful' and 'sensitive', she mentioned that speaking the language and learning of the Thai and Cambodian cultures pre-departure were best practices for avoiding potentially embarrassing, and typically 'touristy' scenarios. Katherine identified PAW volunteers not only as different from other volunteers, but different from travelers and tourists in general:

But I think we do a really good job in trying to learn the language, I think that's huge, because you know, you can really tell who the tourists were there. I didn't really feel like a tourist there because I could speak to them and you know, they would try to give you tourist prices but then you'd speak to them in Thai and they wouldn't...

This sentiment was also echoed repeatedly by Chloe, who like Katherine, believed in the superiority of PAW's work in comparison with other initiatives and tourists. For Chloe, Global Citizenship Education and the preparation process served to differentiate PAW students from the rest. Chloe compared the work of PAW volunteers with other volunteers who were present at a specific project:

Chloe: It wasn't very structured... you would just kind of do what any other type of volunteer would do when they went in there and there were several other volunteers which was tricky because you didn't want to be

labeled like the other volunteers were and seen as they were because you're not the same

Kelley: What are the differences?

Chloe: Well I think it's like the education that you get beforehand and all that kind of stuff and the knowledge in organizing sport, play and that kind of stuff versus someone who comes in, sees it as a tourist attraction and in that way, exploits that...

In this respect, knowledge in the form of University classes and PAW program preparation validated the sustained interaction between the University of Alberta student-volunteers and the communities of Thailand and Cambodia to ensure respect and sensitivity. Furthermore, according to Chloe, the level of education and the sophistication of the preparatory process influenced the structure of the PAW program, making it superior to other international counterparts. Chloe characterized other international volunteer initiatives as susceptible to exploiting partner communities in exchange for a tourist experience for visitors. Chloe continued:

I obviously believe in volunteering with the right programming and the right structure ... I think PAW, that's why the preparation stuff is so important because it helps a lot in avoiding that problem [exploitation].

Many participants also believed that the length of engagement with participant communities and the amount of time that PAW spent in Thailand and Cambodia served to legitimize the quality of the PAW student-volunteer experience:

I guess...like we are there intensely for a longer period of time than just an average person would be, we still establish a different level of relationship with the kids than other volunteers would...(Chloe)

This level of interaction and time spent in-country seemed to serve as a marked difference between the level of interaction between the PAW student-volunteers and other, more 'touristy' projects and initiatives.

The PAW preparation process, level of education of the student-volunteers, sustained interaction with the participant countries and level of engagement with the communities in Thailand and Cambodia contributed to an overall feeling in the superiority of the nature of the PAW student-volunteer experience. As such, the PAW program provided the most proper way of engaging with participant countries as well as an acceptable level of interaction. Through this negotiation of the quality of volunteering, it is evident that students are debating and struggling over the ethics and complications associated with entering into a cross-cultural relationship. When discussing the superiority of the experience, participants expressed wanting to guard against the dangers of exploitation that could occur as a result of these types of programs. Many participants, especially in Cambodia, spoke of orphanage tourism whereby, through donation, tourists would go through and 'watch' the children in orphanages in exchange for payment in the form of food or monetary donation. The students operated according to an informal moral guideline whereby PAW, and anything more than the program, formed the 'right' way of volunteering and anything less would be 'wrong'.

While participants agreed that the three-month stay in-country was sufficient to establish relationships with the children in the programs and to do the work of PAW,

many also expressed concerns regarding the sustainable nature of the programming. While three months in Thailand and Cambodia put the PAW program 'above' other international aid efforts, there was still the notion that the children needed more time from the PAW program in order to make the program sustainable [or effective]. This apparent 'need' on the part of the participants for play and recreation programs as supplied by *Play Around the World* is the second theme to which I will draw my analysis.

PAW Enriches the Lives of Individuals Who Need It

Given the importance placed on play within the PAW program, as opposed to sport or other recreational pursuits, this theme was important for the interviewees. Many of them had a mythical understanding of the nature of play: it was considered an iconic entity to be protected in the lives of children around the world and was never to be sacrificed in program delivery. This was fundamentally important not only in the PAW program, but in the interviewees' own lives as well. Chloe's definition seems to encompass the spirit of play as perpetuated through the PAW program:

I feel so stupid saying it, but play is an international, universally international language. Like, you don't have to talk, you don't have to do whatever to play, you just play. And you can play with any kid around the world regardless of culture or ethnicity or language barrier or anything, you can play with anybody.

Chloe's sentiment was shared among the other participants, for example, as shared by Taryn:

I think it [PAW], showed me how important play is and how amazing it is... I think we should always just play.

Play, to the majority of the participants, morphed into a precious ritual to be provided to underserved children. Many of the participants expressed feelings of injustice in instances where they believed children were being deprived of play and playful opportunities. Every participant spoke about the power of play in enhancing the lives of children, even if it was maybe for a short time. As one participant, Katherine, expressed:

I think it's amazing because it enlivens the human spirit and if you have worries it kind of takes your mind off them for a little bit...I think it really showed me how important play is and how awesome it is [laughs, speaking of the tattoo on her foot], like I have it branded on my foot... I think we should always just play.

Play, as conceptualized by all the participants was only ever positive, could transform the day of a child, and had the ability to transcend national boundaries, language barriers, inconveniences based on [dis]ability and effectively erase cultural barriers. In this respect, play was the ultimate unifier and service to be provided to underserved children in Thailand and Cambodia. Many participants would share meaningful stories regarding the ways in which they have seen these very powerful instances take place. For example, one participant, Sarah, shared a story of how a young boy, previously mute, spoke and laughed for the first time only two months after PAW's presence in Cambodia. Amy spoke of earning the trust of the children near the end of her experience in Thailand:

There was this one dude, he would watch for like, 10 or 20 minutes and then maybe come to play and I was like 'ok, this guy has to come and play, I'm going to work on him. I know he's having fun and he could be having fun for like, 20 more minutes', and I would go and play with him.

And I remember our last day there, we did our playday there and had thrown out a jar of peanut butter because it was infested with ants. And we had playdough and magic mud and the kids just attacked us! I've never seen playday stations just go down... it was like peanut butter and magic mud everywhere and they were sliding on it and somehow this peanut butter got taken out of the garbage can, it was mixed with the magic mud, and there was this concoction. And then, this little man who just never wanted to play came up behind me and slapped my face with this mixture and laughed and ran away. Finally, I had gotten to this kid. So that was a good moment for me, it was like, I don't know if this is a compliment or not, but I'm going to take it as one.

When sharing the nature of play and what they all believed play to encompass, it was their stories of the micro level interactions that served to provide the most meaning for the students, as well as the best and most significant memories of their time spent with the children. It was in these instances of individual and personal interactions that, for volunteers like Katherine, Amy, James and Taryn, definitions of play and the myths that become perpetuated through PAW policy and training vanished in favor of the meaningful one-on-one playtime between the children and themselves.

While the majority of the participants adhered to the mythical beliefs of play as perpetuated by PAW program policy, there were also a few participants with very realistic reflections on the actual nature of play, as it existed in the practice of delivering the programs. Amy, again, shared her own vulnerability regarding her place in the PAW program, as well as the role she believed she occupied within the lives of the children:

I don't know what I can do about it, but I'm going to play with these kids and we're going to have fun and that's all I have to offer, I can't fix the world. What we did was we were giving them our time. I was giving them my time and our presence there... I'm not giving them anything they don't have necessarily and I mean yeah, the games I'm putting thought into but...at the end of the day, I can't change the world and all those feelings... so that's what I had to give them and what they were giving me was all the love in the world.

Another participant, Katherine, mentioned that while she fully believed in the importance and capability of play to enrich the lives of children. Fundamentally, play meant “leaving a smile that started as a frown” – in other words, Katherine tried not to concern herself with the overarching meaning of play or what play should or shouldn't be, but rather, focused on the effect that it was having on the kids in Thailand and Cambodia. For Taryn, playing with the children in Thailand and Cambodia prepared her for her work with first nations populations here in Canada. She spoke candidly about the temptation to go abroad and believe that student-volunteers are ‘saving the little Thais’ just like, here in Canada with first nations work, programs run into the same temptation of ‘saving the little Indians’. For Taryn, her conception of play programming was carefully considered through daily interactions where her success was derived through her interactions with children. She made an active effort not to go into Thailand with the mentality that she was going to save the children in the communities through PAW programming.

Regardless of the importance or belief that students had concerning the power of play, they championed its existence as central to their programming in-country. Some participants

even spoke of the removal of the PAW program from one orphanage in particular because of the affiliation with play:

They wanted us to build this garden and James [another participant] was basically like, we're not building a garden. And then it was all good and then the second week that we went there they were like 'ok, when are you going to start building a garden?' And we were just like... I was there with three other girls and I was like, we're not building the garden, that's not what we're here to do. And then he was like 'you guys can just leave then'. So...we left. (Ben)

In this instance, the needs of that particular orphanage encompassed a garden for the children to tend and grow food. Because of the mandate of PAW for play delivery, this conflicted with the aims of the student volunteers and resulted in their removal from the project. This removal of the PAW program from this particular site served to reify the importance of play and provided an added challenge to the student-volunteers to prove their relevancy, making their presence equally as important as having a garden. Katherine also spoke about wanting to help out at one of the projects with washing the children and helping put them to bed. This, however, conflicted with the mandate of PAW and the responsibilities of the orphanages. In this respect, play as delivered by the program was something to be safeguarded and advocated for. In these discussions, play as delivered by PAW became a concept that was ideologically fixed as unequivocally positive and a useful tool for the mandate and goals of the PAW program.

As previously mentioned, every participant believed in the positive and transformational nature of play. What differed from participant to participant was the legacy that they believed these playful interactions left with the children, as well as to what extent they believed that play

made a difference. For participants like Taryn, Katherine and Amy, play was very much an addition to the busy lives of the children of Thailand and Cambodia. For Ben, Sarah, Chloe and James, the power of play as supplied by PAW was monumental and had the potential to alter the lives of the children. For these four student-volunteers, the reason why the services of PAW were not as impactful as they could have been was due to a lack of sustainability.

For student volunteers, sustainability referred to an increased or potentially permanent, presence of the *Play Around the World* program in Thailand and Cambodia. Chloe, in particular, had a hard time negotiating the sustainability of the PAW program, or her own involvement:

There's only so much you can do. More sustainable than other organizations in the sense that we go back every year, and so it's a constant influx of donations or a constant influx of volunteers that go in and help with programming. But in the other sense, we're only there for three months, what about the rest of the 9 months? But I don't know if anything can be done about that because we have school so I don't know that there's much they can do about that. Sustainable would mean being able to send students more throughout the year rather than just one chunk...

As such, sustainability for Chloe meant sustaining the PAW program's involvement overseas whereby their Thai and Cambodian counterparts would be able to continue on their own rather than contributing to a social climate. This view was also shared by Katherine who expressed concerns over the fact that three months is such a short time:

We were enriching their lives through play, but it was only for three months and then it would be withdrawn and then they would be left for another 9 months.

The 'sustainability' allowed the interviewees to truly believe in the importance of the play programming offered uniquely by PAW. There is the sense of abandoning the children in Thailand and Cambodia whenever the student-volunteers leave at the end of every summer. In this respect, play in the service of PAW is the necessary programming to be delivered to these underserved populations. As Sarah shared:

I think it was more reason to be there and we sort of...I can't take credit but, yeah, we get our experience but we wanted it to last so it was sustainable, making sure they understand at least some of the value in it.

Sarah understood sustainability as ensuring that the children of Thailand and Cambodia 'got it', that they understood the message and lessons that PAW was trying to deliver. At the end of her interview, she asked me:

Sarah: Do you think PAW is sustainable?

Kelley: What do you mean by sustainable?

Sarah: Um... I guess do you think it's effective, what we do, by going for three months? Or do you think it needs to be a longer period of time for kids to really develop the skills²⁶?

In this respect, sustainability and the presence of PAW was necessary for children to evolve, improve and transform into the promised outcomes as a result of the program. When negotiating the question of sustainability, there was a contradiction inherent in the responses of the participants. In many respects, the three-month engagement in Thailand was enough to ensure the superiority of PAW volunteering experiences over other similar programs, but still insufficient to ensure that the children were receiving everything that PAW felt was necessary.

²⁶ Although she did not expressly say what she meant by 'skills', she outlined earlier what she believed were the benefits of play and recreation, which, in general, were described as psychological, physiological and social betterment.

When asked if PAW was needed, almost all participants answered with an emphatic 'yes' and, therefore, maintained the relevancy of PAW and made the presence of the program necessary for 'the other' to be saved, enlightened and helped. While the definitions of play and playwork differed, the student volunteers shared a reverence and an awareness of the positive benefits of play. For most of the student-volunteers, the presence of PAW was necessary for children to receive the positive benefits of play. For example, when speaking of his time with PAW Ben shared his belief of the necessity of the program:

If you think about it, these kids needs it more than anything...like, there's so much poverty there and if you could just be there for an hour a day and give the kids something to look forward to I think that's so important.

According to Ben, the services of PAW contribute to the amelioration of the lives of Thai and Cambodian children. According to the majority of the student-volunteers, play programs by PAW give the children something to look forward to while alleviating the negative effects of poverty that represses their childhoods.

In addition to the idea that PAW was instrumental to the improvement in the lives of children in Thailand and Cambodia was the notion that this type of aid was necessary for all developing, or as participants would call them 'third world' countries. Not only did the majority of the participants believe that the play programs, as supplied by PAW improved the lives and situations of children in Thailand and Cambodia, but they also believed that aid, as supplied by a program like PAW, was beneficial in countries with characteristics typical of 'third world' countries. For example, as Sarah shared when asked 'why Thailand':

Sarah: Logistically, I never wondered why Thailand because we knew the history of Thailand, like we know that connection was made... because there are a lot of places that you could choose, you know, you could have chosen India or China, there are places that have similar issues or problems, so in that way I never wondered.

Kelley: What are the characteristics in those countries that are similar to Thailand that you think would legitimate PAW's presence?

Sarah: Well, I think to an extent parts of those countries are underdeveloped and developing, like Thailand we work with kids who live in slums are orphans... So it's just whether you have the backing and the social structure to support. So I think some countries have that more than others.

For Sarah, the issues that make Thailand in 'need' of the PAW type of program were the same as the countries in India or China. This illustrates the ideal of globalization whereby the global south assumes a single identity, causing a loss of heterogeneity, and merits one type of development aid supplied, in this case, by the PAW program. According to Tomlinson (2001), the process of globalization is an all-encompassing process of complex connectivity that spreads into the economic, political, technological and cultural spheres of a country. Through this process, as Tomlinson argues, not only is western free-market capitalism exported to countries all over the world, but globalization is also the process through which western values such as improvement, individualism and possessiveness, become universalized.

When discussing culture, religion, language and customs, participants treated these cultural components as minor inconveniences rather than characteristics that define a country. Furthermore, the notion of 'culture' was always treated in a way that was characterized by or synonymous with 'difference' rather than the ordinary thing that it actually is. Furthermore, this notion of difference as expressed by the volunteers serves, as Heron (2007) noted, to cement the power inequalities on which the superiority of PAW and Canadian volunteers are predicated. For example, Sarah was continually comparing the differences in Thailand and Cambodia with Canadian culture, but also the culture of Peru, the only other developing country she had familiarity with:

Kelley: What is it about the international component of volunteering that draws you?

Sarah: I think it's just seeing different ways that people live and how they're able to live off what they do. And...just everything that goes into culture and how people treat one another... but the other developing country that I went to was Peru and I started comparing the two and it was just totally different because the other one was just well, it was like a vacation... so it took me a couple of weeks to get over it and I just had to start understanding there are different rules and stuff...

The student-volunteers believed that, rather than producing difference, culture was rooted in difference and served to widen the gap between the student-volunteers, and the people in Thailand and Cambodia. Discussions of cultural difference dominated the interviews and, like the notion of play, were treated as an ideologically fixed entity that legitimated the presence of PAW programming, formed the reason for sustained engagement and

acted as an foreign concept that exacerbated difference between PAW and ‘the other’. These cultural differences caused minor shifts in programming and caused the participants to negotiate their behaviors according to context and environment, but it was never enough to risk jeopardizing the PAW program, its intent, mission, vision or underlying values. This is especially illustrated by the following quotation from Sarah, who mentions difficulties navigating the language barrier and had trouble negotiating the structure of some of the orphanages with whom PAW worked. However, in the end, she maintained that regardless of cultural inconsistencies and differences PAW was necessary:

Sarah: Well some one of the big things were we worked with an orphanage and got kicked out

Kelley: Why?!

Sarah: It’s weird telling people because I just assumed everyone knows everything, yeah, we got kicked out because the guy running it was kind of shady...And for me, it was like, those kids need it the most. It’s just convincing, like that for me was a different level, like it’s not just like, oh here’s our program and this is what we’re doing, it’s like you actually have to change someone’s mind and perception about what playwork does.

In this particular instance, the relationships that PAW volunteers had with communities in Thailand and Cambodia were characterized by a necessity for PAW, and ignorance of proper play and recreation programs. According to Sarah, the participants in this particular orphanage were not aware of the benefits that the PAW program had to offer.

What was necessary for the participants in this case was education and perseverance on the part of PAW student-volunteers. This served to maintain the relevancy of PAW as an educational force intending to teach the children, who are characterized through their ignorance. Accordingly, this reinforced the idea that the PAW program was necessary for the improvement of the lives of children, and that this type of aid was necessary for countries exhibiting characteristics of 'developing/third world' countries. In this respect, the PAW program was characterized as providing play and recreation opportunities that the children and participants in Thailand and Cambodia would not normally receive without the involvement or presence of PAW. Furthermore, this play experience was beneficial for the children as it provided catharsis from repressive life circumstances and structure. The notion that the PAW program is providing a beneficial experience to populations who need it illustrates not only vestiges of traditional colonialism, but also entrenches the processes that legitimate this type of relationship. The Western project of enlightenment towards a natural and universal human civilization, and the commitment to this civilizing process of 'the other', historically naturalized and rationalized the colonialist agenda. (Black, 2007 Mangan, 1986) Residual tenets, in reference to Williams' (1977; 1980) cultural trends, of this relationship were often apparent in the conversations with the PAW student-volunteers. Through the establishment of this relationship, children who participate in these programs are known based on their 'need' for play programming, and PAW student-volunteers are known based on their authority to provide it.

The provision of the service of play and recreation to underserved populations characterizes the mission statement and ontology of PAW experiences. This legitimizes

the presence of PAW and guides many other programming decisions such as: bringing equipment from Canada to projects, the decision of where to establish project sites and forms the foundation of play provision rather than any other service. Not only does this re-affirm the notion that participant countries and populations are in 'need' of PAW, but simultaneously reifies the authority of the PAW student-volunteers as experts. This authority was assumed in relation to the deficiencies of Thai and Cambodian communities, but also by virtue of the University education. For Sarah, both the cross-cultural relationship as well as her education legitimized her authority in play provision:

I didn't realize that play could do everything that it did do. So if I have a University education, and I'm in the last year of my degree, then like, why would you expect that of someone in a third world country?

For Sarah, the benefits of her University education and the knowledge that she received as a result served to provide a certain level of expertise in the area of play and recreation and made her an authority. The fact that participants in the program were from 'third world' countries served to exacerbate the difference between Sarah and her participant counterparts and increase the division between her level of expertise and theirs.

This same notion of the 'expert' PAW volunteer was evident in Chloe's interview. When asked about concerns after leaving her time overseas, Chloe mentioned her biggest concern was over the appropriate use of the equipment that the PAW students left at projects at the end of their summer.

Chloe: I was worried about how the equipment was going to be used.

Because we divided up the equipment and I didn't know if we had given them enough knowledge or background information to be able to use it,

but with that being said, the kids are so creative. I know in some cases that the equipment is put away and not used or not...and I mean the people there are teachers, they have so much other stuff on the go and their primary job isn't to sit and find out what to do with our equipment and not to say that our stuff is super hard to use, but yeah... I guess that was my thing, do they know how to use the equipment?

Kelley: How would you have fixed that?

Chloe: Um... just making sure that you are using all the equipment every time you are going to the projects because you can't give them something that you've never used at that project before and be like, here you go, like, that means nothing to them. And maybe educating them on it, like in the past I know that they've made a play resource and translated it into Thai and I think that really helps.

For Chloe, the PAW students have the knowledge that can be 'given' to teachers, and oftentimes physiotherapists and occupational therapists, in using simple equipment that will ensure that the legacy of PAW is carried on after student-volunteers have left Thailand and Cambodia.

Forming Relationships

While play programs served, for some students, to assert the expertise of PAW, Katherine and Amy both acknowledged the valuable things they had learned from the children participating in the programs, as well as the teachers with whom they worked throughout the engagement. Amy mentions the children being the authority throughout

her time in-country and reflects with humility on her relationship between the children and play:

You don't just teach play, you just do it, or experience it? [laughs] The kids are the experts at it, you're not going there to necessarily show them anything that they haven't seen before, you might do that in the end, but its just like, going there and spending the time to show them that someone does care.

For Amy, the PAW experience was deeply relational and characterized primarily through her microcosmic interactions with the children of the projects. She derived validation and satisfaction from the projects because of the time spent at the projects as well as the fun and playful times with the children. When I asked her about the purpose of the PAW program and her involvement in it, she spoke candidly:

I think, I was there, I think... what we did was we were giving them our time. I was giving them my time and our presence there especially at places where it's a pretty harsh environment and like, kids play all the time, but to give them that safe space and time to do it, that's what [pause] I'm not giving them anything they don't have necessarily and I mean yeah, the games and I'm putting thought into it but [pause] I think in the end after working through all that I can't change the world and all those feelings, all I had to give them was my time and that's all I was there for. I spent three months there, it really doesn't mean that much in the scheme of my life in terms of what I'm going to do and the time I have and so,

that's what I had to give them and what they were giving me was all the love in the world.

Amy spoke of the PAW experience as more of a connection between herself and the children, where a reciprocal relationship is achieved not in the form of knowledge exchange or in the discussion of play practices, but of a more humane exchange that, in many ways, encompasses the very spirit of play in which the *Play Around the World* program believes. For Ben, Chloe and Sarah, one major concern after leaving the program was considering the ability of the children of Thailand and Cambodia to continue on with the legacy of PAW and to successfully continue PAW programming. For volunteers like Amy, James and Katherine, their biggest concern was the risk of being forgotten by the children. As such, their construction of 'the other' was more complicated than to those who 'have' knowledge and the right ways to play and the children who do not. Instead, they negotiated the children as kids and were concerned as to whether or not the children were having fun, if they were enjoying themselves, what games were most effective for a playful experience and, perhaps most importantly, they also negotiated the possibility of their own redundancy:

Kelley: In terms of PAW and your presence there, do you think it was needed?

Amy: I think, in some, I don't think it was... I guess yes, it was needed in some places in some ways just like anywhere needs new ideas. You know, you go in and I think we did bring fresh air into some places [pause] where we saw a lot of things going on every week and we would try and do something different and I think the manpower was helpful... I don't

know if needed was the right word, I think helpful, I think it was a 'win win' relationship; I wouldn't say they needed me. They may have liked me there, and I liked being there, but I don't know if they needed me.

For Amy, the play around the world experience was characterized in very practical terms involving organizational capacity and manpower rather than insufficiencies based on cultural miscommunication, differences or expertise.

Transformation

Underlying the interviews with the participants was the notion that, as a result of PAW, a certain degree of transformation occurred intrinsically, or it could be seen in the participants of the programs. It was through this discussion of transforming as a result of the PAW program that the highest level of crossover between the policy of PAW and the lived realities of the participants could be seen. Interviewees described themselves as being more aware, critical, introspective, willing to challenge existing truths and able to try new things as a result of the PAW experience. Taryn, in particular, reflected back on the skills she believed she learned as a result of the PAW program:

Leadership skills, definitely, like...oh so many skills. [laughs]. Like knowing when to be a leader and when to be a follower... how to work within a group, how to work outside structure [laughs]... and just being creative and you know like the biggest thing was mirroring your personal, professional mirror. You eat and sleep with your co-workers, you can't hide anything, it's all open and it just makes, now that I go into a position like here and it's like you go home at the end of the day and it's easy to

hide things but why when it's so much easier to stay balanced when you mirror things. Who I am at home is who I am at work.

For Taryn, PAW was a training ground for professional skills that would equip her for her work when she returned to Canada. In that respect, she transformed professionally as a result of the feedback and structure of the PAW program.

Many of the other participants spoke of their transformation in terms of a shifted or changing worldview. For example, Ben spoke of a new awareness upon return from his experience that framed a new way of relating to his friends and family upon return to Canada:

Ben: I'm more aware here, for sure.

Kelley: What do you mean?

Ben: I have some really racist friends and I'm over that. What else... just like I have different worldviews now, like I went to Mexico on a resort and hated it. It's like this is just you're exploiting the shit out of your own people, get real. And I'm sure that it happens everywhere, like it happens in Asia and I'm sure it happens here, and like I have a new respect for everyone [pause] I think that you have a purpose in the world.

For Amy:

Amy: And no one else gets it. I can explain it to my friends as much as I want but I don't think that anyone really get shot it can change you or how it makes you who you are...

Kelley: How do you think it's changed you?

Amy: I think it's just made me more aware of all sorts of things.. I don't know how to start. Someone asked me this the other day, one of my friends asked me this, I think it definitely, I've always been appreciative of what I've had in my life and I think it made me more appreciative of some things, because I have very little tolerance for people who complain about life here, and I think I come across as a bitch sometimes to the people in my program because all they complain about is exams and yes, I get stressed out sometimes, but I cannot stand it. I have no tolerance for people who complain about that stuff...what I saw in-country is way worse off than you, it's just a part of who I am now to just be thankful and be more aware of what I see and to think about it.

Volunteers expressed frustration upon return and a type of reverse culture shock that they felt divided them from the version of themselves that they left behind before leaving for their experiences in Thailand and Cambodia. Student-volunteers believed that they returned, positively transformed as a result of their time spent abroad, but divided from their friends and/or family as a result of this new awareness.

Chloe in particular spoke of marked change and transformation as a result of her time in-country and described changes in her professional beliefs, her personal life, her relationships with friends and family her relationship with the Canadian culture upon return:

I think that if you would've asked me this three years ago I probably would have given you the same answer but never questioned it but now... through my global citizenship education that I've received since and being

here at the next step, I really question international aid work and I'm more focusing on local work. Like before, I was so focused on international work, like I wanted to live internationally, I wanted to work internationally, and just be... everything was international and I wanted to work somewhere that would take me somewhere but now I see the benefits of the local. I didn't see that before, but now I see it.

In other respects, volunteers also spoke of having a greater sense of appreciation for the opportunities they have as a result of being Canadian. Participants expressed gratitude with for their educations, families, knowledge of and access to civil rights, opportunities for travel and various other opportunities they had an equated with being Canadian. Furthermore, this appreciate was paired with a greater motivation to 'give back', help those less fortunate and contribute to society and their fellow human beings.

Taryn: This experience, it's just like, I was able to really bring something different to the team and what I got hired on [in Canada], it enhanced so much of what I do, working with kids... it was like my having this experience was so I can enhance what I do with aboriginal youth here. I knew I needed to go and experience that because I knew that the struggles were very familiar...

As such, the aims of global citizenship education as outlined in the PAW framework seemed to accurately chronicle the transformation of the student volunteers in terms of increased civic engagement, a greater level of community engagement, a deeper level of personal critique of existing practices and a greater courage to question the taken-for-granted. Many participants expressed that the level of transformation was so

overwhelming that many could not remember what they or their lives were before the PAW experience.

While the participants described their experience as overly personally transformative, this same experience left them feeling isolated or 'different' than their loved ones. As a result of their time spent as student-volunteers, students returned to Canada feeling ostracized and changed from the communities, social networks, pace of life, economy and government that they left behind in Canada. Chloe in particular spoke of not being able to call her friends because she was not sure of what to say to them and was very conscious of the amount she had changed as a result of PAW:

I wouldn't go out with anybody... I couldn't get into my car for the longest time, I couldn't go to the grocery store and I couldn't go out with my friends because I couldn't justify spending money.

Felt on the extreme by Chloe, this feeling of 'not fitting in' as a result of engagement abroad was similar with other student-volunteers of the program. Furthermore, this individualistic ethos is not only expected as the result of engagement with the program, but encouraged. Individual self-improvement, as can be seen especially through this individual transformation, demonstrates the neo-liberalist ethic of self-improvement, the notion of a meritocracy and the ideal upon which capitalism and capitalist practices are founded (Darnell, 2010; Black, 2007). For the student-volunteers, adequately engaging in this type of critical reflection and then welcoming the resulting transformation is indicative of a 'successful' international PAW experience and equips the students for success upon return to Canada.

The Development Transaction

This transformation that many student-volunteers described and that the program expects can be considered analogous to a return on the investment that the students and the University make into the PAW program. The contribution of time, money, education and overall energy the student-volunteers and stakeholders make into the PAW program forms an overall investment that would be considered wasteful should the students remain unchanged as a result of volunteering with the program. Ben, spoke of the fact that, during his year, the program was almost canceled due to political upheaval in Thailand. For Ben, the danger of missing the PAW program was unfair due to the investment he had made as a potential participant:

Well, my biggest thing was that we've committed all this time and it was like the point that we weren't going to be getting summer jobs, it was so late and then it was like half the girls needed to graduate and this was their practicums so... the biggest thing for me was putting in so much time and getting nothing from it.

For Ben, his investment in the program was contingent upon for practical measurables such as graduating from his degree and ensuring a return in that respect. For participants such as Chloe, Katherine and Sarah, the return on their investment was in the form of interaction with the Thai and Cambodian children:

The kids' reaction in Thailand, that different reaction...like hearing that we would show up and the kids were screaming and so excited and good to go...not having that, it felt like we have something to prove...to make sure not only that you're getting the most out of it, but they're getting the most of what you're offering. (Ben)

For Sarah, hearing of the reactions from the children from past PAW student-volunteers served as motivation to ensure that she worked hard enough to receive the same type of attention and validation. Chloe mentions the same phenomenon:

Chloe: Yeah, I mean, once the kids started to get to know you they would see the songtao pull up and they would get so excited and like, running after the songtao and jumping up and down and getting excited, even the kids with severe cognitive disabilities, they'd know. And they'd give you hugs and stuff and even going back a year later, they would run up to you and remember you.

Kelley: How did that make you feel?

Chloe: Excited, I don't think I looked into it like, oh I'm helping them or oh, I'm doing such a good job... I guess in a sense it was like, oh yeah, this is why I'm here, but not in the context of I'm changing their life type thing... It was just like, I'm making their day happy today or this hour that I'm here.

For Sarah, the reactions of the children served to validate her work, time, effort and energy as well as her presence in-country. Regardless of the volunteers' exact validation from being involved with the PAW program, play and recreation had been transformed into a commodity to be delivered to underserved populations in Thailand and Cambodia ('the other') in exchange for the pleasure that student-volunteers receive for the gratitude and excitement as demonstrated by the children who participate in the PAW program. These reactions of gratitude also served for the program to maintain relevancy and to justify its place in engagement with the communities.

Cross Cultural Interactions

The notion of ‘difference’ between the communities in Thailand and Cambodia and the familiarity of the Canadian culture was something that served to underscore the interviews with PAW student-volunteers. For some, the cross-cultural experience was a motivation for applying, for others it was an inconvenience but, most interestingly, it served to justify the presence of the PAW program. For Chloe, volunteering abroad meant a significant difference between overseas populations and the populations in Canada:

You see these kids in Thailand or Cambodia or whatever. But they’re so much worse off than we are here, and that could be a whole other discussion. Because they’re worse off in many ways but in other ways they’re much more happy than we could ever hope to be so yeah [pause] part of me was just like they’re so much worse off than we are here.

For Chloe, there was a distinct difference between the quality of life in Canada and the quality of life in Thailand and Cambodia and this difference was characterized as Canada ‘having’, and Thailand and Cambodia ‘lacking’. Ben who mentioned that, while play was important and necessary to give the kids something to look forward to, that there was so many other needs to be met, shared this same sentiment:

I think that they needed money more than they needed play there and that’s something, that’s like a tough balance because that’s not what we’re there to do. But yeah, like play is great but if you can’t eat, it’s more important. I think enhancing their lives through play is great but you want to make sure that all their basic needs are met, like if you’re scrambling to

get food on the table, like it's great to play, but I mean, what's more important.

What is especially interesting to note about this depiction of poverty in Cambodia and Thailand was that Ben never mentioned seeing children go hungry at the projects or indicated that the children were not having their basic needs met. For Ben, Sarah and Chloe, the cross-cultural interaction between the PAW student-volunteers and 'underserved' populations immediately established a binary of those who 'have' knowledge, expertise and resources – the PAW student volunteers – and the children who are repeatedly characterized as having no food, education or... but as 'grateful', 'happy' and 'playful'. According to Ashis Nandy (1987), this characterization of 'the other' as infantile and carefree serves to reify the role of the colonizer as mature and knowledgeable and legitimizes the need of the colonizer for the colonized. Throughout the interviews with the PAW participants, the notion of culture and the differences in culture served to provide the backdrop for negotiations of sustainability (i.e., How to increase PAW presence?), programming (i.e., How to supply the most effective and efficient PAW programming?), relationships (i.e., negotiating 'difference') which inevitably led to legitimization of the PAW program and the necessity for the presence of the student-volunteers. In this respect, cross-cultural interactions as characterized by the PAW volunteers oftentimes served to portray the lack of the Thais and Cambodians while simultaneously reinforcing the superiority of the PAW program.

Of particular interest was how the students' perceptions of Thailand and Cambodia changed as a result of engagement in-country. Students described their perceptions of Thailand and Cambodia as encompassing notions of religion, food,

climate, and geography and all described having their perceptions change as a result of engagement. Amy, for example, described surprise at the sheer busy-ness of the city, the sights and smells and the landscape. For Katherine, her touristy images of food, beaches and temples changed as a result of meeting the children and establishing a presence at projects. For Chloe, what changed for her was not the idea of the place, but rather, the re-negotiation of her role in-country:

When I left for, like when we first joined PAW and before we got there, I was like, we are going to help kids and I am going to be this savior to them and help them get through their horrible childhoods by providing programs in sport and recreation. And I thought that they were in this horrible situation, I didn't know how I found out about it but they believed in this reincarnation-type of stuff so if you were bad in your past life then you come back as a child with a disability.

Taryn also described realizing that she was likely to have only personal and one-on-one interactions with the children in the communities. For these participants, the information and depictions of the countries to which they were traveling were drastically different than the lived reality they experienced. As such, the historical, political, and cultural depictions of 'developing' and 'third world' countries served to equip the students with a notion of the Orient that was to be foreign, strange, uncomfortable and in need (Said, 1979). Students spoke of believing that the children would be living in huts without electricity and were shocked to arrive and find infrastructure and roads, interesting that this still governed their thoughts even with the education they received (and valued) pre-travel. For students like Ben, Sarah and Chloe, while their minds were changed as a result

of their lived reality and engagement in-country, this was not enough to change their minds in terms of the suitability of PAW and necessity of its presence. In contrast, James, Katherine and Amy believed the necessity of the PAW program was chiefly for the benefit of the PAW students more so than the benefit of the children.

Global Citizenship Education

While the GCE component of PAW provided the majority of the rationale guiding PAW program management, organization and rationale, it was suspiciously absent from discussion in the interviews with the participants. Katherine and Chloe mentioned it quite extensively in their interviews. For Chloe, she was the lucky recipient of a global citizenship education, which has taught her to think differently, expect different things from an international experience and has supplied her with a sense of confidence with entering into cross-cultural interactions:

I ran with the global citizenship concept that I learned and *Play Around the World* introduced me to it and I was just hooked and that's what I've been doing ever since, or interested in pursuing ever since. So [pause], there's that benefit and for the students you're exposed to global citizenship and those hopefully challenging questions that are posed to you before and after and during when you go, and just the transformation that you make from the experience which happens very differently in everyone. I mean, I did global citizenship, others went into O.T. and it changed their career path.

For Chloe, Global Citizenship Education, was something that students seemed to 'get' or not. She also believed that this education served to provide a sense of enlightenment to

students as a result of exposure. For Chloe, GCE was something students ‘undergo’ or ‘have’ – an end result to be achieved – rather than a continual process of critique and reflexivity. This GCE also served to set her above other volunteering initiatives that were similar in nature.

For Katherine, global citizenship education was the new and central focus of the program. GCE in respect to the PAW program replaced enriching the lives of children in Thailand and Cambodia as the central focus of the PAW program:

I remember ... we felt a bit guilty because we thought, you know, there’s not much that we can do here, we’re probably going to be taking more than we are giving and we’re here for such a short time, and so I think that it didn’t really hit us until we got there and saw some of the places that this really was an experience for the University students... So I think that was really hard to deal with and I remember talking about this at a meeting at the pool with James and he was like yeah, you finally understand that part of it so that was a neat revelation for us.

For Katherine, this shifted her views on the nature of the PAW program and constructed the PAW program as beneficial for the University of Alberta students rather than the communities in Thailand and Cambodia.

For the rest of the participants, when probed regarding the nature of GCE and its impacts on their preparation time or time in-country, it was rare that students had a significant attachment to the notion of global citizenship. However, the transformations that many students described as a result of their time spent abroad were characteristic of the changes associated with a successful GCE program.

Overview

The above analysis exposes instances of slippage and disjunction between the lived realities of the participants and the theoretical framework that forms the basis for the PAW program. In addition, it uncovers instances of these same slippages within the narratives and experiences of the student-volunteers. At first glance, the stories of the volunteers establish a difference – culturally, politically, recreationally, and educationally – between what it means to be a volunteer in the PAW program, and what it means to be in reception of this program. However, when contextualized theoretically, it can be seen how these stories, and the differences that are perpetuated throughout, are in danger of perpetuating the same notion of difference that formed the motivation and rationale for traditional colonialism. Furthermore, the transformation that is almost considered taken-for-granted as a result of involvement with the PAW program posits global citizenship education, and contributing positively to society, as an end state that is achieved due to PAW, rather than a process of constant curiosity and adaptation. As a result, students are inclined to believe they become more enlightened than their counterparts as a result of their volunteering counterparts²⁷. Fundamentally, as a result of these interviews, it is clear that one type of experience as a result of involvement with the PAW program cannot be achieved. The heterogeneous and differing nature of these interviews and the experiences of the students who traveled with PAW demonstrate just how different experiences as a result of the program can be.

²⁷ This attitude was especially noticeable in the notion of the superiority of the PAW volunteering experience, as well as the idea that the participants had of personal transformation.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

PAW as a Case of Sport for Development and Peace

Based on my analysis of the interviews with student-volunteers, their lived realities often adhere to, deviate from, and coincide with the policy produced by PAW stakeholders. While I only presented excerpts from each interview in this thesis project, I aimed to convey the main points of interest as expressed by student-volunteers. These points of interest (or meaning units) also coincided with themes reflected in previous sport for development and international development literature. In this chapter, I further frame them by Williams' (1977; 1980) understanding of *dominant, residual, and emergent* cultural trends. According to Williams, dominant cultural trends gain dominance through hegemonically enforcing their popularity and gaining the consent of society. This does not happen through economic and material conditions of privilege, but rather, by persuading subordinate groups to accept the dominant mode, and share its cultural, moral and social values (Gramsci, 1971; Williams, 1977). Through this process, the dominant system of beliefs becomes rationalized into the *sole* system of beliefs that is constantly changing, re-modeling, and re-incorporating itself. According to Williams, culture is not solely dependent upon dominant modes, but also those that reside and emerge within the dominant. Residual tenets of culture, according to Williams (1977; 1980) can be characterized as something that was defined in the past, but still echoes contemporarily. Residual cultural tenets continue to inform social processes of the present and are integral to contemporary culture, as opposed to traditions with are often social processes employed for specific purpose and a finite duration. Emergent cultural trends are often the hardest to pinpoint and embody the processes that create new

meanings, relationships, and practices. It is difficult to identify emergent cultural trends due to their potential to become incorporated into the dominant (at different rates and frequencies) as well as the ability to articulate if a cultural trend is, in fact, separate enough from the dominant to be considered a novel cultural process.

This chapter is intended to outline the ways in which PAW operates as a cultural practice that incorporates dominant, residual, and emergent cultural trends in its reification. The slippages inherent in the interviews with the volunteers will be compared and contrasted with the PAW theoretical framework to gain a greater understanding into the operation of PAW as a cultural entity. As previously stated in the textual analysis chapter, the PAW Theoretical Framework forms the dominant trends under which the PAW program operates. The analysis of the interviews is beneficial to form a negotiation of the PAW program from the point of view of the individual volunteers who sustain the program.

Dominant

Through critical discourse analysis of the PAW framework, I demonstrated how dominant ideologies of neo-liberalism²⁸, colonialism²⁹, and globalization³⁰ supported the framework document. The interviews with the students also reflected these dominant ideological tenets. Recalling these themes of neoliberalism, colonialism, and globalization uncovered through textual analysis of the PAW theoretical framework, a

²⁸ Circulated in the theoretical framework through the belief in an ethos of improvement, privileging the individual over the collective and perpetuating a 'free market' ideology by preparing student participant volunteers for labor markets.

²⁹ Perpetuated in the theoretical framework through the valuing of one way over another and, through PAW programming, privileging North American education, knowledge and practice.

³⁰ Reinscribed by the erosion of national borders along geographical lines and instead, predicated along the lines of power whereby the notion of 'difference' masks inequalities. Furthermore, the global south transforms into a homogenous entity meriting one type of development aid.

dominant theme throughout the interviews that was reflected in the theoretical framework and is mobilized through the stories of the students was the awareness of the cultural, geographic, and economic complications associated with international volunteering. The students believed in the superiority of the PAW program, the nature of the preparation pre-departure and the notion of the 'expertise' of the University of Alberta student-volunteer in relation to their foreign counterparts. Despite acknowledging some of the complications, students also recognized their expertise to be contingent upon the 'lack' of knowledge of their Thai and Cambodian counterparts. PAW students tackled this through rigorous educational efforts to teach the value of play, or by dismissing 'the other' as ignorant. They were rewarded by their efforts through the gratitude and excitement of the children for their programming. This belief of the expertise of the student-volunteer is reflected in the international development and sport for development literature as it echoes the residual cultural trends of colonialism and imperialism, and continues to perpetuate the central myth of western societies which is based upon beliefs in modernity and 'improving' the infantile 'other'. As cautioned by Fanon (1963), where colonialism ended, international development began. By believing in the incapability and inexperience of international partners, student-volunteers perpetuate development as something that can be exercised by one actor/region over another actor/region. As such, by undertaking the civilizing and modernizing project, students contribute to the evolution of 'underdeveloped' into 'developed' countries by teaching cultural characteristics, economies and policies consistent with the West (Tikly, 2004).

In addition to the hierarchical difference between the PAW student-volunteers and the participants in partner countries, another overarching theme guiding the cultural field

of the PAW program was the belief in the value of play and recreation. The student-volunteers constructed play as an ideologically fixed entity whereby children could win, for brief moments, in a world where they might due to history, economy, politics, repeatedly, lose (Darnell, 2010). This ideological fixation was also present in the theoretical framework document where the notion of play was presented only ever positive, useful, and beneficial. It is important to note that the preferred version of play considered consistent with all these positive by-products was the version supplied by PAW. In this respect, play and its naturally occurring results were only ever positive and positive additions to the lives of Thai and Canadian children. Some volunteers believed that the presence of PAW was necessary for the espoused benefits of play to be actualized by the children of Thailand and Cambodia, while other student-volunteers believed that their presence was simply a bonus to Thai and Cambodian already successful infrastructure. Regardless, the power of play was transformed into a mythical entity in which student-volunteers invested belief for a better, more ethical, planet. Not only is this unproblematic acceptance of the benefits associated with play and recreation problematic from an ideological standpoint, but the apparent de-politicization of play and recreation renders the work of PAW student-volunteers benign despite the fact that, in the past, sporting and recreation pursuits have worked to achieve very political ends³¹. Furthermore, traveling with the PAW program to mediate the effects of poverty through recreation programming is a very political act which risks not being treated as such due to trivializing play and depicting it as overly positive and beneficial.

³¹ Instances of the politicization of sport was discussed earlier in my literature review and pointed to notable examples in the Olympics and various other international mega-type sporting events.

This belief in the inherent good of play and recreation contributed to the overall theme of the transformation of PAW student-volunteers and the children of Thailand and Cambodia. For the children of Thailand and Cambodia, participation in the play programs as delivered by the Canadian students was believed to improve their lives, teach them valuable life lessons and contribute to a meritocratic system whereby success in these programs would also contribute to success in life outside these programs (PAW, 2009; UN, 2003; SDP-IWG, 2006; 2008). For PAW student-volunteers, whether their motivations for engaging in a volunteer capacity be altruistic, benevolent, purposive, materialistic or for the sake of solidarity, each student-volunteer spoke of their time with PAW contributing to a greater usefulness for when they return to Canada, an improved sense of self, a greater awareness of international issues and a fundamental difference in the ways they negotiate daily interactions and relationships. This transformation is echoed in the theoretical framework document and movement towards Global Citizenship Education (GCE). GCE, the stakeholders of the PAW program and the student-volunteers all spoke of this transformation in a way that made it appear an inevitable result of participation [or the students' investment]. It served to mold students into citizens who are more capable of contributing to society politically, economically, and socially. Levidow (2005) engaged in the argument of students as transformed from learners into commodities for the labor market. According to Levidow (2005) this shift occurs through the marketization of higher learning whereby, in order to attract students, courses become instructional commodities that are less dependent upon the expertise of the instructor and more dependent upon the demands of the economy. As previously discussed by Heron (2007), in the recent years, the global south has morphed into a terrain for Canadian

engagement and training in (among other things) professional internship programs, social work programs and various other education-to-workplace linkages. For the case of the University of Alberta, offering an educational component that is contingent upon international engagement is a trend dominating post-secondary education initiatives as well as the international labor market. Furthermore, the transformation consistent with the experiences of PAW student-volunteers is less dependent upon the skills and expertise of an instructor - as the transformative nature of PAW experiences is characterized as largely individual - and more dependent upon the ability of the student to consume knowledge.

The belief in the transcendent nature of play and recreation, coupled with the authority and expertise of the PAW student-volunteers contributes to what Tikly (2004) guarded against when he argued for the increased neo-liberalist agenda apparent in higher levels of education. Through these dominant trends, student-volunteers are produced as economically useful, but politically docile in relation to global interests and agendas. As such, the PAW program is contributing to the formation of students that are more ready for market demands.

Residual

Despite marketing the PAW program as a global citizenship education primarily concerned with the transformative potential of the student-volunteers, the similarities of the PAW program to colonialist projects is nonetheless apparent. Western conceptions of play and recreation were delivered to populations in the global south while acknowledging the inability of Thailand and Cambodia to provide this service for themselves. This was validated through circulating the notion of the student-volunteers as

experts in the field of play and recreation, as well as through the discussion of the cultures of Thailand and Cambodia as rooted in difference, rather than producing difference. The play programs as delivered by PAW are based upon western conceptions and definitions of play, as well as western conception and definitions of childhood and what children deserve. While the program and some of the volunteers spoke of a reciprocal environment that encouraged the students from Canada to learn from the participants in Thailand and Cambodia, the fundamental logic of the program defied this statement and encouraged an education by the University of Alberta student to the children in Thailand and Cambodia. Some volunteers negotiated their involvement as experts, sharing instances in which they did not believe this to be true. However, the majority of participants succeeded in a model of PAW that rewarded their education and validated their expertise.

Emergent

Building reciprocal relationships and engaging local communities in capacity building was a new trend emerging on the global sport for development market. This was evident through the memorandums of understanding between the University of Alberta and the Thai government that were meant to encourage a sort of partnership, for the PAW program, between students in the institute of physical education in Chiang Mai and the University of Alberta students stationed there. The intention of this memorandum was for PAW student-volunteers to solicit the students from the Institute of Physical Education in Chiang Mai for language instruction, advice on programming and use them as additions to the PAW curriculum.

While early sport for development initiatives and cross-cultural learning relationships have been centered on program efficiency and advocacy, it is only in the past five years that a trend towards critiquing and problematizing these programs has emerged (Darnell, 2007; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Nicholls, 2009). Within the scholarly work concerning sport for development and peace, a more nuanced and critical look has recently been encouraged as these programs gain credibility as feasible development solutions. As a past sport for development volunteer, not only am I complicit in the notion of the transformation of a Global Citizenship Education, but also in the larger narrative that exists on the global sport for development scene that debates the ethics of such a program and considers the possibility of its redundancy. Throughout the interviews, this same penchant towards critique would emerge in different ways and through different depictions by the student-volunteers. For some, this negotiation emerged as they debated the ethics of delivering play instead of sport, which was the case for Ben. For others, it was entertaining the notion that maybe they didn't make a huge difference in the lives of Thai and Cambodian children as they originally thought. A common consideration throughout the interviews, however, was the acknowledgement that there was a proper and improper way to behave – a negotiation of a sort of morality – while acting in an international volunteering capacity. Regardless, negotiating the mortality of sport for development and international volunteering initiatives, as well as the possibility of their necessity, is becoming not only more commonplace on the global sport for development scene, but also academically within the PAW program.

International Implications

The *Play Around the World* program self-identifies as a service-learning program with the intention in delivering play and recreation programs, cross-culturally, to underserved populations in Thailand and Cambodia. While the mission and mandate differs in some ways from the international initiatives of program such as the U.N.'s *Right to Play* or the Commonwealth of Canada's *International Development Through Sport* program, there are certain ideologies and practices that legitimize international sport for development programs regardless of location or organizational affiliation. As was evident through the work of Darnell (2007, 2010), both *Right to Play* and *International Development through Sport* operate under assumed notions of benevolence, expertise, and an overarching belief in the ability of these programs to improve current socio-economic conditions. Much like the PAW program, these initiatives involve the efforts of many individuals who, at times may coincide with the dominant ideologies inherent in program implementation. It is evident that as often as actors negotiate dominant representations of these programs, they also problematize, deviate from, and critique their own actions and efforts. As such, regardless of the fact that PAW operates at micro level in comparison to these other initiatives, this thesis work can be beneficial for other international efforts of sport for development and peace as it points to the commonalities between these programs such as complications associated with cross-cultural interactions, pitfalls inherent in the development interaction and benefits associated with training, preparing and equipping international volunteers pre-departure. Furthermore, the institutional critique from the policy documents serves to contextualize the experiences of the volunteers as they operate within a specific framework as articulated through *Play Around the World* policy. Notions of transformation, Global

Citizenship Education, and a form of neoliberal marketization of higher-level education through which PAW operates adds texture to the complex nature of the experiences of PAW student-volunteers. This critique at an institutional level is significant in exposing the relations and cultural field in which PAW, and consequently its student-volunteers, operate and exposes participating in PAW as a sort of commodity that, through having and experiencing, readies its students for the workforce. Furthermore, following Sugden (2006) and Nicholls (2009) who advocated for volunteer representations in policymaking and international program implementation, there is much to be learned from the seemingly insignificant and banal interactions that intersect and collide to form the student volunteer experiences.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this thesis, I examined the *Play Around the World* (PAW) program as a case study to illustrate how sport as development can be constructed through several dominant 'western' ideologies. Guided by the previous literature, I first embarked in a textual analysis of the *Play Around the World* theoretical framework and two memorandums of understanding between the University of Alberta and Thai Institutes of Physical Education to gain access to the main ideologies perpetuated, from an insitutional level, through the policy of the program. The main ideologies that framed the PAW program documents emerged as varying facets and degrees of neoliberalism, colonialism and globalization. To further examine how these ideologies manifested in everyday setting for PAW practices, I interviewed seven PAW volunteers who implement the practices at the grass roots level. The ideas of neo-liberalism, colonialism, and globalization appeared to structure also the ideas of the interviewed student volunteers. For example, the notion of the superiority of the PAW program over other similar programs; the notion that 'developing countries' such as Thailand and Cambodia were in need of the type of development supplied by the PAW students and program; and the idea that aid, in this capacity, was identical regardless of context and environment. However, there were also emergent themes (Williams, 1977; 1980) that expanded the dominant ideological constructions of the PAW program. For example, some students critiqued the appropriateness of sport and play within aid programming, as well as some debated the nature of PAW's involvement in international relationships such as these. Nevertheless, while each student's experience as a volunteer was unique, they still speak of the PAW program and their involvement in it with a quiet reverence and overwhelming gratitude.

While these experiences only represent the experiences of seven individuals, I was able to highlight points of interest, complications, similarities, and differences in an attempt to gain a greater understanding into the ways that past PAW volunteers conceptualized their time with the program. My intention was not to homogenize the volunteers' experiences, nor to judge them as 'good' or 'bad' student-volunteers. Rather, my wish was to showcase the stories, memories, discomforts, joys, moments of pride, personal negotiations, and private deviations as they form complicated and confusing international experiences that are indebted to the history inherent in north/south relations. The PAW program becomes a part of the historical, material, economic, social, and political processes when it steps into a cross-cultural relationship, even under the most benign banner of play and recreation. The PAW program, the students, and stakeholders that sustain its existence are people with the best of intentions operating in ways that they believe make a difference.

As the previous research indicates, even when people act with benevolent and philanthropic intentions, there are many dangers (Kidd, 2007; Nandy, 1997; Sugden 2006). For example, when the PAW volunteers juxtaposed themselves as the experts and the Thai/Cambodian children as 'other', they continued to circulate the value system that legitimates western representations of culture, success, and meaning as a normative standard. In addition, the emergent trend towards global citizenship education is framed by neo-liberalism and the capitalist mode of production when it values the individual over the collective and operates under an ethic of improvement to prepare University students for the workforce (Darnell, 2010; Levidow, 2005). Through the PAW program, the University markets its higher-level education and transforms the role of 'student as a

learner' into 'student as a consumer of knowledge' by virtue of the investment they make into their education.

Through their stories, the students also talked about 'culture' as something that was founded in difference. The idea of maintaining a difference further legitimated the presence of PAW instead of problematizing the program as a producer and reinforcer of such differences. However, my theoretical and methodological approaches also dictated the kind of results obtained in this study and therefore, it is possible that another approach to this topic would have yielded a different conclusion.

Limitations

While this thesis embodies a critique of the privilege of white/northern/western/Eurocentric license for representation, it is also this same perspective from which this critique emerges. Symptomatic of this license, I depicted Thai and Cambodian populations as passive recipients of these programs rather than individuals who actively negotiate their participation in PAW programs. As such, this thesis project might also serve to legitimate academic and western authority in negotiating programs such as PAW. Furthermore, I could be reinscribing to depictions of colonialism defined of, characterized through, and interpreted by western privilege (Nandy, 1997) if I do not count for multiple perceptions of the PAW program including the Thai and Cambodian perspectives. I subscribe to a critique of colonialism, produced and articulated by western interpretations. However, as a researcher, I am also a western student, turning the lens of critique onto other western students which lends this project an amount of credibility.

Any good sociological inquiry is only as strong as the theory and history that has framed it. In this thesis project, I traced the inception of international development to the period following World War II as is the tradition with many academics (see Darnell, 2010; Tomlinson, 2001; Black, 2007). However, the nature of global relations that led to the inception of international development and later, sport within development is indebted to a much longer history than the past 60 years. A more comprehensive account would have committed a larger portion of discussion to the complicated interplay of economic, social, political, and cultural histories that have evolved to form our current globalized reality.

I used the tenets of Williams' cultural theory (the dominant, residual and emergent) as my theoretical framework. While it offers a strong lens for the analysis for this project, it also has its inherent limitations. Ingham and Loy (1993) identified difficulty of defining what exactly separates dominant cultural trends from emergent ones as one weakness of Williams' theory. According to Williams, emergent cultural trends have yet to be co-opted into the dominant, therefore are less easily recognized and are considered on the fringes of society. While deciphering emergent trends is challenging, pinpointing the difference between emergent trends and deviant negotiations of the dominant (which, like emergent trends, operate on the fringes of the dominant) is a struggle to articulate. Finally, detecting emergent cultural trends involves familiarity with the phenomenon under inquiry because it is important to define what makes emergent novel from all other cultural trends. Consequently, it is advantageous to have sustained engagement with the field under inquiry for greater familiarization, rather than inquiring

from the outside. As such, a strength of this study is my sustained past engagement in the field as a student-volunteer, policymaker and stakeholder,

To provide generalizable data about the PAW program, it would have been necessary to interview every student-volunteer who has participated in the program. Due to the constraints placed on a master's project, between five and 10 student-volunteers was considered a sufficient sample for this project and I ceased interviews when themes began to consistently re-emerge. However, my fundamental purpose in this qualitative project was to explore the experiences of past PAW volunteers to understand their negotiations, triumphs, challenges, pitfalls, and discomforts, not to provide generalizable, objective knowledge. I believe I have succeeded to highlight the experiences of my interviewees who generously provided me with their time. In my sampling criterion I stated that I only interviewed students who had traveled once with the program. Because the majority of participants with the program have only traveled with PAW once, this was a calculated decision. For future research, it would be beneficial to interview those who have traveled repeatedly with the program, as, in my experience, the level of critique, reflection, and problematization of the program changes with the experience. I did not inquire the points of view of the PAW policymakers or stakeholders. While two of my interview participants currently sit on the program management committee for the PAW program, I did not consider this aspect of their role in the program, as I was concerned with their time as volunteers rather than policymakers. Asking the student-volunteers about the role of policymakers and addressing the policymakers themselves could lead to a more nuanced expression of the policy and decisions that come into effect to form the rationale and programming for PAW.

Finally, given the nature of my relationship as a past volunteer in the PAW program, there is the possibility that I have given myself too much credit and license for representation of the experiences of past PAW student-volunteers. It is possible that I took for granted the familiarity that I had with students or with the role of the 'student volunteer' and then framed, influenced, guided, or interfered with the perspectives and stories of the students.

Suggestions for Future Research

This thesis follows in the tradition of other researchers of the PAW program (Truong, 2007; Jorgenson, 2009) in terms of evaluating the program from the perspective of the University of Alberta and its student-volunteers. This program is delivered to communities that have yet to speak of it for themselves in discussions of the program. However, the future of sport for development research should engage also the perspectives of the children and communities that participate in these programs. Specifically in the case of PAW, it would be beneficial to conduct research explicitly interested in the points of view and representations of the Thai and Cambodian populations.

As I stated earlier, I did not consult any stakeholders or policymakers in terms of their contributions and rationale for administration of the PAW program. While I focused on the volunteers' experiences in this thesis, it would be beneficial to position their experiences alongside those who make programming decisions and influence the program at a policy level. Given that this is a University of Alberta affiliated program, it would be beneficial to speak to the University administration in terms of the memorandums of

understanding between Thailand and the University, as well as the logic, politics, and negotiations behind offering a course such as the PAW for credit.

My Story

At a conference recently, I was asked about the implications of the critical analysis that I was undertaking in this project. The gist of the question was: While these student-volunteers are perpetuating dangerous colonialist and neo-liberalist under the guise of trying to save and enlighten these children in Thailand and Cambodia, isn't your analysis then, also serving the same purpose by trying to save these children from *Play Around the World*? I didn't know how to respond at the time. When I first started this thesis project, although I never would have admitted it to myself, that's exactly what I was trying to do. In my mind, I was deceived while preparing for the PAW program - I was supposed to go to Thailand to change the lives of the Thai children - and they were going to be grateful for it. Shortly after this conference, my mom was cleaning out her desk and found an old folder, complete with printed out versions of my emails home from Thailand while I was with the PAW program. I know what these emails contain and I have yet to muster up the courage to read them. In that folder is the confirmation of that fact that I, like many students and volunteers worldwide, bravely crusaded into the unknown Orient, under the de-politicized banner of sport and play, to enlighten, save, and help the children of parts unknown. To many, this would seem like a romanticized glorification of a silly manila folder and a dozen or so emails, but I remember the attitude behind and the unwavering belief in the good of what I was doing, as well as the behavior that resulted due to this belief. At the beginning of this thesis, I tried as hard as I could to forget the part that I played in the perpetuation of colonialist attitudes that characterized

my depictions of 'the other' as savage, immature and infantile, as well as the neo-liberal philosophies that characterized my depictions of myself as different, superior and enlightened.

As I immersed myself deeper into the theory and history inherent in sport for development and spoke with people in the field, I also began to view this phenomenon less from a personal perspective and more as framed by historical, social, political, and cultural relations. Sport for development and the PAW program were not conceived in a vacuum irrespective of these factors, as I previously believed. As a researcher, I hope to make a contribution to the reflexive and critical literature to further debate and problematize these initiatives as they occur globally. But if I'm being completely honest, this thesis is a self-serving and indulgent work to right some imagined wrongs as a result of my involvement in international service/aid provision projects. I see a version of myself in all the stories shared by student-volunteers and I realize that these relationships challenge me to understand them, but evade my every effort. I realize that we have more in common with each other than we realize, and people involved with these efforts debate more within themselves that we ever know. This sidebar from the rest of the academic work is in and of itself an indulgence, one that I hope you, as the reader, grant. I, nevertheless, hope that sharing my story serves to contextualize my arguments, problematize my own innocence, and place me alongside the other student-volunteers.

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APPENDIX A: Participant Information Letter



Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

E488 Van Vliet Centre

Dear Participant:

Thank you for your interest in participating in my masters thesis project titled "Investigating Play Around the World: A Critical Exploration of the Experiences of Student-Volunteers." As we discussed earlier, the purpose of this study is to explore your experiences as a volunteer with the University of Alberta *Play Around the World* program. In addition, I will also be interviewing other past *Play Around the World* participants. In this study, you will have the opportunity to voice triumphs, concerns, insights, and recommendations as well as share your stories of the time spent abroad with the program. I am interested in your experiences to provide suggestions regarding volunteer training and program implementation in the sport for development arena.

In this study, you are asked to participate in an interview that will take about an hour. The interview will be audio-recorded and later your taped words will be written out word for word. This is done so that information from all the interviews can be written into a research analysis. However, information from each participant will be kept private as I am interested in general information your *Play Around the World* experience, not necessarily personal details. This will be done by using pseudonyms in transcripts and publications. In addition, all the interview material will be kept in a locked filing cabinet to which only I will have access. I will keep the interview material for 5 years after my thesis is completed.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If you feel uncomfortable about answering specific questions, you can simply not answer and we will move immediately to a different question. You can also ask to have the tape recorder switched off any time during the interview. You can also withdraw from the interview without consequence either by informing me during the interview or contacting me no later than two weeks after the interview. You can request to see the interview transcripts to make changes. You can also request to see any publications resulting from this research.

If you have any questions concerning the study, please feel free to ask at any point. You are also free to contact the researcher at the email provided below if you have questions at a later time. If you have concerns about this study, you may contact Dr. Kelvin Jones who is the acting Chair of the PER/ALES/Native Studies Research Ethics Board at (780) 492-0650. Dr. Jones has no direct participation with this study.

Thank you for your participation in this project.

Sincerely,
 Kelley Lefebvre
 M.A. Student
 Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation
 University of Alberta
 kelley@ualberta.ca



CELEBRATE ONE CENTURY • BUILD THE NEXT

APPENDIX B: Informed Consent Form



UNIVERSITY OF
ALBERTA

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation
Associate Dean (Graduate Studies)

E-477 Van Vliet Centre
Edmonton, Alberta

Tel: 780 492-3198

Informed Consent Form

Part 1 (to be completed by the Principal Investigator)

Title of Project: Investigating *Play Around the World*: A critical exploration of the experiences of Student-Volunteers

Principal Investigator(s): Kelley Lefebvre
Affiliation(s) and phone number(s): Master's Student
Co-Investigator(s): Pirkko Markula

Part 2 (to be completed by the research participant)

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study? | Yes | No |
| Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet | Yes | No |
| Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study? | Yes | No |
| Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study? | Yes | No |
| Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate, or to withdraw from the study at any time, without consequence, and that your information will be withdrawn at your request? | Yes | No |
| Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Do you understand who will have access to your information? | Yes | No |

This study was explained to me by: _____

I agree to take part in this study:

Signature of Research Participant

Date

Witness

Printed Name

Printed Name

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

Signature of Investigator or Designee

Date

APPENDIX C: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

- How did you first hear of Play Around the World?
- What made you want to apply for the program?
- In what ways did you think you were an appropriate candidate for the program?
- What did you know about Thailand/Cambodia before actually being in the country and volunteering?
- Had you ever done any sort of international work before Play Around the World?

- Why do you think Thailand was an appropriate site for Play Around the World?
- Why do you think a program like Play Around the World exists?
- What types of activities did you do with the children?
- How did you decide what the days of activities would look like with the children?
- How did the children of these projects receive you? What were their reactions when you would roll up to the schools/orphanages?
- What did you think about Thai/Cambodian culture?
- What was your biggest cultural struggle?
- What were you most worried about, culture-wise, before leaving?
- What did you expect to find in Thailand/Cambodia before you left? How did these expectations differ from the realities you encountered?
- What did you expect from the children before you arrived? How did these expectations differ from what you encountered?
- How would you describe the relationship that you had with the children? With the other members of the community with whom you worked?

- What do you think were the effects of Play, specifically, for the children of these programs? Could you see differences in the children as a result of these programs?
- Describe the reasons you think Play is being used within the Play Around the World program?
- How familiar were the children with the programs and activities you conducted with them? -What kinds of goals did you outlined with the program or each other in terms of the actual programming of your projects? If so, how did you measure them?
- What was your biggest challenge project-wise? What was your biggest accomplishment?
- What were you most worried about, in terms of the projects, before you left?
- How much do you know of the organization of *Play Around the World*? Its intent? Mission?
- How did these principles of *Play Around the World* guide you while you were in-country?

- What were the biggest challenges you had to overcome when you were in-country?

- Did Play Around the World ever roll out policy or procedures that you disagreed with? If so, how would you change it?
- What are some regrets of your time spent abroad? What are your biggest triumphs?
- Is there anything you would change about the preparation portion of the program? What about the in-country portion?
- Do you plan on returning to visit your children?
- How has this impacted your life now that you're back in Canada?
- How would you change the Play Around the World program to make it better for future years?