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## **Growing Up in the Kayamandi Township: II.**

### **Sport as a Setting for the Development and Transfer of Desirable Competencies**

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**Abstract**

With calls for increasing accountability in sport programmes (Darnell, 2010; Kidd, 2008), it is critical for researchers to rigorously examine how sport can contribute to the development of young people. The present study was designed as an attempt to understand the nature of sport and sport-based youth development in the community of the Kayamandi Township in South Africa. Three topics related to sport-based youth development in a South African Xhosa township were examined: (a) required competencies for young people to develop in order to have a happy and productive life; (b) competencies acquired by young people through sport participation; and (c) transferable competencies from the sport domain into the everyday lives of young people. A phenomenological methodology was used by gathering participants' perceptions and meanings through semi-structured interviews. Individual interviews were conducted with 10 coaches, 11 community members, and 19 athletes, with the data analysed through independent comprehensive inductive content analysis with constant comparison and critical reflection. The results of this investigation identified specific competencies developed through sport and transferred out of the sport domain, including the southern African philosophy of ubuntu (e.g., respect and caring for others), self-concept, self-discipline, and group skills. These competencies may help young people prepare to overcome the challenges of growing up in this community. The community-driven nature of the study allowed culturally relevant topics to emerge from the data, thus highlighting the need for community-driven research and programmes with widespread community involvement.

**Keywords:** positive youth development; sport for development; life skills; South Africa; global sport, sport-based youth development

## Introduction

Given the social value placed on sport throughout the world, the physical, social, and emotional benefits from sport participation, and the fact that young people of all nationalities are often highly motivated to participate in sport (Gould & Carson, 2008; Larson, 2000), it is not surprising that sport is seen as a global setting with vast potential for positive youth development. This rising interest in and awareness of the potential of sport for the development of young people has been put into action with a growing number of sport-based youth development programs in North America (e.g., Going for the Goal in America, Play It Smart in America, PULSE Program in Canada) and throughout the world (e.g., Edusport Foundation in Zambia, Mathare Youth Sport Association in Kenya, Magic Bus in India). These sport-based youth development programmes use sport as a means to “facilitate learning and life skill development in youth” (Perkins & Noam, 2007, p. 75), including mastery of sport-specific skills and techniques and development of social and emotional assets that will prepare youth to be healthy, happy, and productive citizens (Gould & Carson, 2008). Despite a rising interest in sport-based youth development, relatively few research studies have explored this area with substantial rigour (Coalter, 2007), and even fewer when considering research conducted outside of North America. With calls for increasing accountability in sport programmes (Coalter, 2010; Darnell, 2010; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008; Whitley, Forneris, & Barker, 2014), it is critical for researchers to focus more attention on how sport can contribute to the development of young people. This is especially important in non-Western settings, as the United Nations’ strong support for sport as a viable and practical tool for development has led to an influx of funding for global sport-based programmes (Kidd, 2008; Levine, Lloyd, Greene, & Grown, 2008; United Nations, 2006).

In South Africa, sport has been repositioned as a means for development, especially in the makeshift settlements (“townships”) built during apartheid for black individuals (Barnett & Whiteside, 2002). These townships are just one indication of the lasting economic, social, and cultural issues related to the legacy of apartheid and the country’s international isolation during that time period. Other lingering problems include low life expectancies, high unemployment rates, and high crime rates throughout the country (Keim, 2006; Lebone, 2007). Therefore, sport has been seen as a developmental tool, with the hope that sport-based youth development will help these communities become stronger with healthier social, political, and economic environments (Boshoff, 1997). The present study was designed as an attempt to understand the nature of sport and sport-based youth development in the community of the Kayamandi Township, which is a South African township with mostly black Xhosa residents. While some residents see this community as a vibrant and welcoming place, the Kayamandi Township is also plagued with poor living conditions, high crime and unemployment rates, and problems with substance use, education, and family circumstances (Barnes, 2002; University of Stellenbosch, 2001; Whitley, Hayden, & Gould, 2013).

When studying how sport can contribute to the development of young people, Vierimaa, Erickson, Côté, and Gilbert (2012) propose a revised conceptualization of Little’s (1993) 4Cs (competence, confidence, connection, and character) model, identifying measures to help address these Cs and the resultant positive youth development in sport. Identifying these measures comes as a result of Côté, Bruner, Erickson, Strachan, and Fraser-Thomas (2010) advocating for using a modified 4C framework specific to a sport context. Vierimaa et al. (2012) suggest that sport-based youth development programmes must produce positive sport-related developmental outcomes prior to fostering positive personal development outside of sport and, therefore,

acknowledge the importance of understanding developmental outcomes within the sport context and the coach's role in facilitating those outcomes. Additionally, within the literature, researchers have alternated between referencing two main terms: (a) the development of life skills (e.g., behavioral, cognitive, interpersonal, and intrapersonal skills) which enable individuals to be successful in their environments outside of sport (Danish, Forneris, Hodge, & Heke, 2004; Danish, Forneris, & Wallace, 2005) and (b) the promotion of desirable competencies (e.g., psychological attributes and dispositions, specific skills) in young people that are helpful in sport, in their everyday lives, and in their future (Gould & Carson, 2008). For the purposes of this manuscript, competencies will be the preferred term, as this term encompasses life skill development as well as the development of other desirable outcomes in young people. Based on a review of previous sport-based youth development literature (e.g., Burnett, 2006; Camiré, Trudel, & Forneris, 2009; Gould & Carson, 2008; Petitpas, Cornelius, Van Raalte, & Jones, 2005), three questions emerged as being especially relevant to the overall purpose of understanding how sport is seen as a vehicle for youth development in the Kayamandi Township: (a) What are the required competencies needed for young people to develop in order to have a happy and productive life, defined by the seven-domain partition of material well-being, health, productivity, intimacy, safety, community, and emotional well-being (Cummins, 1996)?; (b) What are the competencies acquired by young people through sport participation?; and (c) What are the transferable competencies from the sport domain into the everyday lives of young people?

There is a need to identify the competencies considered to be "desirable" in order to prevent erroneous assumptions that the competencies identified in previous research studies and cultures are also valuable in a different setting and culture. Culturally sensitive competencies

developed through sport have never been explored in any study on sport-based youth development, to the researchers' knowledge at the time of publication. Some researchers have asked coaches to identify the life skills they believed were important to develop in their athletes (e.g., McCallister, Blinde, & Weiss, 2000), but these researchers did not ask coaches to explain why these life skills were identified and how they would aid in their athletes' development outside of the sport setting in a specific culture and community. Within the field of sport-based youth development, many researchers have assumed that the competencies acquired through sport participation will be beneficial to the development of young people, regardless of the community or culture under study. Given that the community studied in this investigation had vastly different cultural and social norms when compared with the investigators' home country (the United States) and the location of most research studies on this topic (i.e., North America and the United Kingdom), there was a need to understand the competencies desired within this non-Western culture and context. This also highlights the need for research methods that prioritize the knowledges and voices of those at the ground level, who generally have the best understanding of the community (Hayhurst & Frisby, 2010; Parameswaran, 2008). One of the most prevalent criticisms of the sport-based youth development field is the lack of community voices, while another criticism is the imposition of Western beliefs or neocolonialism (Collins, 2010; Crawford, 2010; Darnell, 2007). It is critical for research methods to acknowledge and prioritize local knowledges (Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2010), along with minimizing the neocolonial stigma associated with many sport-based youth development programmes.

Along with identifying the competencies considered to be desirable in a specific culture and community, it is also essential to examine whether sport participation leads to the development of any competencies and whether these competencies transfer out of the sport

domain. The research in this area has been sparse, with two Canadian studies demonstrating how high school sport participation led to the development of various competencies, including respect, teamwork, leadership, time management, and self-efficacy (Camiré et al., 2009; Holt, Tink, Mandigo, & Fox, 2008). Additionally, Hellison and Walsh (2002) cited a number of studies that found support for the development of responsibility, teamwork, goal setting, and leadership skills through sport and physical activity programmes based on the Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility (TPSR) Model. While it is necessary to identify competencies developed through sport, Gould and Carson (2008) have suggested that the development of competencies does not occur unless these are successfully transferred to domains outside of sport. A few researchers have examined whether this transfer is actually occurring, with Martinek, Schilling, and Johnson (2001) finding that skills acquired by young people through a sport programme did not automatically transfer to the classroom. Camiré and colleagues (2009) explored the transference of competencies with high school athletes from four different sports, reporting that most skills developed in high school sports were transferred to other domains, while Weiss, Stuntz, Bhalla Bolter, and Price (2013) found that young people involved in The First Tee golf program transferred “meet and greet”, respect, and emotional management skills learned in the program to non-sport settings. These three studies highlight the mixed results in the literature about the transference of competencies to domains outside of sport, therefore strengthening the argument for the present study. Additionally, most studies exploring the development and transfer of competencies were conducted in North America, with some sport-based youth development programmes in non-Western societies (e.g., Mathare Youth Sport Association in Kenya) only being discussed in practitioner-oriented literature.

Other non-Western sport-based youth development programmes have been evaluated based on their effectiveness using sport to educate youth about specific health concerns and helping youth achieve specific competencies. This includes delivering HIV/AIDS education and knowledge to the young participants in EMIMA in Tanzania (Maro, Roberts, & Sorensen, 2009), developing resiliency in young athletes in Grassroot Soccer in Zambia and South Africa (Peacock-Villada, DeCelles, & Banda, 2007), and teaching young people life skills aimed at preventing HIV/AIDS in Sports for Life and Youth Action Kit in Ethiopia (Rajan & Franca-Koh, 2007). By focusing on specific areas, this research has shown promise for transferring valuable health information to youth and helping youth develop specific competencies. However, this is a limited view of the potential of sport for development. This research gap on the development and transfer of competencies from the sport domain into other areas of life has resulted in questions about global sport-based youth development and the impact of sport programmes in non-Western cultures and societies. The present study was designed to address these concerns.

This review demonstrates that while the knowledge base within sport-based youth development is growing, there are still a number of gaps. These include: (a) athletes under study tend to be in high school, with not much research examining younger athletes (with the exception of some of the research conducted on programmes based on the TPSR Model); (b) one programme or team is often studied at a time, instead of looking at a variety of sport programmes, clubs, and teams; (c) sports are generally in the school setting, with very few studies exploring sport outside of schools; (d) North America is the predominant location of these studies, with very few international investigations and even fewer in non-Western societies and cultures; (e) life skill development is often the focus, with studies less frequently examining the development of more generalized competencies; and (f) viewpoints from one or two groups



of individuals are generally studied (e.g., athletes, coaches, parents), with very few researchers exploring multiple points of view in their investigations despite the fact that both Burnett (2013) and Riley and Anderson-Butcher (2012) highlight the strength of using triangulation across coaches, athletes, and other adults. In contrast, the present study is examining sport-based youth development in a non-Western culture and setting (the Kayamandi Township) by speaking with three groups of individuals (community members, coaches, and athletes) about the development of competencies through school sport, club sport, and community sport throughout childhood and adolescence.

The data presented in this paper were captured as part of a larger, community-based study examining the role of sport in the Kayamandi Township. Given the size of this study, all of the data could be presented in one manuscript. The first manuscript has been published (Whitley et al., 2013), with comprehensive information on the methodological framework of the study and a detailed description of the Kayamandi Township and the role of sport in the Kayamandi Township. It serves as the main reference point for the series of articles presenting this study, with readers encouraged to refer to it for a comprehensive understanding of the methodology, the culture and community under study, and how sport is part of this culture and community. In the present manuscript (the second in the series), the data related to the following topics will be explored in depth: (a) competencies perceived to be required for a happy and productive life in the Kayamandi Township, (b) competencies perceived to be acquired through sport participation in the community, and (c) competencies perceived to be transferable from the sport setting into other domains.

## Methods

A phenomenological methodology was used by gathering the participants' perceptions and meanings through semi-structured interviews (Allen-Collinson, 2009). Throughout the study design, data collection, data analysis and writing phases, there was a focus on constructing the participants' understanding of their own experiences and their daily lives. The study was framed by a constructivist ontology, with the belief that individuals construct multiple versions of reality (i.e., human thought shapes individuals' understanding of the world around them). An interpretivist epistemology also guided the research, with the assumption that it is impossible to obtain direct knowledge of the phenomena under study, resulting in indirect indications of the phenomena (Weed, 2009).

### **Participants**

Individual interviews were conducted with 10 coaches, 11 community members, and 19 athletes, all of whom were past or current residents of the Kayamandi Township, black, and able to speak and understand conversational English. The coaches (9 males and 1 female) were between the ages of 22 and 37 ( $M = 28.4$ ,  $SD = 7.0$ ), although one coach chose not to divulge his age. The coaches had an average of 4.42 years of coaching experience ( $SD = 3.57$ ) in a variety of sports, including soccer, mountain biking, netball, bicycle motocross (BMX), and running. Some coaches had participated in coaching education classes and formalized programmes while others had no such educational experience. All coaches had experience coaching in the Kayamandi Township.

The second sub-group of participants included 11 community members (5 males and 6 females) between the ages of 20 and 69 ( $M = 42.0$ ,  $SD = 15.8$ ). Six of these community members had experience in sport. Two of the community members were unemployed at the time of the study, another was retired, and the rest were employed, including a police officer, a pastor,

and a craftsman. In the subgroups of the coaches and community members, some individuals had dropped out of secondary school, others had achieved their high school degrees, and others had post-secondary educational experience.

The final subgroup of participants included 19 athletes (11 males and 8 females) between the ages of 9 and 20 ( $M = 16.2$ ,  $SD = 3.0$ ), with all 19 athletes enrolled in school. They participated in various sports in the community, at their schools, and with local club teams, including BMX, soccer, mountain biking, netball, and track and field. Two of the athletes were living with both of their biological parents, while the other athletes were living with their mothers, other family members, and/or adoptive parents.

## **Procedures**

One year prior to the data collection portion of this study, the primary and tertiary investigators visited the Kayamandi Township and observed the community. This visit allowed the primary investigator to begin building personal and professional relationships with various coaches, community members, and athletes. When she returned to her home university in the United States, the primary investigator maintained an ongoing dialogue with individuals from the Kayamandi Township while continuing to learn about the community through supplemental reading about the Kayamandi Township, other South African townships, and the history of South Africa. For the study, ethical clearance from an American university and a South African university was obtained. Upon her return to the Kayamandi Township nine months later for data collection over a three-month period (spending approximately 200 hours in the community), the primary investigator spent the first month of her stay observing the everyday life of the Kayamandi Township and building relationships based on respect and trust, as recommended by Goodkind and Decon (2004) and Blodgett et al. (2010).

The primary investigator then began to schedule interviews employing a snowball sampling technique. The selection of the participants was purposive in nature, with the goal of obtaining a sample with coaches, community members, and athletes ranging in age, gender, education, and experience. While there was only one female participant in the subgroup of coaches, this matched the proportion of female to male coaches within the Kayamandi Township, suggesting that the sample was representative of the community. As recommended by Krueger and Casey (2000), all of the interviews were conducted by the same individual – the primary investigator – who was a white female from the United States with experience in and knowledge of the Kayamandi Township, involvement in the development of the interview guides, training in qualitative research methodology, and experience conducting research and outreach efforts with underserved communities. The interviews were all conducted in the Kayamandi Township, with the participants choosing their preferred interview locations to foster an environment conducive to sharing personal information and experiences (Goodkind & Decon, 2004). Before the start of each interview, the participants were informed of the following: (a) the purposes of the study, including how the findings could be used to help the Kayamandi Township, which is often overlooked in research with marginalized populations (Kral, Burkhardt, & Kidd, 2002); (b) their confidentiality rights; and (c) their right to skip questions and/or end the interview at any time. The participants then read and signed the informed consent form. For athletes under the age of 18, their parent or guardian signed informed consent forms, with the athletes then signing informed assent forms.

### **Interview Guides**

Distinct interview guides were created for each subgroup, although all interviews used a semi-structured format to allow for probing and follow-up questions (Kvale, 1996). Many

factors were used to develop the interview guides, including knowledge about the community and previous literature on coaching (Jones, 2009; Jones, Armour, & Potrac, 2004), positive youth development (Larson, 2000; Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005), community youth development (Benson, Leffert, Scales, & Blyth, 1998), life skills development (Hellison, 2003; Hellison & Walsh, 2002; Petitpas et al., 2005), and sport for development and peace (Darnell, 2007; Kidd, 2008). The initial construction of the interview guides was reviewed by an expert knowledgeable in these fields and in qualitative research. A professor from a South African university and an individual working in the Kayamandi Township also reviewed the interview guides to minimize the potential for cross-cultural misunderstanding.

Each sub-group was also asked a specific set of questions. The coaches' interview guide focused on their own experiences coaching in the Kayamandi Township, their training and goals as a coach, information about their athletes and teams, and their experience with positive youth development and life skills development. The community members' interview guide included questions about the participants' knowledge of sports in the Kayamandi Township and their thoughts about the potential for sport to aid in the development of young people. The interview guide for the athletes was based on their experiences as athletes in the Kayamandi Township, including ways in which sport may have contributed to their development, their feelings about their coaches and teams, and their personal goals in sport.

### **Data Analysis**

Through inductive content analysis of the 40 interviews, 2,446 raw meaning units were identified, which collapsed under 411 lower order themes. The data then coalesced under 176 higher order themes and, ultimately, 30 general dimensions; however, only the three general dimensions relevant to this manuscript are presented here: (a) required competencies to become a

happy and productive individual; (b) competencies acquired through sport participation; and (c) transferable competencies from the sport domain into other areas of life.

Once the audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim and checked for accuracy, the primary and secondary investigators performed an independent comprehensive inductive content analysis with constant comparison and critical reflection within each of the three general dimensions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Open coding led to the identification of raw meaning units, which were then organised into lower and higher order themes (Côté, Salmela, Baria, & Russell, 1993). An iterative consensus process was followed at each level of analysis, with the investigators reviewing and discussing the transcripts whenever differences arose until consensus was reached (Kvale, 1996). Once the analysis procedures were complete, the primary and secondary investigators reviewed the higher order themes, lower order themes, and raw meaning units to confirm that the organization was accurate. In addition to these procedures, the tertiary investigator was used as a peer debrief at each level of the analysis procedures as well as in the final stage of analysis, with this investigator bringing in his expertise in sport-based youth development and global sport and development along with his experience in and familiarity with the Kayamandi Township.

The criteria of fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity were used to evaluate the methodological rigor of this study (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Sparkes & Smith, 2009). This was achieved by acquiring multiple points of view (coaches, community members, and athletes) along with the strong interviewer-participant relationships based on trust and respect. To increase the chances that the study would accurately reveal the multiple realities experienced by the coaches, community members, and athletes, the data analysis procedures also included multiple coders, the process of iterative

consensus validation, and the use of a peer review (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010).

After the inductive content analysis was complete, the similarities between these three general dimensions (competencies required in the community, competencies acquired in sport, and competencies transferred from sport) became apparent, with the broad competencies (higher order themes) and specific competencies (lower order themes) remarkably similar across dimensions. It is important to note that these similarities were not sought out during the interviews based on the design of the interview guide; rather, they emerged from the data. While the overall findings are presented in Table 1, the four broad competencies (ubuntu, self-concept, self-discipline, and group skills) are explored in more detail in the following subsections. The presentation of each competency includes the three general dimensions (required competencies, acquired competencies, and transferable competencies), along with some of the specific competencies that coalesced into the broad competencies.

## Results

### Ubuntu

When asked to identify the competencies which young people must acquire in order to lead a happy and productive life in the Kayamandi Township, the most frequently cited broad competency was the concept of “ubuntu,” which is a southern African philosophy and Xhosa word describing people’s caring relationships with one another. In the words of one community member (CM1):

A key value [in the Kayamandi Township] is what we call ubuntu, which is...caring for the next person. We say, “ubuntu, ubuntu, ubuntu,” which literally means, “a person is a

person through other persons.” So that is a key value in our society. That brings a sense of care. Your neighbor’s child is your child.

Not only was ubuntu identified as an important competency for young people to acquire in the Kayamandi Township, but 22 participants thought that sport helped athletes understand, appreciate, and embrace this philosophy. This included learning how to care for others, with one athlete (A9) explaining how he learned “not to just criticize someone, if she or he did a mistake.” Instead, A9 learned to “just say, ‘No, gonna do better.’ To promote someone.” Similarly, a soccer coach (C3) described how he required his athletes to set their own team rules to “teach ‘em to feel sorry for other people” when their teammates broke the team rules and were punished. This helped the athletes learn how to be compassionate and caring. The coaches, community members, and athletes also felt that sport helped athletes develop “respect for others,” with A21 explaining how she learned to “respect the people who are running with you” in athletics. Some coaches also described ubuntu in terms of teaching athletes about good sportsmanship, with C4 sharing how important it was for him to “teach them about sportsmanship at a early age.”

While all three subgroups shared their belief that athletes were learning about ubuntu through sport participation, 10 athletes and one community member also believed that this competency was transferring out of the sport domain into other areas of the athletes’ lives. For example, A5 explained how he learned to be more respectful in soccer and then transferred this to other parts of his life:

[I learned about] respect and the way of working with people. It’s not about soccer where you shouldn’t shout at others all the time. It’s everywhere in your life. It’s when there’s a conflict or some sort of disappointment, you should discuss it, not shout.



Similarly, A8 learned how “you have to respect your teammates and the coach” in netball, and then she “took that respect out of the team and then go practice [the respect] at home and in school.” Overall, these individuals believed that sport helped young people understand and embrace the ubuntu philosophy, which would lead to a happier and more productive life in the community and, ultimately, a stronger community.

### **Self-Concept**

Another broad competency that emerged was the multi-dimensional construct of self-concept, which was defined as a general belief in, reliance on, and knowledge of oneself. Within this broad competency, belief in oneself and the future was an important specific competency for young people to develop, with CM8 sharing how “everyone must tell themselves that they can do this [be successful].” CM9 discussed the importance of self-reliance, while other community members identified the need for understanding one’s personal values and beliefs (e.g., religious beliefs, personal values). When the participants were asked to reflect on what competencies sport participation developed in the young athletes of the Kayamandi Township, the same broad competency of self-concept was revealed. This included the specific competency of believing in oneself and the future, with A13 sharing how she learned that “when you are in competition, you must not doubt yourself. You must tell yourself that I can do it.” A8 learned to “never give up on yourself and be what you want to be,” while C6 described the message he delivers to his athletes about believing in themselves and their futures:

I convince them [to] never underestimated yourself...[when] you started, you said, “No, this mountain is too high, I can’t climb it. I can’t climb on top of that mountain.” You must just tell yourself that, “That mountain, I’m gonna climb on top of it no matter how steep it is.” On top of that mountain, there is success. Then they show interest that, “Ok,

407 everyone who gets succeed in life started at the ground. You can't just be on top of the  
408 mountain without starting there." I just explain those things to them.

409 Similarly, C10 described how mountain biking can help athletes believe in themselves:

410 I think that the one thing they've learned is that mountain biking, it's not about getting on  
411 the bike and riding it. It's about telling yourself that, "I can do it. I can go wherever I  
412 want to. I can achieve whatever I want, only if my mind is set on what I wanna do for  
413 myself."

414 Participants also spoke of sport developing athletes' overall self-reliance and helping them learn  
415 how to stand up for themselves, with A8 describing how she is "a new person" because she has  
416 learned to "stand up for myself through sport. And I can be who I am through sport." There was  
417 also a discussion on how sport helps athletes understand themselves.

418 Athletes identified transferring the construct of self-concept out of the sport domain into  
419 other areas of their lives. For instance, C3 explained how BMX helps athletes become more  
420 confident and self-reliant in other domains:

421 BMXing is a challenging sport for youth. Then every time they achieve something in the  
422 day, their character gets build up. Their confidence building up. They can do things.  
423 They can face things on their own knowing that they don't have the fear of, "No, I'm  
424 young, I can't do that." If you achieve something in sport, [then] in [the] outside world,  
425 you'll just say, "I did this in sport, so what's stopping for me of achieving that in real  
426 life?"

427 Some athletes also learned how to believe in themselves in spite of unsupportive peers, with A17  
428 sharing how developing her self-concept in athletics "helps me in school, because there are a lot  
429 of children that are teasing me. [I learned] just to be strong and ignore." Overall, the

participants felt that the construct of self-concept was not only developed through sport, but transferred outside of the sport domain into other areas of life.

### **Self-Discipline**

Emerging from the interviews was the importance for young people to develop self-discipline, which was seen as a critical competency for happiness and success in the Kayamandi Township. According to CM2, young people must learn “how to say no [to peer pressure]. No must be no, yes must be yes. Don’t get pushed into something that you didn’t plan. Have a plan and be able to put into practice.” This quote highlights the importance of self-discipline, but it also hints at the importance placed on goal setting, with several participants acknowledging just how important it was for young people to learn how to set and work toward their goals. Perseverance and planning for the future were also identified as important, with CM2 sharing how the young people must focus “on the bigger picture” and where they “want to be from now on and how to get there...have a plan.”

When the conversation turned to what competencies the athletes were learning in the sport setting within the specific culture of the Kayamandi Township, the specific competencies of self-discipline (including focus) and goal setting emerged once again. According to C4, athletes must “set a plan...set up goals,” while C9 acknowledged that athletes need to “strive for a goal.” A13 “learned to have discipline” through athletics and A9 learned to “be disciplined. When coach told us something to do, you have to do it.” Nine participants identified the specific competency of time management as acquired through sport. A7 “learned that to keep time, that’s a good thing,” while CM6 described how athletes will learn that they “have to be early.” Participants also identified perseverance as a specific competency acquired through sport participation, with CM7 sharing that “by practicing, practice makes perfect” and athletes then

453 learn how to persevere in practice. A8 learned “how to work hard, ‘cuz you have to work hard to  
454 get what you want,” just as netball “teach me that if you want something, you have to work hard  
455 for it...you must show that you are dedicated and you want this.”

456 When participants were asked what competencies transferred out of the sport domain, the  
457 broad concept of self-discipline was cited frequently. C4 described how athletes who have  
458 learned self-discipline in sport will be able to avoid the peer pressures of smoking in the  
459 Kayamandi Township, with “nothing that will push them to go smoke.” The ability to focus in  
460 sport also transferred to other domains, with BMX teaching A18 “to concentrate on the road and  
461 what you’re gonna do next,” which then helped him in school, since “you have to concentrate on  
462 what the teacher’s saying and also on the book.” Time management was another specific  
463 competency that was perceived to be transferred out of sport, with C9 describing:

464 Sports have rules, like if the team is starting by 11:00, then [if] the player come maybe  
465 five past, then there must be a punishment...[the player] can know [learn] that when they  
466 grow up, they have to be on time even at work. In sports, they have learned...that they  
467 must be on time.

468 Additionally, work ethic was identified as another specific competency that was perceived to be  
469 transferred out of sport into young athletes’ everyday lives. C10 believed that perseverance that  
470 was learned in sport “can help at school as well as their jobs...[the athletes] will have mind that,  
471 ‘I’m setting myself a standard that I wanna achieve in future. So in order for me to reach that  
472 place, I have to work hard to get there.’” A7 shared how soccer taught him to persevere:

473 Something that I learned in soccer is that when you lose, you must not give up. Like  
474 when in your life there is something wrong, you must not give up. You must be strong  
475 and face your fear....at school, in June last year, I was fail[ing]...I think about what our

476 coach told us every day, that you must be strong and face our fears. So I do that and I  
477 passed.

478 Overall, data suggest that the broad competency of self-discipline was acquired through sport  
479 participation and then transferred into the young athletes' everyday lives.

#### 480 **Group Skills**

481 One participant mentioned the broad competency of group skills as critical for young  
482 people to learn in order to lead a happy and productive life in the Kayamandi Township, with  
483 CM2 discussing the importance of leadership and interpersonal skills. However, when  
484 participants were asked which competencies were developed through sport participation, many  
485 more specific competencies emerged within the broad competency of group skills, cited by 16  
486 coaches, community members, and athletes. Leadership was identified as one competency  
487 which can be learned through sport, with C1 describing how one of his athletes learned how to  
488 be a leader in soccer. Interpersonal skills were also identified as developed through sport, with  
489 A9 explaining how he learned to "listen to [other] people's view" and A6 describing how he  
490 learned to speak up for himself:

491 Sport has changed me, 'cause I used to be a shy person but now I'm a club captain, so I  
492 need to talk to everyone and to shout to everyone when there is something wrong and I  
493 need to encourage people. I'm not that kind of a person, even in school. It has changed  
494 me, soccer, to be a better person in life. I can speak for myself now...I am a shy person,  
495 but now I can talk. I'm not shy anymore.

496 This quote demonstrates A9's development of leadership and interpersonal skills through sport,  
497 along with his own self-concept within and outside of sport. Another specific competency felt to  
498 be acquired through sport participation was teamwork, with 12 participants sharing a number of

stories about how teamwork was learned. A3 learned “to work with people” through soccer and cricket, while CM1 believed that sport helps young people develop “the sense of working together towards a common goal.” C7 told his athletes that “it’s not about you, it’s all about us...instead of ‘me,’ I should transform that ‘me’ to ‘we’ and ‘I’ to ‘us.’” In C7’s eyes, “it’s always about teamwork.”

When participants were asked to identify which competencies within group skills transferred out of the sport environment into other domains, leadership, interpersonal skills, and teamwork were identified. For example, A3 learned “to listen to my teachers” at school after learning how to listen to his coaches in soccer and A9 learned to “listen to your mother, to listen to your teacher, what she or he said.” The following story from C2 gives a sense of how the young athletes learned teamwork and interpersonal skills and then transferred these competencies into their everyday lives:

In soccer, they can learn that the bondage that they have is their teammates coming from different backgrounds, from different families, and coming to an umbrella to form a brotherhood with a stranger from somewhere you don’t know. But that, from my point of view, is something to take...full control of, prepare yourself for future. Because in future, you go out and you meet people from different places, and if you concentrated on forming a bondage from early childhood, then you will find it easy to adjust in life.

Overall, participants identified sport as a tool for developing group skills and several specific competencies within this theme, with these competencies then transferring outside of the sport domain into athletes’ everyday lives.

## Discussion

Since this was an exploratory study of a community with vastly different cultural and social norms when compared with the investigators' home country (the United States) and the location of most research studies on this topic (i.e., North America and the United Kingdom), the participants were asked to identify the competencies considered to be desirable in the Kayamandi Township. The identified competencies (ubuntu, self-concept, self-discipline, and group skills) matched the challenges of growing up in this community, as described in the first manuscript (Whitley et al., 2013), although this match was not purposefully sought by the investigators. In particular, the participants described the Kayamandi Township as a low-income, underserved community where young people needed to be self-disciplined in order to avoid many of the negative aspects of the community (e.g., drugs, alcohol, crime). To do this, participants must set goals and persevere through challenges, including the numerous issues with the public school system. The participants also discussed how young people in the Kayamandi Township often grew up without much support from their family, which may explain why the study participants stressed the importance of young people becoming leaders themselves and learning how to interact with one another and respect and care for one another (ubuntu). The participants believed that young people in the Kayamandi Township must learn how to build their own support system by becoming friends, teammates, and leaders. This may lessen the challenges associated with not having much parental guidance and support in their everyday lives. Finally, it is not surprising that the participants focused so much on young people believing in, relying on, and knowing themselves (self-concept). Growing up in a community characterized by a high rate of crime and poor living conditions, young people must believe in themselves and their future in order to pursue a happy and productive life. Overall, the competencies required for young people to live a happy and productive life in the Kayamandi Township are precisely those

needed to meet the challenges of growing up in this community. Additionally, the participants believed that these competencies were being successfully acquired through sport participation and ultimately transferred into domains outside of the sport setting, which is the overarching goal of sport-based youth development.

While there were differences in the competencies desired in the Kayamandi Township when compared with competencies desired in Western cultures and settings (e.g., ubuntu), there were some universal competencies that were uncovered in this study. Self-discipline emerged as one of these universal competencies, with it also emerging in a cross-cultural evaluation of sport in China, Panama, and Malaysia (Hayden et al., in press). Additionally, this competency is described in Hellison's (2003) Personal and Social Responsibility model as one of five competencies identified as important for character development and that can be successfully cultivated through participation in physical activity when using Hellison's model as a framework. This model has received widespread support within the sport-based youth development field (Hellison & Walsh, 2002). Given this pervasiveness of self-discipline in sport within the United States (Hayden, Baltzell, Kilty, & McCarthy, 2012) and globally through this study and the aforementioned cross-cultural evaluation (Hayden et al., in press), self-discipline has emerged as a competency that may be universal in nature.

It is beneficial to frame the acquired competencies in the Kayamandi Township within Little's (1993) 4Cs of positive youth development (competence, confidence, connection, and character), combined with the fifth C (caring/compassion) described by Lerner and colleagues (2005), which is one of the most popular conceptualizations of positive youth development within and outside of the sport context. The first identified broad competency, ubuntu, is similar to the two C's of connection and character development. Connection refers to the quality of



positive and meaningful relationships developed with peers and coaches within the sport environment. Character development includes an integration of caring and compassion that is usually observable through youth engaging in prosocial behaviors and avoiding antisocial behaviors (Vierimaa et al., 2012).

The second identified broad competency, the multi-dimensional construct of self-concept, was defined as a general belief in, reliance on, and knowledge of oneself. This competency is consistent with the C of confidence. Vierimaa et al. (2012) discuss the importance of trait sport confidence, which refers to the degree of certainty people have in their ability to perform in a sport environment.

Self-discipline emerged as the third broad competency developed through sport participation and required for success within the Kayamandi Township. It contributes to youth achieving the C of competence, which Vierimaa et al. (2012) describe as a high level of achievement, performance, or athletic ability. However, it also yields behavior consistent with the C of character development. For example, participants from the Kayamandi Township discussed the importance of developing self-discipline in order to combat peer pressure to engage in unhealthy behaviors. Positive character development, as conceptualized within the 4Cs, suggests that youth avoid engaging in antisocial behaviors.

The fourth broad competency, group skills, specifically leadership and interpersonal skills, were cited by participants as competencies developed through sport. Engaging in prosocial behaviors, caring for others, and assuming a leadership role are considered facets of all 5Cs. That is, feeling competent and confident allows participants to assume a leadership role, while acting caring and compassionate allows them to be respected as leaders. Additionally,

engaging in prosocial behaviors and avoiding negative behaviors (displaying character) allows them to create positive connections with others.

Placing the current study's identified competencies within the 4C conceptualization of positive youth development highlights the significance and relevance of Western research to the findings within the Kayamandi Township. The language used by Kayamandi Township residents to describe their experiences through sport reflects the voice of the community, while many of the identified competencies developed through sport are consistent with competencies developed through sport in Western culture. Given the number of competencies that paralleled those in Western cultures, perhaps the need to differentiate unique competencies within each culture is less important than understanding how different competencies are more or less salient within specific cultures, how they are uniquely expressed, and how they combine in unique ways (e.g., ubuntu) to influence young people.

Finally, the present results support several recent notions forwarded in the youth developmental psychology literature. For example, Larson (2011), among others, has emphasized that youth are active agents of their own development and may draw lessons from the sport experience, even if specific competencies are not intentionally taught by coaches and program leaders. While some coaches in this study recognized that their impact on athletes' lives was limited, with a clear need for quality coaching education programs that include youth development training, it is still possible that these coaches were having a positive impact on their athletes' lives through the basic sport experience. In fact, Mahoney, Larson, and Eccles (2005) have suggested that young people with low socioeconomic status may get more from youth development programs, which raises the question of whether or not the Kayamandi Township athletes were benefitting even more from their sport experiences when compared with athletes

with higher socioeconomic status. It is possible that because underserved youth lack so many of the basic external assets in their lives (e.g., food, clothing, shelter), the provision of basic organized experiences can fill a developmental void, thereby allowing them to learn much more than expected. One can only think what they might learn if their coaches had coaching education programs with a comprehensive youth development component.

### **Practical Implications**

It is encouraging that the major competency areas identified by the participants (ubuntu, self-concept, self-discipline, and group skills) are topics or are comprised of topics that have been extensively studied by sport psychologists. Hence, an extensive knowledge base exists that could form the basis of coaching education efforts. Perhaps the largest practical implication is the method employed and example the study provides. Well-intended practitioners, even if highly experienced, should not jump into a community and assume an understanding of what is needed relative to sport-based youth development. While it may be impractical for practitioners to conduct the kind of rigorous research carried out here, it is reasonable to assume that practitioners could interview stakeholders and strive to understand what they feel should be emphasized, what they identify as challenges which can arise within the community, and what aspect of the community they think might impact sport programming efforts.

The results of this investigation also suggest that there is a dire need for coaching development and education in communities like the Kayamandi Township (Coalter, 2007). Coaches must understand the intentional strategies needed for coaching life skills and developing psychosocial competencies (Gould, Carson, & Blanton, 2013). It must also be recognized that sport alone cannot prepare youth for the challenges they currently face in the Kayamandi

Township and later in their lives. To maximize effectiveness, sport-based youth development programs and interventions need to be linked to other community agencies like schools and churches, as the research shows that youth develop within a complex social system influenced by a variety of individuals and agencies (Eccles & Gootman, 2002).

### **Limitations**

While the investigators took steps to minimize limitations, including spending time in the community, building relationships, and intensively studying the community, several limitations exist that are typical when conducting research in new cultures and communities, beginning with the requirement for the participants to speak and understand conversational English. Additionally, there was no observational data to confirm the findings from this study, as the results are based on the feelings and experiences of the community members, coaches, and athletes. It is possible that the interviewer's skin color, gender, and/or nationality could have influenced the information shared by the participants. This study was designed to give voice to those at the ground level and prevent any imposition of Western beliefs of neocolonialism (Collins, 2010; Crawford, 2010; Darnell, 2007), although it is possible this was not fully realized.

### **Future Directions**

It would be beneficial to conduct observational studies to see if the coaches in the Kayamandi Township are intentionally teaching these competencies through sport and if they are teaching their athletes to transfer these competencies to domains in their everyday lives. If so, investigators could observe the strategies used by coaches to promote the development and transfer of desirable competencies through sport. If these research efforts show that intentional strategies are not employed, efforts could be made to determine why this is happening. For

example, is it a lack of coach training, lack of time, or disinterest on the part of coaches who would rather focus on winning or, as suggested by Coakley (2011), the assumption that mere participation in sport enables young people to acquire these competencies? Also, Kayamandi youth reported transferring a number of competencies learned in sport to other parts of their lives. It would be important to further examine how this occurred and why some competencies were transferred and others were not.

The growing body of literature on youth leadership, particularly through sport (Gould & Voelker, 2012), matches the focus on leadership in the results of this study, with the participants discussing how leadership was a competency that should be acquired by young people in the Kayamandi Township. It would be interesting to explore the similarities and differences between leadership in this setting compared with leadership in a Western setting. Additionally, it has become clear in the youth leadership literature that young people must have the opportunity to make meaningful decisions as part of the leadership development process (MacNeil, 2006). One avenue of investigation is to explore whether opportunities to make meaningful decisions is part of youth leadership in the Kayamandi Township and, if so, if these opportunities are occurring in the sport setting as a strategy for developing meaningful decision making skills as a leader.

One novel cultural difference emerging from this study was the concept of ubuntu, which was especially interesting in that it was larger than the single competencies (e.g., initiative, goal setting) typically identified in studies conducted in Western cultures. Participants seemed to view it as a multidimensional collection of attributes such as an individual sense of caring, a community sense of caring, compassion, and respect. However, it was much more than a competency. It was also described by several participants as a philosophy that was emphasized

in the community. It would be interesting to explore broader notions like ubuntu to see if it exists in other cultures, along with seeking to understand how ubuntu is implemented on a daily basis and fostered by individual experiences and cultural norms and practices.

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3. The interview guides and complete tables of the results are available upon request from the first author.

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*Table 1*

Required competencies, acquired competencies, and transferable competencies in the Kayamandi Township.

<b>Broad Competencies</b>	<b>Specific Competencies Required in Community</b>	<b>Specific Competencies Acquired via Sport</b>	<b>Specific Competencies Transferred from Sport</b>
<b>Ubuntu</b>	Respect for others* Caring for others	Respect for others** Caring for others**	Respect for others** Caring for others
<b>Self-Concept</b>	Belief in self and the future Self-reliance Knowledge of self and personal beliefs*	Belief in self and the future** Self-reliance** Knowledge of self and personal beliefs* Challenging social norms Healthy living* Responsible dating behavior	Belief in self and the future Self-reliance
<b>Self-Discipline</b>	Being self-disciplined* Goal setting Perseverance	Being self-disciplined** Goal setting** Perseverance** Time management** Taking responsibility* Focus Planning Control stress	Being self-disciplined** Goal setting Perseverance* Time management Taking responsibility Focus
<b>Group Skills</b>	Leadership Interpersonal skills	Leadership* Interpersonal skills* Teamwork**	Leadership Interpersonal skills**
<b>Other</b>	Creativity and taking initiative Technical skills	Valuing material things and life situation	
<b>Little to no life skills</b>		Little to no life skills*	

*Notes.* \* indicates at least three participants cited this specific competency.

\*\* indicates at least six participants cited this specific competency.