

Power in Sport-for-Development partnerships: an analysis of the relations and practices between two International Non-Governmental Organisations and their partners in Cameroon

Joanne Louise Clarke

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

The University of Leeds

Leeds Trinity University

School of Social and Health Sciences

November 2019

DECLARATION

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

The right of Joanne Louise Clarke to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would not have been possible to write this doctoral thesis without the help and support of people around me, and the financial, academic and technical support offered to me at Leeds Trinity University. In particular, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervision team. To Professor Carlton Cooke, the knowledge and expertise which you have offered me has been invaluable and for this I am extremely grateful. To Dr Chris Rowley, your advice and support on both an academic and personal level has been priceless. Academically you have offered me excellent support as a 'critical friend' which has been incredibly value. As a parent of young children yourself, your informal counsel has also helped me to balance my PhD study and also maintain a family life. Finally, to Professor Fred Coalter; it has been a privilege working with such an eminent Sport for Development scholar. I thank you for our thought-provoking discussions about the SfD sector and for your concern not just with theory, but for your genuine interest in my data and implications of this thesis. You have been an outstanding role model who I have been lucky enough to work with and learn from and for that I am sincerely thankful. The work to follow stands as a testament to the excellent supervision I have received throughout this process, and on that note I would also like to thank Dr Paul Salisbury and Dr Polly Wilding for the roles they played as part of my supervisory team in the early stages.

To the Sport for Development practitioners in Cameroon, the UK and the US whom feature within this body of work, whilst you remain anonymous within the thesis itself, I will always be indebted to you — and also to the case study organisations — for the opportunities which have been afforded to me. To Christian and Thierry, who supported my fieldwork in Cameroon as research assistants, your ongoing support throughout this PhD journey has been incredibly valuable. I believe that the applied experiences embodied within this thesis - gained from my extensive field work in Cameroon - have provided me with a solid grounding upon which I can hopefully build a long and prosperous academic career. It is for these reasons that Cameroon will always hold a fond place in my heart.

Throughout my time at Leeds Trinity University I have been blessed with some incredible colleagues who have made my journey better and brighter and I would like to acknowledge colleagues in the department of Sport,

Health and Physical Education (SHAPE) at Leeds Trinity, especially Sheila and Sarah. In addition, my former 'AF5' PhD office mates, Rebecca, Tom and Sean: you have been my mentors, friends, gurus and support network – and for this, I cannot thank you enough. I also would like to extend my thanks to colleagues at Sheffield Hallam University for their support and encouragement in the final two years of my PhD since joining the institution. To my friends 'off campus', I would not have made it through this PhD without your humour, companionship, and support. Thank you for constantly 'checking in' with me and for helping me to celebrate important milestones throughout this journey.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of my parents Chris and Cliff who have not only provided me with love and support, but they have never once doubted me, even when I doubted myself. Above all, I would like to thank my partner Kirstie for her personal support and great patience throughout this process. She has not only listened, engaged and offered understanding, but has done this whilst working full-time, completing her own PhD and being an inspiring role model to our young family.

ABSTRACT

Sport has been promoted globally as a legitimate means to help improve global health, education, development and peace. Despite such growth, a prominent criticism of the SfD sector is that SfD practices (as with international development more broadly) may be exacerbating unequal power relations between the 'Global North' and the 'Global South'. In particular, criticisms centre on the one-way exchange of tangible and intangible resources (e.g. money, people, equipment, ideologies) from donors in the 'Global North' to partners and programme recipients in the 'Global South'.

Drawing on a theoretical framework - guided by Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal type' SfD organisational models, Lukes (1974, 2005) radical view of power, Coleman's (1988, 1990) social capital theory, as well as broader concepts related to power - the purpose of this study was to provide an in-depth examination of the relationships and practices between two 'Global Northern' International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) and their local 'in country' partners with whom they deliver SfD programmes in Cameroon, Central-West Africa. Specifically the purpose of the study was to outline and critically examine the 'formal discourse' of two SfD INGOs with regard to their presence and intentions in Cameroon, and contrast the 'Global Northern' discourse with localised Cameroonian SfD practitioner perspectives to explore the issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions relating to the relationship with the INGO and its practitioners and also to examine any issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions regarding the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes in Cameroon.

This study adopted a multifaceted qualitative methodology which included a comparative case study design, four months of ethnographic field work in Cameroon, Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of key INGO documents and over seventy interviews with INGO and Cameroonian SfD practitioners. The data helped draw crucial attention to questions about power relations within the SfD sector, notably 'how' and 'why' power distribution transpired within the case study partnerships. Findings of this thesis brought to the fore a range of contradictions between the stated intentions of the INGOs and their day-to-day practices following examination of the 'formal discourse' examined (e.g. INGO programme documents, INGO websites, and interviews with INGO staff). Findings - from a localised Cameroonian perspective also highlighted a range of challenges as well as benefits with

regard to the relationship with the INGO and the delivery of the INGO programme. On one hand, findings showed that post-colonial residue is ubiquitous within the case study SfD partnerships - for example the cultural views and norms of Cameroonian SfD practitioners have been caused through post-colonial influences and agenda-setting tendencies of the INGOs. However, importantly, findings also revealed that Cameroonian SfD practitioners are not purely passive recipients of power, but showed awareness of post-colonial residue in Cameroon and responded proactively - albeit within the constraints of the partnership structure - to seek out strategies for personal and professional gain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF APPENDICES	xiv
ABBREVIATIONS	xv
1.0 Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION	16
1.1 Research Aim, Questions, Objectives and the study context	17
1.2 Rationale for the study	19
1.3 Personal motivation for the study.....	20
1.4 Overview of chapters	21
2.0 Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	26
2.1 Chapter introduction.....	26
2.2 Colonialism, colonial legacies, changing development perspectives and the emergence of INGOs.....	27
2.2.1 Colonialism and the scramble for Africa	27
2.2.1.1 A brief colonial history of Cameroon	28
2.2.2 Post-colonial Africa and postcolonial studies.....	31
2.2.2.1 A brief post-colonial history of Cameroon.....	35
2.2.3 The changing perspectives of development over time	36
2.2.4 The development 'problem'	43
2.2.5 Partnerships and INGOs	44
2.3 Sport for Development	48
2.3.1 History, context and growth of the SfD sector	48
2.3.2 Partnerships within SfD.....	52
2.3.3 Dominant uses of sport and pedagogical approaches in SfD.....	54
2.3.3.1 Traditional didactic approaches	56
2.3.3.2 Peer education	57
2.3.3.3 Relationship-building.....	58
2.3.4 Critique of the SfD landscape: issues of post-colonial residue, northern hegemony, neo-liberalism and sports evangelism	59
2.3.5 A counter critique of the SfD postcolonial landscape.....	62
2.4 Chapter summary.....	63
3.0 Chapter 3 THE CAMEROONIAN CONTEXT	66
3.1 Chapter introduction.....	67
3.2 Country Overview.....	67

3.2.1	Multi-lingualism in Cameroon	68
3.3	Political context.....	71
3.3.1	The 'Anglophone problem'	73
3.4	Economic and development overview.....	74
3.4.1	Progress towards international and national development goals	76
3.5	Social context.....	77
3.5.1	Ethnic diversity and conflict	77
3.6	Overview of the INGOs, 'in country' partners and fieldwork study locations	78
3.6.1	Organisational overview of INGOs and 'in country' partners	79
3.6.2	Fieldwork locations	80
3.7	Sport and volunteerism in Cameroon	82
3.7.1	Government-led provision of sport	82
3.7.2	Cricket	84
3.7.3	Football	85
3.7.4	Non-government led sport provision	86
3.7.5	The rise of volunteering in Cameroon	87
3.8	Chapter summary.....	88
4.0	Chapter 4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	90
4.1	Chapter introduction.....	91
4.2	The intentions of SfD partnerships: theoretical starting points.....	92
4.2.1	'Technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' 'ideal type' SfD organisational models	93
4.3	Analysing power: theoretical starting points.....	99
4.3.1	Lukes' radical view of power: structures and hierarchies	100
4.3.2	Key concepts related to power: discourse, structure and agency, hegemony and whiteness	106
4.3.3	Coleman and social capital	110
4.4	Developing a theoretical dialogue between the work of Lukes and Coleman.....	114
4.4.1	Similarities and differences.....	118
4.5	Chapter summary: towards a more holistic understanding of power ...	120
5.0	Chapter 5 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN	123
5.1	Chapter introduction.....	124
5.1.1	The importance of researcher reflexivity and an acknowledgement of positionality	125
5.1.2	Exploring my own positionality at the outset of the research process.....	126
5.2	Ontological and Epistemological assumptions	129
5.2.1	Positivism, interpretivism and critical realism	130
5.3	A multifaceted qualitative methodology.....	135
5.3.1	Ethnographic immersion in Cameroon.....	136

5.3.2	The importance of localised know ledge	138
5.3.3	Tensions of conducting a ethnographic research in Cameroon	139
5.3.4	Gaining access to INGOs, SfD practitioners and research sites	141
5.4	Research strategy	142
5.4.1	A comparative case study research design	144
5.4.2	Qualitative document analysis	148
5.4.3	Semi-structured interview s	151
5.4.4	Semi-structured in-depth interview s: sampling criteria, gatekeepers and recruitment strategies	155
5.4.5	Research assistant recruitment, community consultation and member checking/reflections	156
5.4.6	Conducting research in Cameroon: interpretation and the politics of cross-cultural research	161
5.4.7	Barriers to data collection	163
5.5	Data analysis.....	164
5.6	Ethical approval from UK and Cameroon authorities.....	167
5.7	Researcher methodological reflections	168
5.8	Chapter summary and implications	171
6.0	Chapter 6 INGO 'FORMAL' DISCOURSES	173
6.1	Chapter introduction.....	174
6.2	The perception of development	175
6.2.1	Identification of the development 'problem/s'.....	175
6.2.2	The use of sport.....	181
6.2.3	Assumptions about programme participants	183
6.2.4	Section summary.....	184
6.3	The defining institutional features of the INGO SfD programmes	184
6.3.1	Core objectives	185
6.3.2	Key themes	188
6.3.3	Managerial framew ork.....	190
6.3.4	Agency role.....	194
6.3.5	Section summary.....	197
6.4	The properties of the SfD work.....	197
6.4.1	User groups	197
6.4.2	Paradigmatic methods	199
6.4.3	Socio-cultural tools	207
6.4.4	Section summary.....	209
6.5	The types of social relations within the SfD programme	210
6.5.1	Play contact methods	210
6.5.2	Client social relations	211
6.5.3	Donor relations	212
6.5.4	Sector relations	214

6.5.5	Section summary.....	215
6.6	The monitoring and evaluation methods of the SfD programmes... 216	
6.6.1	Section summary.....	224
6.7	Chapter summary.....	225
7.0	Chapter 7 LOCAL CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES TO THE RELATIONSHIP WITH CASE STUDY INGOS.....	229
7.1	Chapter introduction.....	230
7.2	The perceived 'expert' status of INGOs and widespread strategic acceptance of donor-recipient relationship.....	232
7.2.1	Exploring race-based superiority and post-colonial residue ascribed to the 'experts'.....	236
7.2.2	Section summary.....	241
7.3	Frustration with aspects of the relationship with the INGO	243
7.3.1	Dealing with the local misconceptions about the INGO relationship.....	243
7.3.2	The INGOs' lack of understanding of Cameroonian realities and opportunities for transnational exchange	248
7.3.3	Section summary.....	253
7.4	Examining the capacity of local practitioners to facilitate social capital through INGO relations	253
7.4.1	Manifestations of social capital and personal and professional 'gains'	257
7.4.2	Section summary.....	262
7.5	Chapter summary and implications	263
8.0	Chapter 8 LOCAL CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES TO THE DELIVERY OF THE INGO PROGRAMMES	266
8.1	Chapter introduction.....	267
8.2	Programme delivery challenges and responses to the Cameroonian context.....	268
8.2.1	The effects of the Cameroonian socio-political instability on local practitioners.....	271
8.2.2	Contrasting emphasis on sport within the Anglophone and Francophone education systems	274
8.2.3	Language complexities	277
8.2.4	Gendered (in)equality.....	282
8.2.5	The topic of HIV/AIDS is a cultural taboo	286
8.2.6	Section summary.....	289
8.3	Programme delivery challenges and responses to the INGO 'formal' discourse	291
8.3.1	The local volunteerism agenda	291
8.3.2	The problematic nature of using cricket and football as delivery 'tools'	295
8.3.3	Age and maturity of participants	301
8.3.4	Section summary.....	303
8.4	Chapter summary and implications	304

9.0	Chapter 9 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	306
9.1	Chapter introduction.....	307
9.2	Conclusions in relation to the research questions and objectives	308
9.2.1	Core findings and arguments in relation to Research Question One	308
9.2.2	Core findings and arguments in relation to Research Question Two.....	312
9.2.3	Core findings and arguments in relation to Research Question Three	315
9.3	Key contributions and implications of this research.....	317
9.3.1	Theoretical contributions	317
9.3.2	Methodological contributions	322
9.3.3	Practice-based contributions and recommendations	325
9.4	Limitations of the thesis.....	329
9.5	Directions for future research.....	330
10.0	Chapter 10 REFERENCES.....	331
11.0	Chapter 11 APPENDICES	376

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: The changing boundaries of colonial Cameroon 1901-1972...	29
Figure 2.2: Map of Cameroon, including the SfD programme delivery locations.....	30
Figure 2.3: Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015)	41
Figure 2.4: Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030).....	42
Figure 4.1: Giulianotti's three 'ideal type' SfD models	96
Figure 6.1: CWB coaching cards introductory message.....	200
Figure 6.2: Excerpts from CWB coaching cards	202

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Changing development perspectives over time	37
Table 2: Lukes' radical three dimensional view of power	102
Table 3: Comparison of the sources, access to and conceptions of power	116
Table 4: Research data collection and analysis methods.....	143
Table 5: A list of analysed documents.....	148
Table 6: Information about interviews and research participants	152
Table 7: Example of a CWB pre and post-intervention questionnaire	217
Table 8: Example of a CFDP-US pre and post-intervention questionnaire	222

LIST OF APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Semi-structured interview schedule: INGO staff (CWB and CFDP-US) questions.....	376
Appendix B: Semi-structured interview schedule: 'In country' partner questions (CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners.....	378
Appendix C: Data Maps.....	380
Appendix D: Ethics approval confirmation.....	384
Appendix E: Consent form (English).....	385
Appendix F: Consent form (French).....	386
Appendix G: Participant Information Sheet (English).....	387
Appendix H: Participant Information Sheet (French)	390

ABBREVIATIONS

African Development Bank (AfDB)

Cameroon Cricket Federation (CCF)

Cameroon Football Development Programme-Cameroon (CFDP-Cameroon)

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US (CFDP-US)

Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE)

Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB)

Human Development (HD)

Human Development Index (HDI)

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO)

League of Nations (LoN)

Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

Sport for Development (SfD)

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

Sub Saharan Africa (SSA)

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS)

Transtheoretical model (TTM)

United Nations (UN)

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)

Work Bank (WB)

**CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION**

1.1 Research Aim, Questions, Objectives and the study context

Study aim

The aim of this study is to provide a critical examination of the power relations within and between two 'Sport for Development' (SfD) partnerships, specifically the relationships between an external INGOs and an internal NGOs. In doing so, the thesis seeks to contribute a critical understanding of power to the existing SfD research literature. Specifically, the study focuses on the relationships between two Global North SfD INGOs; Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB) and Cameroon Football Development Programme - US (CFDP-US) and their respective 'in country' partners in Cameroon, in the Global South; Cameroon Cricket Federation (CCF) and Cameroon Football Development Programme - Cameroon (CFDP-Cameroon). The study is framed by the following three Research Questions:

- i) What are the principal features of the two identified SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon?
- ii) What are the locally identified issues and responses concerning the relationships with the INGOs and INGO practitioners?
- iii) What are the locally identified issues and responses relating to the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes?

The Research Questions are connected to the following three Research Objectives:

- i) To provide a critical account of the principal features of two SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon.
- ii) To critically analyse any localised issues and responses concerning the relationship between the INGOs and Cameroonian SfD practitioners from the INGOs 'in country' partner.
- iii) To critically examine any issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions related the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes from the localised perspective of Cameroonian SfD practitioners.

The study seeks to examine the relationships and day-to-day practices of the two SfD partnerships from the perspective of both the Global North INGO and also the Global South partner in order to offer a nuanced perspective, which has rarely been addressed in previous work. The outlined Research Questions guide the corresponding three Research Objectives, the analysis of which is presented and discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Study context

Broadly speaking, the SfD sector is a broad international field of activity that uses sport and physical activities as tools of social intervention - primarily with young people - to promote nonsporting social and health outcomes, e.g. health education, gender empowerment, peace-building, employability skills (Collison et al., 2018). SfD organisations and agencies that make up the SfD sector vary greatly with regard to their scale, location, objectives and strategies Giulianotti (2012, p.282) has differentiated these organisations into four broad categories:

- i) Nongovernmental, non-profit organisations which facilitate and/or deliver SfD projects (e.g. Right to Play, Street Football World).
- ii) Intergovernmental and governmental organisations, which take an active facilitator role to SfD campaigns and also contribute to delivery (e.g. UNICEF and FIFA - Football for Hope).

The private sector which mainly contributes through themed corporate social responsibility initiatives (e.g. Laureus and Vodafone). Radical NGOs and social movements which are politically charged and tend to promote social justice and human/civil rights (e.g. campaigns and/or protests against the treatment of sport merchandise workers in developing countries, or on the human rights records of host nations of sporting mega-events). These four categories help to differentiate and highlight the diversity of the SfD sector. Existing literature within the SfD academic field has critically examined the practice of partnerships between local practitioners and a variety of international stakeholders (e.g. government departments, national/international sports federations, NGOs, INGOs and the private sector) as a useful means to deliver SfD policies (Lindsey and Bello Bitugu, 2018; Lindsey and Banda, 2011; Banda et al., 2008; Duffield and Dingwall-Smith, 2015; Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010; Hasselgard and Straume, 2015). This is important to note because this thesis is also concerned with examining power relations within SfD practices; in this case by focusing on two INGOs and their local 'in country' partner organisations in Cameroon, Central West Africa. This thesis will outline and examine the structure and intention of the SfD partnerships and programmes, as well as localised perspectives regarding the relationships and day-to-day practices between the Cameroonian SfD practitioners and INGO practitioners. As shown in the research objectives, this thesis considers the extent to which SfD partnerships foster opportunities, benefits and/or problems for actors from

the 'Global South' who help to deliver the INGO's programmes in Cameroon. This thesis is sensitive and open to all aspects of power including both positive and negative outcomes and as such it seeks to avoid two shortcomings when conducting research on partnerships: (i) an acceptance of the stated goals and definitions of the most powerful partner in judging the 'success' of the collaboration; and (ii) to mistake the "surface dynamics" for "what is going on beneath" (Hardy and Phillips, 1998, p.288). The intention is that this thesis will contribute to and build upon existing literature which has presented localised accounts of the lives, experiences and responses of people involved in SfD activities in the 'Global South' (Lindsey et al., 2017; Hasselgard and Straume; 2015, Nicholls et al., 2011; Banda and Holmes, 2017). It seeks to place an emphasis on local voices - specifically the SfD practitioners in Cameroon who work in partnership with INGOs to deliver their SfD programmes. To achieve this, the thesis will first examine the INGO 'formal' discourse (e.g. INGO websites, programme documents) to establish the intentions and structure of the SfD programmes. This is supplemented with interviews with various INGO practitioners (e.g. senior managers, volunteer sports coaches and University interns) to establish the extent to which INGO practices support the promoted 'formal' discourse. Next, the insights from the 'Global North' INGOs are contrasted with the localised perspectives from Cameroonian practitioners (e.g. Management staff, Volunteer Cricket and Football Coaches, Peer Leaders and local PE Teachers) who work for the 'in country' partners of the SfD INGOs. Here, localised insights are compared and contrasted with the previously scrutinised 'formal' discourse. Overall, the thesis promotes the utility of a localised perspective to help explore how and why Cameroonian SfD practitioners respond to the relationship and day-to-day delivery challenges when working alongside a SfD INGO and its practitioners.

1.2 Rationale for the study

The past two decades have witnessed an exponential rise in the number of INGOs utilising sport as a tool to tackle broader societal and health issues in developing countries (Collison et al., 2018; Lindsey et al., 2017), the growth of which has been particularly evident in Sub-Saharan Africa (Levermore and Beacom, 2009). Despite such growth, a prominent criticism of the SfD sector is that SfD practices (as with international development more broadly) may be exacerbating unequal power relations

between the 'Global North' and the 'Global South'. Existing SfD literature tends to prioritise insights from countries such as South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Ghana and Tanzania as these countries are seen to represent the top geographical locations of SfD programme delivery (Svensson and Woods, 2017). Notwithstanding two published studies by Fokwang (2009) and Spaaij et al., (2017), there is a lack of literature that documents the practices of SfD within Cameroon, a gap which this thesis also intends to address. As a former SfD practitioner in Cameroon, my experiences and connections also helped to inform the selection of Cameroon as the focal location for this thesis. Existing SfD literature has widely debated and offered critical insights into the broad power structures associated with the sector; yet, the literature that examines partnerships and day-to-day lived experiences of 'Global North' and 'Global South' practitioners working alongside each other is still a relatively under-examined area. This thesis helps to address a need to better understand the power relations and practices of the sector, and does so by examining localised perspectives and contrasting these with the stated intentions of INGOs. Overall, this thesis aims to offer a novel perspective of how the complex relationships and day-to-day practices between SfD INGOs and local 'in country' partners are organised and play out in the post-colonial context of Cameroon.

1.3 Personal motivation for the study

My personal motivation to carry out a PhD in this topic area was two-fold. Firstly, my work experiences within the sport development and SfD sectors were significant influences in this decision. Having worked for over a decade in sport development roles in the UK and New Zealand, I had become increasingly involved in the use of sport for non-sporting objectives. As such, In 2012 I took on a voluntary role as the 'Cameroon Country Manager' for Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB) which I carried out alongside my full time sport development role. The Cameroon Country Manager role required me to work with CWB's Cameroonian 'in country' partner - Cameroon Cricket Federation (CCF), and coordinate the delivery of CWB's curriculum and programmes in the local Cameroonian context - in turn working to achieve CWB's strategic goals. This role afforded me the opportunity to spend time in Cameroon where I took it upon myself to listen and learn from local practitioners from CCF as well as other community stakeholders about the day-to-day practices of working with an INGO from

the Global North. As I did so, I began to reflect critically about the structure of the relationships involving Global North INGOs and Global South NGO 'partners' and how the day-to-day delivery of such SfD programmes worked 'on the ground'. As such, my role at CWB helped enormously in shaping the aim and objectives of this PhD study, as I had gained valuable first-hand experience of working with a Global North INGO and a Global Southern partner and in doing so had gained some invaluable insights of how SfD programmes were experienced by those who design and deliver them from two very differing perspectives. The second motivator to complete a PhD related to a key transitional period in my professional career. Whilst I had enjoyed my sport development practitioner career, I found myself increasingly motivated to pursue a new career within academia. In pursuit of this goal, I took on some lecturing opportunities at Leeds Trinity University and completed a Masters in Sport, Culture and Community at Sheffield Hallam, a process which I immensely valued, especially the opportunity to plan and carry out empirical research for my dissertation. My Master's degree enabled me to immerse myself in a wide range of critical SfD, community studies and development studies literature, which helped to inform the rationale and theoretical underpinning of this PhD study. In summary, a combination of my practical experiences within SfD, alongside my desire to forge a new career within academia provided me with the motivation and also rationale for this study.

1.4 Overview of chapters

Following on from this inductor chapter, Chapter 2 provides an extensive literature review. It begins by introducing and examining the process of colonialization in Africa and specifically Cameroon before defining key terms used in the thesis, including post-colonial and postcolonial. Next, it charts the key development perspectives and importantly the rise of the partnership agenda and INGOs, which marked a significant shift in the aid paradigm away from economic investment to governments and towards neo-liberal driven investment in civil society. Chapter 2 also examines literature concerning the SfD sector, starting with its history, context and outlining its growth. Next, the SfD sector approaches towards 'development' are examined, following which, the dominant uses of sport/pedagogy within SfD programmes are scrutinised. Next, the chapter offers a critical analysis of the SfD landscape and addresses issues and debates concerning post-colonial residue, northern hegemony, neo-liberalism and sports evangelism which pervades the existing SfD literature.

The chapter concludes by offering a counter-critique of the SfD postcolonial landscape, the central argument of which is that empirical research should be conducted in order to question the effects of 'Global Northern' influences within the SfD sector, rather than merely relying on abstract critical assertions or deduction from theoretical ideologies to claim that northern hegemony and 'post-colonial' residue exist.

Chapter 3 presents a contextual overview of Cameroon. As a relatively under-studied country within the SfD and development literature, it is deemed important to outline and discuss the country's political, social, economic and sporting profile. Cameroon's colonial past has had a lasting and arguably damaging impact on the political and social fabric of the nation, and as Chapter 3 seeks to demonstrate, this ongoing influence has manifested in a national divide - which stem from disputes about the English and French language and culture - which especially affects those living and working in the English speaking regions.

Chapter 4 presents the underpinning theoretical framework for the thesis. It begins by outlining Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal type' SfD organisational models ('technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical') as a useful framework to help map out and examine the INGOs' structure and intentions. The chapter then discusses a number of theories of power which will help contribute to the analysis of how power relations manifest in a Cameroonian SfD environment. These include Lukes' (1974, 2005) radical three dimensional views of power and Coleman's (1988, 1990) workings around social capital, as well and other related theories which help to explore displays of power (e.g. structure, agency, whiteness and cultural hegemony). Following which, the chapter reviews how these theories of power have been applied in existing SfD literature. Finally, Chapter 4 concludes with a discussion about the intension to fuse together the outlined theories of power in a bid to offer a more holistic analysis of power, an approach which explores power as both a productive (enabling) as well as repressive (constraining) force. Chapter 5 begins with a detailed overview of the importance of researcher self-reflection and positionality which is especially important for study's - such as this one - that conducts research in a post-colonial context. Next, it outlines and discusses the associated underpinning paradigmatic assumptions guiding this thesis. Next, a description and defence of the multifaceted qualitative methodology as well as a detailed overview of the chosen research strategy is offered (i.e. ethnographic fieldwork in Cameroon, a comparative case study design, documentary analysis, and semi-

structured interviews). Following which, the data collection and methods of data analysis employed are outlined, before the chapter concludes with a methodological reflection of the research process.

Chapter 6 - the first of three results chapters - presents an analysis of the 'formal' discourses of the two INGOs and includes an overview and critique of the programme intentions based on accounts from INGO documents and interviews conducted with INGO staff. In particular, Chapter 6 examines how CFDP-US and CWB perceive the problem of development and explores the potential of football and cricket as delivery tools to tackle such problems with programme participants. The remainder of the chapter is then guided by four categories or "social heuristics" as suggested by Giulianotti (2011a, p.213) to help critically examine the principal functions and intentions of two INGO SfD programmes. These include (i) the defining institutional features of the SfD programme; (ii) the properties of the SfD work within the programme; (iii) the types of social relations within the SfD programme, and (iv) the monitoring and evaluation methods of the SfD programmes. This chapter also draws on Lukes' (2005) radical view of power to consider the extent to which the INGOs participatory organisational intentions address the 'formal' discourses examined.

Chapter 7 focuses on local perspectives of Cameroonian SfD practitioners and explores the multifaceted relationships between CCF/CWB and CFDP-Cameroon/CFDP-US. The chapter demonstrates how the relationships with the partner INGO are experienced locally, focussing on 'how' and 'why' the SfD relationships play out in the way that they do. The chapter shows that there is a widespread local assumption amongst practitioners that the INGOs are 'experts', with insights drawing upon hierarchies of race, national identity and issues of post-colonial residue to explain the 'expert' status credited to the INGOs. The chapter also outlines some perceived frustrations with the donor-recipient relationship - from the perspective of the Cameroonian SfD practitioners - which in particular is layered with frustrations regarding local community misconceptions of the relationship between the Cameroonian partner and the INGO. In addition, the chapter aims to show how the identities and roles of local practitioners are shaped by their association to the INGOs. In particular assumptions about nationality and hierarchies of race (in particular attitudes towards 'whiteness') are emphasised by local practitioners who actively draw on their relationship and network of contacts with the INGO in their daily lives in order to make personal and professional gains. Overall, this chapter

concludes that relationships between local practitioners and the INGOs are not linear or purely vertical (as some SfD literature suggests), but instead it shows how local practitioners are able to exercise some agency to benefit themselves personally by developing stocks of social capital through their association with INGOs.

Chapter 8 continues to examine the local perspectives of SfD partnerships and does so by examining the local challenges and responses in relation to the day-to-day delivery of CWB and CFDP-US SfD programmes in Cameroon. The chapter shows how local practitioners navigate and negotiate Cameroonian contextual issues, as well as the everyday delivery challenges that arise as a result of the INGOs' influence. The chapter emphasises that local practitioners show proactivity despite the significant challenges they face when working within a complex domestic environment, meaning that they have to respond to domestic attempts of cultural hegemony (for example the widespread socio-political instability, language intricacies, gendered structures, and cultural issues), all of which make delivering the SfD programmes difficult. In addition to domestic issues, local SfD practitioners show instances of pro-activity when responding to INGO influences and issues which also affect the day-to-day delivery of INGO programmes. Overall, this chapter draws on Lukes' (1974, 2005) three dimensions of power and concepts of 'hegemony' and 'agency' to show that while some agency is evidenced by local practitioners, ongoing structural factors prevent extensive levels of agency due to the unequal donor-recipient manner of the SfD partnerships which serve as barriers to any equal partnership..

The final chapter (9) provides a summary discussion of, and conclusion to, the empirical findings of the thesis based on the three Research Questions. Following which, the closing chapter outlines the key theoretical, methodological and practice-based contributions, before presenting some suggestions in relation to future research ideas.

**CHAPTER 2:
LITERATURE REVIEW**

2.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter addresses relevant issues and key debates found within the international development and the SfD studies literature which are deemed both important and necessary to help fulfil the research aim guiding this study which is: *to provide a critical examination of the power relations within and between two 'Sport for Development' (SfD) partnerships*. This review of literature is divided into two sections. Section one examines the broad literature related to colonial legacies in Africa (with a focus on Cameroon) as well as charting the global development perspectives and emergence of INGOs in recent decades. It begins by charting the colonialism of Africa and specifically the case of Cameroon. Next, post-colonial Africa and the emergence of postcolonial studies are discussed, again focusing on the turbulent post-colonial journey of Cameroon and the lasting colonial effects that remain evident in the present day. Next, the literature concerning the changing and competing development trends over time is reviewed before the final sub-section moves on to consider the literature relating to INGOs and partnerships which were considered a broad shift in the aid paradigm. In particular, discussions relate to the nature of INGO policies and practice, knowledge production and wider neo-liberal influences.

The second section of this chapter focuses on relevant literature concerning the SfD sector. Initially the history, context and growth of the sector are reviewed alongside the development 'problems' which SfD as a sector seeks to address. Next, the dominant uses of sport within the SfD sector are reviewed, as are the key pedagogical approaches, before two contrasting views about the influence of colonialism on the SfD sector are then presented. On one hand, critical literature notes the overwhelming influence and lasting effects of colonialism, in addition to issues of northern hegemony and neo-liberalism. This is contrasted with a counter critique of the postcolonial influence and a plea for more empirical investigations into post-colonial contexts and SfD relationships. Finally, the intended contributions of this thesis to the critical SfD literature are presented.

2.2 Colonialism, colonial legacies, changing development perspectives and the emergence of INGOs

2.2.1 Colonialism and the scramble for Africa

Between 1870s and 1900, Africa faced a series of European diplomatic pressures, military invasion, and eventual conquest and colonisation (Ashcroft et al., 2008). During this period, African nations resisted the attempts to colonise their countries and impose European domination. However, by the early 1900s, much of Africa had been colonised by European nations (Ashcroft et al., 2008). According to a number of scholars, the European push into Africa was motivated by economic, political, and social factors which began in the nineteenth century following the collapse of the profitability of the slave trade, its abolition, as well as the expansion of the European capitalist Industrial Revolution (Pakenham, 1991; Austin, 2010; Cowen and Shenton, 2017; Alemazung, 2010). The move towards capitalist industrialisation meant that the demand for guaranteed sources of raw materials and the search for guaranteed markets and profitable investment outlets was needed, with such factors motivating the European fight for and eventual conquest of Africa (Pakenham, 1991). This approach was seen as a new way by European powers to demonstrate national superiority through the acquisition of territories around the world, including Africa, which has been dubbed as 'the Scramble for Africa' (Ashcroft et al., 2008). The political impetus which stemmed from the inter-European power struggles and competition for superiority between Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Italy spurred on the competition for power status within Europe (Wiener, 2013; Austin, 2010). Social factors also played a role; in particular industrialisation had caused major social problems in Europe such as unemployment, poverty, homelessness and social displacement from rural areas. These social problems developed partly because not all people could be absorbed by the new capitalist industries. One way to resolve this problem was for European nations to acquire colonies in Africa in order to create new or expanding existing markets (and jobs) based on profitable products and goods being produced in African countries, before being exported (Alemazung, 2010). For example, the initial economic attraction of Cameroon for its colonial rulers was centred on the resources that Cameroon possessed, these included oil and gas, minerals, high-value species of timber, and agricultural products, such as coffee, cotton, cocoa, maize, and cassava.

2.2.1.1 A brief colonial history of Cameroon

The colonial history of Cameroon dates back to 1884, when it was colonised by Germany and was known as 'Kamerun' (1884–1916). After the Treaty of Versailles brought World War I to an end, Kamerun was placed under the supervision of the League of Nations (LoN), which delegated the administration to France and Great Britain as part of the LoN mandate, a status that allowed control of a territory to be transferred to another nation. Under the LoN mandate France took the larger geographical and administrative share of the land and declared Yaoundé, as the nation's capital. When the LoN ceased to exist in 1946, most of the territories were reclassified as UN trust territories, and as such, were administered through the UN Trusteeship Council. The objective was to prepare the territories for eventual independence. The UN approved the Trusteeship Agreements for Northern British Cameroon and Southern British Cameroon (or known collectively as 'British Cameroons') to be governed by Britain in 1946. The British led territory was governed from Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. Geographically, the territory included the western strip of land along the Nigerian border, from the sea up to Lake Chad, at this time Buea was its capital (National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon, 2010). French Cameroun became independent in 1960 and announced Ahmadou Ahidjo as the President of the Republic of Cameroon on January 1st 1960 (Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon, 2017b). Nigeria was scheduled for independence later that same year, which began to raise questions of what to do with the British territory. After some discussion, a referendum was held on in 1961 and the outcome saw the Muslim-majority Northern territory opt for union with Nigeria, and the Southern area voted to join Cameroun and formed the Federal Republic of Cameroon. A decade later in 1972, following another referendum, a unified Cameroon state was created to be known as the United Republic of Cameroon, which was renamed again in 1984 as the Republic of Cameroon (Angwafo, 2014). The modern day capital city of Yaoundé is located in the Centre region and was previously the capital of French Cameroun (National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon, 2010).

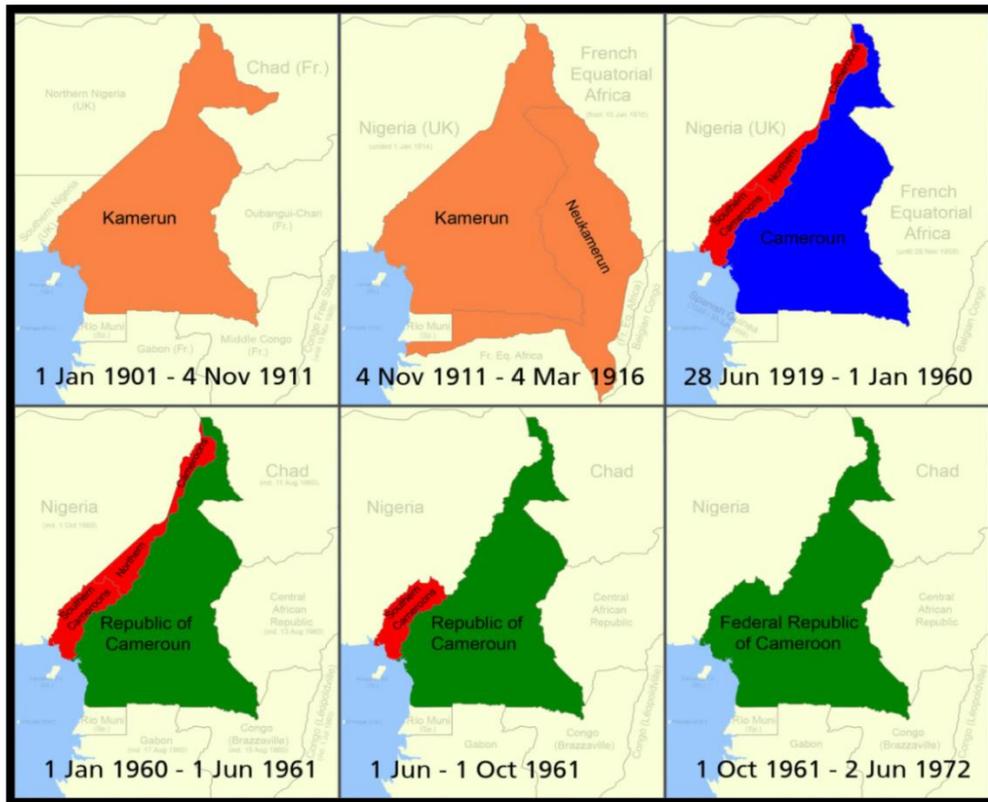


Figure 2.1: The changing boundaries of colonial Cameroon 1901-1972

- German Kamerun
- British Cameroons
- French Cameroun
- Republic of Cameroon

Source: Baden (2014)

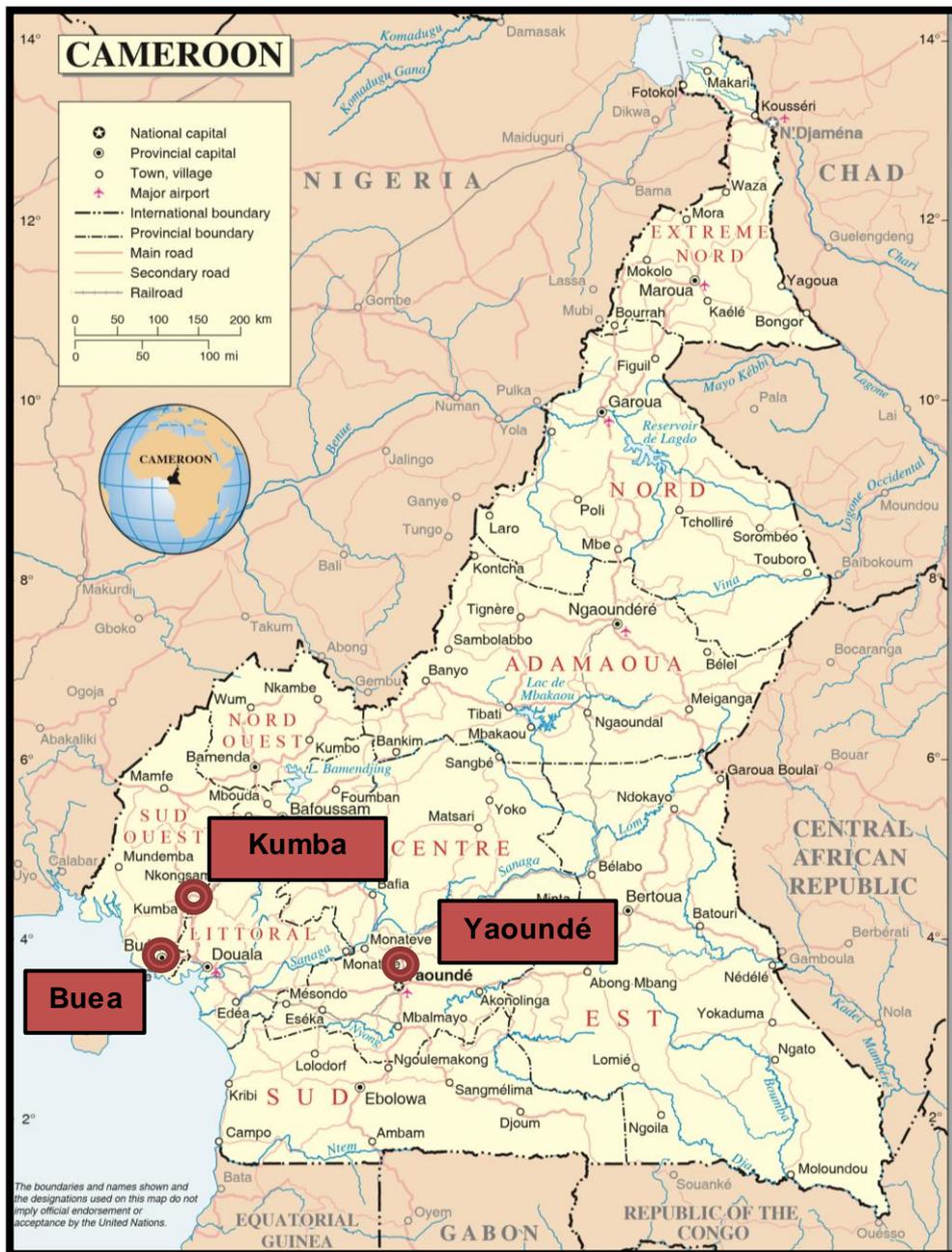


Figure 2.2: Map of Cameroon, including the SfD programme delivery locations

Source: United Nations (2015a)

Today, Cameroon is administratively divided into ten regions (see Figure 2.2 above, which also illustrates the three SfD programme delivery locations which will be outlined in detail in chapter 3). The three northernmost regions are the Extreme North (In French - *Extrême Nord*), North (*Nord*) and Adamawa (*Adamaoua*). Directly south of them are the Centre (*Centre*) and East (*Est*) regions. The South (*Sud*) region lies on the Gulf of Guinea and the southern border. Cameroon's western region is split into four smaller regions; Littoral (*Littoral*), South-West (*Sud Ouest*), North-West (*Nord Ouest*) and West (*Ouest*). The North-West and South-West were once part of British Cameroons, and the other eight regions were in French Cameroun. Yet, despite a strong policy of centralisation following independence, the former British ruled territory and the eight former French ruled regions still retain separate legal and education systems, and a strong attachment to the language and culture of their respective colonisers (Lee and Schultz, 2012).

2.2.2 Post-colonial Africa and postcolonial studies

It is deemed useful in the early stages of the thesis to distinguish the subtle differences between two frequently used terms found in literature, both of which are applicable to this thesis. Firstly, 'post-colonial', i.e. the period following independence from colonial rule and secondly 'postcolonial' (without the hyphen) which according to Sharp (2009, p.4), is "a critical approach to analysing colonialism and one that seeks to offer alternative accounts of the world". Here, Sharp (2009) argued for the need to consider 'alternative' accounts of the world which move beyond the typical Eurocentric view of the world - specifically the international development sector - and prioritise and understand alternative, localised perspectives. Following this subtle but important distinction, it is important to note that this thesis recognises Cameroon as a post-colonial site of study which in turn presents a range of complex issues such as power structures and social ideologies to be examined. Put differently, the Cameroonian post-colonial context provides a lens through which the influence of the modern day Cameroonian government and wider Cameroonian society, as well as considering any lasting colonial legacies of the British, French and Germans. The post-colonial context also links to the decision to prioritise localised insights is also important to this thesis as it supports the plea of Sharp (2009) - and other postcolonial scholars - to study postcolonial

accounts of the world, in this case a large number of Cameroonian SfD practitioners who work with two SfD INGOs.

Colonialism impacted the African continent socially, politically and economically in both positive and negative ways. Some of the positive social, economic and political effects included wide spread improvements to infrastructures such as medical amenities, transport and communication networks, schools and the establishment of plantations for the growing of locally grown crops such as cocoa, coffee, tea, rubber and cotton - which in turn led to more local job opportunities. Many Africans learned the languages of their colonial masters, in the case of Cameroon - German, English and French - which has given them more advantage to be able to communicate and trade in today's globalised markets.

Aside from some positive effects, many scholars assert that colonialism brought with it new values, beliefs, foreign languages and unfamiliar traditions to Africa (including Cameroon) which left behind a negative colonial legacy, or 'post-colonial residue' (Wiener, 2013; Said, 1993; Femi Okiremuete, 2015; Ashcroft et al., 2008). For example, the central arguments here are firstly that the African culture has been diluted, traditions were taken away and the 'traditional' ways of life were destroyed. In addition, the above scholars have argued that the African traditional religion was also destroyed due to the introduction of Christianity, as colonisers forced locals to learn their language. Furthermore, families were torn apart due to the colonial partition of Africa which created new geographical boundaries - which has led to present conflicts, particularly in Cameroon, an issue which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. It has been argued too that Europeans took away most of Africa's natural resources and in doing so did not give Africans the opportunity to learn how to use their own resources for economic prosperity. Finally, scholars have illustrated that African politicians typically only occupied the inferior positions of the colonial administration and had little influence in the governance of their own countries.

Postcolonial literature takes up debates about the negative residual effects of colonialism on cultures. This thesis interprets 'post-colonial residue' to mean the lasting cultural views and norms that have been caused through colonial influences. In the main, postcolonial literature refers to three influencing factors that have caused lasting effects across post-colonial

Africa, (i) attitudes towards language (Ngugi wa, 2008; Ngugi, 1986), (ii) culture (Said, 1993; Bhabha, 1994) and (iii) race (Hooks; 1998, Heron, 2007; Fusco, 2005; Nyamnjoh and Page, 2002; Hall, 2001, 2006).

Firstly, the language of the coloniser is noted as a key factor which has had an obvious and lasting effect in Africa. Perhaps because language provides "the terms by which reality may be constituted" and "the names by which the world may be 'known'" (Ngugi wa, 2008, p.285). Conceivably, the effects of language in a colonised country may transcend beyond viewing language purely as a communication tool, to instead viewing language as having a greater cultural significance. Ngugi Wa (2008) implies this when he wrote that, "Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (p.290). The significance placed on colonialists' language (e.g. English and French in the case of Cameroon) raises debate about the role of these languages in the former African colonies. Should they be rejected, embraced, or perhaps overthrown? And what (if any) value or currency do these languages assume when compared to indigenous languages? Considering the case of Cameroon, attitudes towards and use of language is a contentious issue and something which is widely disputed today; Chapter 3 outlines this in more detail.

Secondly, another lasting effect of colonialization of Africa is seen in the hybridization of the cultures of both the former coloniser and the colonised. Rushdie (1997, p.xi) stated that "new values and customs are assimilated; [yet] old traditions and habits are lost. Cultures collide". Bhabha (1994), a significant postcolonial scholar, coined the term 'hybridity' to show how all cultures influence one another and cannot be separated. Ashcroft et al. (2008, p.108) further explained Bhabha's term and stated that, "hybridity commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization". Hybridity, then, is a situation that happens when there is a cross between the colonisers and the colonised cultures. The experience of hybridity, however, does not always involve the relation between colonizers and the colonised. More broadly, Barry (2002) has suggested that the term hybridity can also help to understand situations where people belong to more than one culture. This is a useful understanding when exploring the diverse culture of a nation such as Cameroon which boasts over 200 ethnic groups - all of which have their

own ethnic identities and cultures. Cameroonians are also affiliated to aspects of European culture, specifically French (Francophone) and English (Anglophone) that have survived the colonial period (Angwafo, 2014) which makes for a complex cultural set of circumstances - again, this distinction is discussed further in Chapter 3.

Thirdly, race-based assumptions based on colonialization are also contributing factors to an enduring post-colonial residue in Africa. Goldberg (1993) has asserted that our understanding of social subjects takes place in 'racial terms' through processes of normalisation and historical influence. Following the period of colonisation, Disc and Schwartz (1970) argued that a false dichotomy was created (white as superior/black as inferior) which was rationalised as the basis of white supremacy. Similarly, Clark and Clark (1940) argued that light skin during the colonial period evolved as the 'ideal'. 'Whiteness' in this sense is considered not as a fact of biology, but as a racial ideology that assumes and presumes a normative social position through the discursive intersections of gender, class, sexuality, domesticity, respectability and superiority (Fusco, 2005). Many have argued that the notion of 'whiteness' attains social power through complex discourses including its construction as a universal subject (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993, 2004), and also as a subject that is formed through discourses of helping (Heron, 2007). In particular, Heron's (2007) book 'Desire for Development: Whiteness, Gender, and the Helping Imperative' argued that the act of 'Global Northern' people travelling to Africa to 'help', can in fact constitute colonial actions, because the recruitment and deployment of 'Global Northern' volunteers to travel to developing countries reinforces a hegemonic discourse of need.

Hooks (1998) proposed the concept of 'white supremacy' as a useful way to think about and understand the complicities of people of colour in upholding and maintaining racial hierarchies that do not involve force (e.g. slavery, apartheid). For Hooks (1998) 'white supremacy' recognises that not only are people of colour socialised to embody the values and attitudes associated with white supremacy, but that people of colour can and do exercise such attitudes. The literature on 'whiteness' in Cameroonian society is sparse, with the exception of one article by Nyamnjoh and Page (2002) who have argued that attitudes of Cameroonian youth towards 'whiteness' are heavily influenced by the historical colonial context and strong media discourses which contribute and reinforce ideals of

'whiteness', western superiority and attractiveness. This is supported by broader studies on attitudes towards 'whiteness', which have suggested that society continues to be idealised by white/light skin which is often used as and recognised as a vehicle of power in former colonies by people of colour (Hall, 1997a, 2001, 2006). It is clear that postcolonial literature is critical in nature as it asserts that the effects of colonialization have resulted in a lasting negative post-colonial residue. This invites empirical research to continue to explore the ways in which colonialism and its residue play out (e.g. taking note of language, culture and racial attitudes). This thesis takes up this challenge by focusing on Cameroon as a relatively under-examined post-colonial context to explore such issues through the lens of SfD partnerships.

2.2.2.1 A brief post-colonial history of Cameroon

Cameroon has had a turbulent economic period since its re-unification. For a quarter of a century following independence, it was recognised as one of the most prosperous countries in Africa. However, a drop in commodity prices for its principal exports in the early part of the 1980s (specifically oil, petrol, cocoa, coffee, and cotton) taken alongside other factors such as the overvalued currency and economic mismanagement, led to Cameroon falling into a decade-long recession. During this period, real per capita GDP (economic output divided by the number of people and adjusted for inflation) fell by more than 60% between 1986 and 1994.

In addition to the economic profile, the administrative boundaries have continued to be a major source of contestation and tension for Cameroon following independence (Nyamnjoh and Awasom, 2008; Egbo et al., 2010). While almost all African states were colonised by Europeans, Cameroon's situation stands out as it was colonised three times, leaving behind a complex legacy. Like many former colonies in Africa, Cameroon has faced a difficult political, economic, cultural and social set of circumstances following its independence and reunification. Typically following the independence of African nations, African indigenous leaders were appointed to face the fallout from decolonisation and lead their newly independent countries. Bell (1986) suggested that the majority of indigenous leaders were schooled within European institutions abroad, and thus influenced by the corresponding ideologies. As an affiliated Francophone, Cameroon's current President Paul Biya was drawn to France for his education where he attended the University of Paris to study

law and political science. As President, Biya has been forced to deal with the often conflicting cultural legacies of both the British and French, which includes differing languages, approaches to education and attitudes towards economic development (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003; Mbaku and Takougang, 2004). Chasing national unity has been an ongoing struggle for Cameroon. Many have argued that it has worsened in recent years due to its dominant Francophone colonial, political, cultural and socio-economic heritage which has been compounded by new inequalities and injustices for English Speaking Cameroonians - referred to as Anglophones (Eyoh et al., 2013; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Kum, 2018). The conflicting domestic priorities have led to the current national crisis (labelled as the 'Anglophone problem') which will be further explained in Chapter 3.

2.2.3 The changing perspectives of development over time

Competing perspectives in development theory over time have been well documented by a range of scholars (Nederveen-Pieterse, 2010; Cornwall and Brock, 2005; Escobar, 2011; Crush, 2005; Cornwall and Eade, 2010). Table 1 (overleaf) and the subsequent discussion summarises the changing perspectives and meanings of development since the late nineteenth century.

Table 1: Changing development perspectives over time

Historical context	Development perspectives	Influencing factors/policies
1890s>	Classical economic theory	Colonialism, structuralism
1950>	Modernisation theory	Structuralism
1960>	Dependency theory	Decolonisation, nationalism
1980>	Human Development	Capacity building, entitlement, freedom
1980>	Neo-liberalism	Emerging markets, economics, corporate capital,
1990>	Post-development	Western influence, Global Northern Hegemony
2000>	Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	Global agencies, e.g. United Nations
2015>	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	Global agencies, e.g. United Nations

Sources: Nederveen-Pieterse (2010), United Nations (2015b)

Nederveen-Pieterse (2010, p.203) has argued that development perspectives and policies across recent decades have varied, and have witnessed a "shift from structuralist perspectives that emphasise the role of macro-structures, towards more agency-oriented views". These changing concepts, theories, and trends concerned with widespread social change are referred to as 'development discourses', the influence of which is far-reaching and powerful within international development (Grillo and Stirrat, 1997) and SfD (Hayhurst, 2009; Burnett, 2014).

The dominant development discourses associated with Classical economic theory (1890s-1930s) and modernisation (1950s>) are fundamentally structuralist. This approach centred on the large-scale patterning of social realities as a result of structural changes in the economy, the state and the social system. For example, the first use of the term of 'development' to describe the evolution of countries from 'under-developed' to 'developed' was made by US President, Harry Truman in his inaugural address in 1949. Truman's address created a powerful classification of the term 'development' which immediately defined two billion people in the world as 'underdeveloped', and defined rich countries as 'developed' (Rist, 2014). This pivotal moment in history has led to conflicting and competing debates about 'development' and ways in which countries could seek to escape so-called 'under-development'. These early debates instigated by Truman influenced the discourse associated with international development which reflected the influences, values and beliefs which have been wedded to the idea of hegemonic power. For example, during the 1950s and 60s a macro level approach to economic growth and 'modernisation' development thinking was an ideology that advocated a top-down, state-led transfer of Western knowledge and technology, reflective of the world's powerful nations. This ethos towards development during this time is largely attributed to the influence of American economist Walt Rostow (1990), who suggested that 'traditional' underdeveloped societies could develop into advanced industrial modern societies via a five stage process of economic growth. The stages included (i) traditional society, (ii) preconditions to take-off, (iii) take-off, (iv) drive to maturity, and (v) age of high mass consumption. Development perspectives at this time, according to Nederveen-Pieterse (2010, p.199) were characterised by "modernization, economic growth, combined with political modernization".

In contrast to modernisation theory, dependency theory (1960s>) assumed that economic events in history had encouraged developing countries to

depend upon the support of more economically advanced nations (Sachs, 1992, Fukuyama, 1995). This dependence prevented developing nations from fully creating the infrastructure necessary for their full transition into industrial 'developed' nations. In a historical sense, dependency theory looks at the unequal power relations that have developed as a result of colonialism.

By the 1980s, two new understandings about development came to the fore. The first approach, known as the Human Development (HD) approach put the improvement of people's lives as the central objective of development. These areas related to people's physical well-being such as health, nutrition and education, and also the widening of choice and enhanced empowerment, which included participation and political freedoms (Stewart, 2019). Strategies to achieve HD focused on bringing together the production and distribution of goods and services (to help boost the economic growth of the nation) and also the expansion and use of human capabilities. Examples of strategies included increasing access to resources (e.g. employment and income opportunities), to ensure a longer life expectancy by striving for a clean and safe physical environment, alongside increased access to education and knowledge. The HD approach believes that every members of every community should also have the opportunity to participate fully in its decision-making process and to enjoy human, economic and political freedoms. This aspect of HD took on board Amartya Sen's work on entitlements and capacities which sought to expand capabilities (sometimes termed 'freedoms' or 'agency') that individuals might enjoy (Sen, 1983, 1992, 1993, 1999). Accordingly, this definition of development draws on the Human Development Index (HDI), which the Human Development Report offers as an alternative measure of development to Gross National Product (GNP).

The second trend emerging in the 1980s was neo-liberalism, an approach to development which echoed the broad social-political reforms instigated in the late 1970s in the 'Global North'. Widespread reforms and understandings of development were heavily influenced by the World Bank's (WB's) understanding. The WB asserted that growth and international development would best occur in a global environment which lessened government regulations and accelerated the privatisation of economies and focused on basic needs, and the poverty reduction of individuals. In particular the influence of such neoliberal policies in the

1980s signified a significant shift in the aid paradigm. Kidd (2008, p. 374) has summarised the shifting attitude towards neo-liberal policies:

With state interventionist models discredited and liberalism triumphant, there was a new focus on entrepreneurship as a strategy of social development, creating new openings for the creation of non-governmental organizations and private foundations. During this period there was no place for any localised community-led understandings of their development needs based on the mutual exchange between the state and civil society, or likewise an equal power between the 'Global South' and the 'Global North'. It was only when development discourses led by the WB in the 1980s began to advocate for decreased state interventions and an increase in market freedoms in a bid to alleviate poverty in developing countries that neo-liberal ideologies became evident, resulting in the third sector mushrooming. The associated growth of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in this regard is considered in detail in the following section.

Following the emergence of neo-liberalism, post-development theory (also known as anti-development or development criticism) arose as a result of a number of post-development scholars including Ivan Illich, Arturo Escobar and Gustavo Esteva who challenged the previously assumed meaning of development. According to them, the traditional way in which the world understood 'development' was rooted in the earlier colonial discourse that depicts the 'Global North' as 'advanced' and 'progressive', and the 'Global South' as 'backward', 'degenerate' and 'primitive' (Escobar, 2011; Esteva, 1992). As such, this alternative trend focused on a resistance towards globalisation (Mander and Goldsmith, 1996) and understood the concept of development to be a reflection of western or northern hegemony over the rest of the world. Critics of this approach however, argued that post-development theory offers no tangible solution of argument about what 'development' should or could look like in practice (Nederveen-Pieterse, 2010).

The turn of the millennium signalled a shift towards a development perspective which sought to combat worldwide issues of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women (Fukuda-Parr, 2004; Kidd, 2013). This approach towards development was institutionalised as a political agreement through the Millennium Declaration which committed world leaders to a vision of poverty reduction and pro-poor growth, by supporting a perspective that

placed human development at the centre of social and economic progress in all countries (United Nations, 2000). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were derived from this declaration and committed UN member countries to help achieve the following Millennium Development Goals by 2015, valuing the strategy of partnership working to help achieve these goals:



Figure 2.3: Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015)

Source: United Nations (2017)

Each goal had specific targets, and dates for achieving those targets. Strategically, the MDGs have been used by all major stakeholders in the international development community — national governments, donor agencies, INGOs, NGOs, UN, academics and the private sector — as the overarching global goals for international development. The strategy and supporting policies to achieve the MDGs were set by individual governments, together with their global partners. In a bid to accelerate progress, world finance ministers agreed in 2005 to provide enough funds to the WB, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the African Development Bank (AfDB) to cancel debt owed by members of the heavily indebted poor countries, to allow them to redirect resources to programmes for improving health and education and to alleviate poverty.

However, the emergence of the MDGs did not come without criticism. In 2013, a multidisciplinary literature review focused on the limitations of the formulation of the MDGs, their structure, content and implementation (Fehling et al., 2013). Two main criticisms arose from the review; firstly that the MDGs had been created by only a few stakeholders, without adequate involvement by developing countries and thereby overlooking development

objectives previously agreed upon. Secondly, that the MDGs were unachievable, simplistic and that they were not adapted to national needs and did not specify accountable parties and reinforce vertical interventions (Fehling et al., 2013). Muchhala and Sengupta (2014) concur with Fehlings et al.'s (2013) first criticism, and in particular point towards a contradiction in that global development goals on one hand aimed to be encompassing of all people, however, in reality they reflected the priorities of the world's most wealthy countries and powerful organisations, who prescribed goals for the 'Global South'.

Whilst some progress was made regarding the MDGs, achievements were uneven and therefore the discussion of a post-2015 agenda began. The current post-2015 global development perspective centres on building a sustainable world where environmental sustainability, social inclusion, and economic development are equally valued. The UN Conference on Sustainable Development in June 2012 stimulated the development of a new set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which aim to carry on the momentum generated by the MDGs and fit into a global development framework beyond 2015 (United Nations, 2015b). Seventeen global goals were subsequently announced by the UN at its General Assembly in 2015. The SDGs are part of Resolution 70/1 of the UN General Assembly 'Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development' (United Nations, 2015b). As with the MDGs, partnerships are promoted as a suitable way to tackle these new global goals.



Figure 2.4: Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030)

Source: United Nations (2015b)

It is clear that the context in which various aid agencies operate has shifted significantly since the concept of international 'development' emerged. Development trends have moved away from structuralist perspectives which emphasise the role of macro-structures, towards more agency-oriented views which are aligned to the UN goals and the delivery of which is often realised through partnership working. Contemporary development language is driven by the pursuit of common global development goals which seek to address issues of poverty, participation and empowerment. In an attempt to achieve the MDGs, and more recently the SDGs, a range of agencies, including non-state actors such as INGOs have stepped into the development environment with a range of interventions to try and enhance the lives of disadvantaged 'under developed' communities - in the case of this thesis through the use of sport. The role and influence of partnerships and INGOs within the development sector is complex and is explored below.

2.2.4 The development 'problem'

According to Cornwall and Brock (2005) development 'problems', tend to revolve around buzzwords such as 'participation', 'empowerment' and 'poverty reduction', all of which take a "prominent place in the language of mainstream development" (p.1060). These words carry the appeal of optimism and purpose, which is present in the language of the most influential global development agencies (UN, UNESCO, UNICEF) and related policies (MDGs, SDGs), many of which have been taken up by the two SfD INGOs central to this thesis - which will be discussed later on in the chapter. While some have argued that the MDGs and SDGs have focused the world's attention towards broader issues of poverty, for others, attitudes towards the world's development 'problems' have drawn sharp criticism. Critical development scholars have argued that the reality of living and working in development contexts still conjures up fixed images, values, beliefs, and ideals. E.g. the rich world/the poor world, those who have knowledge about development/those who do not (Cornwall and Eade, 2010; Cornwall and Brock, 2005). This ideology translates into an ethos which determines the nature of the need for change and questions whether development aid (including the contribution of SfD sector) is perhaps just papering over the status quo of unequal power and historical fixed images about development, or whether it can actually make a difference, and if so, make a difference to what 'problem'?

Rossi and Jeanes (2016, p.485) initiated a similar debate with SfD scholars and practitioners, by pondering "what is it that SfD (or development more broadly) actually seeks to develop?" As shown earlier in the introduction, the use of sport has regularly been heralded by international agencies with headquarters in the 'Global North' such as the UN as an alternative way to contribute to the problem of development through the MDGs (Beutler, 2008; Hayhurst, 2009) and more recently the SDGs (United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace, 2017). Such agenda setting rhetoric by the UN is mirrored by the two INGOs central to this thesis who seek to tackle a range of issues such as health promotion and education towards HIV/AIDS, leadership, employability skills, and the empowerment of girls and women.

The development 'problems' identified by SfD INGOs all too often are decided on and legitimised by global policies (e.g. MDGs and SDGs) and funders who typically are situated in the 'Global North'. Within a SfD context, these 'problems' or 'needs' have previously been criticised for not considering the local (subaltern) voice, local circumstances and or need (Banda and Holmes, 2017). The overriding popularity of incorporating HIV/AIDS education into SfD programmes is a good example of this and will be explained later in this chapter. According to the northern aid agency UNAIDS (2014) the worst affected countries (with adult HIV/AIDS prevalence rates over 20 percent) are in Southern Africa, and are often referred to as the 'aids belt'. As such, Cameroon - the geographical focus for this thesis - falls outside the worst affected areas globally. Accordingly, Chapter 6 will examine 'how' and 'why' the two INGOs selected HIV/AIDS education as a central focus of their delivery and explores the extent to which the INGO programme design was derived from consultation with local stakeholders, or from other means i.e. external agenda setting forces such as the MDGs and SDGs.

2.2.5 Partnerships and INGOs

This trend towards privatisation of humanitarian aid in the 1980s resulted in an increased number of commercial/non-government actors working within the development sector. As such, a shift towards partnership working as a strategy to achieve global development objectives started to emerge worldwide, including at the highest institutional levels, such as the WB (Contu and Girei, 2014). The WB has offered a useful definition of a partnership in this regard:

Partnership is a collaborative relationship between entities to work towards shared objectives through a mutually agreed division of labor (World Bank, 1998, p.8).

The meaning of a partnership is founded on positive values, including two way dialogue and reciprocity in decision-making at all levels. It is argued that the positive and participatory language of partnerships has helped to develop a clear road map for the effective management of development initiatives. The WB was not alone in pushing such an agenda, and according to Ritzen (2005) other 'Global Northern' based organisations - including the IMF and the UN - began to support a paradigm that stressed the centrality of partnerships towards the end of the 20th century. As the role of the government reduced as the sole provider for social needs, the role of private companies, non-governmental organisations, and volunteers working on development programmes began to reach a peak just as the Millennium approached.

In summary, the term 'partnership' is a buzzword and a common approach for organisations who seek to work together to address the world's complex problems through international development policies and practices (Contu and Girei, 2014), an understanding which can also be extended to the SfD sector. International development practitioners and scholars have identified a range of elements that should be present within a 'successful', 'true' or 'equal' partnership, including:

- Listening to and responding to the voice of local stakeholders in the partnership (Contu and Girei, 2014).
- Mutual trust, complementary strengths, reciprocal accountability, joint decision making and a two-way exchange of information (Postma, 1994).
- Strong personal relationships (Dichter, 1989).
- Clearly articulated goals, equitable distribution of costs and benefits, performance indicators and mechanisms to measure and monitor performance, and clear delineation of responsibilities (Lister, 2000).

However, literature frequently points towards a disparity between the rhetoric and reality of NGO partnerships. The most frequently cited constraint to the formation of 'true' partnerships is the control of money by the more powerful and influential partner which begs the question of whether a 'true' or 'equal' partnership can ever be possible (Lister, 2000; Contu and Girei, 2014). The concept of North-South partnerships has also been criticised at a more fundamental level, as being a Northern-imposed

idea which is deeply tied up with the need for Northern aid agencies and NGOs to establish a legitimacy for operations in the South, and to demonstrate their 'added value' in the development process (Lewis, 2010).

Of particular pertinence to this thesis is the role and influence of INGOs that work in partnership with indigenous organisations in the 'Global South'. In line with UN practice, this thesis understands INGOs to be non-profit organisations operating in countries other than their own, which have been established privately rather than by intergovernmental agreement (Willets, 2011). The growth of INGOs reflects broad changes in the aid paradigm and a shift from economic investment in governments towards investment in civil society (more recently via the aforementioned MDGs and SDGs), a shift which places human development at the centre of social and economic progress in all countries. The first INGOs emerged at the end of World War II era as relief efforts, but soon broadened their scope to serve human development needs globally, especially in the 'Global South' (Davies, 2012).

Kidd (2008) has argued that the rise in INGOs followed a number of worldwide crises including the genocides in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, combatting famine and the pandemic of HIV/AIDS in Africa, and responding to the various campaigns to 'make poverty history', all of which contributed to a spirit of popular humanitarian intervention. Today, INGOs are positioned by the UN and Commonwealth Secretariat in particular as key players in the transformation of development as a global public policy issue and are widely recognised as crucial actors due to the reduced role of the state as the agent of development (Pearce, 2006; Edwards, 1996; Lewis and Kanji, 2009).

INGO literature pertinent to this thesis focuses on issues of quality in terms of INGO policies and practice (Bebbington and Farrington, 1992; Edwards and Hulme, 1992, 2013, Mosse, 2004; Tanjong, 2008). When INGO numbers dramatically rose in the 1980s and 1990s they were greeted as a 'magic bullet' and a solution to 'fix' failed top-down development trends and championed as means to generate empowerment and positive change for poor people (Hearn, 2007). However, over time, INGOs have begun to face scrutiny when the public have demanded more accountability and understanding of how they operated (Davies, 2012). Two main INGO approaches are noted in the literature. These are, 'top-down' development

approaches (which tend to focus on global norms and/or institutional/donor driven agendas rather than local need) and 'bottom-up' development approaches which focus on the local need of communities and the development agenda is driven by those living in the 'Global South'. The central criticism of INGOs tends to focus on the disconnect and power imbalances created between the INGOs headquartered 'Global North' and their 'Global South' partners and intended beneficiaries. For example, existing literature has questioned the organisational approaches of INGOs, particularly the extent to which (de)centralisation of decision-making is present (Walton et al., 2016). Reimann (2006, p.46) has argued that INGOs adopting top-down approaches to development have been legitimised by political globalisation (e.g. the globalisation of political structures, institutions, and neo-liberal values), which have led to "legitimacy and political space in many countries." Given that these factors were common place for many INGOs whose headquarters were based in the 'Global North', it is therefore no surprise that criticism followed. In particular, Wallace (2003, p.216) has pointed to the power imbalance created by INGOs operating in the 'Global South', whose policies and activities often appear as "extensions of the dominant aid agenda", and as such, the INGOs tend to increase their hold on local organisations and NGOs in the South by "passing on the tight conditionalities and forcing local partners to learn and comply with northern agendas, creating a set of dependent organizations" (2003, p.216).

Considering the existence of structures, postcolonial 'residue' and development perspectives that have contributed to power inequalities, recent scholarly discussion within international development studies has argued that dominant discourses and institutions have a history of marginalising and limiting those in the 'Global South' from speaking (Narayanaswamy, 2013, 2016; Briggs and Sharp, 2004, 2008; Denzin et al., 2008). As such, there is an appetite by many scholars to deconstruct Eurocentrism in theories, methodologies and research practices concerning knowledge production. Understanding power from 'Global Southern' perspectives is a theoretical (and methodological) step change from a perspective which has previously privileged scholars and experiences of those living in the 'Global North'. To address these concerns, this thesis gives specific attention to the voices and concerns of those who have the least access to power within the case study SfD partnerships (e.g. local

Cameroonian practitioners) and does so by scrutinising and problematizing the perceived relationships and practices when working alongside the SfD INGOs.

2.3 Sport for Development

2.3.1 History, context and growth of the SfD sector

Sport is embedded within society in many ways. From a functionalist perspective, sport has been viewed as a way to potentially build a global civil society, generating social capital and enabling community-based development (Adams et al., 2017; Burnett, 2006; Coalter, 2007b, 2008; Kay and Bradbury, 2009; Spaaij, 2012; Giulianotti, 2012). It has also been argued that sport can contribute towards a strengthening of civic society (Crabbe, 2008), and can foster social integration (Hylton et al., 2001); contribute to the regeneration of deprived urban communities (Ingham and Macdonald, 2003) and tackle issues connected to peace, development and poverty (Sugden, 2015; Darnell, 2010; Collison et al., 2018; Lindsey et al., 2017; Giulianotti et al., 2016; Giulianotti, 2012).

Giulianotti (2012) has noted that it may not be possible to provide a definitive number of SfD programmes operating around the world, but at the time estimated that there were thousands of such initiatives, varying in their scale, duration, and mission. Typically, the goals pursued within the SfD sector include poverty reduction; the education of young people; health promotion and disease prevention education; women's empowerment; and peace building, rehabilitation, and reconstruction in post-conflict contexts (Collison et al., 2018). Of particular relevance to this thesis is the practice (and related literature) regarding SfD INGOs which exist to deliver programmes in the 'Global South', specifically in Sub-Saharan Africa to address social and health 'problems' and target young people.

The use of sport to help strengthen civil society through relationship building, education and networking reflects a broader shift in the aid paradigm. In particular, Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p.3) have argued that this paradigm shift is illustrated by the WB's increased emphasis on the potential of social capital (typically through INGO based delivery) which is encompassed by the common aphorism 'It's not what you know, it's who you know'. The concept of social capital is one of the theoretical concepts to guide this thesis and will be outlined in detail in Chapter 5 and applied in Chapter's 7 and 9 to examine the extent to which social networks and

relationships with SfD INGOs provide resources and perceived personal benefits to Cameroonian SfD practitioners.

Broadly speaking, SfD programmes offer an alternative approach to mainstream international development programmes whereby sports participation is used as the conduit to then add-on international development related messages - which often include messages about health education, conflict resolution, gender equality and/or leadership - an approach known as 'sport plus' (cf. Coalter, 2007a). As earlier noted, SfD INGOs tend to target participants - typically children and young people - who are labelled as vulnerable or disadvantaged to participate in team-based or unstructured play, and to deliver sports activities that often include an educational element based upon a set curriculum. The 'sport plus' approach - adopted by most SfD organisations - is based on an assumption of 'deficit'. Coalter and Taylor (2010) and Coakley (2011) have suggested that a 'deficit model' assumes that young people from disadvantaged communities are themselves deficient and in need of personal development, the type which 'sport plus' programmes is presumed to deliver. However, a range of scholars have critiqued the evangelical policy rhetoric of the SfD sector. According to Coalter (2010b), the rhetoric of sport as a human right has helped to legitimise SfD programmes which are based on functionalist assertions about sport's socialising and transformative properties for individuals, particularly children and young people. Such widespread belief extends to the historical thinking about sport which dates back to the nineteenth century and promoted the use of sports as a tool to instigate positive change within young people, to give them the attributes and knowledge needed to achieve personal success and develop (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2007a, 2010b, 2013; Giulianotti, 2004).

It has been suggested that most SfD programmes in the 'Global South' are sited in post-colonial countries and/or nations which are war-torn or in a post-conflict state (Giulianotti, 2012; Collison et al., 2018). As such, political and 'Global Northern' influences as noted in Table 1, have played a role in legitimising the use of sport to support humanitarian and aid efforts in 'Global South' countries. Towards the latter part of the 1990s, a coalition of SfD organisations lobbied the UN and other agencies to convince them about the contribution that sport could make to their aid agendas (Coalter, 2010b). The result of such lobbying is apparent in the statement below

from Louise Fréchette, the UN Deputy Secretary General, who stated at the World Sports Forum in 2000 that:

The power of sports is far more than symbolic. You are engines of economic growth. You are a force for gender equality. You can bring youth and others in from the margins, strengthening the social fabric. You can promote communication and help heal the divisions between peoples, communities and entire nations. You can set an example of fair play. Last but not least, you can advocate a strong and effective United Nations.

The lobbying efforts gained further momentum and meaning in 2000 through the publication of the UN's eight MDGs which were outlined previously within this chapter (see Figure 2.3). Kidd (2008) has singled out Johann Koss, Chief Executive of SfD organisation 'Right to Play' as a key individual who helped to solidify the growing status of the SfD sector by gaining the support of Kofi Annan, following which the UN commissioned and gave approval to a document titled: 'Sport for Development and Peace; Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals' (United Nations, 2003). Subsequently, in November 2003, at the General Assembly of the UN, a resolution confirming a commitment to sport was signed. It stated that sport could play an active role to promote education, health, development and peace, and to include sport and physical education as tools to contribute towards achieving the MDGs. The SfD sector garnered further public endorsement and financial backing from the UN who staged the first International Conference on Sport and Development in Magglingen, Switzerland which was attended by UN agencies and organisations, governments, the International Olympic Committee, sports federations, non-governmental organisations and athletes (United Nations, 2000). The Magglingen Declaration and recommendations preceded the conference and affirmed the UN endorsement of sport. Specifically, the Declaration addresses the importance of sport in the following settings (United Nations, 2000):

- In violence and crisis situations
- In conflict prevention and peace promotion
- Sport and health
- Sport and education
- Media for sport and development
- The role of sport in local development and social dialogue
- Managing safe and sustainable sports programmes

- Corporate social responsibility

By the mid-2000s, sport was a recognised vehicle through which the UN could work towards achieving its goals and was celebrated with the UN International Year of Sport and Physical Education in 2005 which signalled an advocacy success and sparked a mass expansion in the SfD sector (Beutler, 2008). In view of the advocacy for sport highlighted above, it appears that the SfD sector offers a natural partnership for the UN and other global development agencies, as the very nature of sport is about participation, and associated positive assumptions such as inclusion and citizenship.

However, the broad-brush rhetorical commitment to sport seen across the SfD sector (and supported by global agencies such as the UN) is considered by some to be rather vague and based on generalised assumptions of the so-called 'power' of sport. Across the SfD sector, the 'power' of sport to transform lives is exaggerated and reinforced by the 'mythopoeic' character of sport. Mythopoeic concepts are based on idealistic notions which are produced largely outside sociological analysis (Coalter, 2014), and widely characterise sport as a legitimate delivery tool which can contribute to development solutions due to sport's assumed essential goodness (Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2010b). This evangelical and mythopoeic belief has generated a particular attitude towards knowledge and evidence, resulting in the SfD sector, suffering from "displacement of scope" (Coalter, 2013, p.19), whereby micro effects of sports participation are often assumed to have meso and macro level reaches and impact. The assumption that sport is a powerful vehicle to bring individuals and communities together to bridge cultural or ethnic divides has resulted in sport being celebrated as a tool for social change and included in several policy documents, annual reports and curriculum of SfD INGOs (Hayhurst, 2009).

Much of the policy and practice rhetoric that Hayhurst (2009) alludes to has focused on the widespread and international growth of the SfD over the past two decades, and promoted the increased resources, supporters, public awareness and/or assumptions about the supposed 'power of sport' (Schulenkorf et al., 2016; Dudfield, 2014; United Nations, 2012, 2016a; Mwaanga, 2014; Cronin, 2011). This un-critical literature tends to focus on the presumed positive impacts that sport can offer (e.g. personal and social aspects such as discipline, honesty, integrity, generosity and trustworthiness). This is echoed by many hundreds of SfD INGOs who buy

into the positive notion that sport can be transformatory in nature. This wholly positive and uncritical position is legitimised by the stance of the UN - via the MDGs and SDGs (United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace, 2017; United Nations, 2003, 2012, 2016a, 2016b), along with the media (The Guardian, 2015) and the International Olympic Committee who endorse 'The International Day of Sport for Development and Peace' (IDSDP), an annual celebration of the supposed power of sport to drive social change, community development and to foster peace and understanding. These positive and uncritical accounts of the SfD sector present sport as a panacea and the ultimate tool for improving lives. Whilst these grand claims are made from genuine enthusiasm and good intentions of organisations who promote the idea of development through sport, it is argued that as SfD scholars we need to look beyond the positive rhetoric and carry out critical research which acknowledges the potential of the SfD sector, but also emphasising and learning from its challenges and limitations.

2.3.2 Partnerships within SfD

According to Lindsey and Bello Bitugo (2018) there has been strong, widespread and consistent recognition of the importance of partnerships to SfD policy and practice. An example is this can be seen in an early SfD policy document by the UN (2006, p.61) who advocated:

Local development through sport particularly benefits from an integrated partnership approach to sport-in-development involving a full spectrum of actors in field-based community development including all levels of and various sectors of government, sports organizations, NGOs and the private sector.

In recent years the UN - along with other multinational agencies - has continued to promote SfD partnerships, for example partnership work has been embedded with the MDGs (MDG 8) and the SDGs (SDG 17) - see Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4. Duffield and Dingwall-Smith (2015, p.76) when writing for 'The Commonwealth' to analyse the SfD sector and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, have summarised the continued relevance and importance of partnerships:

Partnership working was identified as a critical component of most successful SfD policy and programmes across the Commonwealth - in particular, those that position sport-based approaches within a

broader range of development interventions and that work to deliver on broader policy objectives (i.e. health, education, community development)

The importance placed on partnerships has also been reflected in academic research. For example, there is a long-standing volume of development studies literature that provides insights into, and critiques of INGO partnerships, in diverse contexts and settings, involving a wide range of development organisations (Crawford, 2003; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2004; Schoneberg, 2017; Fowler, 2016; Fowler and Malunga, 2010). However, whilst the importance of partnerships within SfD sector has been acknowledged, its exploration is still relatively limited within the existing SfD literature. Of the SfD academic literature that does exist, there is general consensus that SfD partnerships are imbued with power (Nicholls et al., 2011; Lindsey et al., 2017; Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010). This echoes broader development studies literature that has examined power relations between Northern 'donors' and Southern 'recipients/beneficiaries' over the last two decades, the findings of which have submitted that asymmetrical power relations continue to be prevalent within international development practice (Groves and Hinton, 2013; Kothari, 2001).

Of the SfD studies published to date, data tends to be drawn from either international partners (Giulianotti, 2011a; Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010), or local 'in country' partners (Hasselgard and Straume, 2013, 2015). Few studies have explored SfD partnerships from the dual perspectives of 'Global Northern' INGOs/donors and 'Global South' INGOs/local stakeholders, with the exception of Lindsey et al., (2017) whose book is the culmination of research on and with SfD partnerships working in Zambia over a ten year period. Writing about the complexity of SfD partnerships in Zambia, Lindsey et al., (2017) concluded on one hand that 'Global North' donors exercise power at a strategic level (e.g. they decide exactly where they wish to operate), which leaves local partners in Zambia feeling excluded from strategic level/sector wide discussions. However, on the other hand the practice of working in partnership with SfD INGOs was deemed very valuable by local practitioners, particularly because the formation of relationships with INGOs permitted Zambian SfD practitioners to gain a range of benefits such as; shared knowledge, build capacity, obtain or pool resources, joint delivery of activities, coordination of programme provision and advocacy (Lindsey et al., 2017). Overall, Lindsey

et al (2017) acknowledged that the degree of agency of Zambian practitioners is partly limited by 'Global North' INGO partners, but the overriding conclusion - based on their extensive longitudinal research in Zambia - was that the scope to exercise local agency is much more prevalent than some of the existing SfD literature suggests (e.g. Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012).

2.3.3 Dominant uses of sport and pedagogical approaches in SfD

Sport can be used in different ways within SfD programmes. Coalter (2007a) helpfully differentiates two approaches; namely 'sport plus' and 'plus sport'. The 'sport plus' approach, as introduced earlier is the use of sport in a traditional sense – to increase participation rates on different geographic scales (i.e., community/local; regional; national levels) – but, importantly within this setting non-sport development outcomes are attached as drivers. Delivery mechanisms for sport plus approaches tend to include adapted games (e.g. as with the Kicking Aids Out! approach), as well as workshops and discussion groups on issues such as development, education, health (e.g. HIV/AIDS education). However, Coalter (2013) does warn that the effectiveness of this approach is yet to be proven. Other challenges of the 'sport plus' approach are the blurred lines between sports development and social development goals (Black, 2010). 'Plus sport' is the reverse of 'sport plus', placing non-sport development outcomes at the centre of organisational delivery. Coalter (2007a) argues that sport in this context is used because of its 'fly paper' appeal to attract underserved communities that require access to vital information and life skills (e.g. sexual and reproductive health education to avoid HIV transmission). Coalter (2010a) also notes that the use of sport (sport-plus and plus-sport) should not be considered as one or the other, but as being placed along a continuum, in that some programmes have a mixture of approaches evident in their values, ethics, policies and practices.

In the main, the use of sport within SfD programmes tends to be positioned as an interventionist tool to promote different types of social development and peaceful social relations (Giulianotti, 2012). A number of scholars have argued that SfD intervention based programmes in Africa tend to focus their activities on delivering education and information through sport to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS as a key strategy to try and minimise the risk of contracting the virus (Lindsey and Banda, 2011; Banda et al., 2008). These programmes tend not to provide direct treatment such as

Anti-Retroviral treatment for HIV positive individuals as part of their activities, but rather draw on a 'sport plus' model and method of education for at-risk groups by focussing on health promotion and prevention. However, such intervention-based SfD programmes have not gone without criticism. Firstly, many SfD scholars argue that such SfD interventions are merely an extension of neo-liberal policies (Darnell, 2010, 2012; Forde, 2014; Hayhurst, 2014). Neo-liberal policies of deregulation, privatisation and the 'rolling back' of government 'welfare' services have been accompanied by the idealisation of a global free market, which some argue have enabled INGOs and SfD interventions to roll out their 'services' (e.g. intervention programmes) with little to no challenge or regulation.

Secondly, the critique comes from a number of behaviour change scholars who generally question the effectiveness of intervention programmes. Early behaviour change theories suggested that successful persuasion hinged on three key elements:

- i) The credibility of the speaker (the source)
- ii) The persuasiveness of the arguments (the message)
- iii) The responsiveness of the audience (the recipient) (Hovland et al., 1953).

This approach assumes that exposure to information (e.g. education on HIV/AIDS prevention) leads to a change in attitude, which in turn leads to a change in behaviour. Many SfD information campaigns are based on this 'information-deficit-model' where the underlying assumption is that people do not have enough (or the right) information, so if SfD intervention programmes can therefore provide more information, then this will enable them to change their behaviour (or make 'the right' or reasonable decisions). Although on the surface it sounds plausible, empirical evidence fails to support this hypothesis and significant limitations of this linear model have been recognised to make 'the right' or reasonable decisions regarding sexual behaviour (Pawson and Tilley, 1997; Petty et al., 2002; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). This critique applies to all SfD programmes that position HIV/AIDS education/awareness as a key feature of their programmes, an approach which may sound plausible to funders, programme designers and local communities, but as shown above, for behaviour change scholars, this kind of linear intervention approach comes with significant limitations in practice.

Pedagogical approaches within the SfD programmes differ based on the way in which SfD INGOs seek to attain their core objectives, which may

relate to topics such as health promotion, e.g. HIV/AIDS awareness and core life skills e.g. communication, leadership, discipline (Spaaij, 2012; Jeanes, 2011). Spaaij and Jeanes (2012) suggest that three dominant pedagogical approaches exist within SfD practice; i) the traditional didactic pedagogies, ii) peer education and iii) relationship-building. These dominant pedagogical approaches are important to this thesis as they feature within Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal' types of SfD programmes (i) 'technical' model, (ii) 'dialogical' model and (iii) 'critical' model), an analytic framework which will be used to support the analysis and explanation of the two SfD INGOs intentions and practices, details of which will be outlined in Chapter 4. Accordingly, each of these three pedagogical approaches will now be discussed in detail across the subsections to follow within this chapter.

2.3.3.1 Traditional didactic approaches

Didactic approaches are based on an assumption that a coach/leader provides participants with theoretical knowledge on the programme in a directive manner; this occurs in both a practical sports coaching session as well as a workshop setting (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2012). This traditional, and some may argue, outdated, educational approach assumes that the coach/leader is the source of knowledge which in turn is transmitted to the students through instructive methods. Following this approach, programme participants are viewed as passive listeners, which can lead to negative consequences. For example, Jeanes (2011) conducted a study in Zambia which examined HIV/AIDS education within SfD programmes and found that didactic approaches used by adults to deliver HIV/AIDS messages to young people were perceived by participants as "boring, and provided limited opportunity to discuss how they could practically use the information learnt" (2011, p.397).

As such, SfD programmes that follow this pedagogical approach are open to numerous limitations as this approach limits participation and reflection from programme participants. Spaaij (2011) for example, argues that didactic delivery approaches tend to position young people as problems, even 'victims' in need of 'fixing', which aligns with a 'deficit model' which has been well documented by a number of scholars (Lawson, 2005; Coalter and Taylor, 2010; Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2013; Forde, 2014; Jeanes and Spaaij, 2016). By following a 'deficit model', it is argued that programmes tend to assume that programme participants are deficient and in need of 'development' (Coalter and Taylor, 2010; Coalter, 2013).

2.3.3.2 Peer education

The basic premise of peer education is to provide young people from the same community as participants with various unpaid opportunities (e.g. coaching and/or refereeing) which support young people to "participate in decision making, confront exploitative gender relations, encourage ambition and recognize the value of education, develop relationships based on trust and reciprocity" (Coalter, 2010a, p.1387). Kerrigan (1999) argues that the popularity of using a peer education approach is because young people's attitudes are highly influenced by their peers, and as such peer educators are less likely to be viewed as teacher like authoritarian figures and more likely to be regarded as people who know the experiences and concerns of young people. Typically, a 'train-the-trainer' approach (Giulianotti, 2011a; Coalter, 2013) is used to upskill peer leaders who in turn help deliver SfD programmes to their peers. According to Spaaij and Jeanes (2012), peer education delivery tends to adopt multi-method learning strategies including experiential learning; discussion based workshops; self-reflection and/or didactic presentations.

The peer education pedagogical approach has close similarities with Bandura's (1962) social learning and self-efficacy theory, which attributes the effectiveness of role models (e.g. peer leaders) due to their perceived similarity to the learner. Bandura's argument is centred on the idea that learning is most likely to occur when there is a lack of social distance and a perceived similarity between the teacher and the learner. Jeanes (2011) agrees that peer-led interventions can offer a positive and lasting role in raising awareness of key topics and creating health behaviour changes within particular community contexts. As a pedagogical approach, peer education has gained popularity in the SfD sector, in particular, with indigenous NGOs such as Edu Sport, Sport in Action Zambia, Kicking Aids Out! and Mathare Youth Sport Association who have a history of utilising such methods in effective ways (Coalter, 2010a, 2013; Spaaij and Jeanes, 2012). Nicholls (2009 p.168) has suggested that peer education aims to nurture "horizontal dialogue that enables participants to plan as equals and to take a course of action that is contextually and culturally sound". Put another way, if participants see the peer leaders (e.g. role models) as different from themselves in significant ways, their perceived self-efficacy is not influenced as much by such models. The social distance could be based on gender, culture, nationality or race. For example, a study that considered the perspectives of 'Global Northern' white 'Right to Play'

volunteers who travelled to 'Global South' countries to deliver SfD programmes, found that encounters served to (re)construct a particular type of neo-colonial knowledge with black programme participants which were based on racial grounds that "Whiteness [was considered] as a position of dominance" and was "linked discursively to the subject position of the northern expert in development" (Darnell, 2007, p.567). According to Coalter (2013), role modelling that takes little account of social distance between the role model and the programme participant raises significant questions about the effectiveness of SfD programmes. .

However, peer education pedagogical approaches suffer from a lack of research that has examined the nature and quality of such processes and exchanges in context, and also the extent to which peer leaders are given ongoing support after initial training (Kruse, 2006). Arguing along the same lines, Nicholls (2009, p.170) has suggested that "the necessary support for peer educators is not always available in the resource-poor and donor-driven world of development through sport". A key attraction of the peer educator approach is that they are often unpaid volunteers, which according to Coalter (2010a) presents an attractive approach of programme delivery for aid agencies, INGOs and SfD supporters because volunteers increase the yield of aid and investment – "you get a lot for your money" (p.1387).

2.3.3.3 Relationship-building

Sport is widely recognised as a way to build positive social and personal development of participants (Coalter, 2007a; Crabbe, 2008; Nicholls, 2009; Bloyce and Smith, 2010). Drawing on popular practices in the areas of youth work, sport development and sport coaching, the relationship building pedagogical approach aims to foster long-term engagement between young people and educators. This is founded on the assumption that the creation of positive relationships between young people and educators are critical success factors (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2012; Crabbe, 2008). Broadly speaking, the relationship-building pedagogical approach is built on the assumption that by the act of building positive relationships - which includes trust and reciprocity - personal benefits can follow for participants - this is known as the development of 'social capital' (Field, 2003). Crabbe (2006) in particular supports this pedagogical approach and argues that through effective relationship building young people are in a stronger position to make positive life decisions by drawing from a wider range of options and experiences. Adopting this approach, the role of the SfD practitioner is to

engender non-hierarchical, dialogical relationships. In an evaluation of the UK based 'Positive Futures' programme, Crabbe (2008, p.32) suggested that positive relationships can “build breadth and depth of project related friendships, networks and opportunities, rather than just access to more and different people”. While this approach has been most comprehensively theorised in the 'Global North' (in particular through the UK-based programme 'Positive Futures'), it has also explicitly used in some SfD programmes in the Global South (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2012). According to Crabbe et al., (2006) SfD programmes that focus on relationship building provide the context for programme participants to develop a range of life skills that are transferable into other aspects of life. The fundamental attraction of this pedagogical approach is that sport is used as a 'hook' to engage and encourage young people to look at the broader issues that affects them, and develops relationships with other people who live and/or work in their community. It is a method for building community participation and citizenship and is a pathway to education and employment opportunities, which in turn, increases the social capital stocks of a community (Crabbe et al., 2006). In sum, the relationship building approach sensitises SfD practitioners to the significance of sustained and positive engagement between programme participants and also between SfD educators and programme participants.

2.3.4 Critique of the SfD landscape: issues of post-colonial residue, northern hegemony, neo-liberalism and sports evangelism

In recent years, a growing body of critical SfD literature has drawn attention to a number of widespread issues which result in asymmetric power relations that underpin the global SfD sector (Black, 2010; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011, 2012; Darnell, 2012; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014; Mwaanga and Adeosun, 2017; Banda and Holmes, 2017; Lindsey et al., 2017; Hasselgard and Straume, 2013, 2015; Hayhurst, 2009; Nicholls et al., 2011; Lindsey and Grattan, 2012; Collison et al., 2018; Giulianotti, 2012).

For example, the work of Gramsci (2011) focuses on the processes by which relatively powerful groups secure their dominant (hegemonic) position as a result of social and political negotiation with subordinated groups, particularly in the cultural sphere. In the broad study of sport, Gramsci's view on power has been used to illustrate how the construction of sporting institutions, the opportunities to participate and the meanings ascribed to physical activity and recreation are mediated in and through

relations of power (Darnell, 2011). Influenced by Gramsci's views of power, a range of SfD scholars interested in the mechanisms of power within practice, have used the concept of hegemony to examine the possibilities that power within the SfD sector is not exhausted purely by overt decision making and agenda construction. Instead a number of SfD scholars have used hegemony as a concept to examine the extent to which power operates at a deeper - more invisible level (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Levermore and Beacom, 2012; Giulianotti, 2016). As such, hegemony is used as a helpful concept to examine how cultural influences of dominant groups (e.g. nations, powerful organisations) attempt to influence subordinate groups to gain 'consensual domination'.

In particular, Darnell and Hayhurst (2012, p.113) have pointed to northern hegemony (as well as and neo-liberal ideologies) as key influencing discourses of the SfD sector, discourses they argue are connected to the (lack of) agency of local people who "do not necessarily possess the capacity to uniformly challenge dominant ideologies (e.g. market-oriented or neoliberal development); in fact, they may even reproduce such practices and relations, or exacerbate pre-existing social hierarchies in a top-down form". Similarly, Coakley (2011, p.309) has attributed the prominence of the neoliberal paradigm in SfD to the rise of a "global social problems industry funded primarily by North Americans and Northern Europeans". As highlighted earlier in this literature review, the neo-liberal era began in the 1980s in the USA and grew globally resulting in cuts in state-led public and social services.

In this regard, many scholars have suggested that the SfD sector has followed the same trajectory as the international development sector, which sees the hegemonic exchange of resources from 'Global North' donors to communities in the 'Global South' (Briggs, 2008; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014). This perspective is also reflective of the work of Said (1993) who argues that power is deeply linked to knowledge and discourse, both of which are steered by prejudice of Western ideology, philosophy and cultural values. In doing so, Said exposes problems linked to the cultural intercourse between the East/West and by extension the 'Global North'/'Global South'. Reflecting on the SfD sector, Mwaanga and Banda (2014) have argued that 'Global North' knowledges and ideologies remain privileged and intact and offered examples that such practices are exported to the receiving-end of SfD through travelling western academics, sports students on placement, knowledge transfer and ideologies of

western values and practice. According to Mwaanga and Banda (2014), any conflicts of interest between donors SfD (INGOs) and partners ('in country' SfD organisations) are typically downplayed largely due to dominant neo-liberal policies that underpin the SfD sector. Put another way, neo-liberal policies (e.g. deregulation, privatisation, 'rolling back' of welfare services) have been replaced by organisations (including SfD INGOs) taking on important roles within a world of borderless markets. This means that subordinate groups (e.g. 'in country' partners) have limited power as the SfD sector relies on self-regulation. Mwaanga and Banda (2014) liken the relationship between donors (INGOs) and 'in country' partners to that of the "Bwana Mkumbwa and Houseboy" relationship during colonial times (p.178). They argue that the Bwana (white settler) did not consult, but instead made decisions for the houseboy and the houseboy learned to never challenge the demands of the Bwana. In colonial times, this kind of relationship was characterised by complete avoidance of any sort of conflict by the houseboy for fear of losing his employment. They argue that such behaviours and pressure is felt today as local 'in country' partners who avoid destabilising their funding relationship by avoiding any level of conflict that would challenge western culture approaches as the ethnocentric centre of legitimate knowledge (also see Smith, 1999b, 2003). Overall, Mwaanga and Banda (2014) conclude that programme assumptions informed by 'Global Northern' discourse often go unchallenged because of the risk of displeasing the INGO funder.

This argument is not exclusive to SfD partnerships, but reflective of many international development orientated-programmes and partnerships. Baaz (2005) for example, has argued that North-South development-orientated partnerships should not be viewed as equal or based on mutual interests and goals, but as battlefields of knowledge informed by differing goals and interest. Baaz (2005, p. i) has demonstrated that tensions and conflicts typify INGO partnership discourse in the development aid context and argues that partnerships "reveal a discourse that is still constructed around images of the superior, reliable, efficient 'donor' in contrast to the inadequate, passive, unreliable 'partner' or recipient". Within a SfD setting Giulianotti (2011b, p.51) has asserted that the responsibility lies with 'northern' SfD organisations to thoughtfully reflect on the historical and ideological underpinnings of its origins, as, without such reflections, SfD organisations may run the risk of re-inscribing "imperialistic and neo-

colonial (indeed, NGO-colonial) relationships between Global North and Global South."

Giulianotti (2004, p.356) has also argued that the evangelical view about sport's innate goodness which originated in the 'Global North' has been implanted in the 'Global South'. As outlined earlier, Giulianotti has contended that the evangelical assumption of sports participation - along with hidden education messages (e.g. taking responsibility for your own actions/decisions) - have been used in 'Global South' settings to dissipate risky behaviours and divert 'at risk' youth from "licentious' social practices (such as drinking, gambling, casual sex, and the following of youth subcultural styles) - a move which could be viewed as "a form of neo-colonial repositioning" (2004, p.356). In this regard, Giulianotti (2004, 2011b) has asserted that there is no evidence that such normative approaches towards sport evangelism actually influences and changes young people's behaviour. Nevertheless, SfD interventions in the 'Global South' continue to be sustained by this widespread assumption that "young people in the old colonies may be more readily organized to receive and internalize the tendentious, self-controlling messages buried within sports" (Giulianotti, 2004, p.356-357).

2.3.5 A counter critique of the SfD postcolonial landscape

The critique presented above argues that the SfD sector is infused with postcolonial legacies, northern hegemony and unequal power relationships; however this view is not upheld by all SfD scholars. For example, Coalter (2013) rejects the postcolonial critique within SfD as being too general and "derived from first principles rather than based on empirical investigation" (p.170). Coalter (2013, p.46) continues that the arguments of postcolonial SfD critics tend to be mounted "in terms of homogenising polarities" and are based on vague terminology such as 'neo-colonialism', the 'Global North' and 'Global South', terms which owe "more to ideology, rather than robust empirical research." As such, Coalter (2010b, 2013) questions the postcolonial critique and neo-colonial positioning of the SfD sector as being too general and when referring to potential power inequalities between 'Global Northern' donors and 'Global Southern' partners, arguing that "these are matters for empirical investigation, rather than abstract critical assertion, or deduction from theoretical principles" (Coalter, 2013, p.32). The thesis takes on board Coalter's (2013) critique and plea for more empirical investigations into post-colonial relationships and as will be explained in detail in Chapter 4, this thesis has an open mind concerning

the influence of colonialism and associated workings of power. In particular, Chapter 4 argues towards a more hybrid, flexible understanding of power, and draws from multiple theories of power. On the one hand, the theories adopted for this study aim to uncover the challenges facing Cameroonian SfD practitioners who work along INGOs to deliver INGO programmes in Cameroon by exploring issues of post-colonial residue, race, influence of INGOs and wider global institutions. Yet, on the other hand this study is keen to explore the potential benefits and leverage (e.g. social capital) available to Cameroonian SfD practitioners when working with SfD INGOs and their practitioners.

2.4 Chapter summary

This literature review has charted a historical and contextual overview outlining 'how' and 'why' SfD INGOs have entered the domain of international development. It is evident that scholarship concerned with the policies and practice of the SfD sector has increased in critical mass over the past two decades and the dominant research perspectives have been reflected in this literature review (e.g. colonialism, colonial legacies, influence of policies (e.g. MDGs/SDGs directed by the 'Global North')). Under scrutiny here is the influence of powerful northern organisations, (e.g. INGOs from the 'Global North') who finance and administer SfD programmes in partnership with organisations in Cameroon in the 'Global South', a practice which some argue may indicate 'Global North' domination (Cronin, 2011). Others have extended this critique by arguing that such partnerships enhance rather than alleviate post-colonial ties marked by dependencies and patronage from the organisations that they work with in the 'Global South' (Giulianotti et al., 2016).

This chapter has addressed the key debates concerning to the aim, Research Questions (and corresponding Research Objectives) of this research study. For example, this thesis is based on the understanding that post-colonial contexts are complex, filled with diverse historical dynamics. It is also important to note that the SfD sector is complex and varies according to different actors, intentions, as well as historical, political circumstances shaping the sector's 'agenda' (e.g. MDGs, SDGs, and/or agenda of the donors). Understanding the day-to-day lived experiences of local practitioners living and delivering SfD programmes in the 'Global South' is considered critical in order to gain a more holistic and nuanced understanding of the SfD sector, in particular the relationships and everyday interactions between local SfD practitioners and their INGO

partner and funder. The chapter has raised key questions about the extent to which existing SfD studies have been able to provide a localised understanding of the complexities and nuances of SfD partnerships in practice. This is not to question the validity of existing literature in this area, but rather to recognise as Lindsey et al., (2017) and Mwaanga and Mwansa (2014) have done, that SfD scholars to date have only offered limited opportunities for stakeholders from outside the 'Global North' to express their perspectives and insights into the practices of SfD 'on the ground'.

Given the criticisms and limitations of SfD scholarship outlined in this chapter, this thesis takes a relatively new research orientation and in line with the three stated Research Questions and corresponding objectives of this study, the study will critically examine the 'formal discourse' of two SfD INGOs with regard to their presence and intentions in Cameroon (Research Question/Objective One). The 'Global Northern' discourse will be contrasted with localised Cameroonian SfD practitioner perspectives to explore the issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions relating to the relationship with the INGO and its practitioners (Research Question/Objective Two). The research will also examine any issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions regarding the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes in Cameroon (Research Question/Objective Three).

As detailed throughout this chapter, there is an abundance of existing SfD literature which has widely debated and offered critical insights into the broad power structures associated with the sector. However, the literature that examines partnerships and day-to-day lived experiences of 'Global North' and 'Global South' practitioners working alongside each other is still a relatively under-developed area. In addition, considering the context within which the thesis study is situated, there is a lack of existing literature that documents the practices of SfD within Cameroon, a gap which this thesis also intends to address. This thesis helps to address a need to better understand the power relations and practices within the sector, and does so by examining localised perspectives and contrasting these with the stated intentions of INGOs. This is a novel approach to examine the relationships between two SfD INGOs based in the 'Global North' and their local partner organisations in Cameroon in the 'Global South', as it contrasts the dual perspectives of practitioners from the INGOs and local partner

organisations, an approach which has not been pursued previously within SfD studies.

The thesis looks beyond the uncritical 'evangelical' accounts and assumed mythopoeic powers of sport and instead takes up critical questions about the unequal power relations and stakeholder power dynamics, in particular 'how' and 'why' power relations play out in the way they do in order to explore the study's three Research Questions and corresponding Research Objectives

In order to examine the perspectives of 'Global Northern' INGOs/donors and 'Global South' partners, Chapter 4 articulates a theoretical framework which seeks to consider a more holistic understanding of power, one which explores power as domination, but also focuses on the outcome of the power-based relationships to explore the extent to which local agency and positive change can be achieved within complex partnerships infused with power. However, before this is outlined, the next chapter (Chapter 3) offers a comprehensive contextual overview of Cameroon.

**CHAPTER 3:
THE CAMEROONIAN CONTEXT**

3.1 Chapter introduction

The literature review outlined in Chapter 2 revealed key insights and literature pertaining to this study. In order to connect this literature to the study's geographical setting and explore the research aim and objectives, this chapter provides an underpinning contextual profile of Cameroon by offering a detailed overview of the nation's historical, cultural, economic and sporting components, highlighting the conditions under which the two SfD programmes were implemented. The contextual and background information also provides a platform for the subsequent empirical findings Chapters (6, 7 and 8) to provide a thorough exploration of the nuanced experiences of Cameroonian practitioners who implement football and cricket SfD programmes on behalf of the INGOs.

The chapter is split into five sections and begins with a country overview, which builds on Cameroon's pre-and post-colonial journey outlined in Chapter 2 and outlines the dramatic impact that colonialism has had in Cameroon, in particular the attitudes towards and use of language. Secondly, the political context is discussed, specifically the dominance of Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) and President Biya, who have long dominated the country's political landscape. Specific attention is also given to the current national crisis between Anglophone and Francophone Cameroonians, a politically charged conflict which continues to divide the country. Thirdly, the chapter outlines key background information concerning the organisations (INGOs and their 'in country' partners) alongside a profile of the programme delivery locations central to this thesis. Fourthly, the chapter profiles the social nature of Cameroonian society and culture, including its ethnic diversity and claims of imbedded nepotism. Next, Cameroon's economic and development status is profiled. The final section discusses the role of sport in Cameroon. Specifically, it discusses the government-led sport structures; the role of cricket and football (the chosen sports used by the INGOs to deliver SfD programmes); and the role that non-governmental organisations play in Cameroon, including the emerging SfD sector. At the end of the chapter a summary of the main points is provided in relation to the overall thesis.

3.2 Country Overview

Cameroon, officially the Republic of Cameroon, is a large African state located on the Gulf of Guinea between West Africa and Central Africa (Anderson, 2003) and is often referred to as 'Africa in miniature' due to its geological and cultural diversity (Amin, 2014). With an estimated

population of 20 million and being a former colony of Germany, France and Great Britain, Cameroon's "triple colonial heritage" makes it a unique nation fused with many political, economic and social complexities (Nyamnjoh and Awasom, 2008, p.1). The official languages are French and English, although over 240 indigenous languages and local dialects exist (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003). Of the indigenous languages spoken, the most common include Duala, Basa'a, Ewondo, Bameleke, Lamnsoh, Kom, Bafut, Mbili and Mungaka (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010). Cameroon has six neighbours which includes Nigeria on its North-West, Chad and the Central African Republic on its Eastern borders and the Republic of the Congo, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea on its Southern border.

The earliest inhabitants of Cameroon were the Baka Pygmies who lived around the South-East rainforest (DeLancey et al., 2010). The name Cameroon originated from the Portuguese who arrived to the country's coastline in the 15th century and named the region Rio dos Cameroes, which means 'river of prawns' (Ardener, 1962). Following the departure of the Portuguese explorers in the 19th century, the Germans arrived, which marked the beginning of Cameroon's triple colonial heritage. In the decades that followed the colonial regimes of Germany, France and Britain left their mark, which has led to a complex set of social, cultural, economic and political conditions for modern day Cameroon to contend with.

Cameroon is characterised by many traditional practices which are culturally embedded in society (Amin, 2014; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Nyamnjoh and Awasom, 2008). Taking the example of gender stereotypes, women represent 52 per cent of the Cameroonian population, yet Fonjong (2001) has suggested that rather than playing an equal role in the development of society, women tend to function from a subordinate position. Fonjong and Athanasia (2007, p.113) concur that for many communities in Cameroon "traditional norms prescribe that women fulfil the reproductive roles of child bearing, home management and food provision for the family", which they argued is more widespread in rural communities.

3.2.1 Multi-lingualism in Cameroon

This thesis takes concern with the use of, and attitude towards language by local SfD practitioners, in particular how they perceive SfD programmes which are designed by English speaking INGOs. As noted earlier, Cameroon is a multilingual country comprising of over 240 indigenous languages, including two 'official' languages (English and French) and multiple 'unofficial' languages such as Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) (see

Kum, 2018, Schneider, 1967). However, after more than fifty years of independence, Cameroon is still struggling to deal with its complex heritage with regards to its use of and attitudes towards language. The two official languages, English and French, arrived into Cameroon in 1916 when Britain and France divided Cameroon into two unequal parts at the end of World War I. The colonial rulers sought to impose their languages in the newly acquired territory, both in the areas of education and administration. This led to the implantation of the two languages between 1916 and 1960; a situation which is still complex today. Despite having access to over 240 indigenous languages Cameroon followed the pattern of many of its post-independence African neighbours and chose its 'official' languages from its colonial past. Following reunification in 1961, English and French became the two 'official' languages of Cameroon along with a policy of language bilingualism.

The adoption of French and English as the two official languages gave rise to the distinguishing linguistic markers; Francophone and Anglophone Cameroonians (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010). It is important at this stage to note that Cameroon is also divided into ten administrative units known as 'provinces' or 'regions'. Eight of them are French-speaking (Far-North, North, Adamawa, Centre, South, East, West, and Littoral) while two are English-speaking (South-West and North-West). As such, French is considered to be the dominant language due to its majority use across eight regions including Yaoundé as the capital city, whilst English remains dominant in only two regions (North-West and South-West) which had previously been under British rule (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Nyamnjoh, 1999; Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998).

Many scholars have suggested that the true situation in Cameroon today does not reflect the official bilingualism of the language policy (Mbaku, 2005; Mbaku and Takougang, 2004; Kum, 2018). In their candid discussion of bilingualism in Cameroon, Dyers and Abongdia (2010) stated that Anglophones are widely understood to be the inferior cultural group and are therefore much more likely to have to learn French (rather than Francophones learning English) in order to access services and state benefits; resulting in a one-sided bilingualism. The critiques concerning the unequal practice of bilingualism largely stem from the fact that the Francophone population vastly outnumbers the Anglophone population, a dominance which affects language preference and functional spheres of power including government and broader civil services such as education

and justice systems (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003; Konings, 2011; Nyamnjoh and Rowlands, 1998; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Kum, 2018).

In addition to the official and indigenous languages a number of informal languages such as Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) exist. Scholars refer to as CPE as the inclusion of 'Cameroon Creole', 'Wes-Kos' (Schneider, 1963), 'West African Pidgin English' (Schneider, 1967), and 'Cameroon Pidgin' (Todd, 1982). Other non-scholarly names such as 'bush English' and 'broken English' have equally been used to describe this language. According to Kum (2018), the use of CPE is often traced back as the 18th century when English traders and missionaries set foot on the coast of West Africa. CPE developed to guarantee effective communication in the area and following the abolition of slave trade at the beginning of the 19th century, CPE continued to expand all over the coastal region. Following the French-British occupation of Cameroon beginning in 1916, CPE witnessed a new period of its history. In the British Cameroons, where it was mainly spoken, English and a mix of indigenous languages enriched local vocabulary. Following the birth of Federal Republic of Cameroon in 1961, CPE experienced French influence, so today CPE is no longer perceived exclusively the language of Anglophones.

It is evident that the use of and attitude towards language in Cameroon is highly complex. It includes linguistic borrowing and mixing of formal languages as well as seeing an increased use of CPE and other informal languages (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010). Other informal languages include Fran-anglais which is a mixture of English, French, CPE and other European languages including Spanish and German (Ayafor, 2006) and some have argued that it has become especially popular with young people of Cameroon (Alim et al., 2009). For many people, CPE is still used as their preferred language (Ayafor, 2006) and is widely used in functional spheres across Cameroon such as in churches, markets, on the streets, by teachers in class to make explanations easier for their learners (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010). However, despite its popularity, its use is frowned upon by many who believe that its use will prevent people from acquiring the desired standard in the two 'official' languages. For instance, Ayafor (2006, p.197) have drawn on an example by the University of Buea who frown on any use of CPE and display the following warnings on notice boards:

English is the password not Pidgin.

English is the language of Commonwealth, not Pidgin.

If you speak pidgin, you'll write pidgin.

Pidgin is taking a negative toll on your English; shun it.

Whilst it is beyond the aim of this thesis to explore the intricacies and nuances of language in Cameroon, the use of and attitude towards language by local practitioners is of interest as it highlights how they perceive programmes which are designed by English speaking INGOs. This section has illustrated that multilingual characteristics are present in Cameroon and has highlighted a culture of linguistic borrowing, translation and mixing of official, unofficial and indigenous languages. The multilingual context has implications for this thesis, for example the use of written and verbal communication by Cameroonian practitioners, which is also coupled with my own linguistic abilities as the researcher who carried out fieldwork in Cameroon (Chapter 5 expands in more detail on these issues).

3.3 Political context

As with other aspects of contemporary society, the politics of Cameroon are also permeated by the country's colonial relationships with Britain and France. According to Fanso (1999), the Anglo-French partition created separate allegiances and still these two linguistic and cultural groups of Francophones and Anglophones remain distinct and uncompromising, with the people of each community firmly attached to their own respective cultures (Kum, 2019). It has been suggested by Jua and Konings (2004) that the political situation in Cameroon reflects a split in loyalty which in turns impacts on a united Cameroonian national identity. This situation is not unique to Cameroon however, as Phiri (2006) notes that many African nations suffer from the lack of a clear notion of national identity.

Cameroon has - until recently - been a relatively politically stable nation in Africa since independence in 1960. For the past fifty years, Cameroon has had only two Heads of State, beginning with Ahmadou Ahidjo who ruled from 1960 to 1982. In 1966, under the rule of Ahidjo all political parties unified to form a single party – the Cameroon National Union (CNU) - and power became centralised and concentrated in the hands of one man, the President of the Republic of Cameroon. Paul Biya succeeded Ahidjo as President in 1982 leading the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM). In 1990, multiple parties became legal after widespread protest. 1992 saw the first election held, which was won by the CDPM (who had formed a coalition with the Movement for the Defence of the Republic). Biya is still in power today, in his seventh term of office. When Biya began

his presidency in 1982, his promise to Cameroonians was that he would dismantle the dictatorship established by Ahidjo and provide Cameroonians with a country based on morality. However, Biya's regime has not passed without criticism. Nyamnjoh (1996) has argued that the democratic process in Cameroon has stalled due to poor political governance and leadership. According to Mbaku and Takougang (2004) individual freedom continues to elude most Cameroonians under a Biya led government.

In recent decades, Cameroon has become known for issues related to corruption and non-transparency in its judicial and legal systems (Business Anti-Corruption Network, 2017). In 1998, Cameroon was labelled as the most corrupt country in the world under criteria adopted by Transparency International (Nyamnjoh, 1999), and in 2015 was placed the 145th most corrupt country out of 176 countries in terms of its practices (Transparency International, 2017). Accusations of corruption within Cameroonian political activity have been apparent for many decades (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003). Biya's CPDM party has long dominated the country's political landscape, currently occupying 148 of the 180 seats in the National Assembly, and 81 of 100 seats in the senate, a body that was created in 2013 (World Bank, 2017). In particular, Nyamnjoh and Rowlands (1998) have criticised Biya and other Cameroonian elites for privatising state structures in a bid to turn them into instruments for their own benefit rather than serving as agents of change for the wider benefits of post-colonial Cameroon. Ferim (2013) too suggests that Cameroon is a hive of political corruption, fraud, nepotism and describes it as a "deeply-rooted issue" (p.306) which is played out in a variety of ways including allegations of rigged elections and nullifying opposition. This is exemplified in the recent 2018 elections which saw a low voter turnout and widespread accusations of voter intimidation, claims which have further tarnished the political reputation of Cameroon (BBC, 2018).

As well as ongoing corruption allegations, Cameroon is facing the consequences of ongoing and deep-rooted dispute and struggles between Anglophones and the Francophone dominated government, which has affected Cameroon's internal stability and global reputation (the next section provides more detail around this issue). This political situation is coupled with ongoing humanitarian issues, such as the political and security related issues in neighbouring Central African Republic, and the ongoing terrorism and kidnapping threats in Cameroon's Northern regions,

where terrorist group Boko Haram continues to engage in a low intensity war based in neighbouring Nigeria (World Bank, 2017).

3.3.1 The 'Anglophone problem'

A major issue facing modern Cameroonian politics is the ongoing socio-political dispute commonly referred to as the 'Anglophone problem' (Konings, 1997, 2003, 2019). The essence of this can be traced back to the end of the French and British colonial legacy and the formation of Cameroon as an independent state. In this regard, Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997, p.207) asserted that the French and British governments:

Did not provide for the equal partnership of both parties, let alone for the preservation of the cultural heritage and identity of each, but turned out to be merely a transitory phase to the total integration of the Anglophone region into a strongly centralised, unitary state.

The well-documented divide between the populations of Cameroon relates to the identity and perception of Anglophone Cameroonians, who constitute 20 percent of the population. In short, Anglophone Cameroonians feel marginalised and exploited by the Francophone-dominated state and by the Francophone population as a whole (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2004, 2019; Tamfu, 2018). Many have criticised the Francophone-dominated government, and their attempts to deconstruct Anglophone identity by encouraging divisions within the Anglophone elite as one strategy to further create an Anglophone-Francophone divide (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003; Ngenge, 2003). Konings and Nyamnjoh (2003) have suggested that Anglophone Cameroon has had little autonomy since the country's re-unification. Kofele-Kale (1986) has attributed the beginning of this divide to Biya's predecessor, President Ahidjo who was widely accused of undermining Anglophone interests and shifting administrative and commercial centres to Francophone regions away from large influential Anglophone towns such as Buea and Limbe in the South-West region.

In recent years, the unrest has escalated to new heights resulting in violent demonstrations and strikes over the perceived economic and political marginalisation of Cameroon's Anglophone minority. This action has followed a series of grievances which have morphed into political demands, leading to strikes and riots. The International Crisis Group (2017) reported that:

The [strike and protest] movement grew to the point where the government's repressive approach was no longer sufficient to calm the situation, forcing it to negotiate with Anglophone trade unions

and make some concessions. Popular mobilisation is now weakening, but the majority of Anglophones are far from happy. Having lived through three months with no internet, six months of general strikes and one school year lost, many are now demanding federalism or secession. Ahead of presidential elections next year, the resurgence of the Anglophone problem could bring instability.

The Cameroonian government continues to maintain that it has a fair bilingual system, yet the English speaking Cameroonians still feel oppressed and feel the need to take action (Konings, 2019). Since 2015, the Anglophone resistance has increased and attempts to claim autonomy from the French dominated regions has grown. This ongoing tension has caused a series of protests, school and court closures and teacher strikes, in response to government-led interventions to control Anglophone resistance which have included internet cuts, curfews and violent clashes (Kouega, 2018; Tamfu, 2018; Abdur, 2017; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Kindzeka, 2017). Amnesty International (2017) have reported deadly effects following the protests and have pointed to the Cameroon security forces as being responsible for dozens of deaths and the detaining of over 500 people in Anglophone regions. They also suggest that the country's security forces, including the army, have used unnecessary or excessive force when conducting arrests, and have destroyed property and looted belongings.

In addition, government authorities have detained opposition activists who pursue outright separation from Cameroon with a new state called 'Ambazonia' (Mwakideu, 2017), a move which Abah (2018) suggests causes major challenges for the state regarding national unity. A number of scholars have attributed the emergence of 'regionalism' and lack of progress concerning the ongoing Anglophone/Francophone dispute to the domestic (cultural) hegemonic attempts of the Francophone-dominated state (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Angwafo, 2014; Ekanjume-Ilongo, 2016). Representing the majority of government ministry positions, Francophone Cameroonians are the largest in number and therefore hold a hegemonic position in terms of defining the social, cultural and political agenda in Cameroon.

3.4 Economic and development overview

Historically, Cameroon has enjoyed relative economic growth from self-reliant efforts and improvements in agricultural development in the 1960s and 70s, before an economic downturn in the 1980s (Angwafo, 2014).

During this period, the WB and IMF imposed a series of economic reform programmes, which included cuts in public expenditure (public-sector wages were reduced by 70 per cent in 1993), structural adjustment, privatisation of the many publicly owned enterprises, and rescheduling external debt (The Commonwealth, 2017). The recession in the 1980s was attributed to mismanagement and corruption, which led to severe salary cuts, high rates of unemployment, poverty and migration (Angwafo, 2014). The 1990s saw a move towards privatisation and imposed aid policies in the form of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in an attempt to help rescue the ailing economy (Akonumbo, 2003), an example of neo-liberal policies influenced by the WB. The main objective for privatisation was to increase efficiency and limit financial expenditure. During this period, approximately 70 state-owned enterprises were closed down and/or restructured, with a loss of about 20,000 jobs within state owned organisations including Régifercam (rail company), CAMSUCO (sugar), SOCAPALM (palm oil), BICEC (bank) and Cameroon Airlines (The Commonwealth, 2017). However, because of its oil reserves and favourable agricultural conditions, Cameroon still has one of the best-endowed primary commodity economies in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Today, Cameroon is ranked 153 out of 188 on the Human Development Index (HDI) and is classified by the WB as a lower-middle-income country (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). The HDI is an average measure of basic human development achievements in a country including standard of living, education and life expectancy. For example, between 1990 and 2015 Cameroon's HDI value has increased by 16.6 percent. During this timeframe Cameroon's life expectancy at birth has increased by 2.4 years to 56 years, mean years of schooling has increased by 2.6 years to 6.1 and expected years of schooling has increased by 2.4 years to 10.1. Cameroon's Gross National Income per capita increased by about 5.5 percent between 1990 and 2015 (United Nations Development Programme, 2016). However in the recent past, economic activity has slowed (Doffonsou and Andrianarison, 2017) which have been attributed to a reduction in oil production due to the maturity of the main oil fields, and to the avian flu epidemic that has damaged the local poultry industry, particularly in the West, which accounts for 80 percent of poultry production (World Bank, 2017). A recent economic outlook report suggested that Cameroon has an active private sector with over 90,000 businesses in operation, yet factors such as corruption has seen businesses perform

poorly in business rankings, slipping from 132nd in 2013 to 168th in 2015 (Doffonsou and Andrianarison, 2017).

However, despite the recent dip in economic growth, the WB (2017) and African Economic Outlook (Doffonsou and Andrianarison, 2017) recognise the continued implementation of the government's infrastructure plan and interventions to boost the agriculture, construction and forestry sectors, which are significantly seen as contributing to sustaining strong growth in public works and construction and services.

3.4.1 Progress towards international and national development goals

Although Cameroon does boast a good range of natural resources and has a relatively stable economic profile, there still remains an ongoing struggle to meet international and national development goals. As outlined previously, the MDG set targets to focus the work of the UN throughout the period 2000-2015 in identified counties (United Nations, 2014) (see Figure 2.3). As outlined in Chapter 2, the MDGs focused international efforts on achieving measurable improvements in eight areas; reduction of poverty, hunger, child mortality and disease, and to promote education, maternal health, gender equality, environmental sustainability and global partnerships (United Nations, 2017). Reflecting on Cameroon, its progression towards set MDG targets has been poor. Of the 17 targets set, Cameroon achieved just two of the targets by 2015. The areas of progress were in relation to MDG 1: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, where the target was to halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger (between 1990 and 2015). The second target achieved related to MDG 6: combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other preventable diseases. The Cameroon National Institute of Statistics (2016) reported that Cameroon had reduced the estimated HIV/AIDS prevalence rate to 3 per cent which met target 6A. Of particular interest to this thesis is MDG 6, which targeted a reduction in HIV/AIDS. As with many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has affected Cameroon. Statistics collected in 2013 suggested that 4.5 percent of adults in Cameroon (Est 620,000) were living with HIV. Whilst this percentage is not as high as some of its African neighbours, new HIV infections in Cameroon have risen and individuals accessing antiretroviral treatment has been estimated at a mere 37 percent of the infected population (UNAIDS, 2016). Within Africa and more broadly, health policy makers and SfD INGOs have identified education programmes as a key intervention strategy to reduce infection rates and increase education and awareness (Svensson and Woods, 2017). These

programmes have particularly targeted young people (Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale, 2004) which mirror the two SfD programmes central to the thesis (which will be discussed further in Chapter 6).

Internally, Cameroon has a long term national development strategy called 'Vision 2035'. This strategy has been established in order to accelerate economic growth and tackle poverty reduction in the coming decades in line with international development goals (Philemon, 2009). National targets have been set to: (i) increase the annual average economic growth, (ii) reduce under-employment, (iii) reduce the monetary poverty rate, and (iv) achieve the broader global development targets by 2020 (Philemon, 2009). In addition, Cameroon's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) - developed in consultation with the WB and the IMF - has recognised Cameroon's national sport policy, specifically the consolidation of governance in sport, supervision of sports association and development of sports infrastructure, as one way to contribute towards its Growth and Employment Strategy paper by providing jobs in construction as well as sports development and administration (International Monetary Fund, 2010).

3.5 Social context

Cameroon's population has been described as "extremely heterogeneous and extremely complex and one of the most diverse countries in Africa" (DeLancey et al., 2010, p.159). As a multi-ethnic society with over 200 ethnic tribes, estimates have suggested that that 50 percent of Cameroonians identify as Christians (divided equally between catholic and protestant denominations), 25 percent identify as Muslim, (mostly Sunni), and the remaining 25 percent adhere to traditional religious beliefs (Mbaku, 2005).

3.5.1 Ethnic diversity and conflict

Of the 200 plus ethnic tribes, it is suggested that all tribes tend to align to one of three major ethnic groups; the Bantus, the Semi-Bantus and the Sudanese (Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon, 2017a). According to Konings and Nyamnjoh (1997) Cameroon has suffered from significant ethnic conflict as the population tends to identify with their ethnic group loyalties first and foremost, before identifying as a unified nation state. Angwafo (2014, p.209) has offered an example of such ethnic ideology by suggesting that many Cameroonians think "they are first of all Mankon, Bayang, Bum, Fulanis, and Beti Bassa, before they think they are Cameroonians". With such a diverse ethnic society, Cameroon has been at

the centre of ethnic corruption claims. Such claims date back to the 1990s when President Biya is said to have leaned on his ethnic group to fill positions in government (DeLancey et al., 2010; Mbaku, 2005). Such ethnic partiality has been labelled by many as nepotism or favouritism, a term that Nye (1967, p.419) defines as “bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit”. It has been suggested that the practice of nepotism is widespread and is seen in all spheres of Cameroonian society (Nyamnjoh, 1999; Angwafo, 2014). Mforteh (2007) used the example of admitting students into professional schools and appointments to the civil service to show examples where appointments have been made based on ethnic, linguistic representation and regionalism grounds rather than the competence of the individual. Having enjoyed stability for many decades in spite of its diverse population, this chapter has illustrated that Cameroon is grappling with a difficult set of socio-political circumstances. These include the ongoing attacks by Boko Haram in the Far-North and the wide-spread instability in the Anglophone regions which to date has been estimated to have claimed the lives of more than 400 civilians and over 200 military, gendarmerie, and police officers in the past two years (World Bank, 2017).

Having outlined the complexities regarding language and politics, this next section outlines the key background information concerning partnerships central to this thesis, as well as the characteristics of the SfD programme delivery locations Yaoundé, Buea and Kumba. Specific attention is given to their location, size, colonial influence and dominant language/s.

3.6 Overview of the INGOs, 'in country' partners and fieldwork study locations

This study encompassed multi-sited fieldwork in Cameroon with SfD organisations (INGOs and their 'in country' partners) in two regions; the Centre region and the South-West region (as shown in Figure 2.2). Within these two regions, ethnographic fieldwork took place in three urban settings; Yaoundé, the capital city, a Francophone/French speaking stronghold in the Centre region and Buea and Kumba - two major cities in the Anglophone and English speaking stronghold of the South-West region. It is useful to note that the two SfD INGO programmes central to this thesis do operate in other areas across Cameroon but the three locations were selected as they represented the targeted delivery sites for the INGOs at the time of the study design and data collection. In this regard, specific

details regarding the data collection and sampling methods are outlined and discussed in Chapter 5.

3.6.1 Organisational overview of INGOs and 'in country' partners

Cricket Without Boundaries and Cameroon Cricket Federation

Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB) is a non-profit UK SfD charity that first began its work in 2005. CWB uses cricket as a delivery tool with the aim of achieving health and social outcomes in a range of targeted countries (Cricket Without Boundaries, 2015). In Sub-Saharan Africa, CWB work with indigenous 'in country' partners in Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Uganda and Cameroon. CWB became operational in Cameroon in 2012 with the support of the Cameroon Cricket Federation (CCF) - the national governing body of cricket in Cameroon - and was subsequently formalised through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). CWB have three main goals:

- i) To spread cricket through coaching children and teaching adults how to coach;
- ii) To link the sport to health and social messages and incorporate these messages into coaching sessions;
- iii) To bring together and empower local communities through cricket (Cricket Without Boundaries, 2015).

The delivery mechanisms to achieve these goals are twofold. Firstly, a designated two-week project typically takes place in Cameroon annually which is organised and delivered by UK volunteers who travel to targeted primary and secondary schools and communities to deliver HIV/AIDS awareness messages which are integrated with cricket coaching activities. Secondly, a year-round programme of activity in Cameroon is delivered by a part time Cameroonian 'ambassador' coach funded by CWB. In terms of financing, CWB is mainly supported by donor funds from UK based individual supporters.

As CWB's 'in country' partner, CCF's role is to support the planning and delivery of CWB programmes in Cameroon. CCF is an affiliate member of the International Cricket Council and is also a member of the African Cricket Association. Like the majority of national governing bodies of sport, CCF primarily exists to support the elite side of the sport and also aim to develop the popularity and grassroots infrastructure of cricket. The development of cricket across Cameroon relies heavily on the partnership with CWB, which brings with it resources in the form of UK volunteers, cricket equipment and sports clothing. CCF is volunteer-led and encompassed approximate forty volunteers at the time of fieldwork, who

between them took on a range of administrative, governance and delivery/coaching roles. CCF receives funding on an ad-hoc basis. For example, cricket is not a listed sport on the Physical Education National Curriculum in Cameroon and as such does not receive grassroots school development funding, but does receive some nominal funding for project work from the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education but also relies on resources from CWB (for example to pay the Ambassador coach, and provide new and donated cricket equipment).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US and Cameroon Football Development Programme-Cameroon

Cameroon Football Development Programme (CFDP) is a non-profit organisation established in 2006 with the mission to improve the lives of African youth through football. There are two offices and two teams; one in Pittsburgh, USA (CFDP-US), and the other in Kumba, Cameroon (CFDP-Cameroon). The CFDP-US team is the strategic lead and work to create awareness, collect equipment and raise funds. Members of the US team regularly travel to Cameroon to support the operational team. CFDP-Cameroon is the 'in country team' which at the time of field work comprised of seven full time staff and a team of approximately ten volunteer community coaches and referees. The CFDP-Cameroon team deliver year-round programmes in Cameroon which seek to promote education, gender equity, health, leadership and life skills through community clubs and leagues. Delivery is supported by local volunteer football coaches and peer leaders who are trained to deliver weekly opportunities for youth to play football. With support from FIFA Football Hope, Coaches Across Continents, Street Football World and a range of American based donors, CFDP-Cameroon operate educational youth football leagues in English speaking regions of Cameroon. The core values central to their programme are delivered by following a 'sport-plus' approach and include the following individual principles; be prepared; be a team player, educate yourself, respect others, play fair, be a role model, elevate your community.

3.6.2 Fieldwork locations

Yaoundé

Yaoundé, the nation's capital city is located in the Centre region and has an estimated population of 2,000,000 (Cameroon National Institute of Statistics, 2015). As the administrative hub of Cameroon it is also home to

the majority of sport bodies such as the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education, the Olympic and Commonwealth Games offices and a host of national governing bodies of sport, including CCF, (as outlined above, the 'in country' partner of CWB). As the former capital of French Cameroon, the politics, services and infrastructure of Yaoundé are heavily influenced by a Francophone dominated government (Mbaku and Takoungang, 2004; Mbaku, 2005; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997) a dominance which is also echoed in literature regarding Cameroon's sporting infrastructures and politics (Onwumechili and Akindes, 2014; Nkwi and Vidacs, 1997).

Buea

Buea in the South-West region is one of the delivery locations for CWB and CCF. Located on the Eastern slopes of Mount Cameroon, the large University city has a population of 90,088 (at the 2005 census) and is the capital of Cameroon's South-West region (Cameroon National Institute of Statistics, 2015). The South-West is one of two Anglophone English speaking regions in Cameroon and, as the regional capital, Buea has political and historic significance, having been the former capital of German Kamerun (1901-1919) and capital of Southern Cameroons from 1949 to 1961 (Tchoungui, 2000). As the capital of one of the two Anglophone regions, the population of Buea (and wider population of the South-West and North-West regions) tend to speak English, CPE and indigenous languages (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003). As the regional capital, it is particularly well known within Cameroon as a centre of separatist resentment against the Francophone domination of the country (Kouagheu, 2017). CWB or CCF do not have a physical office/or paid administration/coaching staff in the region, but instead rely on informal networks with Buea based school teachers/cricket enthusiasts to help organise/coordinate the CWB programme which is delivered in Buea each year for approximately one week.

Kumba

Kumba - also known as K Town - is a large city situated in the Meme division in the South-West region and is home to the headquarters of CFDP-Cameroon. The office is the base for its seven members of Cameroonian staff, and provides a meeting space for its volunteer Cameroonian coaches and peer leaders. The town has an estimated population of about 200,000 (Kumba Urban Council, 2000) and according to Tiafack and Ngouanet, (2008) is the most populated city in the South-West region, and the second largest in Anglophone Cameroon. Still heavily

influenced by its British heritage, most people in Kumba speak English and CPE and to a lesser extent Kumba inhabitants speak French and indigenous languages (Sala, 2009).

3.7 Sport and volunteerism in Cameroon

Sport in Cameroon is not only a popular way to participate and spectate, but in some cases it can also serve as a pivotal tool to build a sense of national unity (e.g. by supporting the national football team), especially in times of cultural/social divide (Clarke and Ojo, 2017). This section profiles the positive and also the contentious side of sport in Cameroon. Mokeba (1989) argues that sport in Cameroon provides a dual purpose; domestically, it offers a diversionary element to the country's tightly-controlled political system, whilst internationally, successful sports performances have helped to give Cameroon status within Africa and across the globe.

3.7.1 Government-led provision of sport

Sport is an important aspect of government policy and is considered a physical and moral imperative within Cameroon, particularly for young people (Clarke and Ojo, 2017). The Cameroonian government's first formal involvement with sport came with the emergence of the Ministry of Youth and Sports in 1992 which prioritised youth sport until 2004, when the government dissolved the structure in order to create two new Ministries; a Ministry of Youth Affairs and a Ministry of Sport and Physical Education. Fokwang (2009) notes that the creation of these two separate ministries (which have many overlapping responsibilities) caused confusion especially at the regional and local levels. Today, the provision of sport in Cameroon is largely led by central government and is situated in the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education, although there is still some overlap with the Ministry of Youth Affairs, which is also relevant to this thesis as the target audience for the two SfD programmes are young people. For example, the government, via the National Youth Strategy, has promoted the value and role of young Cameroonians to help fight poverty and develop the nation by stating that:

Today, the youths are confronted with a variety of difficulties that are getting more and more complex by the day . . . [and therefore] it is of great interest to build the capacities of the youth by considering them from the standpoint of human capital so as to enable them better invest in future development projects (Mkpatt, 2015, p.1).

The Minister for Youth Affairs (Dr MkPatt) does not specifically refer to sport-related development programmes (such as the CWB or CFDP-US programmes); however, he does refer to the importance of developing the capacity of young Cameroonians (he refers to this as 'human' capital) as a key focus for the government. This view promotes building knowledge and proactive social attributes in youth; in this regard, the concept of developing 'capital' and individual capacity is central to this thesis and will be introduced in the following chapter. In 1996, President Biya signed a law establishing the charter of sports and physical activities in Cameroon. The eleven page sports charter has regulated the practice of sports and physical education and defines the role of the key stakeholders in the development of elite and grassroots sports provision. Despite ambitious statements within the sports charter, Morikang (2006) has criticised the government, and suggested there is still some way to go until these ambitions become a reality. He further notes that much confusion exists with regards to the interpretation of certain articles within the charter. In the years following the introduction of the sports charter, Cameroon has achieved some ad hoc international successes in sporting competitions (e.g. Olympic gold medal in football at Sydney 2000, triple jump at Athens 2004 and Beijing 2008); however in the main, insufficient performances from a wide range of sports institutions and organisations had become a concern for the government.

The organisation of Cameroonian sport underwent a major restructuring in 2009 which resulted in the creation of five departments in the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education: (i) physical education, (ii) school sport, (iii) elite sport, (iv) participation and (iv) growth and monitoring of sports federations and planning. These five departments could be interpreted as the sporting priority areas for government. In particular, the provision of elite sport is a priority for central government. The National Olympic Committee (NOC) of Cameroon was formed in 1963 and formally recognised by the IOC in 1994 (National Olympic Committee, 2015). Cameroon became a member of the Commonwealth in 1995 and has competed in every Commonwealth Games since. The NOC of Cameroon propagates the need for a commitment to sport which is organised through various Sports Federations, the largest being the Cameroon Football Federation (FECAFOOT). A score of other federations, including the Cameroon Cricket Federation, Cameroon Handball Federation and the Cameroon Boxing Federation provide examples of federations which

organise sports competitions and more development-based programmes to grow sport within their discipline. Funding for sport federations comes from the Ministry of Sports and Physical Education, which distributes it to sports federations and the NOC.

Physical Education and Sport (PES) in primary and secondary schools is a government priority and represent a core subject in all state schools. The PES curricular subjects list gymnastics, athletics and some team sports as priority areas (Cameroon Ministry of Sports and Physical Education, 2013). The team sports specified in the curriculum reflect the most popular sports at a recreation and elite level: football (the delivery sport of CFDP-US/CFDP-Cameroon), basketball, handball and volleyball. It is worth noting that cricket (the delivery sport of CWB/CCF) is not a specified sport on the curriculum. This omission signifies that cricket is not a priority sport for the government when compared with the other listed team sports. The headquarters for all Cameroonian sporting bodies (i.e. The Ministry of Sport and Physical Education, National Olympic Committee and National Sports Federations) are based in the Francophone dominated capital city, Yaoundé (Clarke, 2019). Not only are the physical structures (e.g. headquarter offices and training facilities) positioned within a Francophone region, but the majority of government controlled communication and documents relating to sport (e.g. the Ministry of Sport and Physical Education website) tend to be written in French, with only a few selected documents available in English; which supports earlier claims that one-sided bilingualism exists (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010).

3.7.2 Cricket

Cricket is a relatively new sport in Cameroon. It was first introduced as part of a project organised and funded by the Cameroon Commonwealth Students and Youth Development Organisation in the 1990s (Clarke, 2019). The project had the objectives of using cricket to promote Commonwealth values and ideals in Cameroon, and did so by introducing cricket to Cameroon at grassroots level to promote youth empowerment (International Cricket Council, 2016). As cricket began to grow in popularity, moves were made to create a national body to control and manage the game. On 15th February 2005, a Cameroon ministerial decision officially recognised the Cameroon Cricket Federation (CCF) as the sole governing body of the sport in Cameroon, which subsequently became an Affiliate of the ICC at the Annual General Meeting in London on 29th June 2007 (International Cricket Council, 2016).

Since this time, the small governing body has focussed its efforts on increasing its infrastructure and capacity, developing the national team and growing the participation of the game. Reflecting on Cameroon cricket's progress since 2005, a Senior Manager from the CCF spoke to a national newspaper, the Cameroon Tribune:

We have been able to create a federation, build a seat for the federation and constituted a national cricket team. The national team has taken part in international competitions three times. They [national team] have been to Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa and their performance was good. Again at the level of the cricket federation of Cameroon we are lucky to have Cricket Without Boundaries assisting us in youth development which is being paid for by the British Charity...I know this is the beginning of nice things to come. Besides these achievements, thousands of young Cameroonians now enjoy playing the game of cricket (Vubem Toh, 2016).

Cricket is not well-known in Cameroon but despite this, there is a small team of ambitious people involved behind the scenes within CCF who want to popularise the game. The conditions to grow the game are not straightforward, for example the infrastructure of cricket remains weak, funding opportunities are sparse, equipment is expensive and support from government is sporadic (Clarke, 2019). Due to these limitations, CCF takes a targeted approach with its efforts and tends to target large densely populated urban centres.

3.7.3 Football

The most popular sport in Cameroon by far is football, to the extent that it is typically referred to as the 'sport roi' ('king sport'). According to Nkwi and Vidacs (1997) football *is* politics in Cameroon, dominating policy and politics at both recreational level and at the national level. According to Fokwang (2009), football (particularly through support of the national team) offers unity for Cameroonians more than any other cause, ideology or institution. Football in Cameroon has been written about from multiple perspectives; some have documented the introduction of the sport to Cameroon (Darby, 2012) whilst others have focused on issues of ethnicity, politics and identity (Pannenburg, 2008; Nkwi and Vidacs, 1997; Vidacs, 2010; Clarke and Ojo, 2017).

The growth and popularity of football in Cameroon is largely attributed to the success of the national team 'Les Lions' who have qualified seven times for the FIFA World Cup, more than any other African team. The

popularity of football includes spectating, participation and also gambling (Clarke and Ojo, 2017). Yet, despite its popularity at every level, Cameroon faces many problems in terms of lack of infrastructural development as many facilities are below the required standard (Pannenberg, 2010). The triumphant emergence of Cameroon in the 1990 Football World Cup brought Cameroon and Africa into a global limelight. By reaching the quarterfinals, they became the first African team to ever have arrived at such a high level of the competition. On their way there, Les Lions beat the holders of the title, Argentina and by doing so created a global sensation in the football world (Vidacs, 2010). Ideological claims have been made that the global attention from the success of Les Lions has opened up an opportunity to reunite the country from historic rifts between the Francophone and Anglophone regions (Vidacs, 2010), an ideology which has arguably not played out in reality.

Following Cameroon's emergence as one of the leading African countries in football competitions, football became a "veritable political weapon in the hands of the government" and was used to symbolise the country's post-independence identity (Nkwi, 2010, p.151). However, in recent years, Cameroon has come under the spotlight for all the wrong reasons. This follows the announcement that they were stripped of the hosting rights for the African Cup of Nations (AFCON) 2019 because of delays with preparations as well as security concerns (Confederation of African Football, 2018). In addition, there have been regular financial scandals and accusations of corruption over the past few decades within FECAFOOT, the governing body of the nation's favourite game (Szymanski, 1996).

3.7.4 Non-government led sport provision

Whilst Cameroonian sport is predominantly government-led, a small number of commercial and voluntary sector organisations use sport for sporting and non-sporting objectives. The Cameroonian government has publicly recognised the role of non-government led programmes and has stated that "several national and international NGOs and associations support the actions of the State" with projects that particularly concern Cameroonian youth (Mkpatt, 2015, p.5). Exploring the role of the commercial sports sector in Cameroon, DeLancey et al., (2010) have noted examples such as Cameroon Brewery Company which runs a football school in the city of Douala, where talents like Samuel Eto'o were nurtured. Of particular interest to this thesis is the emerging voluntary sector in Cameroon which encompasses SfD partnerships and programmes.

Reflecting on the total number of SfD organisations that exist globally, it has been suggested that 40 percent of them operate in Africa (n=382) (Svensson and Woods, 2017). Of these programmes Svensson and Woods indicate that only 10-24 programmes exist in Cameroon, with the majority of SfD programmes existing in South Africa, Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda. The only existing academic literature to date about the SfD in Cameroon has focused on national NGOs who use sport as a vehicle for social and health objectives, profiling the Ntambag Brother Association (Fokwang, 2009) and Breaking Ground Football programme (Spaaij et al., 2017).

This section has highlighted the nexus between sport and politics in Cameroon. It is clear that the provision of sport (perhaps aside from top tier football clubs) remains largely government-led and this section has shown how interlocked the issues of sport and politics remain. The provision and infrastructure for sport in Cameroon is government-led, a government which is dominated by Francophones (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010, Dickson, 1998).

3.7.5 The rise of volunteering in Cameroon

In contrast to 'Global North' discourse which has widely promotes volunteering for a long time, the voluntary sector in Cameroon is relatively new. For example in 2015, the Minister of Youth Affairs and Civic Education made the announcement that volunteering in Cameroon would be encouraged and promoted with the launch of a national volunteering strategy. With the promotional line 'The world is moving. Are you? Volunteer', the Minister aligned the new volunteer approach with Vision 2035 and Cameroon's broader aim to be an emerging country by 2035, with specific aims around economic growth, employability skills, poverty reduction and improved social services (London School of Economics, 2016). In particular, the Minister proposed that the youth of the nation should get involved in volunteering to boost socio-economic development of communities, promote humanitarian type activities and preserve world peace (Philemon, 2009). The recent strategy specifically gives encouragement, particularly to Cameroonian youths, to utilise volunteer opportunities to develop a range of skills that will provide personal, community and wider society gains (Ndukong, 2015).

3.8 Chapter summary

Building on the literature review in Chapter 2, this contextual chapter has highlighted how Cameroon has undergone considerable change during and after colonialism and has profiled its political, social, economic and development context. It has also examined the role and provision of sport and the recent promotion of volunteering in Cameroon. This information is necessary as it will help to contextualise the findings and discussion chapters and inform the three Research Objectives and corresponding Research Questions.

Cameroon has faced a challenging journey as a result of colonialization, even when compared to some of its African neighbours. It has been colonised by three European powers (Germany, France and Britain), which has led to a complex set of social, cultural, economic and political conditions for modern day Cameroon to contend with. Politically, Cameroon suffers from weak governance which has hindered its development and ability to attract investment. Cameroon's triple colonial heritage has also had destructive effects, particularly damaging are the legacies following the British and French colonial period which has resulted in ongoing national socio-economic-political divisions along linguistic, ethnic and regional lines. While both English and French are official languages of the country, the country is divided between the Francophone majority, which make up over 80 percent of the population and the Anglophone minority. President Biya, leader of the CPDM has been in power since 1982 and has faced numerous criticisms including political corruption and not doing enough to support Anglophone Cameroonians. Presently, these divisions are very real and have led to protests, strikes and violent clashes in Anglophone regions - particularly in Kumba and Buea - two sites that are central to this thesis and have caused negative effects to local communities (which will be highlighted in Chapters 7 and 8). Economically, Cameroon is ranked 153 out of 188 on the Human Development Index (HDI) and as such has been classified by the WB as a lower-middle-income country (United Nations Development Programme, 2016) and in 2015 was ranked 145th out of 176 countries regarding perceptions of its corruption (Transparency International, 2017).

The chapter has also highlighted the role and significance of sport and the voluntary sector in Cameroon to the general population and government. The Ministry of Sport and Physical Education, along with the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Civic Education construct political policy which prioritises

a number of areas, including youth development; improving the sporting infrastructure; elite sport and the promotion of Physical Education and School Sport. It is clear that the overwhelming preference for government is to invest in football as *the* national sport, particularly at the elite level which represents a somewhat narrow and elitist approach to sports provision. Whilst Cameroonian sport is predominantly government-led, a small number of commercial and voluntary sector organisations are present who use for sport for a mixture sporting and non-sporting objectives.

The chapter has highlighted an emerging SfD sector in Cameroon and has acknowledged the government's view that NGOs and INGOs have a key role to play in building the capacity of young Cameroonians - known as a 'human capital' approach. Such support is likely to assist the growth and legitimisation of the emergent SfD sector.

**CHAPTER 4:
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

4.1 Chapter introduction

Behind the self-promoting rhetoric of the SfD sector (e.g. that the 'power of sport' can change the world for the better), there are still a range of critical questions related to power imbalances within the SfD sector (Giulianotti et al., 2016), issues of which are reflected in the study Aim, Research Questions and related Research Objectives. Having outlined and connected the key literature and contextual background in Chapter's 2 and 3, this chapter seeks to provide a sound theoretical framework which acknowledges that the SfD is a contested field made up of a range of stakeholders and actors based in the 'Global North' and 'Global South' with differing levels of influence, power and agency. With this in mind, grappling with the concept of 'power' is both a necessary and fundamental task for this thesis. Power permeates all aspects of social life – yet, exactly how to understand and conceptualise what power is, and how it is performed/exercised is not a straightforward undertaking.

Lukes (2002) suggests that we need to understand the concept of power for three fundamental reasons. Firstly, to assist in the mapping of the social world, as he argues "knowing whom to try to influence, whom to appeal to, and whom to avoid, [is necessary] in seeking to achieve our ends" (p.491). Secondly, the connected concepts of freedom, agency and power enable us to hold one another responsible for what we do, whom we are able to influence and consequently, when we can credit blame and praise. Thirdly, for Lukes (2002), an understanding of power is needed to help evaluate social inequalities, for example, the distribution of power within society and the structures or patterns which extend from the powerless to the powerful. There is an abundance of literature which explores issues of power and draws from a broad variety of perspectives and empirical cases. Many authors apply a single understanding of power (e.g. Marxist or Foucauldian); however this thesis takes a slightly different approach and borrows elements from multiple perspectives of power in order to explore a more holistic understanding of power. Put another way, the thesis is interested in exploring both the negative influences and outcomes of power, as well as exploring any positive outcomes of power, for example local agency, social capital and positive changes which may arise as a result of the SfD partnerships.

The following chapter comprises of four sections. Following this introduction, the first section argues that in order to explore issues related

to power, it is useful to first develop a clear understanding of the SfD INGOs at the heart of this thesis, including their structure and intentions. Accordingly, Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' SfD 'ideal-type' models are presented as useful theoretical mapping tools to begin this analysis. Having mapped the intentions of the SfD INGOs, the second section of the chapter outlines a range of theories and concepts which are deemed helpful to analyse power relationships. These include Lukes' radical three dimensional views of power (1974, 2002, 2005), Coleman's social capital approach (1988, 1989, 1990), as well as key concepts such as cultural hegemony, structure, agency, which are widely utilised within postcolonial studies (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1993; Spivak, 1988, 1990). To summarise, Lukes' (1974, 2002, 2005) is utilised as his understanding of power offers a clearly defined and concise way to analyse social structures, hierarchies and power struggles. In order to further facilitate this dialogue, power is considered through postcolonial and social capital theoretical lenses. In particular, theoretical concepts used within postcolonial studies (e.g. cultural hegemony, whiteness, structure, and agency) are considered helpful concepts to help analyse in-depth global power inequalities by exploring the global structures that produce them and the mechanisms that reinforce them (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1993; Spivak, 1988). In contrast, social capital theory is used as a mechanism to emphasize unequal structures, and explore possibilities for positive individual outcomes (Coleman, 1988, 1989, 1990). The third section offers a brief summary of the SfD literature concerned with the distribution of power, before the fourth section outlines the convergences and divergences in the analysed bodies of literature and details the various elements and approaches to power that guide the thesis.

In summary, this chapter seeks to demonstrate that taken on their individual merits, the chosen theories of power offer a limited (and somewhat narrow) understanding of power. As such, this thesis is different from many previous studies as it is motivated by a more holistic examination of power, one which focuses on the dynamic fluidity of power between 'Global North' and 'Global South' actors as an act which is constantly being contested and negotiated, and as a result can have negative and also positive consequences.

4.2 The intentions of SfD partnerships: theoretical starting points

In order to understand and conceptualise what power is, how it is presented and how it is responded to within SfD partnerships, it is first necessary to

have a clear understanding of the intentions of the SfD INGOs. This section outlines Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal type' SfD models and describes how they will be used to help examine the structure, intentions and everyday practices within the case study partnerships.

4.2.1 'Technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' 'ideal type' SfD organisational models

Giulianotti (2011a) offers a detailed framework to help explore the intentions of key actors, which in the case of this thesis are the two 'Global North' INGOs. The framework consists of three 'ideal type' models; referred to as 'technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical'. Giulianotti (2011a, p.223) has stated that "the models have strong analytical and heuristic utility in providing coherent sociological insights into the principal features of different SDP projects, peacemaking or otherwise". As such, these models will be used as an analytical framework to help to map out what the structure and intended outcomes of the INGO programmes are. The intention is that by drawing on this clear and concise framework, the dynamics of power between the INGOs and their 'in country' partner organisations can be critically examined.

Giulianotti (2011a, p.213-214) proposes four key areas of investigation - referred to as "common social heuristics" to explore SfD organisations and programmes:

- i) The defining institutional features of the SfD programme: its core objectives, key themes, managerial frameworks, and roles.
- ii) The properties of SfD work within the programme: the user groups targeted, the paradigmatic methods, and the socio-cultural tools utilised.
- iii) The types of social relations within the SfD programme: the play contact methods, cross-community social relations, ties to donor groups, and types of relationship to other agencies within global civil society.
- iv) The monitoring and evaluation methods of the SfD project.

The main features of the three ideal-type models, with reference to these key characteristics, are outlined in Figure 4.1. However, whilst these four categories are helpful to explore the everyday functions of the SfD INGOs, Giulianotti's (2011a) categories do not fully consider the broader attitudes that the INGOs have towards the 'problem' of development that they seek to tackle through their SfD programmes. As such, the structure of Chapter 6 is only guided in part by Giulianotti's (2011a) four categories, and is

supplemented with an additional section which aims to examine the broad perspectives towards development and the Cameroonian context and does so by considering the following component parts: (i) the identification of the development 'problem/s' that the INGOs choose to tackle through their SfD programmes, (ii) the use of sport (e.g. sport, 'sport plus' or 'plus sport') and (iii) the perceived strengths of using football and cricket as the selected delivery tool within a Cameroonian context.

As such, the structure and analysis of Chapter 6 will outline and discuss the INGO 'formal' discourse across the following categories:

1. The perception of development
 - Identification of the key development issues/s
 - The use of sport
 - The perceived strengths of cricket and football to tackle the identified development issues in a Cameroonian context
2. The institutional features of the INGO SfD programmes (Guided by Giulianotti, 2011a)
 - Core objectives
 - Key communication themes
 - Management framework
 - Agency role
3. The properties of the SfD programme (Guided by Giulianotti, 2011a)
 - User groups
 - Assumptions about programme participants
4. The types of social relations within the SfD programme (Guided by Giulianotti, 2011a)
 - in country relations
 - donor relations
 - sector relations
5. The monitoring and evaluation methods of the SfD programmes (Guided by Giulianotti, 2011a)

In order to apply these five categories to the case study partnerships, the thesis draws upon empirical data from organisational documents (websites, strategic documents, operational documents) and interviews with INGO practitioners to explore the intentions and influence of key actors within the

INGO programmes; this forms the basis of the analysis and discussion in Chapter 6.

	TECHNICAL MODEL	DIALOGICAL MODEL	CRITICAL MODEL
CORE OBJECTIVES	Problem solving	Re-found social relations	Inter-communal transformation
KEY THEMES	Directive pedagogy/measured outcomes	Dialogical pedagogy/new meanings	Andragogy/new communities
MANAGERIAL FRAMEWORK	Hierarchal	Umpire/leadership	Horizontal/fluid
AGENCY ROLE	Intervention	Guided mediation	Facilitator
USER GROUPS	Specified social units	Specified community groups	Diverse community groups
PARADIGMATIC METHODS	Scheduled clinics	Training the trainers	Multi-day camps, exchanges
SOCIO-CULTURAL TOOLS	Established sport	Modified sport	New games/other cultural practices
PLAY CONTACT	Structured	Integrated	Diffuse/self-directing
CLIENT SOCIAL RELATIONS	Competitive	Cooperative	Communitarian
DONOR RELATIONS	Regulated	Correspondent	Autonomous
SECTOR RELATIONS	Instrumental	Strategic	Complementary
MONITORING AND EVALUATION	Positivistic	Multi-method/participatory	Participatory, complementary, critically reflexive

Figure 4.1: Giulianotti's three 'ideal type' SfD models

Source: (Giulianotti, 2011a, p.214)

The 'technical' model

The 'technical' model according to Giulianotti (2011a) was particularly evident within the SfD during the late 1990s and early 2000s amongst INGOs and sporting federations who displayed limited contextual knowledge and/or sensitivity. Giulianotti (2011a, p.216) summarises this approach through the words of an NGO official who notes that technical top-down projects tend to "Jet into some faraway place, armed with their training manual and strange equipment, to teach war children how to play proper games". An example of this approach could be Right to Play, an internationally recognised development through sport organisation who recruit and deploy volunteers from 'Global Northern' countries on short term projects to 'help' poverty stricken/war torn countries (Darnell, 2007). This model favours externally imposed agendas and programme content, which is typically determined and controlled by Northern-based organisations. Jeanes and Spaaij (2016) have suggested that in such circumstances, using volunteers from the 'Global North' to impart their knowledge to marginalised young people in 'Global South' countries are common pedagogical methods. While such volunteers may be competent sports coaches, they tend to have limited experience of youth work, international development work, or local contexts (Darnell, 2007; Guest, 2009; Guttentag, 2009). Programmes following this model tend to favour the use of established sports, and delivery characteristically embraces directive pedagogical methods which views programme beneficiaries as specified units differentiated by age, gender and location. Furthermore, in-country SfD agencies and organisations operating within this model tend to accept regulation by donors who seek to influence programme objectives and methods of evaluation (Giulianotti, 2011a). Within this model, international organisations may view their work as mutually beneficial to the development of their sport (as with CWB and CCF and the development of cricket), particularly by targeting new territories and markets. Hierarchical relationships are also evident within this model, which are typically characterised by INGOs directing local and national agencies and through INGOs dispatching volunteer practitioners from the 'Global North' to teach from their manuals in 'Global South' communities.

The 'dialogical' model

According to Giulianotti (2011a) the 'dialogical' model seeks a more participatory approach than the 'technical' model. Organisations adopting a

'dialogical' model tend to engage and guide 'beneficiaries' (e.g. children and young people) through peer education teaching methods (Jeanes and Spaaij, 2016). In practice this model favours the approach of 'training the trainers', whereby INGO practitioners train locals volunteers (typically community leaders, teachers and experienced participants) to become SfD peer leaders under the proviso that they return to their own communities to train more volunteers and implement programmes for targeted participants (Spaaij et al., 2014). However, Giulianotti's (2011a) description does not clarify what resources the trainers use, e.g. whether they are locally written or externally imposed curricular. Giulianotti (2011a) does suggest that substantial consultation occurs between different stakeholders but ultimately it is the SfD INGO at the centre that tends to retain a leadership role when mutual agreements cannot be reached. Participation tends to be more open ended in that participants can drop in and out of programmes and the dialogical model is willing to modify existing sports to accommodate the SfD programmes inclusive goals. An example of this approach would be the 'Kicking Aids Out' approach, which develops and delivers a range of interactive methods, aids, ideas and experiences of how individuals can confront AIDS in and through sports (globally recognised and indigenous sports) within a global network (Mwaanga and Adeosun, 2017). Sports are also recognised as mechanisms which can help to generate social leverage across and within communities, by organically fostering relationships built on informal cooperation (Pickering, 2006). For those adopting this model, external social relations, often at a strategic level, are key between the SfD organisation and external actors. Considering monitoring and evaluation, the dialogical model according to Giulianotti (2011a, p.219) favours "multiple methods for data-gathering, particularly qualitative participatory techniques that actively engage user groups".

The 'critical' model

Finally, Giulianotti's (2011a) 'critical' model suggests a highly reflexive and transformatory approach towards SfD programming. The underlying philosophy is that transformation and change can only occur from long-term learning experiences led and owned by local people. An example of this approach is seen in the work of locally developed and led Mathare Youth Sports Association (MUSA) in Kenya who use sports, community clean ups, AIDS prevention, leadership training, library provision, music, and other activities to engender broad socio-economic development, while also

effecting social change (Mathare Youth Sports Association, 2019). The role of a 'critical' SfD organisation is one of a facilitator that builds trust based on the shared goals of a community. Such programmes engage with wider community groups and not just the beneficiary, to foster local ownership. Parents, wider family, friends, village elders are actively engaged to contribute to shaping project aims and measured outcomes, and typically sports that are immersed within local cultural practices are favoured over imported sports (Giulianotti, 2011a). 'Critical' programmes tend to adopt delivery approaches including multi-day camps, looking beyond purely sport-based content to develop individual developmental characteristics, which is monitored and evaluated using participatory and critically reflexive methods (Giulianotti, 2011a). Overall, the 'critical' approach is viewed as being the most progressive of the three models outlined, but also Giulianotti (2011a) notes that in the main, SfD programmes tend to feature a mix of attributes from either 'technical' and or 'dialogical' models, with the 'critical' model being far less apparent.

In summary, Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' models provide the thesis with a concise and detailed analytical framework to explore the intended outcomes of the INGOs and begin to consider the nature of power between the INGOs and their 'in county' partner organisation. These differing models offer an 'ideal type' continuum of pedagogical philosophies and methods, ranging from a directive top-down pedagogical approach typically led by SfD organisations from the 'Global North' to more adult learning approaches characterised through local ownership and participatory approaches to programme implementation, the latter being more akin to participatory approaches within development (Cornwall and Brock, 2005; Kothari, 2001; Mohan, 2006). Having drawn on Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal type' SfD models to map out the intentions and everyday practices of the INGOs (Chapter 6), the chapter now turns to various understandings of power (e.g. Lukes' three dimensions (2005), social capital theory and other key concepts relating to power) to help explore issues of agency and debate why SfD 'Global North' and 'Global South' partnerships play out in the way they do (Chapters 7 and 8).

4.3 Analysing power: theoretical starting points

Following on from the above section which outlined how Giulianotti (2011a) three 'ideal' type organisational models ('technical', 'dialogical', 'critical') offer a useful basis to critically examine the intentions and practices of the

INGOs, the thesis requires a theoretical framework to help examine manifestations of power and discuss the reasons behind these displays. This next section summaries pertinent theories of power to help achieve this, namely i) Lukes' (2005) radical three dimensional view, ii) key concepts related to power for example discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness (see Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1993; Spivak, 1988; Schmidt, 2008; Fusco, 2005), and iii) Coleman's social capital theory (Coleman, 1988, 1989, 1990).

4.3.1 Lukes' radical view of power: structures and hierarchies

Power is an inescapable feature of human social life and structures, with definitions and understandings of power proving to be a central concern for sociologists for many years. The most common understanding of power is that it is the capacity to cause effects, to have an impact on or change things in the physical or social world. Within literature, there have been many influential scholars. In particular, the contribution of Michel Foucault, a pre-eminent modern theorist of power is important as it has helped to shape theoretical understandings of power. Foucault argued that power is everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 2002). Power for Foucault is what makes us what we are, and according to Gaventa (2003), operates on a quite different level from other theories. In describing Foucault's work, Gaventa (2003, p.1) suggested that it:

Marks a radical departure from previous modes of conceiving power and cannot be easily integrated with previous ideas, as power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitute agents rather than being deployed by them

However, a fundamental flaw of Foucault's understanding is that he conceives power very broadly: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1978, p. 93). This makes it difficult to pin down and interrogate specific relationships and interactions (as with the Aim, Research Questions and Research Objectives of this thesis), without seeing such interactions as the product of a broader network of power. As such, the thesis looks to another theorist - Steven Lukes - and his radical theory of power (Lukes, 1974, 2005) which has outlined a clear account of power as domination, and conceives power as a process, which allows it to be effectively applied

to social and political processes: in this case, the partnership between SfD INGOs from the 'Global North' and local partner organisations in Cameroon.

As such, this thesis tests the usefulness of Lukes' (2005) framework, by applying it to the 'formal' discourse found in INGO policy and programme documents and to help understand the SfD relationships and everyday interactions between INGO practitioners and 'in county' Cameroonian practitioners.

Lukes' (1974, 2002, 2005) understanding of power has greatly influenced research on issues of power. Lukes' (2005) argues that power is complex and has three dimensions. Table 2 overleaf highlights the key characteristics of this view of power.

Table 2: Lukes' radical three dimensional view of power

	ONE-DIMENSIONAL VIEW	TWO-DIMENSIONAL VIEW	THREE-DIMENSIONAL VIEW
PROPONENTS	Dahl, Polsby, classic pluralists	Bachrach and Baratz, neo-elitists	Lukes, Marxists, neo-Marxists and radical elitists/pluralists
CONCEPTION OF POWER	Power as decision making	Power as decision making and agenda setting	Power as decision making, agenda setting and preference shaping
FOCUS OF ANALYSIS	The formal political arena	The formal political arena and the informal process surrounding it (the corridors of power)	Civil society more generally, especially the public sphere (in which preferences are shaped)
METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	'Counting' of votes and decisions in decision making arena	Ethnography of power to elucidate the informal processes through which the agenda is set	Ideology critique – to demonstrate how actors come to misperceive their own material interests
NATURE OF POWER	Visible, transparent and easily measured	Both invisible and visible (visible only to agenda setters), rendered visible via inside information	Largely invisible – power distorts perceptions and shapes preferences; it must be demystified

Source: (Hay, 2002b, p.202)

First dimension of power

The first dimension of power, according to Lukes (1974, p.15) "involves a focus on behaviour in the making of decisions on issues over which there is an observable conflict of (subjective) interests, seen as expressed policy preferences, revealed by political participation". This understanding of power is based on Dahl's (1961) pluralist perspective of power which claimed that 'A' has power over 'B', if 'A' gets 'B' to do something that they would not otherwise do. In this regard, Dahl (1961) emphasised actors' involvement in the decision-making process as a means of identifying those who hold power within in a relationship. In the case of this thesis, a one-dimensional view would locate the INGO (A) as possessing the funding, setting the programme agenda, and therefore holding the power, with the local stakeholder (B) effectively holding no power as a result. For Lukes (2005) this over simplistic view places heavy emphasis on notions of success or failure, with the assumption that power is exercised only by the most influential actors.

Second dimension of power

In developing his second dimension of power, Lukes (1974, 2005) built on the work of Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1970), who in earlier interpretations had both offered a critique of what they saw as the dominant belief of power within the literature and as a result developed a new framework (incorporated a second dimension of power), which they presented as an approach to overcome previous interpretations of power. For Bachrach and Baratz (1970), Dahl's (1961) one dimensional view provided little emphasis on the processes by which key issues were *excluded* from the decision-making process. This view did not account for what does not happen in a decision-making setting, namely, those issues that are unconsciously neglected or consciously excluded from the agenda (Swartz, 2007). Bachrach and Baratz agree with the basic principle of Dahl's 'A' and 'B' analogy but offer an advanced understanding, suggesting that power is also evident when 'A' makes it impossible for 'B' to engage in decision making processes, which are manifested in social and political values and practices (Lukes, 2005). Under this understanding, it is not purely conflict which illustrates power, but also more subtle forces of coercion and manipulation. Although Bachrach and Baratz's (1970) approach was seen as an advance of the study of power, Lukes (1974,

2005) criticised both theirs' and Dahl's (1961) approach as not being radical enough.

Third dimension of power

In response, Lukes' (1974, 2005) developed a third dimension of power - power through domination. It is at this point Lukes' began to see his major contribution and radical critique of the previous approaches to and understanding of power. In a three-dimensional view, the properties of power are not exhausted by agenda and decision-making processes but importantly power can be found at a deeper, more invisible, level. This understanding is heavily influenced by Gramsci's notion of hegemony, which according to Swartz (2007) assumes that power is deeply rooted in forms of political and cultural socialization where actors unknowingly follow others against their best interests. Lukes' takes on board two different meanings of hegemony, the first as an unconscious psychological process that is cultural and internalised, and the second a more conscious, wilful and coordinated strategy of domination. Similarly, Said (1993), also argues that power is a subjective discourse which is invisible and deeply embedded within culture. In particular, Said (1993) argues that power is steered by prejudice of Western ideology, philosophy and culture. Influenced by these views that power operates at a deep invisible level, Lukes' (1974) third dimensional view of power argues that, organisations (in particular the state), have the ability to shape people's perceptions and interests through the operation of an ideological hegemony.

Lukes (1974, 2005) also noted that an individual's reported preferences and interests could be thought to be influenced by oppressive and ideological social structures – for example some actors have been repeatedly convinced by structures (e.g. state and non-state actors) that their lives are somehow less worthy. These structures can also, according to Lukes, be re-enforced by cultural ideologies such as normative power-related assumptions between the 'Global North' and Global South'. Indeed for Lukes (1974, 2005) domination results in the dominated being less able to make independent decisions which constrain their ability to be self-determining in their actions.

Accordingly, Lukes (2005) has suggested that debating the link between power, agency, and responsibility is important. For example, on one hand it focuses on the opportunities that powerless actors have to make a difference to outcomes and on the other hand maintains a critical eye on

the attempts by powerful actors to escape their own responsibilities by "blaming the system" (Hayward and Lukes, 2008, p.12). For Lukes', actors, (whether individuals or collective groups) have power or are powerful within structural limits, which enable and constrain their power. In this regard, Hayward and Lukes have suggested that (2008, p.12):

The natural way to distinguish between power and structure is to say that we attribute power to agents [actors] when it is in their power to act or not to act. They have two-way powers: they have power when it is in their power to act otherwise. If they are so structurally constrained or determined that they are unable to act otherwise than they do, then they are powerless to do so, and so they are powerless, not powerful. They simply enact or transmit the dictates of the structures that uniquely constrain them.

However, determining when this is the case and when it is not is not a straightforward matter of fact, but rather a judgment (the judgment of both actors and observers/researchers) which is highly contentious. It is with this aspect of Lukes' argument that many critics take most issue (Bradshaw, 1976; Hay, 2002b; Dowding, 1996, 2006). Such criticisms tend to be centred on issues to do with the less-powerful actors, who according to Lukes' are socialised into a partial, even 'false', view of their own interests; a view which serves the interests of those who are powerful. For example, Lukes would argue that in patriarchal societies, female actors are socialised into accepting gendered roles (structure) which constrain their opportunities (agency). However, critics of Lukes take issue with the notion of 'real' interests. For example, Hay (2002a) poses the question - to what extent is actor (A) able to claim that she/he has privileged access to knowledge of a second actor's (B) 'real' interest? The key criticism here is that Hay raises epistemological issues with Lukes' notion of 'real' interests. Hay's (2002a) approach is rooted in a constructivist ontological position, which argues that there is no real/'objective' world 'out there', which is independent of our understanding of it. Instead, according to Hay (2002), the world is a social construction which means that structures do not exist independently of actor's construction of them; instead structures and actors are co-constituted, meaning that structures have no independent causal power (as Lukes' 'real' interest argument suggests). However, such epistemological criticisms could be said for other social theories, and therefore cannot be seen to be exclusive to the work of Lukes.

To date, no empirical SfD study has drawn on Lukes' (1974, 2005) understanding of power. However, some scholars have signalled the potential of Lukes' (1974, 2005) radical theory of power to highlight the less visible dimensions of power within SfD (Houlihan and White, 2013). More broadly, other sport related studies have embraced Lukes' work for the examination of elite sport (Houlihan and Green, 2011) and sporting mega events (Grix, 2012).

This section has reviewed Lukes' (2005) three dimensional framework, which includes the struggles that result from decision-making processes (the first dimension of power), actions and inactions that characterise the agenda-setting process (the second dimension of power), and the actions and inactions which shape the opinions and preferences of actors (the third dimension of power). Moving forward, this framework will be applied - alongside other power related concepts and Coleman's social capital (to be explained below and overleaf) - in the examination of two key aspects of the case study partnerships. Firstly, the 'sources' of power: e.g. those actors who have or who exercise power and secondly, the 'subjects' of power - e.g. those actors who are subject to power. This analysis will be presented in the finding Chapters (6, 7 and 8) and discussed further within the conclusion and recommendations chapter (Chapter 9).

4.3.2 Key concepts related to power: discourse, structure and agency, hegemony and whiteness

This section will define a range of concepts which are deemed pertinent to this thesis, they include: 'discourse', 'structure', 'agency', 'hegemony' and 'whiteness'. Many of these concepts reflect Lukes' (2005) concerns about power as a dominating force. For example, structure and agency and hegemony are central to Lukes' analysis. To begin with though, it is useful to note that SfD literature is full of examples where scholars draw on a range of these concepts to analyse issues of power within the SfD sector in relation to their historical, economic, political and/or social relations of power. In particular examples to date have examined issues of subjugation, colonial legacy, politics, agency and knowledge production (see Forde and Frisby, 2015; Nicholls et al., 2011; Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell, 2010; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014; Hayhurst, 2014; Saavedra, 2019; Banda and Holmes, 2017). The intention is that by applying such concepts, this thesis can pose critical questions about the extent to which SfD

programmes support social change and/or secure relations of dominance and power.

Discourse

This thesis is guided by the definition by Schmidt (2008, p.305) who has stated that discourse is:

Not just ideas or 'text' (what is said) but also context (where, when, how, and why it was said). The term refers not only to structure (what is said, or where and how), but also to agency (who said what to whom).

Discourse is complex and involves the "production of knowledge through language" (Hall, 1997b, p.44), but is also a forms of analysis which, upon reading texts, "emphasises discursive moves as being moves in logic as well as of style or community" (Apthorpe and Gasper, 1996, p.2). These 'discursive moves' occur within a set of context specific circumstances (political, historical, and cultural) that define the intentions of a particular actor/subject. Put another way, this thesis is interested in the use of language within SfD INGO documents (e.g. INGO strategic documents, programme curricular and its website). Included in this enquiry is the concern with broader political and cultural discourse (both domestic and international), which according to Saavedra (2019) helps to consider how power relations may be influenced by broader factors.

Structure and Agency

Central to the sociological examination of power are the two dominant concepts of 'structure' and 'agency' which are ever-present in the SfD and broader sociology literature. These concepts are deemed central when exploring the context of human behaviour and action. Broadly speaking, 'structure' is understood to be the recurrent patterned arrangements which influence or limit the choices and opportunities available, whereas 'agency' is the capacity of individuals to act independently and to make their own free choices (Barker, 2005). It has been argued that structure and agency are the main building blocks of society (Samman and Santos, 2009).

Exploring the terms on more detail, 'agency' has been defined by McAnulla (2002, p.271) as "individual or group abilities (intentional or otherwise) to affect their environment (agency), and 'structure' as "referring to the context; to the material conditions which define the range of actions available to actors". In particular, the notion of agency - or the capacity to

act and the choice to act - is important for this thesis as it helps to examine to extent to which the two 'Global North' INGOs enable or indeed hamper the level of agency available to local Cameroonian SfD practitioners through the power relations that exist with their 'in country' partner organisation. For example, McAnulla (2002) highlights that not all actors in society have equal levels of agency to bring about change due to pre-existing structures enabling or constraining their ability to affect situations. Issues of structure and agency are central concerns for Lukes, who argues in a dialogue with Hayward that "the concept of power should remain attached to the agency that operates within and upon structures" (Hayward and Lukes, 2008, p.11).

Hegemony

Lukes' (2005) third dimension of power (as detailed earlier in the chapter) is much inspired by Italian theorist Antoni Gramsci's ideas about 'hegemony', as the means by which the willing compliance of the powerless is secured by more powerful actors. According to Gramsci (2011), hegemony is an understanding of power and domination which is not imposed through direct or overt force, but through consent and complicity, and with ongoing negotiation and compromise. Hegemony, according to Gramsci (2011), captures the idea that the power of the dominant 'ruling' group is exercised less through coercion and more by its intellectual and moral capacity to win the consent of the mass of the population. This is a complex process according to Gramsci (2011), and not just a matter of simple propaganda and manipulation as it involves the construction of a whole lived reality (such that the existing political, economic and social structures) which would be taken for granted by the mass of the people, and viewed as 'common sense'. Equally, the construction of hegemony is not a one-way, top-down process; but it is the product of negotiation between the dominant and the dominated. The concept of hegemony is relevant to this thesis because the empirical data (through a localised lens) questions whether cultural hegemony exists, not only between the 'in-country' Cameroonian SfD practitioners and the INGO, but also by exploring the possibility that domestic issues of cultural hegemony are present within Cameroon.

'Whiteness'

This thesis intends to offer a critical deconstruction of 'whiteness' through the examination of the social relationships and the presumptions made by both INGOs and also 'in-country' partners (including local practitioners). As

such, an understanding of the concept is required. Whiteness is taken to be not a fact of white bodies, but instead as Fusco (2005) notes, it is considered as a racial characteristic that assumes and presumes a normative social position. Further, Whiteness allows for an examination of race beyond the simple binary of 'White vs. Black' or 'Global North' vs. 'Global South', dualities that fail to capture the complexities of the activities within the SfD sector. It is not claimed that all SfD programmes are imported from, and managed by, those from a 'homogenous' (White) 'Global North'. Indeed, many SfD programmes contradict any simple analyses of a racially geographic hegemony within the movement. For example, Ntambag Brother Association, a football SfD programme is designed and developed by Cameroonians, for Cameroonians (Fokwang, 2009). Similarly, Kicking AIDS Out! was originally designed and developed by the EduSport Foundation, a Zambian sports NGO.

However, the programmes at the centre of this thesis do conform to racialized geography and therefore theorising 'whiteness' allows for a deconstruction of discursive racial privilege that remains cognisant of the interlocutions between racial and geographical categories. According to Long and Hylton (2002), the hierarchy of privilege between black and white people impinges upon agency and freedom to act. This supports the intentions of this thesis to explore how power processes play out within a SfD context between black and white SfD practitioners through exploring the extent to which such interactions reinforce the dominant white hegemony inside and those outside of these networks.

Carrington (2010, p.4), has built on the notion of hegemony and discusses a binary opposition based on race-based assumptions, known as a 'colonial white frame'. Feagin (2010, ix) defines a colonial white frame as "an emotion-laden construction process that shapes everyday relationships and institutions in fundamental and racialized ways". The colonial white frame according to Carrington (2010, p.4):

Becomes the dominant way in which people come to 'see' race and provides a further function in enabling racism itself to be rationalised away while denying the historical forms of white supremacy that continue to structure contemporary social institutions, cultural processes (including language) and interpersonal relationships.

For Carrington a 'white colonial frame' invites critical inquiry into how colonialism is manifested in contemporary society and invites engagement

with literature concerning issues of 'whiteness' (Dyer, 1997; Frankenberg, 1993, 2004; Heron, 2007) and 'white supremacy' (Hooks, 1998).

4.3.3 Coleman and social capital

Another key question, reflecting core concerns of this thesis, relates to the nature and processes involved in forming and sustaining power or social leverage. Coalter (2010a, p.1377) has argued that the concept of social capital refers to the development of social networks based on:

Social and group norms, which enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and via which individuals or groups can obtain certain types of advantage.

The concept of social capital is important in the analysis of this thesis because it helps to examine the localised perceptions of the links between developing relationships and networks with the INGO and individual levels of social capital.

In the main the concept of social capital has gained salience as a means of understanding how agency can be exercised in a positive manner by forged networks in society (Field, 2003; Putnam, 1993, 1995, 2000; Coleman, 1988, 1990; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). It is important at this juncture to note that the emphasis Coleman's (1988, 1990) interpretation of Social Capital places on human agency fits neatly with the idea of 'hybridization of culture', as outlined in Chapter 2. In the process of cultural hybridization local agents (in the case of this thesis the Cameroonian practitioners) interact and negotiate with Global Northern cultural ideals and norms (e.g. assumptions about race and issues associated to post-colonial residue), using them as resources through which locals construct their own cultural spaces and identities, and in doing so become active agents rather than passive victims.

The four main social capital scholars are considered to be Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam, Michael Woolcock and James Coleman, all of whom offer differing interpretations and uses of the term based on their assumptions about the makeup of society, the motivation of individuals and associated social relationships.

Beginning with Bourdieu (1986, 2002), his concerns relate to the practices underpinning the unequal access to resources and the unequal distribution of power. Bourdieu's concept of social capital is defined as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and

recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.243). Next, Putnam (2000) distinguishes between two types of social capital; bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital refers to networks based on strong social ties between similar people – people who we deem to be 'like us' – these networks are based on relationships, reciprocity and trust of familiarity and closeness. Putnam (2000) refers to bonding social capital as a type of sociological 'superglue', which helps people to 'get by' in life and works best in helping to maintain in-group loyalty. Conversely, bridging capital refers to weaker social ties between different types of people e.g. acquaintances rather than close family and friends. This is less of a glue than 'a sociological WD40' (Putnam, 2000) and facilitates 'getting ahead' via, for example, the diffusion of information and employment opportunities. Coalter suggests that "bonding and bridging capital tend to be concerned with 'horizontal' social relationships" (2007b, p.547). In contrast, Woolcock (2001) proposes the concept of linking social capital, which offers a lens to explore vertical relationships between people, including those entirely outside the community which in turn offers access to wider networks and the potential to leverage a broader range of resources.

Finally, Coleman's (1988, 1990) concept of social capital - which is deemed most applicable for this thesis - supports the idea that social capital is individually driven (rather than driven by communities). Coleman (1988, 1990) has claimed that social capital can be embodied in personal relationships and social connectivity and that social capital holds value for all kinds of communities, including the powerless and marginalised. Drawing on rational choice theory, Coleman understood social capital as part of a wider exploration of the nature of social structures and defined social capital by its function (e.g. what it does) (1990, p.302):

It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure.

Put another way, social capital according to Coleman (1988, 1990), is a type of resource related to the social structure whose purpose is to facilitate meaningful and individually beneficial activity. In turn, this connectivity may translate into different acts such as reciprocity, building of relationships; and the development of social and emotional skills which can bring about individual benefits. Such social connections are maintained

through the expectation of reciprocity (including trust), information channels and the flow of information, and norms including effective sanctions on freeloaders. For Coleman, social capital is productive, i.e. it is used so that actors can achieve particular ends that would have been impossible without it. According, this individual-orientated perspective, social capital is defined by the actions of actors in terms of what they do to develop 'capital' resources, (e.g. capital may include individual benefits such as social leverage and/or privileges).

For this reason, it is argued that local Cameroonian SfD practitioners engender a form of hybridization and re-imagine their identities through their cultural exchanges in the global/local context. Because the local needs to be understood as the space where Global Northern forces become recognizable in practice as they are entangled in local human subjectivity, and this relationship can only be understood through a multifaceted analysis of power centring on the complex encounter between local life and culture and global northern forces. Therefore, the process of cultural hybridization is relevant as the notion of agency fits neatly with Coleman's individually orientated understanding of social capital.

Coleman (1990) recognises that there are different levels of access to social capital 'resources', based on an individual's place in the social structure, which operate external to the individual and hence social capital does not tend to be distributed evenly. Importantly though, Coleman (1988) also recognises that actors' goals are determined by an individual pursuit based on self-interest. For example, he has argued that individuals engage in social interactions, relationships and networks for as long as the benefits follow. Put another way, social capital is usually created and destroyed as a by-product or unintended consequence of individual rational action.

This reasoning stems from rational choice theory which seeks to explain human behaviour through rationality. The basic premise of rational choice theory is that collective social behaviour results from the behaviour of individual actors, each of whom makes individual decisions. These rational actions are set in a particular social context which accounts not only for the actions of individuals, but also the development of social networks. Following this view, social capital is one of the potential resources which an actor can use, alongside other resources such as their own skills and

expertise (e.g. human capital), tools (e.g. physical capital), or money (e.g. economic capital). For Coleman, social capital is not necessarily 'owned' by individuals but instead it arises as a 'resource' which is available to them. One example that Coleman (1990) offered is that if you lived on a street where you could rely on your neighbours to look out for your children, then you have access to a form of social capital which other people, in less trusting or well-bonded streets, do not. Furthermore, this is not a resource which those on the street could give or sell to a friend on the other side of town. To get access to it, they would have to move into the street in question (or one like it) and establish some relationships with neighbours – all of which would take time and effort – because social capital is a resource based on reciprocity (including trust) and shared values, and develops from the weaving-together of people in communities.

Underpinned by rational choice theory, Coleman (1990) outlines three distinctive elements of social capital; i) obligations, expectations and trustworthiness in structures, ii) information channels and iii) norms and effective sanctions. For Coleman, trustworthiness is part of a community's social capital network and members of a community must believe that obligations must and should be adhered to; for example, a high degree of trust results in a higher degree of social capital. Secondly information sharing is based on Coleman's understanding that information is important and provides a basis for action. If individuals perceive that they have accurate information they will act accordingly, however should individuals believe that institutions/entities are hiding information, that will affect the behaviour and compliance but in a negative way. Finally for Coleman, norms and effective sanctions enable the 'closure' of networks by ensuring that commitments are met and freeloaders ousted (Johnston and Percy-Smith, 2003). For Coleman, social capital is constituted in the space between social structure and agency, and is located between and among individual actors, so that it "inheres in the structure of social relationships" (1990, p.302). Thus, in line with Coleman's understanding of social capital, both agency and structure are of vital importance and neither can or should be ignored. Building relationships with others is viewed by Coleman (1988, 1990) as a social form of capital as such ties contain resources, and social capital exists in the ties between people, (e.g. within networks) and is not privately held by individuals (like Bourdieu's interpretation).

As scholarly interest in the concept of social capital has increased, so too has the association between SfD and social capital (Coalter, 2007b, 2010b, 2013; Skinner et al., 2008; Adams et al., 2017; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Clarke and Salisbury, 2017). However, of the four prominent social capital theorists, it is arguably Putnam and Bourdieu who are utilised the most by SfD scholars. There are, however, a small number of SfD scholars who have previously applied Coleman's understanding to explore the link between social capital and SfD (Adams et al., 2017; Coalter, 2010b; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). The lack of application within SfD scholarship of Coleman's social capital is questioned by Coalter given "[Coleman's] concerns with the relationship between social capital and the development of human capital (education, employment skills and expertise) [which] are clearly relevant" (Coalter, 2010b, p.1377). Arguing along the same lines, Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) advocate that Coleman's individual-orientation approach draws useful parallels to the aims of many SfD programmes. In addition, Adams et al. (2017) have argued that the application of Coleman's (1988, 1990) work enables researchers to examine micro-level everyday perspectives at a local programme level (e.g. individuals and small groups).

However, the application and use of social capital theory does require some caution as it has been criticised, mainly for its ambiguity and variability between the prominent theorists (Portes and Landolt, 2000). The main criticisms specific to Coleman are summarised by Tzanakis (2013) as showing a lack of context-specific consideration or understanding; wider structural inequalities and relations of power; and gender based power relations. To counter this, specific consideration is given in this thesis to the context of Cameroon, alongside the wider structures and actors who may influence the case study SfD partnerships.

4.4 Developing a theoretical dialogue between the work of Lukes and Coleman

Over the last two decades, the study of power has become increasingly part of the SfD lexicon, including how to understand it; examinations of how it works in practice, and how power relationships are challenged and transformed. In this next section, a synthesis of the selected theories of power is provided, before outlining how this thesis will assume a more holistic approach to analyse power in order to explore both positive and negative effects of power. This approach takes inspiration from Go (2013),

Estrada (2017) and Rosa (2015) who have sought to develop multi-theoretical dialogues in order to prioritise localised understandings of networks and relationships. In particular, Estrada (2017), has argued for a more flexible understanding of power rather than purely focusing on one theory, which in Estrada's (2017) view, can constrain the researcher to a narrow understanding. This thesis takes inspiration from Estrada's (2017) suggestion that mapping out the similarities and differences between each of the chosen theories helps to promote a discussion for a future research agenda that focuses on "the dynamic movement of the asymmetries between the 'Global North' and the 'Global South' as entities that are constantly being contested and negotiated" (Estrada, 2017, p.888).

As noted throughout this chapter (and the literature review chapter), much of the current SfD literature primarily views power as either a dominating 'power over' force (see Forde and Frisby, 2015; Nicholls et al., 2011; Hayhurst, 2009; Darnell, 2010; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014; Hayhurst, 2014; Saavedra, 2019; Banda and Holmes, 2017) or as an empowering 'power to' force and as a way to gain individual benefit (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Adams et al., 2017), which has given rise to the use of concepts such as structure, agency and social capital understandings of power. This literature often characterises power within one of these two categories to examine social life. However, as many scholars argue, power is a fluid, ever changing – hybrid force. This thesis seeks to illustrate how the construction and maintenance of a more holistic understanding of power is a useful framework, as it remains open to the possibilities that both positive and negatives displays, and perceptions of power exist. Table 3 overleaf offers a visual synthesis of the sources, access to and conceptions of power-based on the various perceptions of power which this thesis will draw from.

Table 3: Comparison of the sources, access to and conceptions of power

	Radical three dimensional view	Social capital	Key concepts associated with power (discourse, structure, agency, hegemony, and whiteness)
Key proponent/s	Steven Lukes	James Coleman	Various (see sources)
Source/s of power	Power can stem from decision making, agenda setting and/or preference shaping	Power stems from individuals and their ability to gain stocks of capital	Power stems from existing power structures and the unequal distribution of capital
Access to power: issues of structure and agency	An interplay between constraining structures and narrow possibilities for agents to make choices and pursue strategies within given limits to access power	Agency of individuals be constrained by structures which affect the amount of capital available at any given moment	Structures are responsible for impairing the flow of power from 'South' to 'North', which presents an uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints on them. Actors influence the development of that context through the consequences of their actions.
Conception of power: neutral or hierarchy	Power is hierarchical constraining force which can be exercised in overt and hidden ways.	Power can be an enabling force, but is dependent on agency of individuals. Power is available to all including the marginalised	Power is a constraining force which is exerted and legitimised through hegemonic structures, dominated by Europe and North America.

Sources: (Lukes, 1974, 2002, 2005; Coleman, 1988, 1989, 1990; Said, 1993; Spivak, 1988, 1990; Bhabha, 1994; Schmidt, 2008; Carrington, 2010; Fusco, 2005)

Taken alone, these three approaches offer a narrow understanding of the source/(s), access to and conception of power. Beginning with Lukes (1974, 2005); power is positioned as a purely dominating force. Displays of power within Lukes' (2005) first dimensions of power are visible and transparent to the observer (e.g. researcher) which makes it relatively easy to observe how the powerful secure (willing or unwilling) compliance over those they dominate. Next, displays of power within Lukes' (1974, 2005) second dimensions of power can be both visible and non-visible (visible only to the agenda setter), which mean that the identification of power mechanisms is less straightforward to observe. Finally, considering Lukes' (1974, 2005) third dimension, displays of power is more difficult to identify because an exercise of power may involve the deliberate shaping of preferences by either individuals or groups. The other key concepts (discourse, structure, agency, hegemony, and whiteness) - like Lukes (2005) - analyse dominating power structures and the unequal distribution of capitals and agencies and explore the ways in which inequalities are maintained. However, unlike Lukes (2005) these concepts also analyse issues surrounding knowledge production and opportunities for agency, and do so by problematizing the positions from which power is exerted and legitimised. For example, scholars who apply these concepts conceive that voices from the 'Global South' should be prioritised as a site of knowledge production that also defies hegemonic power by means of turning the 'Global North' to 'Global South' knowledge flows in relationships in the opposite direction.

Conversely, for Coleman (1988, 1990), social capital is a resource which can lead to power by empowering individuals, communities and groups from all backgrounds (it is not just reserved for just those in privileged elite positions). Importantly for Coleman and his understanding of power, individuals are not passive recipients of power; instead individual actions and behaviours tend to be driven by personal interests. For instance, purposive social interaction is linked to the production of social capital which turns into a form of power. The balance of power for Coleman is maintained through the expectation of reciprocity (including trust) and sanctions on free-loaders.

4.4.1 Similarities and differences

The main similarity between these three understandings of power is the consensus that hierarchies exist. As such, all perspectives of power provide tools to explore the idea that unequal relationships exist. For example, for Lukes, Coleman and the other concepts outlined (discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness), there is an assumption and emphasis that unequal hierarchies tend to be found within pre-existing structures which in form the context to examine struggles for agency.

The differences between the three perspectives lie in the analysis of power and the emphasis placed on structure and agency. For example, Coleman's understanding of social capital theory proposes that power relations should be analysed on an individual basis via the production of social capital and suggests that structures both explain and shape power relations (Coleman, 1988, 1990). Lukes' (1974, 2005) and other key concepts outlined share a similar perspective that power should be analysed through questions related to authority, be it in a political, cultural, economic and/or social context and is played out through the relationship between actors from powerful 'Global Northern' nations and actors from the 'Global South', typically nations which were former colonies. However, attitudes concerning structure and agency differ. Considering Lukes' (1974, 2005) view, little emphasis or debate is given towards opportunities for agency, because his understanding of power tends to neglect the capacity to resist because, as Hearn (2008) argues, Lukes' understanding focuses mainly on power as repressive and as a one directional constraining force. In contrast, the concepts of discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness give a more equal priority to discussing both structures and agencies. For example, Bhabha (1994) repeatedly refers to agency as a form of negotiation (within a post-colonial context) and is not something which is fixed. This supports his understanding of power as a force which is exercised in a variety of ways and through multiple channels, but a force which is never in possession of a particular actor, which draws similarities to Foucault's notion of power. In spite of these apparent differences, this thesis attempts to build bridges of dialogue between different theories of power in order to push towards a more holistic and fluid understanding of power in order to prioritise localised understandings of relationships which

explore both negative and positive outcomes of power. Following this intention, social relationships are seen not as a stable arrangement, but more as a flexible movement of connections between actors, whereby negotiations are continual and multiple perspectives from various actors are prioritised.

As outlined throughout this section, power is a multifaceted concept and has the potential to be enabling or coercive, liberating or repressive and as such can be viewed as a positive or negative force. Reflecting in particular on the application of the perspectives of both Lukes (1974, 2005) and Coleman (1988, 1990) within this study, there is a fundamental tension which warrants further discussion and is in relation to their contrasting approach towards the source of and access to power within society.

On one hand, Lukes' (1974, 2005) perspective promotes a 'power over' understanding of power in society, whereby power is exercised in three ways: through decision-making, non-decision-making and ideological power. Lukes' (1974, 2005) perspective is associated with the Marxist ideological view that power is possessed by dominant groups and institutions and is used to oppress and control lower status groups. This theme is reflected in Lukes' (1974, 2005) three dimensional view of power as it embeds power relationships within ideological structures. For Lukes (1974, 2005), power is closely linked to the notion of knowledge and information. In this understanding of power, 'power over' can be enforced using knowledge as an overt-decision making resource (first dimension). It can also occur indirectly through the control of an agenda, in that some information and interests are excluded in the production of knowledge (second dimension). Finally for Lukes' (1974, 2005), power can occur through control of the consciousness of the 'powerless' and the 'powerful' creation of ideologies and knowledge (third dimension), this aligns with the idea of hegemony which is linked to cultural and ideological control. In summary, Lukes (1974, 2005) offers an ideological understanding of power which is founded on the notion that power is embedded within structures and institutions.

Coleman (1988, 1990), on the other, hand does not explicitly discuss power as a concept per se, but he does argue that social processes within society are created by the free will of individuals and are created by rational, purposeful individuals who in turn have the ability to build powerful stocks

of social capital. As they attempt to maximize their individual opportunities, individuals freely choose to build networks in order to further their self-interest or personal advantage. Thus, following his individualistic rational choice perspective, Coleman's (1988, 1990) perspective would suggest that members of networks are more powerful than those without a membership of networks, because those who are part of a network can use their contacts/networks to make possible personal aspirations/goals. Following Coleman's (1988, 1990) understanding, developing effective norms can constitute a powerful form of social capital. This understanding resonates through Coleman's (1988, 1990) rational choice in social networking and asserts that social capital is defined by its function.

Having acknowledged the tension between Lukes (1974, 2005) and Coleman (1988, 1990), it is hoped that adopting these two contrasting perspectives within this study (alongside the other key concepts outlined which are associated with power) will make it possible to capture some of the complexities of the interplay between the two dimensions of structure and agency. In particular, the dimension of social capital and individual gain seems to be captured through Coleman's (1988, 1990) view that effective norms within a given society can constitute a powerful form of social capital which may in turn facilitate certain actions and personal leverage.

4.5 Chapter summary: towards a more holistic understanding of power

This chapter has presented a novel theoretical approach, one which has not been used by SfD scholars previously. It has outlined the rationale to map out the structure and intentions of the SfD INGOs using Giulianotti's 'ideal type' framework (2011a), before drawing on several theories of power to offer a holistic understanding of power (e.g. open to both negative and positive forms of power). In doing so the thesis is able to explore dominant social structures, alongside opportunities for agency. Put another way, this chapter has highlighted that the thesis is open to the idea that power can be both an enabling and (simultaneously) constraining force which is expressed through the constant action and interaction between actors. This approach supports the notion that power within SfD partnerships is not static, but as Hayhurst et al., (2016) note, SfD programmes are socio-political sites that are (re)constructed, implemented and negotiated within a networked set of dynamic relationships and connections. To summarise,

the chapter began by outlining how Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal' type SfD models ('technical', 'dialogical', and 'critical') will be used as part of the study's empirical analysis (see Chapter 6) to show 'how' SfD partnerships work, by examining the intentions of the INGOs. This intention is based on Research Question One - *what are the principal features of two identified SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon* - and the corresponding Research Objective One - *to provide a critical account of the principal features of two SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon* - with data being derived from documentary analysis and interviews with INGO practitioners. What this leaves is a critical analysis of power that needs to be explained, in accordance with the overarching research aim which intends to provide a critical examination of the power relations within and between two 'Sport for Development' (SfD) partnerships.

As such, the orientation of the thesis in Chapters 7 and 8 will shift towards a localised perspective to study 'how' and 'why' power is enacted, generated and used in everyday practice and relate to Research Questions Two and Three and the corresponding Research Objectives. This is realised by exploring the sources of power, access to power and manifestations of power-based on semi-structured interviews conducted in Cameroon with Cameroonian SfD practitioners working for the INGO 'in country' partner. Here, building on from Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal' type SfD models, Lukes' radical three dimensional view of power, key concepts (e.g. discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness) along with Coleman's social capital theory help to draw attention to how issues of overt and covert domination, race, hegemony, post-colonial residue and social connections interlock to create challenges and benefits associated with the INGO-in county partner relationship and the delivery of the INGO programme on a day-to-day basis. For example, Lukes' (2005) radical three dimensional view of power helps to understand power through decision making, agenda setting and/or preference shaping, however, this understanding views power as exploitive and as constraining. Thus in order to explore and understand issues of agency, the thesis draws on key concepts (e.g. discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness) to understand more about the context of the study and how this may shape the outlook and actions of Cameroonian practitioners. Although Lukes' (2005) radical three-dimensional views of power and other outlined concepts are useful to see how power can be a constraining force, it is

Coleman's interpretation of social capital which helps the thesis consider how power can also be an enabling force. For Coleman, social capital is related to the access to resources, and networks and social capital theory offers strategies to explore individual's ability to develop stocks of social capital which can be traded for social and personal leverage/gains.

**CHAPTER 5:
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN**

5.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter provides a justification for the multifaceted qualitative methodology that encompassed a comparative case study approach, ethnographic fieldwork in Cameroon as well as interviews and documentary analysis to explore the selected SfD partnerships. The core focus for the thesis has not too been examine the 'best practices' involved in SfD partnerships or coaching practices, rather, the core concern has been to explore the informal practices and power relations between Cameroonian SfD practitioners and the INGO/INGO practitioners in the two case study partnerships from multiple perspectives. That is, this thesis followed Eyben (2010) and Thayer's (2010) understandings of aid as relational, fluid and embodied through multi-layered connections between donor and recipient organisations. Following such epistemological views, the lived experience of SfD practitioners was considered complex, in that roles and responsibilities, power dynamics, social markers and symbols of status vary between cultures. Qualitative research offered a means to unearth and help explain social phenomena such as the social construction of power within SfD relationships. To do this, it is imperative that researchers decode the meaning and interpretation of words and circumstances within specific social and geographical contexts in order to gain an understanding of the situation from the perspective of those being studied (Liamputtong, 2008). In the context of this study this included a specific focus on the localised perspectives of SfD practitioners.

In order to fulfil the research aim: *to provide a critical examination of the power relations within and between two SfD partnerships* - three Research Questions were identified (which were earlier introduced in Chapter 1):

- i) What are the principal features of the two identified SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon?
- ii) What are the locally identified issues and responses concerning the relationships with the INGOs and INGO practitioners?
- iii) What are the locally identified issues and responses relating to the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes?

As evident from the Research Questions, the 'formal' discourses of the INGOs (e.g. purpose, intentions, key messages, strategies and structures) were critically considered (Research Question One). Throughout this thesis, the experiences and reactions of Cameroonian SfD practitioners were not assumed to be simply 'passive' in that they internalised all the

discourses that the INGOs transmitted to them. Rather, the thesis explored the possibilities that Cameroonian SfD practitioners were able to make active choices and in doing so explored how they (re)constructed such choices with respect to the relationships with the INGOs/and staff (Research Question Two) and the day-to-day delivery of the SfD programmes (Research Question Three). However, against this backdrop, the methodology also acknowledged that experiences were increasingly shaped by wider influences, or 'structures' (for example post-colonial residue, neo-liberalism) as it has been argued that it pervades and defines the social structures and communities in which they reside (also see Thayer, 2010), which is reflected in the critical realist assumptions which will be outlined overleaf.

The chapter begins by outlining the importance of researcher positionality and reflexivity, particularly given the post-colonial context of this study. Next, the underpinning ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions of the chosen research paradigm are outlined. Following which, the chapter next provides an overview of the study's qualitative methodology which combined perspectives from practitioners in the 'Global North' and 'Global South'. The subsequent section provides an overview of the research strategy used to conduct the comparative case study research design. This section offers a discussion on the techniques used to collect data, namely qualitative document analysis and semi-structured interviews. It also explains the recruitment and research community consultation strategies, the processes and limitations of translation in cross-cultural research, and elucidates the complexities and challenges involved in conducting ethnographic research in Cameroon. Next, the strategies for data analysis are explained, followed by a discussion of access and ethical issues that surfaced throughout the research. To conclude, I consider what it means to be 'reflexive' having conducted cross-cultural, multifaceted research in a post-colonial context.

5.1.1 The importance of researcher reflexivity and an acknowledgement of positionality

Reflexivity in research involves reflection on self, process, and representation, as well as a critical examination of the power relations in the research process, including researcher accountability in data collection and interpretation (Jones et al., 1997; Falconer Al-Hindi and Hope, 2002). Specifically, writing about research that takes places within post-colonial contexts, Frankenberg (2004) has argued that researchers should be

reflexive about how they are positioned in the study as there is no objectivity “or an all-seeing glance” (p. 106). Therefore it is imperative that attention is given to issues of reflexivity, positionality and power relations regarding this thesis.

5.1.2 Exploring my own positionality at the outset of the research process

This section examines some of the theoretical as well as personal issues that I considered at the outset of the research process. For example, as a white, female, British researcher and former SfD practitioner, my personal position and interests had to be continually negotiated and reflected on. My motivation to research the lives and realities of Cameroonian SfD practitioners was both a personal, as well as a professional one. On the one hand, I had gained valuable work experiences and connections having worked within the SfD sector in Cameroon on and off since 2012. Many of my connections had developed into friendships and therefore understanding more about the lives of local practitioners was a personal motivation. On a professional level, my role as a PhD researcher at Leeds Trinity University alongside my role as a Senior Lecturer at Sheffield Hallam University has enabled me to engage with critical literature concerning issues such as power, postcolonialism, social capital, alongside policies and practices relating to the SfD and international development sectors. The decision to research this topic area for my PhD did not come easy as I spent a long time grappling with many issues, such as my own involvement with the SfD sector, as well as questioning whether I could ever do justice to this topic, since I am not from the 'Global South', nor am I black, or male, like the majority of Cameroonian SfD practitioners who deliver the INGO SfD programmes. Furthermore, being engaged professionally in critical SfD debates including the lack of 'Global South' representation, I wanted to ensure that this research brought localised perspectives to the fore. Reflecting on my positionality is a process is something that McIntosh (1990, p.31) has referred to as "unpacking the invisible knapsack". I have spent a long time reflecting on the extent to which my position and wider social and racial characteristics may have influenced the research process, as well as my subsequent analytical interpretation of the data (Fine, 1994; Foster, 1994; Frankenberg, 2004). Peake and Trotz (1999) have argued that reflecting on one's positionality or subjectivity should not mean abandoning fieldwork, rather (p.37):

It can strengthen our commitment to conduct good research based on building relations of mutual respect and recognition. It does, however, entail abandoning the search for objectivity in favour of critical provisional analysis based on plurality of (temporally and spatially) situated voices and silences.

Kapoor (2004) has argued that postcolonial scholars such as Spivak have instigated a surge of hyper-self-reflexive research on development in the 'Global South', where researchers now are challenged to be "unscrupulously vigilant...about our complicities" (Kapoor, 2004, p.641). By being "hyper-self-reflexive", specifically to the politics of knowledge production and processes of research, researchers are able to challenge pre-given categories and narratives, by being attentive to power, knowledge and context (Katz, 1994). Having reflected throughout the research process on my own positionality, it is impossible to conceive that my distinguishing features of being a white, British and female did not have some effect on the research process.

Having previously worked in the SfD 'field' as a practitioner, I wanted to find a way to navigate the complexities of my own positionality and conduct research within Cameroon, a developing, post-colonial nation and not take any steps which may perpetuate the important issues that I was studying (e.g. in-equality of power between actors in the 'Global North' and 'Global South'). As such, I took a key methodological decision to immerse myself in Cameroon in a bid to capture localised understandings, experiences and relationships with the SfD partnerships by living and working alongside Cameroonian SfD practitioners in their communities. From the outset of this study, I did not want my time in Cameroon to reproduce unequal power relations through any decision I made regarding spatial and material aspects of international development, otherwise known as 'Aid Land' (Smirl, 2015). For example, travel in private air-conditioned vehicles, whilst the local practitioners and programme intended beneficiaries walk barefoot through the heat or catch local public transport, or stay in 'westernised' hotels with Wi-Fi and a pool, while surrounding communities have no running water and face very real issues of poverty. My aim was to fully immerse myself as a 'local', to live, work, eat and socialise in the same way as the local Cameroonian SfD practitioners within my study did.

However, while this immersive approach, known as 'ethnography' has been an established approach within the social sciences, few SfD scholars have

given specific attention to, or promoted the value of prolonged periods of immersion within specific spaces, activities and local populations. The development of this methodological approach is discussed in detail later in the chapter, specifically my role as an 'active participant' (Krane and Baird, 2005) in Cameroon. Having adopted this immersive role, I strongly argue that this helped me gain the rich empirical data from Cameroon which is presented in Chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis, may not have come to light if had not immersed myself in Cameroonian life and work for prolonged periods.

Furthermore, this immersive approach enabled me to develop a deep degree of empathy that permitted me the confidence to represent local insights and experiences within my thesis and avoided creating 'spaces of aid' which Smirl (2015) critically explores how international aid work has gradually become detached from the lives of those it seeks to help. Specifically reflecting on the context of Cameroon as a post-colonial nation and myself, a researcher from Great Britain, one of its former colonial rulers, I have deliberated on the work of Mama (1995) who has stressed the importance of understanding discourses on 'the Other'. The notion of 'the Other' according to Mama (1995), is embedded in historical conditions of colonialism and racism as well as the discourses and practices which these bring about. She has argued that individual consciousness arises "out of the resonances between collective history and personal experience" (p.163) and my personal reflection regarding this is that the effect of colonialism in Cameroon did not end abruptly or neatly following its independence in the 1970s. Colonialism by the Germans, French and British brought new values, beliefs, foreign languages, and traditions to Cameroon and left something behind, a form of post-colonial residue. This is supported by Cameroonian literature which suggests that notions of 'whiteness' are still widely associated with power and privilege in Cameroon, attitudes which exist because of the history of colonialism (Nyamnjoh and Page, 2002). As such, my physical and social characteristics including my gender, Caucasian skin and blonde hair colour, and coupled with my ability to only converse in English, made me highly visible when conducting fieldwork in Cameroon, a predominantly patriarchal black social setting in which multiple languages are spoken. These characteristics resulted in a number of dilemmas and challenges when

attempting to access the lived realities of Cameroonian practitioners which I will reflect upon towards the end of this chapter.

5.2 Ontological and Epistemological assumptions

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), it is the responsibility of the researcher to consider their world view and basic beliefs that deal with three fundamental interconnected questions about ontology, epistemology and methodology, (p.108):

- The ontological question – what is the form of and nature of reality and therefore, what is there that can be known about it?
- The epistemological question – what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?
- The methodological question – How can the inquirer (would be knower) go about finding out whatever he or she believes to be known?

In short, ontology and epistemology are philosophical assumptions presumed by the researcher about how research problems should be understood and addressed (Kuhn, 1970). According to Grix (2002) ontology and epistemology are essential building blocks of research and therefore need defining and explaining before a researcher can consider the different paradigms and traditions related with each one. Blaikie (2000, p.8) has suggested that ontology involves:

Claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other. In short, ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality.

Ontology refers to what exists in the social world, concerning "the nature and the structure of the world" (Wand and Weber, 1993, p.220). Linked to, and building upon ontological assumptions are a second set of assumptions of an epistemological nature that refer to questions of the nature of knowledge (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). Blaikie (2000, p.8) has offered a useful definition of epistemology as being:

...the theory or the science of the method or grounds of knowledge that goes on to outline the epistemological assumptions that are made about how knowledge accumulation is possible and how what exists may be known.

The assumptions that underpin research are both ontological and epistemological can be grouped into a number of traditions or 'paradigms'. The following section outlines the three main paradigms; positivism, interpretivism and critical realism and discusses the assumptions that have guided this thesis.

5.2.1 Positivism, interpretivism and critical realism

Positivism

Positivism is a philosophical approach that can be applied to social sciences. The approach is founded upon the belief that phenomena of the human social world are no different from those of the natural world. According to Sparkes (1992, p.10) scholars who hold positivistic perspectives view the social world as a "real world made up of hard tangible and relatively immutable facts that can be observed, measured and known for what they are". Put another way, positivists contend that the world is real and not socially constructed (as with other paradigms), and believe that it is possible to have generalizable theories which can help in explaining and predicting the social world (Blaikie, 2000). Positivist assumptions uphold a foundationalist ontology, which means that a phenomenon (for example the SfD practices within Cameroon) can be discovered through empirical research of observation and measurement, in an attempt to identify a 'cause and effect' relationship. The key focus of this paradigm is to identify causes of social behavior in an objective manner, free of the intrusion of the researcher's values, beliefs or feelings. A positivist paradigm asserts that society is 'measurable' and therefore quantifiable and survey questions are often utilized to test existing theories, so for example, a positivist epistemology would be complemented by a quantitative methodology and a method that incorporating surveys and/or questionnaires would most logically follow. Positivist epistemology and quantitative methodologies have long been the favored approach for most commissioned research by large scale SfD funding agencies (e.g. Comic Relief, UNICEF, UNAIDS, UN) that seek to monitor and evaluate SfD programmes, because quantitative evidence is widely considered an objective method to discover programme impacts and outcomes. However, because of the support given to quantitative methodologies by such large funding agencies, it has been stated that the opportunities to undertake commissioned qualitative research within the

sector is reduced because it is somehow considered less legitimate (Nicholls et al., 2011; Kay, 2009).

Although positivist approaches are widespread, they have been criticized by international development and some SfD scholars, because society is full of diverse, self-reflexive people (actors) who have the ability to think, argue, challenge, resist and through their practices and actions transform the world (Cracknell, 2000; Levermore, 2011). As such it is argued that the social world cannot be subject to universal generalizations. Positivism has also been criticized for neglecting social structures and processes (e.g. geographical location, politics, and gender issues) which therefore, risks monitoring and evaluating being viewed as a 'box-ticking exercise' that doesn't take into account the reflexivity and agency of social actors (Cracknell, 2000; Levermore, 2011).

Interpretivism

In contrast to positivism is interpretivism. Sparkes (1992, p.26) has asserted that an interpretivist paradigm (also known as constructivism) is underpinned by a "network of ontological and epistemological assumptions that are very different to positivism". This position ultimately rejects the positivist view that it is possible to apply the natural sciences to the human social world and make generalised assertions, as it is impossible to construct an image of a world outside of our place within it. Blaikie (2007) has claimed that there are fundamental differences between the subject nature of the natural and social sciences, and a strategy is needed which respects and explores the differences between people (actors) and the objects of the natural sciences. Indeed, Bryman (2012) has stated that in order to fully understand these differences, the social scientist needs to grasp the subjective meaning of social action. For example, a methodology informed by interpretivism would require the researcher not to study the phenomenon objectively from the 'outside', but to instead develop an understanding of the social world which people construct through listening and interpreting their experiences. Naturally, any such methodology would need to be underpinned by ontological and epistemological assumptions which view social reality as a product of the processes by which social actors negotiate meanings within that reality (Blaikie, 2000). Crotty (1998, p.43) offers a useful description and suggests that interpretivism does not perceive reality to be one fixed or static 'thing', but rather as constantly shaped by a "mixture of cultural and social processes" which in turn create

multiple realities. As such, under an interpretivist paradigm, knowledge is seen to originate from everyday lived experiences and meanings, and researchers must attempt to reconstruct these into social scientific theories (Marsh and Smith, 2000). Subjectivity is an inevitable criticism of this paradigm as researchers have differing interpretations and understandings of social phenomenon. What is important to state though in relation to this paradigm is that 'knowledge' is not seen as a pursuit of 'hard or objective facts' but rather as an interpretative understandings of the social world, or as Blaikie (2000, p.96) has helpfully articulated, the social world can be viewed as a set of processes "by which social actors together negotiate the meaning for actions and situations".

The major criticism of interpretivism comes from positivists who argue that interpretations made from within this paradigm are mere opinions of individuals about the social world and how it operates (Bryman, 2012). As such, positivists argue that interpretivists have no basis to build valid claims of knowledge gathered through qualitative methods and interpretation. Interpretivists rely on qualitative methods in an attempt to construe the world from the participants' point of view (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). The qualitative tools that tend to be used include interviews and/or focus groups to gather data on experiences and opinions of various groups of people to enable the researcher to construct or reconstruct social reality (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). While it is argued below that this thesis is not wholly interpretivist, aspects of the paradigm cannot be ignored in light of the focus given to the agency of Cameroonian SfD practitioners within this thesis. However, while this paradigm is not fully disregarded, the epistemology for this thesis is more succinctly aligned to a critical realist paradigm.

Critical realism

Sitting in-between the opposed paradigms of positivism and interpretivism is critical realism; a paradigm that has guided the methodological approach adopted within this thesis. The most basic claim of critical realism is that there is an objective fixed world of structures, a view which is juxtaposed with the recognition that individuals have the ability to construct their own reality and influence change. The critical realist paradigm, according to Bhaskar (1989), is a specific form of realism, which asserts that researchers can only understand the social world if they identify the structures at work which create dominant discourses. Bryman (2012) distinguishes that the key difference between critical realists and positivists

is their relative perception of reality. For example, positivists believe that only what can be observed can be said to be real, whereas critical realists contend that what is observed is merely one notion of reality. In contrast, the difference between interpretivism and critical realism is that critical realism recognises that a number of broader structures exist and affect the day-to-day lives of people central to the study (e.g. Cameroonian SfD practitioners). Put another way, in assuming a critical realist paradigm, this thesis assumes an ontological realist position (e.g. there is a real world that exists independently of actors perceptions, theories, and constructions) while accepting a form of epistemological constructivism (e.g. the understanding of the world is a construction of actors own perspectives and standpoint).

Importantly, Baert (2005) outlines that for critical realists, knowledge is a social 'construct' and that any knowledge amassed is influenced by wider structures, with Sayer (2004) further suggesting that there are two ways in which the world is constructed; namely 'mental construction' and 'material construction'. Sayer (2004) has argued that 'mental constructions' (e.g. our individual understanding) of the world can inform 'material constructions' (e.g. practices and organisational structures). This distinction is important for this thesis, because the establishment of two SfD partnerships could be understood as being 'mentally constructed' in the first instance (e.g. by developing a set of ideas and intentions) which in turn have informed the 'material construction' of its existence and the associated day-to-day practices and relationships (e.g. curriculum, organisational structure, use of resources).

In addition, scholars have argued that discourses and interpretations of reality are shaped through material and social-linguistic contexts which often have their own set of tendencies, influenced by broader factors (structures), for example politics, the social and historical setting (Sayer, 2004; Sparkes, 1992). This would appear to fit succinctly with the notion that Cameroonian SfD actors may be influenced not just by the 'formal' discourses produced by the INGOs they work with, but also by the distinct political and social context in which they operate within Cameroon. In order to fully understand the structures affecting the local SfD practitioners in Cameroon, two earlier chapters have provided a broad historical, social and political context of the SfD sector (Chapter 2) and of Cameroon (Chapter 3), and Chapter 6 will outline the 'formal' INGO discourses. This level of detail and context is particularly useful when considering the level of

agency available to Cameroonian SfD practitioners, a concern which is at the heart of this thesis.

Through adopting a critical realist epistemology, this thesis has taken the viewpoint that reality (including power relations) stems from ongoing negotiations that take place between actors. This view of power is neither negative nor positive, but privileges knowledge and social construction of meanings based upon the subjective perspectives of the research participants (and their multiple realities), and includes the dual perspectives of INGO practitioners from the 'Global North' and Cameroonian SfD practitioners from the 'Global South'. For critical realists, theorising involves the deployment of theoretical models and selecting aspects of the specified phenomena to focus on their experience and social constructs (Sayer, 2004). Furthermore, Bryman (2012) has argued that while researchers cannot necessarily observe the 'structures' affecting 'actors' within the research field, it may be possible to observe the 'effects' of those structures on the behaviours and attitudes of those being interviewed. These 'effects' can tell us how the actors (e.g. local SfD practitioners) respond to structures, in this case the presence of INGOs as well as wider domestic influences within Cameroon such as the ongoing socio-political crisis. Hence, it is perfectly permissible for these unobserved influences to be theorised on the basis that knowledge is a social construct that is considered through justified theoretical lenses (Baert, 2005; Sayer, 2004). The paragraph above alludes to the concepts of structure and agency and their importance within the chosen critical realist epistemology. Whilst an introduction to these concepts was provided in Chapter 4, in order to fully employ these concepts, a continuation of this discussion is offered here. Critical realists, such as Bhaskar (1989), Sayer (2004), Jessop (1990) and Hay (2002a, 1995) all agree that society (social structures) is both the cause and outcome of human agency. In short, critical realists view structure and agency not as two sides of the same coin, but rather "as two metals in the alloy from which the coin is moulded" (Hay, 1995, p.200). Thus, while structure and agency are, in theory, separable, in reality they are completely interwoven. Hay (1995) explained the above 'coin' analogy by arguing that we cannot see either metal in the alloy by looking at the coin, but we can see the product (outcome) of their fusion. The properties of the coin (society) derive not merely from the sum of its component metals (structure and agency), but also from their complex (chemical) interaction.

With regards to this thesis, the adopted paradigm of critical realism has led to the need for a multifaceted methodological approach that can focus on the opportunities for individual agency in terms of the local Cameroonian SfD practitioners' engagement with wider discourses and influences (e.g. from the INGOs, government policy, practice or wider development agendas seen within the SDGs). The subtleties of the study's paradigmatic assumptions are also reflected in the theoretical framework (Giulianotti's SfD 'ideal' type models, Lukes' three dimensional power, broad concepts associated with power - e.g. discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness, and Coleman's social capital), which allow for a more holistic understanding of power (e.g. open to both negative and positive forms of power) which was earlier outlined in Chapter 4.

5.3 A multifaceted qualitative methodology

In accordance with the paradigmatic assumptions presented in the previous section, recent decades have witnessed an increased utilisation of qualitative methodologies within the social sciences to depict the nuances of human behaviour and to provide complex rich descriptions of how people experience a given phenomenon (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In particular, there has been a sustained growth in the use of qualitative methods by SfD scholars to critically examine the policy and practices within the sector, which has provided a range of insightful accounts of the factors that influence the development and delivery of SfD programmes across the globe. However, much of this qualitative work has focused on the collection of interviews (individual interviews, focus groups) or documents to generate evidence, the result of which has arguably been the creation of a one-dimensional account of what recipients (e.g. programme participants) or key stakeholders (e.g. SfD organisations, donors, policy makers) think about the SfD sector, rather than a multi-dimensional explanation of what actually happens in this domain.

The following sections outline the decision to use a multifaceted qualitative methodological approach, which included a comparative case study design, ethnographic immersion in Cameroon to gather interview data, as well as drawing on multiple qualitative methods (e.g. interviews and Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of key INGO documents) to gather data from INGO practitioners. The strengths and weakness of these data collection strategies are outlined in detail in section 5.4 (research strategy). In summary, it is argued that a multifaceted qualitative methodology offers a

way forward here, to help overcome these limitations of relying solely on one type of data. Following the collection of interviews and documentary data from the 'Global Northern' INGOs (which were compared and contrasted with one another), this data was then contrasted with ethnographic fieldwork (interviews) collected in Cameroon. As such, one of the novel contributions of this thesis is that it offers a qualitative approach with the potential to yield detailed and comprehensive accounts of the same social phenomenon, from multiple perspectives.

5.3.1 Ethnographic immersion in Cameroon

Ethnography has emerged as a viable methodology within qualitative research to help researchers obtain familiarity of a given context and examine the nature of human behaviour of a social phenomenon using a range of qualitative methods of data collection, including interviews, documentary data and/or observations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Sparkes, 2003; Tedlock, 2000; Krane and Baird. 2005). Tedlock (2000) has outlined that ethnographic study involves:

an ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events, and understandings into a fuller, more meaningful context...As a result, it combines research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives (p.455).

As such, the use of an ethnographic immersion was deemed an appropriate way to investigate, in detail, the lived realities and experiences of SfD practitioners working within SfD partnerships in Cameroon, specifically to use interviews to explore 'why' and 'how' 'Global North' and 'Global South' SfD power relations play out in the way they do. In noted above, ethnography aims to understand the culture of a particular group or groups from the perspective of the group members (Bryman, 2012; Egan-Robertson and Willet, 1998). Tedlock (2000) has asserted that an ethnographic methodology tends to involve extensive field work and intense familiarity with a group or community through immersion into culture and draws on a family of methods involving direct and sustained contact with human actors, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures) watching what happens. By doing so, researchers are able to then able produce a 'thick description' of a particular culture or cultures (Bryman, 2012). Upon

considering the potential of ethnography in relation to the SfD sector, this thesis will add to a small number of existing studies that have emphasised the benefits of this methodology as a way in which to advance understandings of the behaviours, values and emotions of those involved with the SfD sector (cf. Holt et al., 2013; McSweeney and van Luijk, 2019).

The difference with this thesis is that this ethnography is viewed as part of a wider, multifaceted qualitative methodology which sought to explore multiple perspectives of practitioners involved in the same phenomenon (e.g. practitioners from the 'Global North' and 'Global South'). In doing so, the thesis intends to fulfil Schuerkens' (2003, p.212) recommendation that:

we have to take account in our empirical research in countries of the [Global] South of local aspects and global [North] influences, without exaggerating the tendency of one side or neglecting the other side.

Further, this thesis has acknowledged the paradigmatic assumptions of critical realism in order to try to connect the subjective understandings of the practitioners with the acknowledgment of influencing social structures (e.g. social, political and cultural structures affecting the SfD the practitioners and partnerships). Crucially, critical realist assumptions support the existence of underlying structures and mechanisms, and help to explain the underlying 'generic mechanisms' that may shape human agency (Reed 2005). In addition, this thesis has taken on board the advice of Krane and Baird (2005) who have suggested that ethnographic studies are situationally bound, and as a result should critically acknowledge the influence of the researcher. This supports the decision to include reflections from myself as the researcher, which can be found in various sections within this chapter and also within the thesis conclusion (Chapter 9).

As the intention of the ethnography sought to prioritise localised perspectives, I felt the need to fully immerse myself — to physically and emotionally be in Cameroon — to understand the context and gain the trust of SfD practitioners and to get a sense of how the partnerships worked on the ground. As such, I spent significant time (October-December 2015 and June-July 2016) immersed in local Cameroonian SfD contexts. In this regard, my prior engagement as a SfD practitioner with CWB arguably aided my ability to immerse myself, as I had already had some established working relationships with numerous coaches and management staff at CCF which helped me feel welcome in their organisation and daily lives.

Whilst many scholars have explained the strengths of ethnography as a way to capture meanings of everyday human activities (Sparkes and Smith, 2011; Krane and Baird, 2005; Tedlock, 2000; Bryman, 2012), others offer criticism concerning the use of ethnographic research. A central criticism tends to relate to the reliability of the data, as it is difficult to replicate ethnographic research as the phenomenon being studied occurs in natural setting which cannot be reproduced (Nurani, 2008). There are also drawbacks related to validity and a concern which relates to all qualitative research in that researchers do not control external variables, as research is carried out in a natural and socially dynamic setting (Bryman, 2012). However, a critical realist approach does not take concern with these matters because it accepts a form of epistemological constructivism in that the understanding of the social/natural world is a construction of actors own perspectives and standpoint.

5.3.2 The importance of localised knowledge

Given that SfD programmes are typically (but not always) developed, funded and written about by agencies outside of the countries where intended recipients are located (Rossi and Jeanes, 2016), it is imperative that researchers concerned with SfD partnerships and practice tackle such important social issues in a rigorous manner, for example, by considering localised perspectives (as well as being reflexive and transparent of their own positionality and bias). The lack of indigenous 'localised' knowledge within research is noted within international development studies (Briggs and Sharp, 2004; Briggs, 2008; Denzin et al., 2008) as well as SfD studies (Hayhurst et al., 2016; Banda and Holmes, 2017; Lindsey et al., 2017; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014; Hasselgard and Straume, 2013; Hasselgard and Straume, 2015; Mwaanga and Adeosun, 2017; Nicholls et al., 2011). Perhaps, as Denzin et al., (2008) have suggested, this is due to the history that the 'practice' of doing social research is a process inextricably linked to European colonialism, which in turn led to the development of a range of research methodologies "for reports about and representations of 'the Other'" (p. 1). More specifically, Denzin et al., (2008) have argued that, "qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the other world, and consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible" (p.4); which has the potential to turn the world of 'the Others' into a series of 'Global Northern' representations in the form of field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos.

Denzin et al., (2008) go on to explain that qualitative research attempts to make sense of observations in terms of the meanings people bring to them. A growing number of SfD scholars (Banda and Holmes, 2017; Nicholls et al., 2011) have suggested that if the SfD sector is to be perceived as a legitimate alternative to mainstream development approaches, more attention needs to be paid towards the co-creation of knowledge. In particular, this includes generating a greater understanding of the politics of partnerships as well as engaging in broader debates about the sector priorities, which are currently too reliant on northern funders. In doing so, this thesis has taken note of an argument made by Banda and Holmes (2017, p.13) who stated that SfD research “must not only consider but actively involve the role of subalterns [local practitioners] and demonstrate rejection or redressing of the universal and top-down nature of experiences captured in contemporary scholarship, institutional policy and eventual micro-level delivery”. In this regard, this thesis has taken on board this recommendation to actively involve subalterns (in the case of this thesis, Cameroonian SfD practitioners) in the research.

Given the post-colonial context of the study, it is also worth noting additional influential postcolonial work such as Spivak's important article, 'Can the subaltern speak?' (1988) which highlighted the concern that dominant discourses and institutions tend to marginalise and limit those in the 'Global South' from speaking. To address such concerns this study aimed to connect with Smith's (2006) argument that, by prioritising the voices and concerns of those who have the least access to power, we are better positioned as researchers to understand particular 'relations of ruling'. While it is acknowledged that I am from a UK University in the 'Global North', the intention is not to speak on behalf of 'the Other' (e.g. Cameroonian practitioners) but instead to give 'voice' to local interpretations of how SfD power relations play out when working with 'Global Northern' INGOs. In doing so this thesis adopts a methodology which is sensitive to localised voices and does so by working alongside Cameroonian practitioners to 'speak back', an intention which has been suggested may promote those in the 'Global North' to 'listen' (Porter, 2010; Mawdsley et al., 2002).

5.3.3 Tensions of conducting an ethnographic research in Cameroon

According to Smith (1999b, 2005) a researcher who immerses themselves in a population to find out what 'they' do in 'their' space can hold deep colonial implications. This is linked to the understanding that colonising is

about producing, inscribing and consuming 'the Other' (Hooks, 1998), which in turn silences and rejects opportunities for human agency (Swadener and Kagendo, 2008). Adopting this view, it is argued by some scholars that the very act of ethnography (as a methodology which has associations with social or cultural anthropology) has been construed by some as colonising (Gough, 1968). In the early days of social and cultural anthropology, researchers travelled for months to 'foreign' settings to investigate the culture, customs, and habits of another human group (Eriksen, 1995). As such, it is now widely accepted that any researcher adopting ethnographic immersion in a post-colonial context must be reflexively aware of the inherent tensions and links between the history of ethnography and colonisation (Smith, 2005; Li, 2007). Therefore, it is deemed fitting that, as a white researcher from a 'Global Northern' British University, a reflective discussion regarding the tensions of conducting a multi-sited research study with various stakeholders and actors from the UK, US and Cameroon should be included within the chapter; this can be found towards the end of this chapter in section 5.7.

González (2003) has outlined that it is not easy to write about post-colonial contexts and warns that often researchers run the risk of reproducing the colonialist voice. This thesis has taken guidance from Gonzalez (2003, p.83-85) who outlined four key ethical considerations for research that takes places in post-colonial contexts and adopts ethnographic approaches, they are; 'accountability', 'context', 'truthfulness' and 'community'. 'Accountability', according to Gonzalez (2003), is the 'ability' to 'account' in such a way that we are telling our story, of how we came to know the ethnographic tale; this gives the researcher a mandate to engage localised voices. 'Context' is about open-mindedness to one's surroundings, and allows for naming the structures that shape, constrict, disrupt, and inform the researcher and the participants. 'Truthfulness' involves having an openness to "see not only what is in one's social and environmental context, to see not only what one has actually done or said, but also to see that which is on the surface and not visible" (Gonzalez, 2003, p.84). In calling for this kind of openness, González (2003) disrupts the assumption that knowledge can be easily measurable, or that it exists in a fixed, material world. The final consideration - 'Community' - refers to the stories and tales which are shared and documented, which opens up possibilities to share these stories to target audiences and communities. Gonzalez's

four concepts draw parallels with Smith's (2005) argument that ethics and research guidelines should be developed in collaboration with the community. Indeed, whilst the thesis was guided by these issues, implementing and upholding such strategies also presented some challenges, all of which are outlined and reflected upon later in the chapter.

In summary, by adopting a postcolonial lens, the intention was to disturb the dominant colonial discourses located within SfD aid relations and promote the worldviews of 'marginalised' 'local' voices as a starting point for producing alternative understandings and frameworks of knowledge. This approach explored how local actors interacted and contrasted with views held by the 'Global Northern' INGO donors with whom they work. As indicated in Chapter 4, linking together the theoretical framework (Giulianotti's SfD 'ideal' type models, Lukes' three dimensional power and Coleman's social capital) alongside the use of key concepts (e.g. discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness) offered a more holistic understanding of power (e.g. open to both negative and positive forms of power) which in turn allows for dominant social structures to be explored alongside any opportunities for agency.

5.3.4 Gaining access to INGOs, SfD practitioners and research sites

Building on from Chapter 3, which outlined why the case studies and fieldwork locations in Cameroon, this next section outlines the relationship building strategies that took place in order to establish connections with the INGOs and their 'in country' partners in Cameroon. Data collection for the thesis took place between October 2015 - December 2016 and due to the qualitative nature of the methodology, I needed to gain access to practitioners who held roles at CWB (based in the UK), CCF (based in Cameroon), CFDP-US (based in the US) and CFDP-Cameroon (based in Cameroon).

At the outset of this thesis (October 2014), I worked on a voluntary basis as the Cameroon Country Manager at CWB which involved strategic liaison with key Cameroonian organisations and also day-to-day operational oversight of programme delivery. At the time, I took the decision to approach senior managers at CWB to discuss the organisation's strategic direction, and future programme delivery plans in a bid to ascertain the INGO's interest in research in general. Next, I disclosed that I was interested in researching the experiences of local practitioners in SfD

programmes, in particular, the relationship between local practitioners and the INGOs who they worked with who are located and headquartered outside of Cameroon. Given my interest, and CWB's apparent willingness to engage in research, it was decided that CWB would be a relevant organisation to focus on and given my interest and connections as the Cameroon Country Manager, the partnership between CWB and CCF was deemed as a suitable case study. This decision was fully supported by senior managers at CCF too. The second case study partnership was identified following some initial research online, after which I came across CFDP; a SfD INGO registered and headquartered in the USA but with a growing operational team in Cameroon. The CFDP website stated that it received support from a range of well-known global SfD networks and organisations including Street World Football and FIFA Football for Hope, networks which I was familiar with, which offered some form of legitimacy. Following this web based research; I initiated a series of email and Skype communications with senior managers in the USA and in Cameroon, beginning in early 2015. During these discussions I shared my experiences of working in Cameroon within a SfD setting, which I felt helped me to gain access and quickly build trust through our shared interests. Soon after our initial Skype meeting, email correspondence was received from senior managers in Cameroon and the USA outlining their collective interest in being part of the study.

5.4 Research strategy

As outlined in Chapter 1, the aim of this thesis has been to provide a critical examination of the power relations within and between two 'Sport for Development' (SfD) partnerships. As such, the Research Questions (presented in Chapter 1 and at the outset of this chapter) take into consideration the perspectives of the 'Global Northern' INGOs/practitioners and also the 'Global Southern' Cameroonian 'in-country' partners. In order to critically answer the Research Questions, the research strategy for this study embraced a comparative case study approach, which included multiple data collection methods (e.g. qualitative documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews) in order to gather rich data (see Table 4 overleaf).

Table 4: Research data collection and analysis methods

Research Question	Research Objective	Data collection methods	Topics to consider	Data analysis
What are the principal features of the two identified Sfd INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon?	To provide a critical account of the principal features of two Sfd INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon.	Qualitative Documentary Analysis (Table 5) Semi-structured interviews with selected INGO practitioners (Appendix A)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do the INGOs aim to achieve in Cameroon? • How do the INGOs organise and arrange their discourse? • What do the NGO official policy documents/interviews with INGO practitioners tell us about the intentions of the INGOs? 	Thematic template analysis and cross case analysis
What are the locally identified issues and responses concerning the relationships with the INGOs and INGO practitioners?	To critically analyse any localised issues and responses concerning the relationship between the INGOs and Cameroonian Sfd practitioners from the INGOs 'in country' partner.	Semi-structured interviews with selected Cameroonian practitioners (Table 6 and Appendix B)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the pressures which stem from northern-led discourses? • What are the responses to 'Global North' discourses? Are they accepted, resisted or manipulated? • To what extent do local practitioners have agency to respond to the INGO discourses? 	Thematic template analysis and cross case analysis
What are the locally identified issues and responses relating to the day-to-day delivery of the INGO Sfd programmes?	To critically examine any issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions related the day-to-day delivery of the INGO Sfd programmes from the localised perspective of Cameroonian Sfd practitioners.	Semi-structured interviews with selected Cameroonian practitioners (Table 6 and Appendix B)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the pressures which stem from northern-led discourses? • What are the responses to 'Global North' discourses? Are they accepted, resisted or manipulated? • To what extent do local practitioners have agency to respond to the INGO discourses? 	Thematic template analysis and cross case analysis

The remainder of this section is dedicated to providing a detailed overview of how each of the chosen data collection methods contributed to the gathering of data designed to answer the Research Questions.

5.4.1 A comparative case study research design

According to Stake (2000), case studies have become one of the most popular ways to conduct qualitative research. In short, case studies are popular options for researchers who wish to gain a holistic understanding of a set of issues and how these relate to a particular group, organisation or situation (Gratton and Jones, 2004). A key advantage of adopting a case study research strategy is that it enables close collaboration between the researcher and participants to tell their stories and for the researcher to better understand participants' responses and actions (Crabtree and Miller, 1999). In this regard, Punch (1998, p.150) has outlined a rationale for the use of a case study research strategy:

The basic idea is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate. While there may be a variety of specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of the case as possible.

The specific research design that has guided this thesis is a 'comparative case study', as this type of case study emphasizes comparison within and/or across cases (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). This thesis cites the work of Yin (2003) who has outlined that a case study design can be a useful when the research focuses on 'how' and 'why' questions; and/or if the researcher wants to consider the contextual conditions relevant to the phenomenon under study; and/or the boundaries are not clear between the phenomenon/case and context, all of these factors are applicable for this thesis. Considering Yin's (2003) suggestion that boundaries between the 'case' being studied and the 'context' are often unclear, it is useful to outline that the 'cases' being explored in this thesis are the relationships between local SfD practitioners and INGO practitioners, but that these 'cases' could not be considered without the 'context' (e.g. the SfD sector and more specifically the cultural, historical and political setting of Cameroon), as it was in these settings that the relationships with INGO practitioners were developed and played out. Therefore, it would have been impossible to have a true picture of the relationships between local

SfD practitioners and INGO practitioners without considering the context within which they operate. Like Yin (2003), Gillham (2000) has argued that a 'case' can take the form of an individual, a group, an institution or a wider community or partnership. The unit of analysis for this thesis encompassed the partnership between the INGO and their local partner organization in Cameroon (CCF for CWB and CFDP-Cameroon for CFDP-US).

There are several typologies of case studies that have been proposed within the literature. Stenhouse (1985) identified four types, including: 'ethnographic', 'evaluative', 'educational' and 'action research based', and Yin (2003) proposes three types, including; 'exploratory', 'explanatory' and 'descriptive'. The typology that appeared most relevant to this research is Stenhouse's (1985) 'ethnographic' case study, which involved capturing the circumstances and conditions of a real-life, everyday occurrences which permits the researcher to examine complex social processes and in this case was guided by a critical realist assumption, which also acknowledges social structures.

According to Yin (2003) the design for a multiple/comparative case-study research design can be deemed either literal (where the findings of each case are expected to be similar) or theoretical, where the reasons for differences are explained by theory. In this case, to avoid speculating on the findings, a theoretical perspective has been selected whereby the Research Questions were developed and scrutinized through selected theories of power (as detailed in Chapter 4). Moreover, in keeping with Rhodes' (1995) view, comparative case studies also allow for more valid generalizations than a single case study, providing there is a theoretical framework with which to compare them. In this case, the outlined theories of power in Chapter 4 offer the theoretical context in which the SfD partnerships may be explained. Rhodes (1995) has asserted that if each case is compared to the initial theory in turn, then it is possible to make analytical generalizations.

Like the guiding qualitative methodology, a comparative case study design strives for the 'thick description' common in single case studies. However an additional goal of comparative case studies is to discover differences, similarities, or patterns across and/or within the cases (Campbell, 2010). Campbell (2010) has asserted that comparative case studies extend the

value of the case study research design through iterative processes and comparison, asserting that:

case's rich description on a limited number of variables enables a depth of analysis by providing an opportunity to determine patterns in the data that add or extend the theory application, or enrich and refine the theoretical framework (p.176).

Furthermore, Yin (2003), has suggested that case comparisons can be analyzed in one of three ways; 1) between the case studies, 2) within the case studies or 3) a mixture of the two. This thesis adopted the second approach as suggested by Yin (2003). This involved comparing the 'formal discourse' between the two INGOs (CWB and CFDP-US) with regard to their presence and activities in Cameroon (presented in Chapter 6). Specifically this involved comparing the two INGOs on issues such as: how they perceive development; what the defining institutional features of the two SfD programme are; what the properties of the SfD work within the two programme are; what the types of social relations within the two SfD programme are and finally, what monitoring and evaluation methods are employed within the two organizations/programmes, which was guided in the main by the framework provided by Giulianotti (2011a). In addition, a comparison within cases took place to consider how the local Cameroonian practitioners responded to the relationship with their INGO (presented in Chapter 7) and challenges associated with the programme delivery (presented in Chapter 8).

Adopting a case study approach which included ethnographic immersion in Cameroon required myself as the researcher to be fully engaged in the process, as Thayer (2010, p.20) outlined, this process involved moving:

From observer to participant; from one temporal moment and geographic location to others; from micro experience to the macro forces in which it is embedded; and from observed empirical practices to theories reconstructed to make sense of them.

Put another way, this type of study required me to immerse myself into the daily happenings of the case study partnerships. As such, I took on the role of an 'active participant' (Krane and Baird, 2005) during my two fieldwork visits to Cameroon. For example, as an 'active participant' I was able to draw on my existing sport development and sports coaching experience to support the day-to-day functions of the CCF or CFDP-Cameroon offices in between collecting formal data (e.g. interviews) to

help build familiarity and trust within the local context. This ethnographic immersive approach involved me taking on multiple roles, e.g. coaching football/cricket sessions, building a new score board for CCF; assisting with session planning; and shadowing several meetings with schools and ministry of sport/education officials. It is feasible to suggest that my experience as a SfD practitioner with CWB aided my ethnographic engagement, in that I was familiar with *some* of the structures, etiquettes and cultures of working and living in Cameroon. In addition, I had already established working relationships with a number of SfD practitioners in person or via email/Skype™ prior to field work commencing in Cameroon, and as such, taking on the role as an 'active participant' made it much easier to attain an insight into the everyday happenings at both CCF and CFDP-Cameroon offices. I worked hard to build relationships with local practitioners, all of whom appeared happy for me to inhabit their working environment without having to announce any sort of purpose behind each visit.

Despite its advantages, the case study approach is considered to have some limitations. For example, case study research is often charged with issues such as being dependent on a single case, lacking scientific rigour and reliability which in turn reduces its capacity to provide generalising conclusions (Patton, 1990, 2002). In response to criticisms, Creswell (2012) has strongly contended that scholars can continue to use case study research approaches with success, if they are carefully planned studies based on real-life situations, issues, and problems. This thesis has responded to Silverman's (2005) challenge that qualitative researchers should try to overcome the issues of quality by adopting at least one of the following strategies: (i) combining qualitative and quantitative research methods; (ii) using purposive sampling; and (iii) by using theoretical sampling. In addition to adopting a purposeful sampling approach this thesis took on-board advice from Stake and Savolainen (1995) who argued that the selection of quality case studies should also be made based on balance and variety. As such, the selected INGOs chosen through purposive sampling techniques, also took into account the following inclusion criteria:

- That the INGOs delivered SfD programmes in Cameroon, but their headquarters were located outside of Cameroon in the 'Global North'

- The selected INGOs utilise different sports as a delivery mechanism (e.g. CWB use Cricket and CFDP-US use Football)
- The selected INGOs offered some variation in relation to how the programmes are structured, funded and/or delivered

The case study research design was adopted for the reasons detailed above and attention is now turned to the specific methods that were used to collect empirical data.

5.4.2 Qualitative document analysis

In order to conduct Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA), a range of key documents from each INGO were obtained in order to provide necessary background and contextual information about the intentions of the INGOs and their programmes in Cameroon. Documents including mission/vision statements from websites, organisational structures, and programme operational documents, such as coaching manuals and curriculum (a full list of documents analysed can be seen in Table 5 below and overleaf). It is argued that this form of data collection is similar to what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.29) refer to as “casing the joint”, in that it provided important information about the context being studied. These documents were analysed (alongside interviews with INGO staff) to outline the 'formal' discourses produced by SfD INGOs with regard to their activities and presence in Cameroon, the findings of which are presented later Chapter 6.

Table 5: A list of analysed documents

	Title of document	Type of document	Year	Source
Cricket Without Boundaries	CWB in 'Cameroon'	Promotional leaflet	2015	Website
	'Basics' coaching cards	Delivery resource to distribute to local coaches in Cameroon	2016	CWB staff
	Country manager role description	Job advert for a core volunteer position	2016	CWB Facebook page
	CWB strategy 2012 – 2017	Strategic document	2015	CWB staff
	CWB Ambassador programme role description	Delivery document shared with CCF	2015	CWB staff
	Coaching cards	Delivery resource to distribute to local	2015	CWB staff

		coaches in Cameroon		
	Overview of CWB	PowerPoint presentation delivered to UK volunteers before volunteering in Cameroon	2015	CWB staff
	Training weekend programme	Training programme for UK volunteers before volunteering in Cameroon	2015	CWB staff
	'Volunteer now'	Promotional leaflet	2015	Website
	Welcome pack	Information pack for UK volunteers	2015	CWB staff
	Help us bowl AIDS out of Africa	Advert for ICC Magazine	2015	CWB staff
	MOU for Cameroon ambassador	Memorandum of Understanding between CWB and CCF	2015	CWB staff
Cameroon Football Development Programme - US	How we got started	Descriptive overview	2015	CFDP website
	Our model	Descriptive overview	2016	CFDP website
	2014-2015 Strategic plan overview	Broad strategic document for CFDP	2015	CFDP staff
	2015 report on trip to Cameroon	Report from a Senior Manager at CFDP-US following a visit to Cameroon	2015	CFDP staff
	2015 Strategic Plan for CFDP Cameroon	Strategic document for the Cameroon delivery team	2015	CFDP staff
	2016 curriculum	Delivery curriculum for volunteer coaches in Cameroon to follow	2015	CFDP staff
	CFDP training manual and handbook	Training manual for Cameroonian staff and volunteers	2015	CFDP staff
	Youth enrichment league: the 'Plus 7' model	Power point presentation training for Cameroonian staff and volunteers	2015	CFDP staff
	'Plus 7' points training model training	Power point presentation	2015	CFDP staff

	Kumba Management team work profile	Overview of Cameroon staff roles and responsibilities	2015	CFDP staff
--	------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	------	------------

In addition to specific documents highlighted in Table 5, the websites for CWB and CFDP-US were closely analysed and checked against the interviews conducted to explore common themes and possible conflicts between what was presented as 'formal' INGO discourse via the above documents; and what was discussed via the participant-generated interview data. This approach took up the recommendation that media outlets, including websites, are useful tools to study the social movements and organisational intentions, because they reveal information about, for example, organisational mandates, activities, partners, marketing strategies, and policies (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004; Hine, 2005).

Each of the listed documents was read numerous times to obtain a holistic understanding. Following the advice of scholars who have adopted QDA techniques in their studies, no formal, rigid analysis software was used (e.g. NVivo 11); instead, a more fluid approach of QDA was adopted (Altheide et al., 2008; Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). The process of identifying themes was adopted based on the study's theoretical concerns. Specifically it was guided by key descriptors found in Giulianotti's (2011a) typology of 'ideal type' SfD organizations ('technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical') (see Figure 4.1 Giulianotti's three 'ideal type' models). The listed documents were read and the content was systematically compared to the 'ideal type' descriptors listed by Giulianotti (2011a) to find the best fit with regard to the INGO's stated purpose, intentions and key messages of CWB and CFDP-US concerning their presence in Cameroon. All documents were printed and I used coloured highlighted pens to categorise recurrent words or phrases into broader themes which were deemed to evidence examples of one or more of Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal type' models of SfD organisations. Although this process and categorisation was followed, it is important to note that this process also took on board guidance from Altheide et al., (2008, p.128) who have contended that QDA requires an element of continuous 'discovery':

Categories and 'variables' initially guide the study, but others are allowed and expected to emerge throughout the study, including an

orientation towards constant discovery and constant comparison of relevant situations, styles, images, meanings, and nuances.

As such, while Giulianotti's (2011a) three models ('technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical') guided this process, other themes emerged from the QDA (and interviews), all of which are outlined in detail in Chapter 6. Overall, the documents listed were used to historically contextualise the interview data, and explore how INGO 'formal' discourses were constructed and framed.

5.4.3 Semi-structured interviews

Considering the Research Questions outlined in Chapter 1 which were recapped upon earlier in this chapter, Vromen (2010, p.258) has offered a convincing case for the use of interviews as a key data collection method:

[i]nterviews conducted in-depth rather than through formal survey mechanisms tend to be exploratory and qualitative, concentrating on distinct features of situations and events, and upon the beliefs and personal experiences of individuals.

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were chosen in order to examine the experiences of staff involved in, developing, implementing, and/or experiencing SfD programming, and to uncover the “themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects’ own perceptions” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p.2). Semi-structured interviews were selected because they allow the main questions in the interview guide (see appendix A) to remain constant through all interviews (Patton, 2002), but it also enables the researcher to alter the sequence of the questions and probe for more information if necessary (Fielding and Thomas, 2008).

A total of 70 semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with 48 participants (female n=8, male n=40) which lasted between 45 and 120 minutes. All research participants were provided with and signed a participant information sheet and a consent form, to show that they were willing to participate in the project. The forms were made available in both English and French (see Appendix F, G, H and I), dependent on the language preference of the interviewee. Interviews were digitally recorded (using a Zoom original H1 Handy Recorder) and then transcribed verbatim into a MS Word document for coding and analysis using NVivo 11 (this is outlined further in section 5.5 which details data analysis methods). The gender imbalance of the interviewees (see table below) was reflective of

the high percentage of males who were associated with the two case study SfD partnerships. The 48 participants who were interviewed included CWB practitioners (n=8), CCF practitioners (n=21), CFDP-US practitioners (n=4) and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners (n=15). 22 individuals in Cameroon were interviewed twice; the rationale for which is explained later in this section. Table 5 below and overleaf provides details on each research participant, including the date and location of the interview, the pseudonym name, a loose organisational role (exact role is not provided to maintain interviewee anonymity), and gender. Interviews that were conducted in French are denoted by an *asterisk* (*) next to the participant's pseudonym name (n=8).

Table 6: Information about interviews and research participants

	Pseudonym	Organisation	Position	Gender	Interview date/s
1	Patrick	CCF	Senior Manager	M	Oct 2015, July 2016
2	Christian	CCF	Senior Manager	M	Oct 2015, July 2016
3	Thierry	CCF	Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
4	Phillipe	CCF	Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
5	Anthony	CCF	Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015, July 2016
6	Samuel	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015, July 2016
7	Alex	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015, July 2016
8	Paul	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
9	Benjamin	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
10	Thomas*	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
11	Florent	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
12	Lionel	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015

13	Ada	CCF	PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach	F	Oct 2015
14	James	CWB	Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Oct 2015
15	Samantha	CWB	Volunteer Cricket Coach	F	Oct 2015
16	Amelie	CWB	Volunteer Cricket Coach	F	Oct 2015
17	Rachael	CWB	Volunteer Cricket Coach	F	Oct 2015
18	Graham	CWB	Senior Manager	M	May 2016
19	David	CWB	Senior Manager	M	May 2016
20	Sean	CWB	Senior Manager	M	Sept 2016
21	Tom	CWB	Senior Manager	M	Sept 2016
22	Cedric	CFDP - Cameroon	Senior Manager	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
23	Michael	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
24	Hugo	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
25	Jean-Claude	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
26	Louis	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
27	Justine	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	F	Nov 2015, June 2016
28	Pascal	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
29	Freddie	CFDP - Cameroon	Volunteer Football Coach	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
30	Jules	CFDP - Cameroon	Volunteer Football Coach	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
31	Patrice	CFDP - Cameroon	Volunteer Football Coach	M	Nov 2015
32	Laurent	CFDP - Cameroon	Volunteer Football Coach	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
33	Fabien	CFDP - Cameroon	Peer Leader	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
34	Richard	CFDP - Cameroon	Peer Leader	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
35	Sebastian	CFDP - Cameroon	Volunteer Football Coach	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
36	Grace	CFDP - Cameroon	Manager	F	June 2016
37	Junior*	CCF	Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Nov 2015
38	Jeremy*	CCF	Volunteer Cricket	M	Nov 2015

			Coach		
39	Romeo*	CCF	Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
40	Fabrice*	CCF	Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Nov 2015
41	Cynthia*	CCF	Volunteer Cricket Coach	F	Nov 2015, June 2016
42	Claude*	CCF	Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Nov 2015, July 2016
43	Franck	CCF	Senior Manager	M	Nov 2015
44	Eric*	CCF	Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach	M	Nov 2015, June 2016
45	Simon	CFDP-US	Senior Manager	M	Nov 2016
46	Mandy	CFDP-US	Senior Manager	F	Dec 2016
47	Jack	CFDP-US	University intern	M	Nov 2016
48	Brad	CFDP-US	University intern	M	Dec 2016

The interviews with CWB and CFDP-US staff focused on answering Research Question One, and as such the interview schedule focused on questions regarding the purpose, intentions, and key messages of the INGOs with regard to their activities and presence in Cameroon (see Appendix A). The development of the interview questions were guided by theoretical concerns related to Research Question One. For example, Giulianotti's (2011a) four general categories were used as a guide to help explore the purpose, intentions, and key messages of the INGOs by exploring in detail (i) The institutional features of the SfD programme: (ii) The properties of SfD work within the programme: (iii) The types of social relations within the SfD programme: and (iv) The monitoring and evaluation methods of the SfD programme. The interviews with 'in country' SfD practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon centred on gathering empirical data related to Research Questions Two and Three. As such, these interview schedules were different from those with INGO staff and focussed on questions regarding the challenges and benefits regarding their relationship with their partner INGO (see appendix B). Again, the development of these interview questions was guided by the study's theoretical concerns. In particular, Lukes three dimensional understanding of power and other key theoretical concepts (e.g. hegemony and whiteness) helped to develop questions which focused on matters of

'power', 'structure' and 'agency' within the case study relationships. As noted later in this chapter, a large number of recurrent themes/topics detailing the 'personal gains' and 'professional benefits' of Cameroonian SfD practitioners due to their association with the INGO which were discovered during data analysis which subsequently led to the addition of Coleman's social capital as an additional theoretical lens.

As outlined earlier, in order to carefully consider localised perspectives, the decision was taken to conduct all interviews with Cameroonian practitioners face to face in Cameroon through ethnographic fieldwork. For these interviews, the location of the interviews was chosen by the participants. Coincidentally, while I was in Cameroon during my first field trip (October-December 2015), a CWB project led by four UK volunteers took place. This opportunity enabled me to interview four (n=4) CWB volunteers whilst in Cameroon, in addition to the scheduled interviews with Cameroonian practitioners. While face-to-face interviews were preferable, logistical and financial reasons prohibited all interviews with INGO practitioners from taking place in person. As such, eight (n=8) were conducted using Skype™, a software application that allows users to make voice calls over the Internet. Individuals who were interviewed using Skype™ included two Senior Managers and two University Interns at CFDP-US and four Senior Managers from CWB. In this regard, Skype™ was an important communication and research device for this thesis as it enabled the multi-sited research to be conducted and facilitated interviews with key individuals who lived in the USA, and UK without incurring expenses involved in travelling to these locations.

5.4.4 Semi-structured in-depth interviews: sampling criteria, gatekeepers and recruitment strategies

While it is acknowledged that the study did not fully adopt a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach, there were some participatory elements used which are outlined in this section. For example, consultations via email and Skype™ took place with the two INGOs (CWB and CFDP-US) and two Cameroonian partner organisations (CCF and CFDP-Cameroon) to ensure the Research Questions were pertinent to their work. When I arrived in Cameroon for my first field work trip, consultation meetings were also held with staff and volunteers associated with CFDP-Cameroon and CCF, in order to discuss the intentions and proposed data collection methods of the research project. Though consultations and meetings were

held and well attended, not all invitees were able to attend, and as Reid (2004) has submitted it can be difficult to make all stages of the research participatory and fully consult with every participant.

Snowball sampling was used to recruit participants, which is an outreaching strategy that starts with an individual, or a few individuals, as primary contacts and uses the contact's social and professional networks to recruit similar participants in a multistage process (Sadler et al., 2010). These key individuals are typically known as 'gatekeepers' and are recognised by Lavrakas (2008, p.299) as people who:

Stand[s] between the data collector and a potential respondent. Gatekeepers, by virtue of their personal or work relationship to a respondent, are able to control who has access, and when, to the respondent.

In regard to identifying key gatekeepers for this thesis, I first approached a Senior Manager at CWB in 2014, who I considered to be a key gatekeeper within the INGO. Following a conversation in person he agreed that the research was of interest to CWB and suggested that a formal proposal be sent. As such, a concise research proposal was emailed to the CWB board for their consideration, which was approved. As a practitioner at the time with CWB, I was then able to connect with other practitioners involved with relative ease, and to recruit additional participants based on their recommendations. Patrick, a Senior Manager at CCF is a key gatekeeper within CCF and offered his full support from the outset and circulated my research proposal to the CCF committee, which also received backing. Following confirmation from CWB and CCF, I then connected with Simon (Senior Manager, CFDP-US) as earlier discussed via email and following a series of Skype™ calls and email exchanges with Simon and a Senior Manager in Cameroon (Cedric) they both confirmed that they supported the research proposal.

5.4.5 Research assistant recruitment, community consultation and member checking/reflections

Having previously gained some experience as a practitioner in Cameroon, I foresaw that there were likely to be some linguistic and cultural challenges that would arise during research fieldwork. As such, a range of practical issues were discussed with local gatekeepers. I also considered Kay's

(2009) warning that various challenges tend to face 'Global North' researchers when trying to understand the complexity of the local research context (e.g. adjusting to living in local realities - poor infrastructure and transport, widespread poverty and questions that a researcher may encounter regarding their race, nationality and language ability). I also acknowledged the power relations that may exist in such a research setting, for example the multiple discourses included (white researcher/black research participants, Global North/South post-colonial relations, female researcher/patriarchal Cameroonian society), all of which (except arguably my gender) gave me some level of privilege over the local practitioners within this context; discourses that Hill (2005) suggest are impossible to eradicate fully. I sought to address the power relations as much as possible, and one key action which I chose to take was to work with a local Research Assistant (RA) during both fieldwork trips to Cameroon. According to Wilding et al., (2012) RAs can be used to support various aspects of overseas fieldwork research including; understanding context and local culture, as well as practical help. Specific examples of the day-to-day tasks have been suggested to include: note taking, language facilitation, organisation of logistics, building rapport with local communities and dependant on their skills sets, translation/interpretation of conversations and/or interviews (Wilding et al., 2012).

In preparation for the two field trip visits to Cameroon (October-December 2015 and June-July 2016) I maintained regular communication with two key local gatekeepers (Patrick from CCF and Cedric from CFDP-Cameroon) to recruit a suitable RA. Following a series of communications, Thierry was recruited as a RA for the initial field trip (October–Dec 2015) and later in the data collection process Christian was recruited for the second field trip (June–July 2016) due to Thierry's unavailability. Both RAs were known to Patrick as they held voluntary roles with CCF; and I had also met them through my role with CWB. Because of these prior interactions and the trust that I had been able to build up, I felt comfortable with their ability and skills to work with them as a RA. In terms of their experience, Thierry and Christian were deemed logical choices in terms of working as RAs, and they were both fluently bilingual and were experienced in interpreting. In addition they were associated with a sporting organisation in Cameroon and so could offer some sporting contextual information; Thierry was a Volunteer Cricket Coach at CCF and Christian was a Senior Manager at

CCF. Their backgrounds resulted in a number of positives; they had both completed University education in a bilingual University and therefore had excellent linguistic skills and they were familiar with CCF which enabled them to draw on their existing rapport with many participants. This also presented some ethical challenges in using them as a RA and interpreter/translator however. For example, I had to grapple with concerns over what extent to which their involvement with CCF may have been a potential source of bias.

As outlined above, Thierry and Christian were the logical choice in terms of selecting RAs as their existing relationships and attributes were important for building rapport with participants. However, it was important for me not to assume that Thierry and Christian were the ideal link to the 'inside' of the local practitioner social worlds when it came to their role as RA and interpreter/translator. Their familiarity with other CCF practitioners was clear from the informal conversations that I had with the RAs, and it was evident that they both had close friendships with many of the CCF participants (outside the research setting). As such it was important to recognise this, and to ensure that the interviewees who requested an interpreter were comfortable with one of their friends interpreting their personal reflections and experiences of working with the INGO, CWB. These checks took place with all interviewees who requested interviews to take place in French in advance, and all reported that they were comfortable with the chosen interpreter. Considering CFDP-Cameroon data collection, neither Thierry nor Christian had any prior association with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, and so whilst they shared the same nationality, ethnicity and passion for sport as CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, they had to work hard (as I did) to establish working relationships very quickly. The use of a RA was as an essential resource and support in terms of helping with the organisation of interviews, dealing with cultural barriers and logistics of the field trip which encompassed three locations across two regions (The South-West; an Anglophones English speaking region and the Centre region; a Francophone French speaking region) which were outlined in Chapter 3.

Prior to field work, I regularly liaised with the RAs via Skype™ and instant messenger channels such as WhatsApp and Facebook messenger to discuss the requirements and duration of the role. Upon arrival in

Cameroon, three orientation days were set aside with each RA to thoroughly review the research project aims and research methods and confirm logistical arrangements (such as transport and accommodation arrangements). Following thorough orientation activities with the RAs, two separate meetings were set up with CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners who were involved in organising, administering, developing the INGO SfD programmes. The goals of these consultation meetings were to further discuss the proposed study, and respond to any specific questions or issues they may have had and take on board any wider concerns and recommendations about the nature of the study. At the first consultation meeting with CCF practitioners which was held in Yaoundé in the Centre region (a region dominated by French speaking Cameroonians), it was proposed by the attendees that any interviews I conducted should be offered to participants in English and/or French. Based on my prior experience of working in Cameroon and having an awareness of the language issues and cultural frictions in Cameroon (as outlined in Chapter 3), this scenario has already been thought through, and at the meeting it was confirmed that CCF practitioners would be offered the opportunity to be interviewed in either English or in French, depending on their personal preferred language. In instances where French was the preferred language the RA also doubled up as an interpreter, the next section describes the process and limitations of working with an interpreter in more detail. A similar briefing meeting took place with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners in Kumba in the South-West region (a region dominated by English speaking Cameroonians) where it was confirmed that all of their practitioners (Management staff, Volunteer Coaches and Peer Leaders) were Anglophone Cameroonians and were likely to want to be interviewed in English. Following briefing meetings, I worked along the RA to set up interviews with identified participants.

It is widely noted that the nature of qualitative research is reliant on having valid, reliable data (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, Cho and Trent, 2006, Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Following the first field trip, I returned to the UK and transcribed all English speaking interviews verbatim as I was mindful of using postcolonial perspectives and did not wish to alter the voices of 'Global South' practitioners or 'correct' their words. The eight interviews conducted in French were transcribed by the RA and then checked for accuracy by an independent bilingual interpreter. In order to follow up on

key topics which emerged from transcripts and allow for further follow up questions with Cameroonian practitioners, it was decided that a process of member checking, also known as participant or respondent validation, would take place which shaped the rationale for the follow up field trip and was viewed as a way to facilitate productive knowledge exchange.

Cho and Trent (2006, p.322) have defined 'member checking' as "a process in which collected data is 'played back' to the informant to check for perceived accuracy and reactions". As a technique, member checking is seen by many as a positive technique which can contribute to a number of quality concerns such as; the validity of findings (Madill and Sullivan, 2017); the credibility of findings (Birt et al., 2016); a way to reduce misrepresentation and misinterpretation of data (Carroll and Huxtable, 2014); and/or a way in which participants are engaged to validate a summary of the interview transcript and to ensure credible, dependable data (Yin, 2003). Birt et al., (2016, p.1810) in particular claim that "member checking should not be considered merely as a simple technical step in any study" but that it should be an intellectual process which, they note, presents distinct epistemological and ontological challenges. Such challenges are highlighted by Smith and McGannon (2018) who warn that member checking does not ensure that the results of qualitative research are valid or trustworthy because theory-free knowledge cannot be achieved. Put differently, when using member checking it is important to recognise that using such techniques cannot be divorced from the study's philosophical assumptions. As outlined earlier, a critical realist philosophy underpins this study, an assumption which endorses multiple realities and does not seek to find one fixed truth. As such, member checks in this study were more akin to what Smith and McGannon (2018, p.108) refer to as 'member reflections', which are:

Not about verifying results, finding correspondence with the truth, or getting at the independent reality. Rather, one aim of member reflections is to generate additional data and insight.

The result of using member checking as a technique was deemed positive as it enabled further dialogue with the participants and an opportunity to reflect together on the first interview and to discuss/explore any gaps in the initial interpretations of the findings from the first field trip, before using the second follow up interview to discuss any key topics that had previously

emerged (Schinke et al., 2013). Following this approach, all Cameroonian participants who were interviewed during the first field trip were invited to be re-interviewed during the second fieldwork trip, and all participants who were available at the time of my second fieldwork trip agreed to a follow up interview (n=22).

To summarise, the decision to conduct follow up interviews - as a way of member checking (reflections) - was deemed particularly useful for this thesis in that it ensured a rich set of thick descriptions from 'in country' SfD practitioners, detailing their everyday accounts and experiences. This subsequently enabled me to confidently establish patterns and themes concerning the cultural and social relationships within the two case studies. The detail of which is provided within the data analysis chapters to follow.

5.4.6 Conducting research in Cameroon: interpretation and the politics of cross-cultural research

Multi-sited, cross-cultural research is characteristically complex, messy, challenging and political (Hedge, 2009; Palmary, 2011). Specifically, the fieldwork for this thesis in Cameroon was particularly challenging, mainly due to cultural and language issues. Although the majority of the CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners were fluent and comfortable conversing in English as outlined earlier, eight practitioners preferred to be interviewed in French as this was deemed to be their first and most fluent and expressive language. In the section that follows, the challenges and ethical dilemmas of conducting cross-cultural research are explored.

By nature, qualitative research is interested in exploring the meaning(s) of subjective experiences. As such, the process that I followed is outlined, along with the associated limitations. For Hall (1997b), language creates representation, which results in 'meaning'. He has argued that examining 'meaning' in terms of processes of interpretation is useful in order to facilitate cultural communication, but also to the cultural dynamics of power and difference between those conversing. It is widely accepted that English is the dominant world language. Considering the post-colonial Cameroonian context, it is useful to reflect on the words of Swadener and Kagendo (2008, p.39) however, who warn that the dominance of English re-affirms 'lin-guicide'; a hegemonic language in social sciences research:

Lin-guicide has become a powerful force, with the hegemony of the English and other 'globalized' languages threatening indigenous languages and the language rights of those who speak such 'endangered' languages or feel pressures to write in English when many indigenous concepts do not accurately translate – if they translate at all – into English or other European languages.

Such warnings of 'lin-guicide' are further complicated in Cameroon because it is widely agreed that the linguistic reality in Cameroon does not reflect the official bilingualism (English and French) of the language policy (Mbaku and Takougang, 2004; Mbaku, 2005). In practice, semi-structured interviews were offered in English or French, however the reality was that the use of, and attitude towards, language in Cameroon is highly complex and messy. For example, as outlined in Chapter 3, linguistic borrowing and mixing of formal languages of English and French with the use of Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE) and Franc-anglais as 'unofficial' languages is common place in Cameroon (Dyers and Abongdia, 2010). In particular, warnings from Van Ness et al., (2010) were taken on board in that interpreting words in some contexts can be a complicated process as the meaning of words are sometimes difficult to express in language. For example, the RA/interpreter reported that there were a handful of CPE and Franc-anglais phrases and words used in some interviews which did not directly translate into English/French and as such were not able to be included in the transcript.

Since eight of the Cameroonian practitioners self-reported that they did not feel fluent or comfortable being interviewed in English, the RA led on the process of interview interpretation. The consequence of moving between languages is an important issue to reflect on within cross-cultural studies (Squires, 2009). The study adopted the philosophy of MacLean (2007, p.789) who has asserted that the action of translation is "an act of creation and a dynamic, ongoing process". Palmary (2011) has suggested that translation may provide an opportunity to encourage and enable cross-cultural discourse and understanding between myself as the researcher, the interpreter and participants, if the interpreters decisions are made clear. The process adopted with both RAs followed the agreed four step procedure;

- i) Researcher to pose the question

- ii) RA to interpret into French
- iii) Interviewee to respond in French
- iv) RA to then interpret her response using English.

While following the process could not be guaranteed 100 per cent of the time due to the human nature of interviews, practice interviews were set up and conducted during orientation days with both RAs to ensure that the RA and I felt confident and comfortable with the process. Before the interviews commenced, the RA answered any questions that participants had, and stressed that they could refuse to answer before finally confirming questions that they didn't wish to answer and confirmed that they were happy for the interview to be recorded.

5.4.7 Barriers to data collection

The multi-sited nature of the study resulted in some difficulties with data collection. Firstly, as outlined above, the multi-lingual nature of Cameroon was a key barrier - given that I was not fluent in French, or any informal languages such as CPE or Franc-anglais. As I could not conduct eight of the seventy interviews personally, the use of a RA/interpreter was deemed the next best option. From a research point of view, it is hard to measure the extent to which conducting all interviews by the same researcher impacted on the data obtained.

Secondly, the cost of conducting multi-sited fieldwork was a factor and barrier to conducting face-to-face interviews with all participants. For example, upon review of the funding available to support the research, it was agreed by me and my supervision team that interviews in terms of those conducted face-to-face and those conducted virtually via Skype™ needed to be prioritised. As a result of the 'Global South' localised lens guiding the study, it was appropriate to financially prioritise Cameroonian ethnographic fieldwork over funding travel to other study sites (UK and USA). Therefore, the decision was taken that CFDP-US interviews would be conducted via Skype™ rather than in person.

The third barrier relates to an issue which I have grappled with and reflected on since the outset of the project and relates to my changing relationship with two of the case study organisations. Specifically, how this might have affected data collection in both a positive and negative way. From project conception (October 2014) to the end of data collection (December 2016), I fulfilled a dual role as 'researcher' and 'practitioner' with

CWB, working as 'Cameroon Country Manager'. During this time I liaised with both CCF and CWB contacts with two different 'hats on' as such. To try to keep the two roles as separate as possible I used a university email account for any research related correspondences and a CWB email account for any CWB/CCF business matters. Ahead of fieldwork in Cameroon I confirmed that my purpose in Cameroon was purely related to my research study, and took steps to distance myself from CWB physically, e.g. by not travelling or staying with the CWB team. Smaller physical steps were also taken, for instance dressing in Leeds Trinity University branded sports clothing to ensure that I 'looked' different to CWB branded sports kit. On reflection, being associated with CWB/CCF had advantages and disadvantages. The advantages included being able to rely on trusted personal relationships to support with the logistics of field work e.g. obtaining a travel visa, recommending accommodation, transport routes, recruiting a RA etc. Potential disadvantages that I have considered however, were concerned with the effect that my position may have on interviews, for example, would the CWB/CCF participants give me an open and honest account of their experiences or would they give a 'version' which they wanted me to hear as the 'Country Manager' for CWB? For example, would they 'smooth' over any issues or challenges which they faced in order to 'protect' the partnership? Whilst the true effect of my role on the CCF/CWB interviews will never be fully known, it was reassuring that many of the topics raised by CCF practitioners were critical to some practices of CWB and indeed similar to those raised by CFDP-Cameroon practitioners. So therefore, as I did not have any personal/professional connections with CFDP-US/CFDP-Cameroon prior to the study, perhaps the effect of my CWB role was not as negative as it was initially anticipated it might have been.

5.5 Data analysis

Data analysis is the complex procedure of interpreting and making meaning of the data (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In particular, qualitative research seeks to understand the world of the participants by listening to their voices and therefore the data analysis phase involves pulling together and organising the data collected (Patton 2002). It is widely accepted that qualitative interviews normally produce large sets of audio data - in the case of this thesis over 90+ hours of audio recordings of interviews were

gathered - which require transcribing and analysis in order to condense the volume of data.

Miles and Huberman (1994) have suggested that the process of analysis comprises three distinct stages, including: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. A common method to reduce data and begin to give the data meaning is through the process of coding (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Following transcription of interviews using Microsoft Word, all interview transcripts were transferred to Nvivo 11. Nvivo 11 is a qualitative data analysis software programme that allowed me to select and categorise selected blocks of text that emerged from the interview transcripts (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). Using Nvivo 11 software, the transcripts were coded using 'nodes', which are ways of labelling text that is being analysed, or a system used by researchers to place meaning on different parts of the text (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). Considering the comparative case study nature of this research, the 70 interview transcripts were organised into four folders in order to differentiate the various sets of interviewees (CWB, CCF, CFDP-US and CFDP-Cameroon).

The analysis of data followed a particular style of thematic analysis known as 'template analysis' which has been widely used in organisational and management research, psychology and sociology (King, 2012). Template analysis seeks to balance a structured approach to analysis with the flexibility to meet the needs of a particular study. Brooks et al., (2015, p.203) have summarised what template analysis entails:

Template analysis is a form of thematic analysis which emphasises the use of hierarchical coding but balances a relatively high degree of structure in the process of analysing textual data with the flexibility to adapt it to the needs of a particular study. Central to the technique is the development of a coding template, usually on the basis of a subset of data, which is then applied to further data, revised and refined.

At its heart of template analysis is the iterative development of a coding template, through re-application to samples of data, revision and reapplication. Template analysis - as a form of generic thematic analysis - has been promoted as being particularly useful to help organise and make sense of the large data sets, and therefore was deemed suitable for this thesis. Furthermore, King (2012) has asserted that the style and the format

of the template that is produced is flexible dependent on the needs of the study. King (2012) continued that one of three positions is typically adopted when a researcher uses a template analysis approach.

- i) The researcher has a list of pre-defined codes/ a priori codes based on the theoretical position of the research (deductive).
- ii) The researcher develops codes after some initial exploration of the data (inductive).
- iii) The researcher takes a half way position – some initial codes (derived from the interview questions/other sources) and refinement after exploration of the data (both deductive and inductive).

This study embarked on the process by adopting the third, 'half way' position. In this regard, the a priori themes were very broadly defined and, given the Research Aim, Questions and Objectives, focused on a localised understanding of how SfD partnerships operate. As such, a list of a priori codes were initially derived from Giulianotti's (2011a) four social heuristic categories, Lukes' three dimensions of power and the Research Questions to help formulate an initial template. Central to the template was to examine themes related to power which were central to the research aim. However, it is important to note King's advice (2012) that a priori themes should always be tentative, and - as was the case with this thesis - should be open to being re-defined or removed if they do not prove to be relevant, useful or appropriate. As such, the initial coding template was deductive because selected theories of power were used, along with interview questions (see appendix A and B) as a guide to develop certain themes. However, the process was also inductive in that the above process was supplemented by adding new codes having read through the interview transcripts and making notes on recurrent themes/topics (for example 'personal gains', 'professional benefits') which led to social capital being incorporated as an additional theoretical lens. Following the advice of King (2012), an initial template was created and then applied to a sub set of data to 'test' the template before a modified template was produced. Following which the modified template was applied to the entire data set for each case. As such the final template serves as the basis for the researcher's interpretation of

the data set and formation of themes to frame the research findings, which are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Due to the large volume of data gathered, the decision was taken to also produce data-maps which not only helped me to articulate and illustrate the findings which came from the NVivo analyse process, but also acted as a visual aid to illustrate the complex findings to readers of this thesis. Buzan and Buzan (2010) have defined a mind-map as being a “graphic representation of radiant thinking” (p.31), with ‘radiant thinking’ understood as being “the process through which the human brain thinks and generates ideas.” (p.31). Buzan and Buzan (2010) have suggested that mind-maps can be useful during the research process, as a means of organise and interpret ideas as they emerge, hence the term ‘data-maps’ in this instance. An example of the data maps produced can be seen in Appendix C.

5.6 Ethical approval from UK and Cameroon authorities

Official ethical approval for the research project was formally granted by Leeds Trinity University Ethics Committee on 8th July 2015. Due to the international nature of the study, an international risk assessment was completed, which took on board advice from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) regarding the travel safety concerns in Cameroon at the time of data collection. In addition, a visa to enter Cameroon was required, as was a research permit from the Cameroon Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation (MINRESI). A key requirement of MINRESI approving the research permit was the requirement for international researcher's to work with at least one local research assistant (RA) for the duration of the fieldwork, an arrangement which had already been confirmed and arranged in advance.

In addition to ensuring the integrity of the research process by following the ethics policy of UK and Cameroonian authorities (Leeds Trinity University and Cameroon Ministry of Scientific Research and Innovation), good ethical practice also involved communicating clearly with research participants with regard to the purpose of the study and how the data and findings would be used. As outlined earlier the chapter, all interviews which took place (n=70) involved preparing an informed consent form specifying the nature, purpose and possible benefits associated with taking part, which considering the bilingual nature of some participants were produced in both English and

French. Having followed this process, informed consent was achieved for all participants.

5.7 Researcher methodological reflections

As outlined at the outset of this chapter, my physical and social characteristics including my gender, white skin and blonde hair colour, and ability to only converse in English made me highly visible when conducting fieldwork in Cameroon, a predominantly patriarchal, black social setting in which multiple languages are spoken.

As a monolingual researcher, I drew on my knowledge of Cameroon's linguistic characteristics and anticipated early on in the research process that my language skills would pose some challenges. As such, I made a key methodological decision early on to work with a multilingual RA who would assist me to access Francophone participants who otherwise would be excluded (Cole and Robinson, 2003; Steele, 1999). Cameroon is well-known as being a patriarchal society (Konde, 2005), and therefore being a female researcher served as both a help and a hindrance. A hindrance in the sense my personal field notes are full of comments made by many (male) participants who saw me as somewhat of a novelty - for instance - I often observed very traditional stereotypes and derogatory attitudes and comments about the role of women in society, and particularly in sport. Perhaps as a female researcher this 'novelty', manifested in that males did not see me a threat? In my field notes, I reflected that male participants in particular showed protective traits and insisted in helping me throughout my fieldwork e.g. offering advice on safe travel logistics, recommending suitable accommodation, insisting on chaperoning me to and from bus stations/train stations. Aware that my gender would likely cause some negative challenges, I was keen from the outset to work with a male RA to support me throughout my fieldwork. On the surface working with a male RA was considered as helping to counter some of the aforementioned attitudes and gender stereotypes.

A key aspect of ethnographic fieldwork that caused me some dilemmas was the references made to my race and ethnicity. Common phrases such as '*you whites*', '*when you people visit*' were used to describe how white visitors from the 'Global North' had previously come to be part of local SfD practitioner's lives. In the main I found these statements to be delivered in a matter of fact way and I noted in my reflective field notes at the time that I did not believe that there was any intention to offend me personally.

Through, independent and lengthy discussions with RAs (Christian and Thierry) it was remarked that my race and ethnicity was likely to be used as a way for some Cameroonians to articulate negative stereotypes about the influence of 'whites', 'British, and/or 'foreigners' who have visited Cameroon in the past. There were a few instances where my race and ethnicity were used as a negative reference point in this way. For example, a widespread assumption in Cameroon is that as a 'white' person you are wealthy. Therefore the two RAs, along with some research participants frequently advised me that when purchasing goods/services locally, to ask a local to do this for me to ensure that I got the 'real' price and not an inflated price. This included bus tickets, accommodation costs, groceries from the market etc. My presence also had an effect on those I travelled/worked with. For example I vividly recall an instance when Christian (RA) required a new battery for his watch and he asked me to wait around the corner from the market because he suggested that if the market stall-holder saw him with me then he would likely be charged a higher price for a new battery. Visiting Cameroon as a former CWB practitioner and current PhD researcher, I also found myself positioned uncomfortably in the middle of the challenging debates around my relationships with those who I am collecting data about. Here the work of Dwyer and Buckle (2009, p.55) has been useful to note:

Whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, I chose to be an 'active participant' (Krane and Baird, 2005) during my Cameroonian ethnographic immersion, as I attempted to investigate the relationships within the two SfD partnerships. Prior to fieldwork, I had a good sense of CCF and its organisational mission, alongside the daily functioning of its headquarters which enabled me to have some benefits of an 'insider' perspective, for example I had visited the CCF offices many times prior as a practitioner so I felt relaxed/familiar in that setting. As such the set-up of interviews was done with relative ease. My familiarity with CCF as an organisation was coupled with having some prior knowledge about two of the research

locations - Buea and Yaoundé. Having previously visited both locations, I had *some* elements of being an 'insider' in that participants were able to discuss their local surroundings, tribes, cultures and customs, knowing that I had some understanding of the context, more so than a total outsider. However, with CFDP-Cameroon, I knew very little about the everyday practices of the programme, or the roles and responsibilities of the local practitioners before I arrived, despite a handful of email and Skype™ exchanges with key personnel. Therefore, it was necessary for me to spend longer establishing personal relationships and understanding the daily lives of those practitioners living and working in Kumba before I began any 'formal' data collection, e.g. interviews. In Kumba, I lived with a local family, a relative of 'Hugo', a prominent CFDP-Cameroon Manager who had worked for CFDP since its inception. The first fieldwork trip was as much about establishing relationships at CFDP-Cameroon and Kumba as much as it was about conducting interviews with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners. For example, during my first two weeks in Kumba, I attended the CFDP-Cameroon office daily to 'shadow' local practitioners before I even began to make any plans for 'formal' data collection (e.g. interviews). Alongside the RA, I immersed myself with the daily activities of the family, e.g. attending church, visiting other family members, doing house chores, as well as eating with the family each day. Upon reflection, my immersion with family life was a necessary and key part of the research process, in that by building rapport and trust with our 'host family' and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, genuine relationships could be forged that subsequently made interviews more accessible to conduct.

However despite having some 'insider' benefits to knowing many CCF practitioners and working hard to build rapport with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, I was acutely aware of a common issue, in that I am not Cameroonian, nor am I black, or male - characteristics which represented the majority of my participants. As such, throughout my fieldwork I felt as though I was both and neither an insider or outsider (Gilbert, 1994; Mullings, 1999).

I believe that sensitive research should be a journey of discovery in which the researcher becomes 'sensitive' to the potential challenges and dilemmas that their chosen topic may hold. When researching 'the Other' in the role of an outsider, this also means addressing the role of self in research and engaging in critical questioning of one's own role and scope.

Sultan (2007) has noted that researchers who pursue international fieldwork should carefully reflect on issues of representation, and that those who do continue to pursue international fieldwork need to consider how they write 'with' rather than writing 'about' participants central to the study in order to redress concerns about marginalisation and fair representation. For example, it is imperative to question the extent to which I am able to acknowledge the voices of Cameroonian practitioners (subalterns) and speak against colonising tendencies through my research, when inevitably through the research process, my researcher 'voice' becomes 'the authority' and writes on behalf of the Cameroonian practitioners involved in the study. Using ethnographic approaches to access the lives and realities of others and enabling their voices to be heard, is one way that I have tried to address the issue of power imbalance in the research process. The issue therefore is not whether the researcher or writer is, black or female themselves but rather whether they are interested and open to writing from that perspective. This dimension also takes into account the purpose of the research and acknowledges that all research of 'Others' is not an objective process, an issue of which the researcher needs to be critically aware. In this final section of Chapter 5, I have attempted to reflect on my social location and position, and contemplate the moral dilemmas involved in conducting SfD research in Cameroon.

5.8 Chapter summary and implications

The chapter has detailed that the ontological and epistemological paradigm of this study is influenced by critical realist assumptions. Following these assumptions has implied that in order to understand the everyday lived realities of the study's participants, I needed to attempt not only to uncover the perceptions and actions of actors (in the case of this study SfD practitioners from the INGOs and their in country Cameroonian partners) but also the structures which influence and inhibit these actions. This chapter has also presented how a multifaceted qualitative methodology was best suited to address issues of localised knowledge. It has also responded to the tensions of conducting ethnographic research in Cameroon (a post-colonial context), as well as outlined the practical matters of gaining access to the research sites and participants. The chapter has provided a rationale for a comparative case study design which was deemed the most appropriate research strategy for uncovering the relationship between structure and agency, and the specific methods used

to collect data (qualitative documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews). This chapter also presented strategies to respond to common criticisms of qualitative research/SfD research by considering issues such as validity, use of research assistants, community consultation and researcher positionality and reflexivity. It is acknowledged in the chapter that my positionality may have impacted on the collection of data (and subsequent analysis). The chapter has acknowledged this by including detailed accounts and reflections written in the first person.

In summary, this chapter has offered a detailed and honest account of the chosen methods considered best placed to explore the local experiences, perspectives and INGO discourses to be brought to the fore whilst also being sensitive to broader relations of power. As described throughout this chapter, a multifaceted qualitative methodology is well-suited to answering the 'how' and 'why' type of Research Questions guiding this study and in doing so will prioritise lived experiences, localised understanding and meaning. Next, Chapter 6 - the first of three findings chapters - presents the 'formal' discourses of the two INGOs with regard to their intentions, presence and activities in Cameroon.

CHAPTER 6: INGO 'FORMAL' DISCOURSES

6.1 Chapter introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to respond to the first Research Question: *what are the principal features of the two identified SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon?* It also corresponds to the first research objective: *to provide a critical account of the principal features of two SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon.* Accordingly, this thesis understands principal 'features' to be the 'formal' discourses produced by the two INGOs (CWB and CFDP-US) with regard to their organisational purpose, intentions and key messages in Cameroon.

Specifically, this chapter draws upon Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) of INGO documents and semi-structured interviews with INGO practitioners. The analysis of the 'formal' discourses is based on five key areas; the perception of development; the defining institutional features of the INGO SfD programme; the properties of the SfD work; the types of social relations within the SfD programme and the monitoring and evaluation methods employed. The latter four areas are structured by Giulianotti's (2011a) social heuristic categories to analyse the institutional features of CFDP-US and CWB. The analysis of the 'formal' discourses are then characterised using Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal type' SfD models; namely 'technical', 'dialogical', and 'critical'. The philosophies and methods of these three models differ distinctly as noted in Chapter 4. By way of a brief recap, a 'technical' model promotes top down hierarchies and directive pedagogies; a 'dialogical' model adopts more of a facilitator type role to sustain meaningful contact with programme participants and a 'critical' model favours a more participatory approach and advocates local ownership and community wide involvement to achieve inter-communal transformation. The three models are used to explore the principal features of the INGOs which enable issues of power and participation to be discussed.

As outlined in Chapter 4, this thesis follows Schmidt's (2008, p.305) definition of discourse which understands discourse to include personal ideas, written 'text' (e.g. what is said) alongside the context of the text (where, when, how, and why it was said). By following Schmidt's (2008) understanding of discourse this chapter is able to pay close attention to the language produced within (i) key INGO documents (e.g. INGO strategic documents, programme curricular, website) and (ii) key INGO practitioners,

whilst also considering broader issues such as the political and cultural context that frames the INGO and their partnership with their 'in country' stakeholder organisation (CCF/CFDP-Cameroon). As illustrated earlier, there is a lack of empirical research about 'Global North'-'Global South' relationships in SfD, and even less which takes into account the perspective of both partners. As such, the intention of this first findings chapter is to reveal the 'formal' discourses produced and presented by the two INGOs located in the 'Global North'. By doing so, important issues of power, participation and the co-creation of knowledge can be debated. Furthermore, the findings discussed within this chapter feed directly into the subsequent two findings chapters which present data gathered from 'Global South' SfD practitioners who are associated with the partnership through their respective INGO. Taken together, the three findings chapters included within this thesis will consider how power relations and practices affect the two case study partnerships and depending on the distribution of power, will reveal the extent to which the case study partnerships empower or disempower local Cameroonian practitioners.

6.2 The perception of development

This first of five sections begins with an overview of how and why the INGOs identified specific development issues as being central to their programme. Following which it examines how sport is used as a delivery vehicle to tackle the identified development issues and concludes by exploring the assumptions about programme participants.

6.2.1 Identification of the development 'problem/s'

Key differences are evident between CFDP-US and CWB with regards to the nature and scope of development issues that they seek to address and how they were identified.

Cricket Without Boundaries

Data gathered from QDA and interviews demonstrate a narrow approach towards one identified development issue - namely the spread of HIV/AIDS in Cameroon - specifically by delivering educational messages with the intention of changing attitudes and behaviors towards the disease. In a promotional leaflet outlining their work in Cameroon CWB explained that:

Cameroon has a substantial HIV problem with an estimated prevalence rate of officially 5.3% (1.22m people). In 2010 there was an estimated 34,000 deaths due to HIV/AIDS with an estimated 6

new infections every hour (more than 50,000 a year) (CWB website, 2016, Cameroon).

The decision to focus on HIV/AIDS in Cameroon is somewhat legitimated by statistics from the WHO (2015) that identified HIV/AIDS to be *the* leading cause of death in Cameroon (32.1%) in 2012. Whilst infection rates may not be as high as some of its African neighbours, additional statistics from UNAIDS (2016) have showed that new HIV infections in Cameroon have continued to rise and the number of individuals accessing antiretroviral treatment has been low with an estimated 37 percent of the infected population.

However, interview data from a Senior Manager at CWB illustrated the narrative and decision-making process that led to CWBs decision to focus on HIV and AIDS as their central development concern:

We embarked on a trip from Cairo to Cape Town in 2005 coaching cricket and we starting to see that HIV/AIDS became a huge part of the issues facing Sub-Saharan Africa, therefore we integrated it into what we were doing (Graham, British, Senior Manager, CWB, May 2016).

This statement confirms that the original decision to focus on the problems associated with HIV/AIDS were based on observations by Senior Managers during their initial scoping trip, following which messages about HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention were integrated into CWB's cricket coaching programme. QDA data shows that Cameroon was added to CWB's portfolio in 2011 and was in fact not visited by CWB Senior Managers during the original Cairo to Cape Town trip in the early 2005. With no scoping trip or first-hand observations of the extent of HIV/AIDS issues in Cameroon, the partnership with Cameroon was established in 2011 through a competitive tender process which was administered by the African International Cricket Council office on CWB's behalf:

When we first got them [Cameroon Cricket Federation] on board as we went out and we ran a form of tender to see which country was going to be our fifth country. We opened it up to various African nations to see who wanted us there, Patrick and his crew were the most impressive really, they were enthusiastic and

wanted us to get involved or so it felt at the time (David, British, Senior Manager, CWB, May 2016).

Following the tender process, CWB and CCF cemented and formalised their partnership by signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) which related to the specific programmes that CWB was prepared to fund. On one hand, the MoU acts as enabling devices to define roles and responsibilities, as the basis for funds to be released and as documents against which progress could be monitored. However, the MoU was also subject to the direction and agenda perceptions of CWB who financed all activities. As such, CWB commenced their partnership with CCF in the driving seat when it came to defining priorities and setting the agenda, because they had the power over the allocation of financial resources. This finding echoes the conclusions of Nicholls et al., (2009, p.259) who have stressed that within SfD sector the structural hierarchies between North and South “are continually reified by funding relationships because funders control the majority of the plans and processes.” In this case, it is clear that CWB set and direct the agenda and rules of engagement in a manner akin with Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical' model. It is important to note that interviews and QDA did not reveal any evidence of local consultation with CCF or Patrick (a CCF Senior Manager) to understand the local development 'problem/s' in Cameroon. Instead, the HIV/AIDS 'problem' observed by the three Senior Managers during their Cairo to Cape Town trip in 2005 was applied to the organisation's operations in Cameroon. The decision to focus on HIV/AIDS prevention has been legitimised somewhat by statistics published by the WHO and UNAIDs, but ultimately the decision by CWB lacked any sort of local consultation. Burnett (2009, p.1195) refers to this decision making by SfD organisations as an “outside-in” method, in that delivery is based on a pre-conceived notions of what development is, and was in this case was based on the previous experiences of three Senior Managers.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

In contrast to CWB's narrow focus on one development 'problem', CFDP-US focus on a broader range of social and health development problems which includes issues such as gender equity; leadership; life skills (e.g. education about alcohol, drugs, safe sex) as well as HIV/AIDS awareness.

The CFDP-US website stated that its activities in Cameroon support three of the SDGs (which were outlined previously in Chapter 2):

We create triple impact in communities in Cameroon by supporting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): HEALTH (SDG 3): Essential life skills and critical health education for youth participants ages 10-16. EDUCATION (SDG 4): Peer educator training, good governance experience, and academic scholarships for player-coaches ages 14-16 who act as mentors and role models. INCLUSIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH (SDG 8) Part-time employment and job skills training for young adults ages 17+ who serve as community leaders (CFDP-US website, 2017, our model).

Like CWB, the 'formal' discourse produced by CFDP-US suggests that they strategically align their development focus based on the UN's SDGs. It is clear from the website extract below that sport is viewed by CFDP-US as a valuable and attractive tool to pursue development goals because of its evangelical belief; specifically that sport participation has the ability to produce transformative positive developments among programme participants:

Our Sport for Good model provides transformative experiences and transferable skills to youth through sport (CFDP-US website, 2017, our model/our approach).

Whilst the strategic alignment to the SDGs is prominent, data which explain the narrative behind how and why these development issues were first identified is of particular interest, as these decisions and attitudes offer an insight into the values and philosophies of the INGO. Interviews and QDA reveals that, in contrast to CWB who imposed their own development agenda in Cameroon, CFDP-US conducted extensive consultation locally in order to establish the need for and direction of its programme from the outset. This is summarised by Simon, a CFDP-US Senior Manager:

The whole thing was founded on this idea of creating lots of opportunities and making a better future for kids in Cameroon and that was really the inspiration behind this thing and it was guided by the co-founder Andre [a Cameroonian] who just really wanted to see a better future for his people you know (Simon, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, November 2016).

This supports SfD and international development literature which raises issues about the concept of knowledge and maintains that knowledge and decisions need to be based on local context and need (Hayman et al., 2016; Narayanaswamy, 2016; Banda and Holmes, 2017). The 'formal' discourse from CFDP-US submits that consultation with local practitioners took place in 2011 and was guided by the organisation's co-founder Andre, a Cameroonian living in Kumba in the South-West region. QDA data from a partnership proposal document confirms that local consultation took place and included a survey with 30 local educators and young professionals, as well as conversations with stakeholder organisations operating in Kumba, (the initial site for the programme) to try to ascertain the local issues concerning young people. The findings of the survey revealed that:

Disease, drug and alcohol abuse, unwanted pregnancy, and theft were identified as the major problems facing youth in Kumba. Nearly all respondents stated that the best way to address these major problems was through structured and competitive sports leagues, seminars, workshops and extra-curricular activities in schools (CFDP, 2011, Partnership proposal).

The above narrative contrasts with CWB's top down 'outside-in' approach and aligns more with an "inside-out" or bottom up approach towards development which encompasses community consultation in the structuring of programmes which aims to "address local need in a community-driven approach as opposed to being merely community-based" (Burnett, 2009, p.1195). This approach somewhat aligns with Giulianotti's (2011a) description of a 'critical' model, which promotes an approach whereby local 'ownership' is "consciously promoted through full user-group participation in formulating and implementing programmes". However, in this instance, the CFDP-US 'formal discourse' outlined that local consultation only identified need, but it did not evidence locally led programme design.

To summarise, this first section has outlined and compared the development issue/s central to CFDP-US and CWB and explored the narratives and decision-making processes behind the identification of these issues. The results of which have clarified how the case study INGOs perceive the problem/s of development in Cameroon. Illustrative examples have noted that CWB assume a top-down, hierarchical approach towards identifying HIV/AIDS as the key topic in Cameroon. This tactic imposes a

pre-determined agenda onto their partner CCF which in doing so evidences a lack of local consultation in their decision making process. As such, the 'formal' discourse obtained from CWB illustrates that their approach shares some aspects of a 'technical' model as noted by Giulianotti's (2011a). In contrast, the 'formal' discourse obtained from CFDP-US promotes an approach whereby the development problems they focus on are locally determined. Whilst there was no evidence to confirm or refute the level of local involvement in the programme design, it can be argued that this approach by CFDP-US share some tenets of Giulianotti's (2011a) 'critical' model and furthermore goes some way toward fulfilling the recommendation by Giulianotti et al., (2016, p.138), that SfD programmes should work to engage more fully at a local level to understand the lived experiences of user groups in order to develop more “culturally sensitive and potentially successful interventions.”

However, while INGO rhetoric claims to address social and health issues, many intervention based programmes (as with CFDP-US and CWB) tend to assume what Weiss refers to as a “blame the victim” perspective (1993, p.105), which means that:

We mount limited-focus programs to cope with broad-gauge problems. We devote limited re-sources to long-standing and stubborn problems. Above all we concentrate attention on changing the attitudes and behaviour of target groups without concomitant attention to the institutional structures and social arrangements that tend to keep them “target groups”.

Moreover, cautionary notes should be taken on board from behaviour change scholars who argue that whether implicit or explicit, behaviour change theory is often narrowly conceptualised via linear interventions (which assume that behaviour change is the direct result of a linear decision-making process), an approach which has significant limitations (Petty et al., 2002; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). Fundamentally, this criticism is that delivering education-based messages alone is insufficient to lead to changed behaviour. Information is viewed by behaviour change scholars as a prerequisite for behaviour change, as it is a source of knowledge. Taking the case of education-based SfD programmes (like those of CWB and CFDP-US) which aim to change behaviours around sexual activity and the dangers of contracting HIV/AIDS, many programmes use an ABC messaging approach (**A**bstain from sex, **B**e Faithful to your

partner and use a **C**ondom). This is an approach which has been globally promoted by the United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, which advocates an abstinence approach to public health campaigns (Shelton et al., 2004). However, while information about can play a significant role in shaping attitudes, the relationship between changing attitudes/knowledge and changing behaviour is often less strong (Petty et al., 2002; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). Put simply, there is a difference between what people say and what they do. An example of this difference in the context of this thesis is that whilst young people may be aware of the dangers of HIV/AIDS contained within the ABC messages, will this information ultimately stop them forming sexual relationships at some point in their lives.

6.2.2 The use of sport

CWB and CFDP-US hold a common view that they do not solely rely on sports participation to tackle their identified development issues. They both adopt a 'sport plus' approach, whereby the core activity of the programme is sport but the delivery of sport is adapted by adding in workshops to achieve their 'development' objectives, such as HIV/AIDS education, leadership skills, or to promote gender equality (Coalter, 2007a). These outcomes are pursued through a range of values, ethics and practices, games and approaches, the content of which will be examined in detail later in the chapter.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

The basic delivery approach of CFDP-US is that the rules of football are amended in that each match played as part of the CFDP community league is worth a total of 10 points (3 points for a win, plus up to an addition 7 enrichment points). CFDP-US have created a unique model referred to as the '+7 model', a model which is based on awarding up to 7 enrichment points (awarded by the referee) based on teams adhering to values and activities stipulated by CFDP-US such as good team work, timekeeping, fair play and sportsmanship, as per the seven criteria overleaf (CFDP website, 2017, Our Model). The whole team must conform to these values, otherwise additional points are not awarded, an approach that encourages collective responsibility.

1. BE PREPARED – Show up on time and ready to play
2. BE A TEAM PLAYER- Warm up as a team
3. EDUCATE YOURSELF – Answer PURPOSE questions from the referee/community leader
4. RESPECT OTHERS – Shake hands with opponents
5. PLAY FAIR – Observe the rules; play without fouls
6. BE A ROLE MODEL – Read/listen to PURPOSE statement by peers
7. ELEVATE YOUR COMMUNITY – After the game/session, be prepared to carry the message home

Coaching clinics and regional tournaments also adopt this adapted version of football in order to "educate and empower youths" (CFDP website, 2017 our model).

Cricket Without Boundaries

CWB also follow a 'sport plus' approach, and do so by adapting cricket skill based coaching sessions to include HIV/AIDS education messages that also follow the ABC principle as suggested by UNAIDS and United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR): (A) - Abstain or delay having sex, (B) - Be faithful to your partner (C) - Use a condom to protect yourself. A typical CWB session tailors these messages into a cricket context for example (A) for 'Abstain' is used to emphasise cricket skills, e.g. abstain from bending your arm when bowling and abstain from hitting the ball high into the air, (B) for 'Be faithful' is related to being faithful and respectful to your batting partner and wider team mates and (C) for 'Condom' as a method of protection is linked to the use of cricket bat in that the correct use of a cricket bat will prevent a player from getting out (CWB, 2015, coaching cards).

According to Giulianotti (2011a), SfD organisations that centre on practical interventions - as seen above with CWB and CFDP-US - and show a "commitment to the incremental resolution of social problems" share aspects of a 'technical' SfD model. In addition, illustrative examples have shown that both INGOs assume a sports evangelist position - similar to many other SfD organisations - in that sport is given a mythopoeic status

which is perceived to be inherently developmental which can facilitate social change (Coalter, 2007a, 2013).

6.2.3 Assumptions about programme participants

CFDP-US and CWB both refer to a range of environmental factors which affect young people in Cameroon such as risky sexual behavior, alcoholism, drug use and prostitution.

Data reveals that both INGOs assume Cameroonian youth are 'at-risk' in some way, and are therefore in need of a development intervention programme. This approach is known as a deficit model which according to Coalter and Taylor (2010) and Coakley (2011) is presumed by most SfD programmes. A deficit model assumes that young people from disadvantaged communities are themselves deficient and in need of personal development, which sport is presumed to deliver. In the case of CFDP and CWB, this includes improved social and leadership skills, moral reasoning and knowledge about HIV and AIDS.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

The example below illustrates how CFDP-US labels participants as being 'at risk' and in danger of dropping out of school:

Youth competitions directly engage with a marginalized and often at-risk population of youth footballers which includes school drop outs... Youth are more susceptible to harmful activities because of their accessibility and the general stresses of living in a poor developing country. Alcoholism, drug use, risky sexual behaviour, prostitution, and general delinquency result from a lack of guidance and self-confidence (CFDP, 2015, State of Affairs: a report on a recent trip to Cameroon).

Cricket Without Boundaries

Adopting similar assumptions about children and young people, CWB's constitution states that it will use:

Cricket or other sports with the object of improving the conditions of life of persons who have need of such facilities by reason of their youth or social or economic circumstances and thereby assist in

ensuring that due attention is given to the physical education and development of such children and their communities as well as the development and occupation of their minds and characters and self-discipline (CWB, 2013, Constitution).

The above statement from CWB suggests that participants need their personal attributes and skills improving, citing social and economic barriers as the main preventative factors. Such over-generalised attitudes and assumptions towards young people echoes Thorpe's (2016) concern for youth-focused SfD initiatives that adopt a 'deficit model', arguing that INGOs need to move beyond such approaches and engage with more collaborative projects which provide space for local voices and acknowledge youth agency.

6.2.4 Section summary

This section has begun answering to the first Research Question by outlining the two INGOs' perceptions of development, which in turn will inform and shape the INGOs' programmes and presence in Cameroon. This section has highlighted that paternalistic beliefs are similarly assumed by CFDP-US and CWB. Critical scholars have highlighted that such philosophies are apparent in many SfD programmes (Nols et al., 2017; Coakley, 2011; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011, 2012; Rossi and Jeanes, 2016). In particular this section has illuminated the use of the deficit model by both INGOs who treat young Cameroonians as 'problems' which need to be 'fixed'. The attitudes and assumptions of the two INGOs demonstrate how they are able to exercise their agency and authority based on the assumed nature of participants in the Cameroonian communities in which they work.

6.3 The defining institutional features of the INGO SfD programmes

The following four sections are guided by Giulianotti's (2011a) four categories or "common social heuristics" and begin with an analysis of the institutional features of CFDP-US and CWB, specifically outlining their core objectives, pedagogical approach and management framework stated within their 'formal' discourse.

6.3.1 Core objectives

The organisational objectives of the INGOs share similarities in that they both seek attitude and behaviour changes towards their identified development issues.

Cricket Without Boundaries

The CWB strategy announces a commitment to:

Building, empowering and inspiring communities through cricket.
Help us change ¼ million lives by 2020 by using cricket as a tool for social development across the world (CWB, 2015, 2012 – 2017 Strategy).

The phrase 'changing lives' evidences a commitment to influence individual action from programmes participants, and to change attitudes and behaviours regarding HIV/AIDS awareness and sexual practices. As outlined in the previous section, CWB mix cricket participation with health education programmes in an attempt to promote the desired behaviour change which is demonstrated in CWB's organisational aims (CWB website, 2017, Welcome):

- i) To spread cricket through coaching children and teaching adults how to coach;
- ii) To link the sport to health and social messages and incorporate these messages into coaching sessions
- iii) To bring together and empower local communities through cricket.

On reviewing the organisational aims, it is argued that they are somewhat blurred between traditional sport development and SfD based outcomes, which according to Kidd (2008) is not uncommon in SfD organisations. On one hand CWB seek to develop the game of cricket (Aim one), an approach which follows a traditional sport development model which seeks to grow and enhance the standard and capacity of cricket in Cameroon. Yet on the other hand CWB view cricket as a method to deliver health based education programmes to empower communities and individuals, to and change behaviours towards sex and attitudes towards HIV/AIDS (Aim two and three). There are also significant differences between the core aims of CWB and their in-country partner - CCF - which adds a layer of complexity

to their partnership. As Tom, (Senior Manager, CWB, September 2016) explained:

The one thing that is always difficult with the cricket association, they see their focus as entirely cricket. It's understandable, they have limited resources and cricket is what they do... we have no proof to show that what we do there is valuable or beneficial to them as a cricket association, we would hope it would be but they are much more interested in, especially Cameroon ticking boxes for the ICC [International Cricket Council] which will lead to more funding which will lead to more cricket, and the way they tick those boxes is about developing more cricket and not educating young people on HIV and Aids.

These comments highlight the differing priorities of CWB and CCF who come together to deliver the CWB programme in Cameroon. Tom suggests that CCF feel in some way obliged to compromise their aim of increasing the standard of cricket in Cameroon. This is presented as a trade off in order for them to "tick boxes" with the ICC about collaborative working and increasing participation in an indirect way which has the *potential* to unlock further funding opportunities for them in the future.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

Turning to the 'formal' discourse of CFDP-US, they too promote behaviour change as a core objective and state that their intention as being to improve the lives of Cameroonian youth through an innovative approach to sport for personal development. The 2015 strategic plan of CFDP stated the following objective:

To improve the lives of youth in Cameroon by promoting education, life skills, and leadership through the game of soccer [football] (CFDP, 2015, Strategic Plan).

The rhetoric found within the 'formal' discourse gathered from QDA and interviews illustrates that CFDP-US seeks to develop young people's skills such as leadership, teamwork, communication and confidence through an intervention programme which is considered by CFDP-US to be the necessary approach to foster behaviour change and improve the lives of

participants. Specifically CFDP-US state that they utilise football as the vehicle to deliver skills and education by:

Transforming the soccer [football] field into a classroom to provide interactive education on serious health and social issues like HIV/AIDS, gender equality, health, leadership and life skills to youth in Cameroon, West Africa (CFDP, 2015, Funding proposal).

Whilst it may be tempting for INGOs and funders to imagine that behaviour change interventions are simple and linear—in that one type of intervention leads to one type of outcome in a predictable way - the reality is more complex and dynamic. For example, achieving the desired behaviour changes is fundamentally dependent on an individual's knowledge and self-confidence to act on their knowledge—but this, in turn, will be influenced by the existence of supportive public opinion and community acceptability and support. For example, taking 'gender equality' as one of objectives listed by CFDP-US - the desired outcome is likely to be highly affected by broader societal attitudes about the role of women in Cameroon. As illustrated in Chapter 3, Cameroon remains a highly paternalistic nation and therefore dominant public attitudes towards the role of girls and women in society will be highly influential factors in shaping 'gender equality' outcomes as part of the CFDP-US programme. For these reasons, behaviour change interventions cannot offer a simple explanation of causality as there are wider factors which influence the attitudes and behaviours of programme participants.

Drawing on Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal-type' SfD models ('technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical') as an analytical framework, the rhetoric in the 'formal' discourse of the two INGOs reflects the desire to tackle "objectively-identifiable social problems" (Giulianotti, 2011a, p.215), an approach which reflects principles of a 'technical' SfD model. It is evident that the core objectives of CWB and CFDP-US are to positively change the behaviour of its respective programme participants; an objective which is ultimately far more complex than it appears. Furthermore, while the CWB and CFDP-US rhetoric frequently asserts to solve a range of social and health problems, their use of intervention based programmes as a problem solving approach could be considered highly neo-liberal, a criticism which is reflective of the broader SfD sector, and of INGOs who choose to roll out their 'services' (e.g. intervention programmes) to tackle social ills in 'developing' countries

(Weiss, 1993, Darnell, 2010, Darnell, 2012, Forde, 2014, Hayhurst, 2014). The rhetoric of both INGOs promote similar 'formal' discourse in that they buy into the supposed power of sport as being a transformative force which is based on traditional and widespread ideologies of sport which alludes to the supposed power of sport and its ability to positively affect "discipline, confidence, tolerance and respect" (Coalter, 2010a, p.1374). In this regard, Coalter (2010a) argues that robust evidence for such claims is limited, a topic which will be discussed later in the chapter.

6.3.2 Key themes

According to Giulianotti (2011a), 'key themes' refers to the use of pedagogical philosophies favored by SfD organizations. He describes that a 'technical' SfD organization tends to "direct lower groups in a largely one-way circuit of knowledge transfer" (p.215), whereas a 'dialogical' SfD organization would favour a more dialogical pedagogy that "engages and teaches user groups" (p.218). Finally, a 'critical' SfD organization would "self-direct learners to assume decision-making responsibilities, and has strongest impact when 'learners' learn through experience" (p.220). The pedagogical approaches of CFDP-US and CWB are varied. Across the two INGOs, illustrative examples of directive, dialogical pedagogy along with andragogy were located within interview and QDA data and are in turn discussed below.

Cricket Without Boundaries

CWB, like many other global northern SfD agencies (e.g. Right to Play) - draw largely on didactic teaching pedagogies by sending volunteers from the UK to impart their knowledge to marginalised young people in Cameroon, an approach which aligns to Giulianotti's 'technical' model (2011a). In this context volunteers often have limited understanding of Cameroonian youth or international development issues - an approach that positions the Northern volunteers as having superior knowledge and that sport can provide a valuable setting to express this information (Spaaij and Jeanes, 2012). Two CWB volunteers reflect on their role and motivation to go to Cameroon with CWB:

Well I didn't think in my head that I am going to go out and make a difference, but I think as westerners, you can almost have that sense of I am going to do something good. I am going to try and

help these people (Rachael, British, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CWB, October 2015).

[My motivation] "was nothing to do with cricket, it was for other reasons I wanted to go out [to Cameroon] and experience the country and I wanted to help children, if I could (Samantha, British, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CWB, October 2015).

In these interviews, there is a prescriptive tone regarding the role of 'Global Northern' expertise and knowledge. Furthermore, the words from Rachael and Samantha ground their assumed mandate as 'westerners' to go and 'help' those in need, especially vulnerable children with no regard for the expertise of role of the SfD practitioners whom they work alongside from their 'in country' partner CCF. Such comments take into account broader attitudes towards development held by CWB. In the above example, CWB favour a strategy of sending UK volunteers to address social and health problems of programme participants in Cameroon (a developing nation) to achieve its organizational aims. However, a major criticism of this approach - though well-intentioned - is that the presence of international volunteers in developing countries has the potential recreate colonial power dynamics (Darnell, 2010; Guttentag, 2009; Clarke and Salisbury, 2017).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

In contrast to CWB's directive and largely hierarchical top-down pedagogical approach, the 'formal' discourse from CFDP-US promotes a more locally led pedagogical philosophy. Illustrative examples from interviews and QDA suggest that CFDP-US aim to build the local capability of the CFDP-Cameroon team through capacity building approaches, placing the Cameroonian management team at the heart of the learning. In a statement a senior figure from the CFDP-US team reflected on the CFDP-Cameroon team:

The wellbeing of our staff is a top priority and we value all of their input into creating positive work environment and experience (Simon, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, November 2016).

Here, the priority for CFDP-US is to build staff capacity and expertise of Cameroonian staff, with a view to facilitate professional development and organizational growth. In particular, investing in the Cameroonian

management staff through training, networking and travel opportunities is noted within an organizational report that CFDP-US:

Should allocate funds on an annual basis for capacity building activities for the management team both in country [Cameroon] and abroad (CFDP, 2015, State of Affairs: a report on a recent trip to Cameroon).

In an interview with a Senior Manager at CFDP-US, it was stated that the arrangement of capacity building opportunities is done through consultation with a Cameroon based Senior Manager (Cedric) and is based on the local needs and the notion of learning through experience. By fostering a capacity building approach towards the Cameroon team, CFDP-US promote a more andragogical approach - which evidences tenets of Giulianotti's 'critical' model (2011a) - an approach which enables self-directed learners to assume some decision-making responsibilities. According to Knowles (1984) an andragogical approach has its strongest impact when learners learn through experience, thereby acknowledging mistakes or problems along the way. Other examples of pedagogical approaches located within the 'formal' discourse described how CFDP-US encourages CFDP-Cameroon staff to identify and complete online workshops as methods of training on key areas of business function such as finance and fundraising, marketing, strategy, social media, monitoring and evaluation and coaching delivery. This 'dialogical' philosophy according to Giulianotti promotes an approach which "engages and teaches user groups" (2011a, p.218), in this case the 'user group' is the local 'in country' partner CFDP-Cameroon.

6.3.3 Managerial framework

This section considers the managerial frameworks adopted by the two INGOs. Giulianotti (2011a, p.214) differentiates three approaches towards the management of the SfD programme as either "Hierarchical" (reflective of a 'technical' SfD model), "Umpire/leadership" (reflective of a 'dialogical' model) or a "Horizontal/fluid" approach which shares tenets of a 'critical' SfD model.

Cricket Without Boundaries

As has been outlined previously, the relationship between CWB and CCF was established through a tender process. Describing the relationship between CWB and CCF, a Senior Manager from CWB reflected that:

It's a very positive relationship because we are giving them something for nothing I guess. Not entirely for nothing, we are trying to help them, it's also a positive relationship because there is an element, particularly in Africa of the 'yes' culture, of they, I'll try and say this in the right way, they will try and take what they can from us and tell us what we want to hear sometimes...in Cameroon sometimes we have to be cruel to be kind almost, which is hard sometimes (Graham, British, Senior Manager, CWB, May 2016).

The language used by this senior CWB practitioner suggests that a hierarchical managerial attitude is present at the very top of the organisation. A hierarchical relationship is apparent in that CWB (as the donor) reflect on a "positive relationship" based on the notion that CWB are "trying to help them [CCF]", i.e. the beneficiaries. This provides an exemplar of Giulianotti's (2011) 'technical' model in that data demonstrate a one way understanding of knowledge, expertise and instruction which flows from the INGO at the top, down to CCF as the in country partner. It is argued the this 'formal' discourse evidences a strong dichotomy between a Northern 'us' and a Southern 'them', between 'givers' and 'receivers', between 'honest' and 'deceiving' and between 'active' and 'passive'. Evidence shows that the managerial framework adopted by CWB is far from Giulianotti's (2011a) most progressive 'critical' model which includes horizontal/fluid relationships that promote a sense of shared programme ownership decisions about programme design and implementation based on local need. Such locally-led characteristics are widely considered essential ingredients for effective SfD programmes (Burnett, 2014).

Whilst it is maintained that CCF are positioned at the receiving end of an unequal hierarchical partnership, discourse shows that CWB rely on the relationship with CCF who enable and legitimise their activities in Cameroon. As a Senior Manager at CWB explained:

Well it adds a certain level of credibility. It helps us to build on what is already there rather than just turning up and us lot playing cricket.

You have to mention then that they have local links, you know it would be very difficult to turn up to a country that didn't play any cricket and that you didn't work with the cricket association and so all of our work to me, is better when it is aligned locally (Tom, British, Senior Manager, CWB, September 2016).

Tom alludes to the notion that by taking the decision for CWB to partner with CCF, a 'Global Southern' stakeholder offers a level of credibility to CWB. Perhaps by aligning with CCF, CWB feel as though they are less likely to face criticisms about having a lack of contextual knowledge, or sensitivity towards local issues such as HIV/AIDS. More broadly having a 'local' partner perhaps helps to deter criticisms of neo-colonialism attributed to the SfD sector because 'Global Northern' SfD organizations uphold asymmetrical power relationships. On one hand, Tom references the importance of local knowledge and insight, but then dismisses this knowledge and reverts back to hierarchical discourse which promotes the view that CCF are there in order to help deliver "our [CWB] messages". This supports the argument that CWB and CCF do not have a flat or equal partnership in rhetoric or practice. For Baaz (2005), the power of one partner over another is problematic because it risks creating a one-sided picture of the less powerful partners as being passive recipients of the more powerful partner's intervention. In this case, it is argued that CWB employ a 'technical' model based on a hierarchical relationship which positions the INGO as the 'expert' whom "direct lower groups in a largely one-way circuit of knowledge transfer" (Giulianotti, 2011a, p.215) imparting knowledge about cricket to Cameroonians who in many cases may have never played cricket before.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

The CFDP-US 'formal' discourse highlights examples of 'an umpire/leadership' approach towards management and also examples of 'horizontal' approaches. Describing the relationship with the Cameroonian team, a senior figure from the CFDP-US reflected:

It's been interesting, over the years it has been great, and it has been poor... Um, I think we have a pretty good working relationship. I mean, I think now more than ever, now that some of our board members have been to Cameroon. There is dialogue; we have now

established a board over there (Simon, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, November 2016).

The interview with Simon, along with QDA from the CFDP-US, evidences a shift away from a hierarchical model of management (with purely a US board of directors), towards a more horizontal, fluid model with the recent establishment of a Cameroon advisory board which comprised of:

Well-respected and established personalities in the [Kumba] community who are stakeholders in youth development and dedicated to see the organization thrive (CFDP website, 2018, Board of Advisors).

Another senior figure from the CFDP-US team viewed the establishment of a Cameroonian management team as integral for the organisation:

We have consistency so it allows for having the organisation to always be present and not always be in and out. It provides some local legitimacy, more than just a white man coming in to do something... Knowledge of local issues, being able to leverage local contacts when we needed, because Africa is so relation based (Mandy, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, December 2016).

Similar to CWB, findings suggest that the local management team help to provide legitimacy, knowledge of local issues and are able to provide much needed local leverage. It is also evident here that substantial consultation seemingly occurs between local stakeholders (CFDP-Cameroon practitioners) and user groups (youth programme participants). Data from interviews and QDA suggests that CFDP-US established a Cameroonian Advisory Board of local professionals in 2012 and more recently the launch of a Youth Council Initiative. Speaking about the launch, a statement from CFDP-US on the 'sportanddev' platform suggested that:

Recently, we noticed something was missing: there were no youth involved in the planning process. Like nearly all other organisers of football in the country, it was adults (and mostly men) responsible for all the decision-making. This year, we decided to change that and get youth, both boys and girls, more involved in leadership roles with

creation of youth councils (Sportanddev.org, 2017, CameroonFDP Youth Council Initiative).

In the examples highlighted CFDP-US evidence a management approach which is committed to provide leadership opportunities for local participants, specifically young people to help them build professional skills, confidence and responsibility.

Data in this section has shown that CFDP and CWB adopt fundamentally different managerial approaches. CWB, adopt a top down approach that favors externally-imposed solutions, which aligns to Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical' SfD model. In contrast, CFDP-US evidence extensive local consultation with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, user groups and the establishment of a Cameroonian management team, Cameroonian Board of Advisors and Youth Council Initiative. These examples promote aspects of both a 'leadership' approach - reflective of Giulianotti's (2011a) 'dialogical' SfD model, and 'horizontal' type of management - reflective of Giulianotti's (2011a) 'critical' SfD model.

6.3.4 Agency role

As highlighted earlier, the agency roles of CFDP-US and CWB follow an interventionist approach with a commitment to tackle the earlier identified social and health problems in Cameroon. However, the way in which the interventions are delivered differs considerably between the INGOs.

Cricket Without Boundaries

Beginning with CWB, their intervention delivery is centered on the recruitment and deployment of 6-8 UK volunteers who deliver short term cricket coaching and HIV/AIDS awareness activities in Cameroon. This delivery is supplemented by one paid Cameroonian cricket coach known as a 'CWB ambassador' whose role it is to deliver a year-round programme. In regard to the use of volunteers, CWB advertise that they:

Are looking for general sports enthusiasts, qualified or unqualified [from the UK] for projects... You don't have to have any knowledge of cricket but we do ask for a willingness to work hard and get involved! (CWB website, 2017, Volunteer).

The two week projects are typically delivered once or twice per year, depending on the number of UK volunteers recruited. In a bid to sustain the work of the two week projects, the CWB ambassador cricket coach from the CCF is paid to:

Deliver 20 hours of school coaching per week, planning and scheduling of schools coaching in preparation for [CWB] projects, delivery of basic Coach Education and supporting delivery of [UK] volunteer projects (CWB, 2015, ambassador job description).

The 'CWB ambassador' coach is given a work schedule by CWB to work in a small number of schools (approx. 6) with the aim of extending CWB's legacy outside of formal CWB projects by providing ongoing support to teachers, schools, coaches and players and providing consistency between projects. As illustrated above, the intervention delivered by UK volunteers could be "general sports enthusiasts, qualified or unqualified" (CWB website, 2016, volunteer). This shows that CWB place little/no criteria on the volunteers they recruit and so feasibly volunteers of CWB travel to Cameroon with little/no cricket coaching experience/skills, any understanding of Cameroon or any of the issues pertaining to HIV/AIDS. CWB do however offer volunteers the opportunity to attend two-days of training in the UK before travelling to Cameroon. The training sessions contain basic introductory workshops on i) the INGO (e.g. who they are, what they aim to achieve), ii) practical cricket coaching sessions, iii) introduction to HIV/AIDS and how to integrate messages into coaching and iv) country specific information (e.g. logistics, vaccinations, accommodation, transport arrangements).

The use of a UK volunteers to deliver the CWB programme in Cameroon aligns to an approach known as 'voluntourism' which Wearing (2001, p.1) has explained as a process that "applies to those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society". An established example of 'voluntourism' within the SfD sector is the approach favoured by 'Right to Play'; an internationally renowned SfD agency who recruit volunteers from North America and Europe to deliver SfD programmes in Africa, South Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. Darnell (2007) conducted a study which critically examined the perspectives of white, Canadian volunteers of 'Right to Play' who travelled to 'Global South' countries to deliver SfD programmes. Within this study it was found that encounters and experiences within SfD programmes serve to (re)construct a particular type

of neo-colonial knowledge, in particular 'whiteness' as a position of dominance was "often linked discursively to the subject position of the northern expert in development" (Darnell, 2007, p.567).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

As earlier discussed, the role of CFDP-US also follows an intervention model. However in contrast to CWB, they view their role as facilitating local development by enabling user groups to clarify their own needs which complements a leadership and horizontal management approach. When asked about the reason for setting up a Cameroonian management team to deliver the intervention programmes, a senior figure at CFDP-US stated:

One, it creates jobs and opportunities for people. I could send one or two Americans over there, but they would just be doing their own thing and really not having this additional layer of impact. Second, you just have the cultural context of people that know how to do things. You know they will know how to work through the different administrative obstacles, they know how to connect with the coaches and families of players. You know they understand how things work out there, so it makes things a little bit easier (Simon, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, November 2016).

The year round intervention programme is largely facilitated by the CFDP-Cameroon team and local volunteers which demonstrates a commitment to instilling strong understandings and local ownership of the programme. The findings have shown that the two INGOs follow very different approaches towards interventions. Giulianotti (2011a) suggests that intervention based approaches support a 'technical' SfD model. On one hand, the CWB approach sees their role to 'parachute in' UK volunteers to facilitate SfD programmes, which by nature involves imparting knowledge to recipients in the 'Global South'. It is argued that this role reinforces the vertical power hierarchy which is driven by donor-recipient and North-South relations (Nicholls, 2009). In contrast, CFDP-US takes a more participatory, locally led approach to deliver their intervention. By advocating the value of local ownership by employing a team of Cameroonian staff, it is argued that the CFDP-US approach is as more desirable alternative to CWB's 'top-down' directive role.

6.3.5 Section summary

This section has revealed the defining institutional features of the INGO SfD programmes by CWB and CFDP-US. These findings contribute towards answering Research Question One, by critically examining in detail the rhetoric in the 'formal' discourse of the two INGOs and drawing on Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' models to analyse the findings. The section has shown that the core objectives of both INGOs promote a desire to tackle "objectively-identifiable social problems" (Giulianotti, 2011a, p.215), such as HIV/AIDS education (CWB and CFDP-US) and gender equality, health, leadership and life skills (CFDP-US). It has shown that the INGOs' key themes differ in that CWB evidence a directive and largely hierarchical top-down pedagogical approach, whereas CFDP-US promotes a more locally led pedagogical philosophy. In addition, the findings show that the two INGOs fundamentally differ in terms of their managerial framework, for example CWB, adopt a top down approach that favours externally-imposed solutions, whereas CFDP-US evidence extensive local consultation with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners and user groups. Finally, whilst both INGOs follow an interventionist approach, the way in which these are delivered differs; with findings highlighting one example of a top-down approach (CWB) alongside a more locally led approach to delivering the intervention with the employment of a local Cameroonian team of staff (CFDP-US).

6.4 The properties of the SfD work

This section continues to draw on Giulianotti's (2011a) four social heuristic categories to consider the practices of the two INGOs, focussing on how the user groups are targeted, the paradigmatic methods used and the socio-cultural tools utilised by CWB and CFDP-US.

6.4.1 User groups

Ultimately, the end user group for both CFDP-US and CWB are Cameroonian children and young people. However there are key differences to be noted between the two INGO in how they work with the programme participants.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

For CFDP-US, multiple references on its website suggest that they draw on a diverse range of community members including parents, school teachers, football coaches, community workers as well as local and international NGOs and who help facilitate the delivery of the programme to the children and young people. Referring to Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal type' SfD models, he suggests that a 'critical' SfD model "engages with diverse community groups; not just young people, but also parents, families, friends, village elders and so forth, who all contribute to project successes" (2011, p.220), which mirrors the diverse engagement suggested by CFDP-US 'formal' discourse.

The children and young people (the end user) are differentiated by age, gender and community locations. Participants range from 10 year olds up to young adults in their early twenties. Data shows that participants are invited to join one of six local single sex football teams which operate year round programmes to deliver CFDP-US designed programmes in targeted communities, including Kosola, Nkamlikum, Metta Quarter, Njuki, Kumba Mbeng and Kwen.

Cricket Without Boundaries

Like CFDP-US, CWB also define their key user groups as children and young people and differentiate them by age, gender and geographical location. However, rather than engaging with a diverse community group to support the delivery and embed the programme values year round, CWB take a narrower approach. They recruit their key user groups by targeting primary and secondary schools in Cameroon during the short term project which is delivered by UK volunteers. Data from a project report detailed that:

The project ran from 8th – 22nd February and was based in 2 locations, the capital Yaoundé and Bamenda. Cricket coaching took place on most days of the trip at 19 different locations with us managing to coach at least 40 school teachers and over 2000 children. The team consisted of five [UK] volunteers in the first week, four in the second and was fortunate to have the full-time presence of local [Cameroonian] coaches (CWB, 2015, post programme report from project leader).

The report emphasises an objective impact based on number of locations visited, the number of teachers trained and children coached during the two week project. Participants tend to range from primary school aged children aged 6 years up to young adults in their twenties. The 'CWB ambassador' coach does operate year round to deliver schools-based coaching in a small number of Yaoundé based schools, but with only resources to pay one 'ambassador' coach, it does call into question the reach and impact that this individual coach is able to make.

6.4.2 Paradigmatic methods

Both CWB and CFDP-US favour experiential learning methods whereby educational content is delivered to children and young people through a pre-packaged curriculum. By adopting this approach, both INGOs position themselves as external educators and 'change agents' (Schulenkorf and Sugden, 2011). This section contrasts the paradigmatic methods and also the content of the curriculum of the two INGOs. In this regard Giulianotti (2011a) describes three main approaches: i) scheduled clinics (which evidence a 'technical' SfD model), ii) training the trainer's methods (which evidences a 'dialogical' SfD model) and finally, iii) multi-day camps and exchanges, which evidence a 'critical' SfD model.

Cricket Without Boundaries

CWB UK volunteers operate scheduled coaching clinics lasting between one and two hours which are delivered in a variety of primary and secondary school environments during a typical two week project, a method that may be considered, according to Giulianotti's (2011a) framework, to reflect a 'technical' SfD model. In addition, CWB also adopt a 'train the trainer' paradigmatic method which involves recruiting Cameroonian cricket coaches, teachers and community leaders and training them to deliver the programme within their schools/communities after the UK volunteers leave. Local trainers are recruited by CCF as they have the local contacts and networks to promote CWBs short term projects and 'train the trainer' workshops. This approach is similar to Giulianotti's (2011a, p.218) 'dialogical' SfD model in which the SfD agency (INGO) "trains local volunteers to become SfD teachers and practitioners, and they then return to their host communities to train more volunteers and to implement programmes".

The CWB curriculum encompasses a range of practical cricket skill sessions and games, which are combined with 'ABC' messages designed to increase awareness of HIV/AIDS and encourage behaviour change with regards to sexual practices. The curriculum is developed in the UK by CWB practitioners and is contained in coaching cards which are handed out in coach education sessions to UK volunteers at their training weekend as well as in Cameroon at coach education 'train the trainer' workshops. The introductory message in the coaching cards is shown below and overleaf:

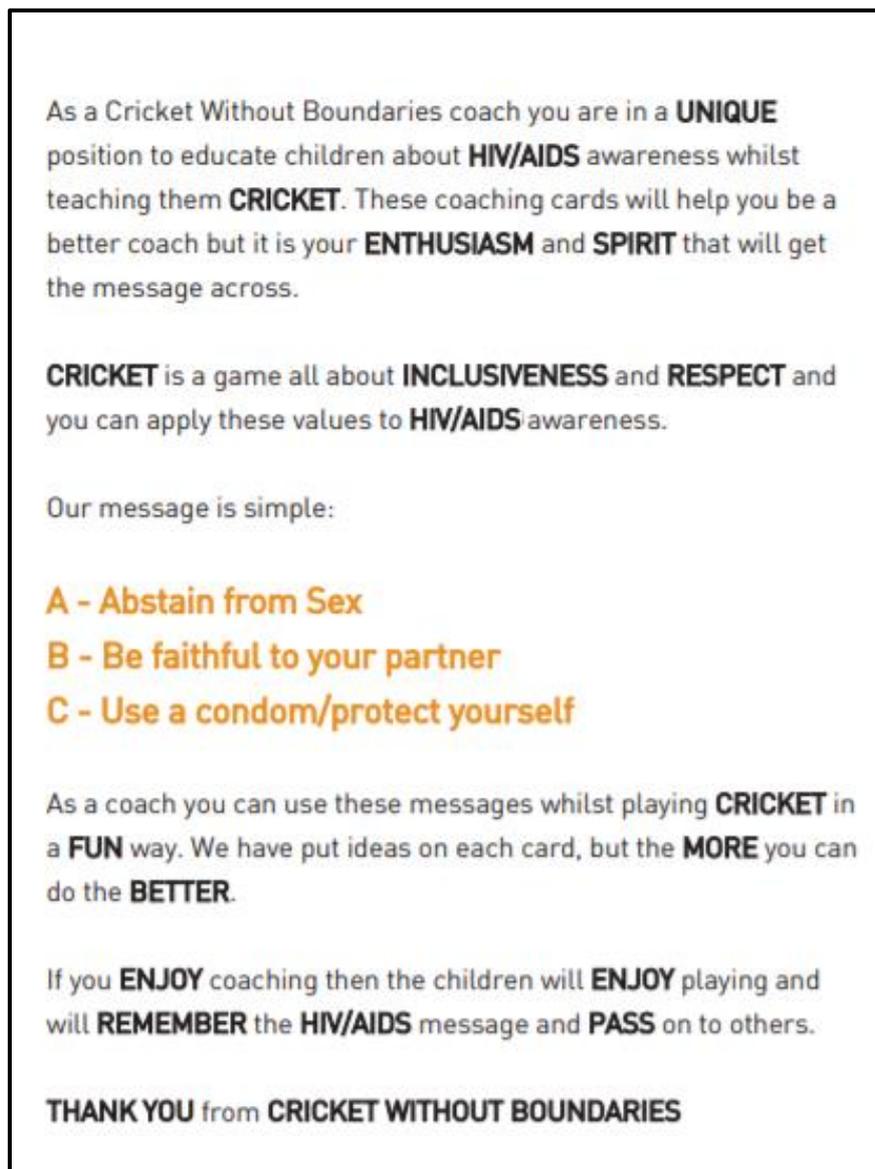


Figure 6.1: CWB coaching cards introductory message

The decision to produce the curriculum/coaching cards in English, does not reflect the highly diverse use of informal languages within Cameroon, or French as the other 'official' language of Cameroon. As

such it is argued that this decision, taken with the lack of information found within interviews or INGO documents evidences a lack of consultation with CCF or other Cameroonian stakeholders.

The figures below illustrate examples of the CWB curriculum, specifically how cricket coaching skills and games are delivered to include HIV/AIDS messages.

Close catch

Description: The close catch is a fielding skill used to catch a ball that is waist height or lower.

Where is it used: This is normally used when fielding close to the batsman, eg wicketkeeper or slip.

Coaching Points

- Stand with your feet a big stride apart, knees bent.
- Catch the ball with your hands together, fingers pointing down.
- As you catch the ball bring your hands back towards your body.

ABSTAIN from using one hand, always use two if you can.

BE FAITHFUL keep watching the ball at all times.



PROTECT yourself by pointing your fingers down to avoid injury.

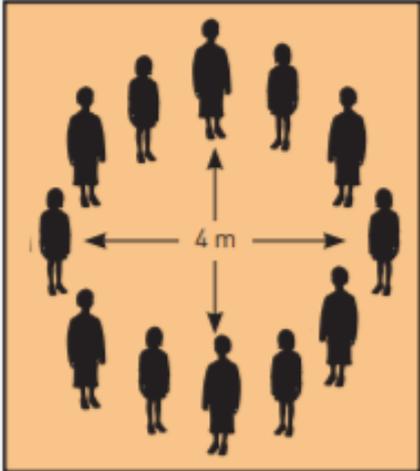


Distraction catching game

Aim of practice: To develop close catching technique.

Equipment: 1 tennis ball between 2 players and 1 or more different coloured balls.

Description: Split the group into pairs and number them 1 and 2. Get them to stand in a circle facing their partner about 4m away. All player 1s throw underarm across the circle to their partner at the same time. Player 2s catch using the close catch and throw back to player 1. Players should be set up so balls criss-cross one another (see diagram).



Safety: Make sure players don't run in front of someone throwing.

ABC: Give one or more pairs a different coloured ball to act as an 'infected' ball. Instruct players that if the ball falls near them they should use it instead of their original ball. At the end of the practice ask how many have touched it. Explain they have now become 'infected' and link this to how easily HIV/AIDS can spread.

Increase the test: (1) Players count how many catches they take in one minute. (2) Give both player 1 and 2 a ball so there are now two balls per pair.

Figure 6.2: Excerpts from CWB coaching cards

Examination of the coaching cards reveals that the content is not altered by CWB based on the ability, language, age or gender of the programme participants. As such, it is feasible to suggest that a child of six and a young adult of 20 could feasibly receive the same instruction regarding cricket skills, and messages about sexual practices (e.g. 'ABC' messages). This lack of adaption to the sexual health 'ABC' message which is delivered as standard to both primary school and secondary school participants is not only poor practice, but warrants some critical questioning; firstly considering the wide ranging age of the programme participants and secondly that no attempt is made to modify the message based on the gender of the participants.

The coaching cards and use of the ABC are also not specific to Cameroonian delivery for CWB, but are generic for all the countries that CWB operate in; Botswana, Uganda, Kenya and Rwanda. Evidence from an experienced CWB volunteer revealed that the prevalence and familiarity with the 'ABC message' in fact differ depending on the country that it is delivered in:

In terms of countries I have been to, Uganda and Kenya have always been easier because you feel like you are building on a knowledge of the ABC and I don't necessarily think this is a language thing you know we have locals there who can translate into the French etc., I think Rwanda and Cameroon felt a bit difficult because it felt like you were starting from scratch with the ABC, so it isn't as prevalent on the curriculum I don't think (Samantha, British, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CWB, October 2015).

With this in mind, it is argued that the prescriptive nature of CWB's curriculum does not take into account the prevalence of existing ABC or HIV/AIDS messages in the Cameroon education curriculum. Considering a wider issue with the ABC message, it is argued that CWB's approach to foster behaviour change through the Abstinence, Be faithful, use a Condom, prevention-based approach is an outdated method. In recent years, UNAIDS (2010) have presented evidence that effective HIV prevention needs to adopt a more holistic prevention approach which takes into account underlying socio-cultural, economic, political, legal and other contextual factors, with single strand interventions (like CWB's) seen to be not effective.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

CFDP-US adopt a mix of pedagogical approaches to deliver its year round programme which included scheduled clinics and 'training the trainers' methods (which included training and deploying peer leaders and also training CFDP-Cameroon practitioners). Scheduled clinics occur weekly with participants and are delivered by peer leaders and community coaches. Delivered through an environment of community club training, these scheduled clinics are central to the delivery of the CFDP curriculum, as outlined earlier. In order to facilitate year-round delivery via community

based leagues, a 'train the trainers' approach is also an integral part of CFDP-US' desired delivery model which helps to recruit and retain volunteer coaches and peer leaders. Peer leaders are recruited from CFDP-US programme participants by CFDP-Cameroon staff across six Cameroonian neighbourhoods and are offered a range of roles as either, a referee, a match delegate, football coach and/or a team captain (CFDP website, 2018, Our approach).

The CFDP-US website highlights Lawrence as a successful peer leader story:

In Cameroon, the story of Lawrence Afere stands out as a great achievement. From joining the program in 2012 as a participant, growing as a Junior Leader to mentor his peers as a coach, to now leading nearly 100 youth in program activities as a Community Leader in Kosala, the neighbourhood where he grew up (CFDP website, 2018, Our model/our impact).

It has been earlier noted, (Chapter 2) that the use of peer leaders involves the training of local volunteers, typically young people to become SfD peer leaders under the proviso that they help to implement programmes for targeted participants. Jeanes (2011) has noted that peer education has become one of the most frequently used strategies for HIV/AIDS education. This is supported by Maro et al.,'s (2009) claim that the use of trained peer coaches in SfD programmes may help to reduce the risk of infection with HIV among young people. The basic premise of using peer leaders is centred on effective role modelling and in this regard, Payne et al. (2003) have argued that role models must be 'embedded' in the community, based on the idea of developing supportive, long-term trusting relationships.

The role modelling premise behind effective peer leadership is supported by social learning and self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1962). According to Coalter (2013), Bandura's (1962, 1977) work is underpinned by the notion that the potential effectiveness of role models is based on role models and their "perceived similarity to the learner" (p.113), a similarity which "reinforces the fact that learning is more likely to occur when the learners perceive that they are capable of carrying out the behaviour/achieving the task – self-efficacy expectancy" (p.113). Put another way, peer leadership through effective role modelling helps to instigate a 'if she can do it, then

so can I' attitude, which Bandura (1977) calls 'vicarious experience'; in that there is a perceived positive outcome if the behaviour/attitudes of the peer leader are emulated which will in turn have desirable outcomes.

The development of locally recruited peer leaders by CFDP-US can be viewed as a positive outcome. However, it should be noted that if programme participants view role models as being different from themselves in significant ways (e.g. gender, age, culture, race or ethnicity) then their perceived self-efficacy is not influenced as much by such models. Considering this critique, it is important to document additional 'formal' discourse which detailed the external influence of Coaches Across Continents (CAC); an educational INGO which promote that it develops:

Process consultancy, year-round strategic resources, and implementation delivery to empower organizations to create legacies of social change (CAC website, 2018, welcome).

At the time of data collection, CAC had a partnership agreement with CFDP-US which involved sending volunteers from 'Global Northern' nations, to 'train' local CFDP-Cameroon management staff on football and coach education and also contribute towards aspects of CFDP-US curriculum (which is discussed below and overleaf). Interviews suggest that the dissemination of the curriculum is led by CFDP-Cameroon management staff that deliver regular monthly training workshops for local volunteer football coaches and peer leaders. With regard to their curriculum design, CFDP-US focuses on a single theme for a year (e.g. leadership, gender equity, HIV/AIDS prevention, or conflict resolution). The theme is central to the development of the curriculum which is based on experiential learning which includes football skills, modified games and interactive discussions to address development issues in a bid to instigate behaviour change related to a health or social issue. As outlined earlier, the game of football is adapted based on CFDP-US's +7 model and the CFDP-US curriculum encompasses this +7 ethos in each session which also includes seven component parts. A typical CFDP coaching session includes:

- i) An ice breaker activity
- ii) Physical warm up
- iii) Football activity (game based)
- iv) Football activity (technique)

- v) Coach's message on the theme
- vi) Motivational statement on the theme
- vii) Question and answer session

As a result of the partnership and annual visits to Cameroon by CAC coaches, 'formal' discourse in the form of the CFDP-US curriculum illustrates how CFDP-US incorporate CAC football activities into their own curriculum, an aspect of which is shown below (CFDP, 2016, Curriculum Part I: Gender):

Game: Coaches Across Continents game(s): Balotelli for Gender Equity

Theme: Empowerment and equality between boys and girls.

Organization: Field is divided into four quadrants. Each quadrant represents something in that women and girls need to be equal and empowered: have an education, health, choice, respect etc. Two teams play against each other. The team that is able to pass or dribble the ball through all four quadrants without a losing the ball gets a point. When they enter the quadrant, they have to yell out what the quadrant represents.

Variation: The first team to go in all four quadrants and do a Balotelli skill wins.

Learning: Players think about basic need that everyone should have and that bring empowerment and equality to girls and women. They work hard to reach these needs as a team.

While this experiential learning game appears to encourage self-directed learning about gender equity, the delivery of the CFDP-US curriculum is to be questioned. The notion of 'Global Northern' volunteers from CAC travelling to Cameroon to impart their knowledge and curriculum illustrates a social distance between the trainer (CAC coach) and the recipient (CFDP-Cameroon management staff) and reflects earlier critiques of 'North'-'South' asymmetrical SfD partnerships (Nicholls et al., 2011). Furthermore, considering Bandura's learning theory and his notion of role modelling which underpins many SfD programmes, significant questions should be raised about the effectiveness of overseas volunteers (e.g. from CAC) who are from different cultures and travel to 'Global Southern' countries to deliver short-term volunteer projects.

This section has evidenced well-intentioned paradigmatic methods of scheduled clinic and train-the-trainer approaches (reflecting a mix of aspects from Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical' and 'dialogical' ideal type SfD model). The development of locally recruited peer leaders by CFDP-US should be viewed as a positive result. However illustrative examples show that the curriculum of both CWB and CFDP-US is heavily influenced by dominant 'Global Northern' perceptions of development, with little evidence of local consultation or ownership. As such it is argued that the CWB and CFDP-US curriculum aligns with Burnett's (2009, p.1195) ideas of a "pre-designed programme that is implemented in different contexts".

6.4.3 Socio-cultural tools

According to Giulianotti (2011a), sport functions as a highly important socio-cultural tool in "shaping Global North-South relations, particularly in circumstances defined by immense power inequalities" (p.209). He suggests that 'technical' SfD projects tend to rely on well-known established sports as socio-cultural tools to deliver their programme, whereas 'dialogical' SfD projects are willing to modify existing sports to accommodate the SfD programme's inclusive goals. Finally, 'critical' SfD projects favour new games "which lack the cultural baggage of established sports, and so may be approached equally by all participants" (p.221). This section examines in detail the perceived strengths of football and cricket to tackle identified development 'problems' based on INGO 'formal' discourse of interviews and INGO documents and concludes with a discussion of how the illustrative examples align to Giulianotti's (2011a) ideal type SfD models.

Cricket Without Boundaries

Cricket is a relatively new sporting discipline in Cameroon, with low levels of participation, a lack of funding and weak infrastructure compared to the most popular sport of football (Clarke and Ojo, 2017). With this in mind, interviews suggest that CWB capitalises on the curiosity of programme participants to learn a new 'novel' sport. This is summed up by a CWB volunteer cricket coach:

With cricket being new for most of them (participants) it has the novelty, so they pay attention (Rachael, British, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CWB, October 2015).

The fact that cricket is not as culturally embedded as some other sports, leads to the apparent belief that it is therefore easier to implant development messages into programme delivery. This is highlighted in an interview with a CWB Senior Manager:

It [cricket] is not a traditional sport.... I think there is a positive side to that in that therefore people don't have anything associated with it, it is a new concept and therefore built in other stuff to it that's new. Whereas to try and make cricket in India a metaphor for HIV/AIDS is you know, impossible, because it is so culturally embedded. Whereas you can do that with a sport like this in a new country (Graham, British, Senior Manager, CWB, May 2016).

The slow pace of cricket is also considered to be an opportunity to integrate development messages, a strength which is highlighted by Sean, a senior CWB volunteer:

The nature of cricket is quite a slow and social game, you don't just play and don't talk to anyone and go home, you know you have time when you are not performing, so there is also this social element to it that offers time so interact and integrate HIV/AIDS messages which is massively strong (Sean, British, Senior Manager, CWB, September 2016).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

In contrast, football - the delivery vehicle for CFDP-US - is the most popular and established sport in Cameroon and is commonly referred to as 'sport roi' or 'king sport' (Nkwi and Vidacs, 1997; Vidacs, 2010; Pannenberg, 2008; Fokwang, 2009). As such, CFDP-US capitalise on the deep-rooted passion for football in Cameroon. Recalling the decision to use football as the delivery tool, Simon, a Senior Manager recalled that he witnessed:

How influential it [football] was in people's lives and that sort of got me thinking a few years later you know, once I learned a little more about sport for development it was after the 2010 World Cup is when I sort of connected the dots (Simon, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, November 2016).

The popularity of football in Cameroon is widely attributed to the success of the national team, which is typically seen as a 'hook' to get young people involved, as a senior practitioner at CFDP-US explained:

Cameroon kind of represented quite a lot of developing countries in football when they played that [Italia 1990] World Cup. So the pride that comes with it and the success that they saw after it winning the [Sydney] Olympics was kind of something special that isn't the same in a lot of other countries. So that makes it almost the obvious choice for Cameroon (Mandy, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, December 2016).

This section has shown that cricket and football have very different levels of status and infrastructure in Cameroon. Based on Giulianotti's (2011a) typologies it could be argued on one hand that cricket typifies a 'critical' model as it is a relatively new sport to Cameroon and because of this has very little "cultural baggage" of more established sports, and therefore "may be approached equally by all participants" (p.221). However, the picture is not as clear cut. For example, cricket is a very well-established global sport (particularly within former British colonies) and in particular cricket based literature suggests that notions of cricket tend to conjure up pre-conceived views about Englishness, whiteness and masculinity (Fletcher, 2011; Kaufman and Patterson, 2005; Gupta, 2004; Bowen and James, 1970). In relation to this thesis, a recent study has suggested that these ideologies have in fact been reproduced and maintained by CCF, the partner of CWB, which is likely to result in a level of cultural baggage and attitudes towards the sport (Clarke, 2019). Football on the other hand, the most popular sport in Cameroon would typify a 'technical' SfD model according to Giulianotti's (2011a) ideal type framework, in that football is a well-established sport, or arguably a 'dialogical' model based on the modifications made to the way that football is delivered (e.g. the +7 model).

6.4.4 Section summary

The findings in this section have helped fulfil the intention of this chapter to map out the 'formal' discourse of the two INGOs, specifically the properties of the SfD work of CWB and CFDP-US. Giulianotti's (2011a) framework has offered some direction to structure the analysis of this section which has been highlighted throughout. In addition, attention has also been paid to the role of cricket and football in Cameroon to help uncover the

contextual nuances specific to this thesis. This section has outlined that CFDP-US and CWB share a common belief in that their favoured sport has the ability to tackle their identified development 'problems'. This section has noted the perceived strengths of cricket by CWB, e.g. the curiosity of participants to learn a new sport, its novelty value as a largely unknown sport in Cameroon which enables development messages to be easily imbedded, which is also helped by the slow pace of the game. In contrast, the perceived strengths of football through the eyes of CFDP-US are simply focused on the popularity and deep-rooted love for the 'king sport', a sport which is given religious status by many Cameroonians. The development potential of football is focused merely on its popularity. Examples have shown that this inherent passion acts as an instant 'hook' for Cameroonian youth to come together and take part in a football based intervention.

6.5 The types of social relations within the SfD programme

This section continues to be guided by Giulianotti's (2011a) social categories which encompass the main activities of SfD organisations. In particular this section explores i) the play contact methods used by CWB and CFDP-US, ii) the cross-community social relations, iii) ties to donors, and iv) the types of relationship with other agencies within the SfD sector.

6.5.1 Play contact methods

According to Giulianotti (2011a), play contact methods illustrative of a 'technical' SfD model would include a SfD organisation that tightly structured the social interaction that occurs by programme participants. A 'dialogical' SfD model would be more fluid and encourage "integrated, cross-community social relationships" which would to "promote cooperative relations", and a 'critical' SfD model would advocate learning experiences among self-directed learners. In this scenario "local communities are understood as best equipped to identify their needs, clarify the nature and sources of conflicts, and choose appropriate strategies and responses" (Giulianotti, 2011a, p.220).

Cricket Without Boundaries and Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

It is argued that the prevalent use of team sports (cricket and football) illustrated in the earlier sections of this chapter illustrate that both CWB and CFDP-US adopt an approach which encourages and promotes

cooperative, inclusive relationships among its programme participants, akin to Giulianotti's (2011a) 'dialogical' SfD model. Pickering (2006) has asserted that because the nature of sports tends to involve mixed individuals and teams, this interaction helps to build inclusive social capital across the communities. Others have argued that the embeddedness of people's social ties, trust and reciprocity are even more evident at the team sports (i.e. football and cricket) due to their emphasis on mutuality and commitment to the group (Tacon, 2014).

6.5.2 Client social relations

According to Giulianotti's (2011a) typology, client social relations refer to the 'in-country' social relationships fostered by the SfD organisation. For example, a 'technical' SfD organisational model would reflect social relations which support a top down hierarchy; a 'dialogical' SfD would pursue cross-community social relationships in order to promote cooperative relations across groups; and a 'critical' model would look beyond sporting contact and seek to evolve long term sustained community social relations between divided people.

Cricket Without Boundaries

The 'formal' discourse from CWB (interviews and organizational documents) suggests that in-country social relationships of CWB are limited to CCF and schools, which reflects a narrow outlook, and enables easy maintenance of hierarchies. Aside from the relationship with CCF and schools, there was also evidence that some attempt has been made to develop a diplomatic association with the British High Commission in Cameroon when UK volunteers were present in the country. This was described in a post project report to the CWB leadership team:

We also made a good contact with the British High Commissioner, Brian Olley. Although not a cricket fan himself he has agreed to help us going forward and has said he will do what he can via contacts to promote our next visit (CWB, 2015, post programme report from project leader).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

In contrast to the narrow in-country relations of CWB, CFDP-US work alongside CFDP-Cameroon practitioners to establish a wide range of social

relationships including corporate, diplomatic, government, sporting bodies and NGOs. Interviews with CFDP-US practitioners suggested the desire to form new social relations to i) help raise the profile and activities of the INGO and CFDP-Cameroon, ii) to explore future funding/sponsorship opportunities, and/or iii) explore collaborative provision opportunities with new partners. Examples included, building relationships with large Cameroonian corporations such as MTN, Orange and Supermont were highlighted in CFDP-US's strategic plan. Reflecting on fund development opportunities, it was suggested that:

CFDP has been seeking partnership with MTN, a French telecommunications company, who previously sponsored the professional league in Cameroon. Progress has been made, but a more strategic and assertive approach is necessary to achieve some positive outcomes this year (CFDP-US, 2015, State of Affairs: a report on a recent trip to Cameroon).

Interviews with CFDP-US practitioners also suggested that establishing diplomatic relations with the US Embassy may be beneficial as a way to help secure future income opportunities. Other key relationships include the government Ministry of Sport and Physical Education and FECAFoot (the national governing body of Football in Cameroon). Social relationships with NGOs and INGOs are also deemed important for CFDP-US to support their youth-centred programmes, in particular, JCI; a global leadership development INGO, Go Ahead Africa, a Cameroonian NGO specialising in youth leadership and CAC, a sport for social change INGO are singled out as useful relationships to support the aims and intentions of CFDP-US.

The above examples suggest that CFDP-US's approach mirrors a 'dialogical' SfD model which seeks to pursue cross-community social relationships in order to promote cooperative relations across community groups. This approach is in contrast to the more narrow 'technical' approach of CWB who choose to forge limited social relationships in Cameroon outside of their formal partnership with CCF.

6.5.3 Donor relations

Cricket Without Boundaries

Approximately 90 per cent of CWB income comes from individual donors who volunteer to personally travel and deliver SfD programmes. This

donation requires volunteers to raise £975 for CWB which covers their accommodation, in country travel, cricket equipment and uniform - the surplus of which goes to CWB activities. Interviews with CWB practitioners suggested that there has been a shift over recent years in that country costs (accommodation, transport etc.) have increased while the number of volunteers being recruited has declined, which has meant that overheads have increased. As such, additional fundraising activities are organised by the INGO is needed to ensure financial sustainability (examples included charitable auctions and dinners).

Referring to Giulianotti's (2011a) typology, it is evident that CWB is largely run by volunteers who double up as the main donors of the INGO - as such, it is argued that CWB accept regulation by their donors who are able to seek and influence strategic elements such as programme objectives and the overall direction of the INGO.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

On the other hand, CFDP-US donor relationships include a combination of grant income (from organisations) and individual donors from the US:

We get our funds; you know we have support from FIFA, so we have a decent grant and then we do a couple of fundraising events here in the US and then it's through individual contributions, individuals and groups. So we have operated on a budget of less than 100,000 USD a year. Our goal is to significantly increase that (Simon, American, Senior Manager, CFDP-US, November 2016).

Referring to the example of FIFA - a main funder of CFDP-US - the day-to-day implementation of the FIFA programme is controlled by CFDP-US and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners. However, at a strategic level, FIFA exert influence on the programme by setting the objectives and how the programme is monitored and evaluated. In summary, it is evident that while the types of donors differ between CFDP-US and CWB, all donors (individual or corporate) have variable influence and regulation on programme objectives and methods; this illustrates aspects of a 'technical' SfD model (Giulianotti, 2011a).

6.5.4 Sector relations

Sector relations according to Giulianotti's (2011a) typology, outlines that a 'technical' SfD model tends to favour short-term relationships with likeminded organisations/individuals (e.g. celebrities) "if such ties are demonstrably beneficial" (p.215). Giulianotti (2011a) also describes that a 'dialogical' SfD model would include favour an approach towards sector wide relations that developed strategic links with other institutions, (e.g. development nongovernmental and intergovernmental organisations, suggesting that "these connections extend beyond immediate needs, but develop instead mutually beneficial cooperation or longer-term partnerships" (p.219). Finally, 'critical' SfD organisations view their work as complementary to other sport, development or peace building initiatives within particular regions/countries. Thus, examples of 'critical' SfD organisations illustrate a spectrum of partnerships across the global civil society which seeks to influence the peace-making strategies of divergent institutions and agencies.

Cricket Without Boundaries

CWB favour strategic relationships with other international organisations - illustrative of a 'dialogical' model. Examples include its relationship with the International Cricket Council (ICC). Alan Isaac - former ICC President - is quoted within a CWB welcome pack for new volunteers:

Cricket is more than just a game. It is a means of bringing together diverse communities, often in some of the most disadvantaged parts of the world. We must continue to use the game to promote key health messages, such as awareness about HIV/AIDS through our THINKWISE programme. That's why we support Cricket Without Boundaries and the work they do in promoting HIV/AIDS messages in Africa in partnership with our members. It is great to have them on board as a delivery partner for our THINKWISE programme and we wish them every success (CWB, 2016, Welcome pack for volunteers).

Issac applauds CWB for joining the 'ThinkWise' campaign, a relationship between the ICC, UNAIDS and UNICEF to promote HIV prevention which

illustrates tenets of Giulianotti's 'dialogical' SfD model (2011a). However, the same CWB document offers an example of practices which include using celebrities as "agency ambassadors" (p.216). For example, CWB have secured patronage from international celebrities and sports stars in a bid to attract media coverage. CWB advertise endorsements from former international cricketers Freddie Flintoff and Matthew Hoggard in their organisational documents. In addition, Former Prime Minister Gordon Brown is quoted below:

I applaud the work of Cricket Without Boundaries. It is vitally important that we do everything we can to eradicate HIV/AIDS and to help bridge ethnic divisions in Africa. I think sport is an excellent way to raise awareness, bring people together and have fun (CWB, 2016, welcome pack for volunteers).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

CFDP-US seek strategic and multiple relations within the SfD sector. A connection to the SDGs is evidenced on their website which states that their goals are specifically aligned to the SDG 3 (Health), 4 (Education), 5 (Gender equity) and 8 (Inclusive Economic Growth). CFDP-US claim to contribute to the SDGs by partnering and delivering activities with the four global partners: (i) FIFA Foundation, (ii) Street Football World, (iii) Coaches Across Continents and (iv) Games 4 Good Foundation (CFDP-US website, 2017, Partners). The CFDP-US website advocates that by working with global partners and community groups in a complimentary way - akin to Giulianotti's (2011a) 'critical' model - they seek to integrate their approach towards SfD with the activities of their partner's with the long term intention that this approach will help to achieve common goals.

6.5.5 Section summary

In summary, this section has contrasted the sector wide relations of CWB and CFDP-US. Understanding how the two INGOs develop and manage sector wide relations within their respective SfD programmes is an important factor to help to map out CWB and CFDP-US's principal features and in turn fulfil the intention of the chapter. To summarise, the findings from CWB documents (gathered through QDA) illustrate that CWB has one sector wide relationship - through the ICC Thinkwise campaign. In addition, they have endorsements from high profile individuals, testimonials which

intend to help raise the profile of the INGO and potentially influence future donors (e.g. volunteers). While some examples of activities align to Giulianotti's 'dialogical' model, the majority of examples have shown that the intentions and practices of CWB more share tenets with Giulianotti's 'technical' model (2011a). On the other hand, CFDP-US favors long term strategic sector wide relationships that are complementary in nature (aligned to Giulianotti's 'critical' model (2011a) which is evidenced through the multiple global partners and CFDP-US's intention to contribute towards the four stated SDGs.

6.6 The monitoring and evaluation methods of the SfD programmes

This final section outlines and critiques the methodology of the monitoring and evaluation strategies of CFDP-US and CWB. Both INGOs draw on a range of methods to measure their specific intervention outcomes, the analysis and critique of which will draw on Giulianotti's (2011a) three 'ideal types' of SfD organisations and their approaches towards monitoring and evaluation. Giulianotti (2011a) asserts that a 'technical' SfD model tends to adopt quantitative measurements of their intervention outcomes. In contrast, a 'dialogical' SfD model favours "multiple methods for data-gathering, particularly qualitative participatory techniques that actively engage user groups" (p.219), and a 'critical' SfD model tends to be "participatory, complementary and critically reflexive" (p.221) in their approach towards monitoring and evaluation.

Cricket Without Boundaries

CWB measures the effectiveness of its work in Cameroon using a combination of quantitative and qualitative measures. Basic quantitative descriptive information is gathered such as the throughput of programme participants attending coaching clinics and the numbers of adults who attend 'train the trainer' workshops, which are used by CWB as an indicator of success. Throughput data is supplemented by a pre-and post-session questionnaire for each cricket coaching and HIV/AIDS session delivered in primary/secondary schools (shown overleaf). A CWB volunteer gathers this data from a small sample of 3 participants who are randomly selected before and after the session.

Participants are asked questions about their knowledge/intentions in three areas: (i) knowledge about HIV/AIDS prevention, (ii) knowledge of cricket skills, and (iii) intention to change behaviour/s. The methodology and design of the CWB questionnaire raise concerns. Firstly, the questionnaire is produced and administered in English by CWB volunteers. This shows a lack of cultural awareness that Cameroon is a bilingual country, with over 80 per cent of the population identifying as Francophone and having a preference towards the French language (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997; Fanso, 1999). Secondly, the design is flawed as it assumes that all participants attending the programme are homogenous and do not have HIV/AIDS. The diversity of participants is ignored - (e.g. no account is taken of the participant's gender, religion, HIV/AIDS status or age of participants) which is weak given the questionnaires questions about intended sexual behaviour. Thirdly, pre and post-session data are gathered on the same day, which indicates a lack of data on the retention of knowledge, which is a weak indicator to evidence long term behaviour change.

Methodologically, there are major challenges with constructing pre and post-evaluation questionnaires. Adopting effective monitoring and evaluation methods relies on the ability and expertise of the designer to identify specific behaviours that may change and then develop an appropriate measurement scale that tests the amount of self-perceived behaviour change (Musiimenta, 2012). Considering that the core objective for CWB is to promote and instigate lasting behaviour change towards sexual activity and condom use (through the ABC approach), the four areas highlighted in the questionnaire design are weak and rather short sighted, as it only tests 'knowledge', on the day of the intervention, which means that long-term behaviour change is less likely (Petty et al., 2002; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000). When seeking to change behaviours, it is advisable to use a theory as a guide (Coalter, 2013). However, the CWB 'formal' discourse is not based on a specific theory, which signals a further weakness of its monitoring and evaluation approach. It is submitted that CWB could have adopted a popular theory such as the Transtheoretical model of behaviour change (TTM) to help guide their monitoring and evaluation strategies, curriculum and wider practices.

The rationale for this suggestion is based on scholarly literature which suggests that TTM is the most widely used theory across the social and

behavioural sciences (Davis et al., 2015), and is especially popular amongst practitioners (Morris et al., 2012). In particular, its popularity is linked to the five stages of change (outlined overleaf), which are important distinguishing elements from other behaviour change models. TTM has a long history of being creatively applied to the development and delivery of interventions in diverse settings, specifically those focusing on health promotion (Cabral et al., 2004),

TTM is an example of a behaviour change model that has received much practitioner support over the years (Munro et al., 2007), and is deemed to be a popular theory as its stage model of intentional change focuses on the decision-making abilities and perceived self-efficacy of the individual (Prochaska and DiClemente, 1983). The TTM proposes that behaviour change occurs in five sequential stages. The stages are outlined by Prochaska and DiClemente (1983) as:

- 'Precontemplation' where no problem is acknowledged and there is no consideration given toward change
- 'Contemplation' where a problem is acknowledged and serious thought is given to change in the future;
- 'Preparation' where some behavioural change is initiated;
- 'Action' where substantive behavioural efforts lead to altered patterns, and,
- 'Maintenance' where change is sustained through continued effort.

Prochaska et al., (1994), have proposed that the TTM is generalizable across a broad range of problem behaviours as well as a wide variety of populations with such behaviours. Prochaska et al., (1994) continue that the TTM's utility as a robust, flexible model has significant value for the design and implementation of HIV prevention programmes, which further supports the rationale to suggest this theory to CWB.

This section has illustrated that CWB do not adopt a theoretical approach to behaviour change, despite evidence that similar programmes have used theories (e.g. TTM) to help guide, monitor and evaluate behaviour changes towards safer sex and condom use (see Patten et al., 2000).

In addition to the documented quantitative methods, CWB also employ qualitative approaches such as storytelling to evaluate their work in

Cameroon which are promoted on their website. Project blogs, short video clips and testimonials are written by CWB UK volunteers and the Cameroonian ambassador coach, who is quoted overleaf:

I do the job because I like working, and love cricket. What they do in Cameroon is fabulous and impressive coupled with the HIV/AIDS Awareness message. So, I am not only doing their job but it is an exchange because I am building myself with the knowledge they bring to me (CWB website, 2017, Our ambassadors).

The 'formal' discourse from the CWB website illustrates limited examples of storytelling about programme participants (e.g. the end user), but instead focuses more on testimonials from those individuals delivering the programme (CWB volunteers, Cameroonian ambassador coach and school teachers). While the above statement from the Cameroonian ambassador coach appears positive and full of praise for CWB, the language used also gives us an insight into the ambassador's relationship with CWB. The phrases "knowledge they bring me" positions CWB as generous to bring their expertise to Cameroon and positions himself as the receiver of such knowledge.

Despite positive 'formal' discourse on the CWB website celebrating the work of CWB, a number of CWB UK volunteers revealed in their interviews that they were sceptical of the programme's ability to change the behaviour of its participants, as shown below:

It is impossible to give you examples of you know of individuals who have changed their behaviour based on one of our cricket sessions... if there is any actual change in behaviour, who knows (Graham, British, Senior Manager, CWB, May 2016).

I guess that's the hardest thing in terms of monitoring is that whose behaviour ultimately have we changed as a result of that, it is very hard to measure (Sean, British, Senior Manager, CWB, September 2016).

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

CFDP also employ a range of quantitative and qualitative methods to evaluate change, methods which are measured across four areas. The strategic plan 2014-2015 outlined the four key areas and how they were measured.

1. *Programme effectiveness* - to be measured through the number of participants, coaches and teams; feedback on training & curriculum; coach motivation to sustain involvement; club growth and player retention; the number of hours of community service and the number of partners active and engaged.
2. *Improved coaching and increased volunteerism*, specifically with an aim increase transferable and communication skills; an individual's stature in community, employment opportunities; the number of partnerships with business; quality of life and the number of participants and hours volunteered. There is no detail on how some aspects are measured (e.g. individuals stature in the community, quality of life of participants).
3. *Educate and empower youth* is evaluated through the following indicators; school performance; exam results; attendance; dropout rates; post- secondary activity; entrepreneurship and civic engagement.
4. *Building social infrastructure* is measured through; utilization of community space; the number of spectators at matches; the number of supporters of league; partners reach more clients and economic benefit to local business.

CFDP-US present an ambitious set of outcomes and indicators in these four broad ranging outcome areas, many of which are based on achieving a quantitative increase in number (for example participant and club numbers). However other core qualitative measures appear vague and lack detail of exactly how these indicators are measured (e.g. entrepreneurship, educate and empower youth, an individual's stature in the community, quality of life of participants). CFDP-US also favour the use of a pre and post questionnaire which seeks to test knowledge on a wide range of topics relating to attitudes towards gender equality, healthy relationships, education, health, exercise, being a role model and self-respect. An example of the types of questions asked is presented overleaf.

Table 8: Example of a CFDP-US pre and post-intervention questionnaire

TOPIC	PRE-INTERVENTION QUESTIONS	POST-INTERVENTION QUESTIONS
Being a role model	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you understand by the term role model? • Do you have role models in your community? • What makes them role models? • Name one role model you know? • Why do you think he is a role model? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who is a role model? • List three qualities of a role model • Apart from responsibility and hard work, what other qualities do you need to be a good role model? • After this topic do you consider yourself as a role model? If so, why?
Gender equality	<p>Tick the answer you think is correct:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>A women's place is in the kitchen</i> • <i>A girl child should have the same right as a male</i> • <i>Boys should school more than girls</i> • <i>Sciences are meant for boys and not girls</i> <p>What do you understand by the term gender equality?</p> <p>It's a man's world women should just follow since they are a weak sex? (True or False)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are gender roles? • What is the difference between gender and sex? • What do you understand by the expression gender equality? • How can you be an agent in promoting gender equality?

The pre and post-intervention questionnaire is open to similar design criticisms highlighted earlier with CWB. Like CWB, CFDP-US chooses to only produce the questionnaire in English. While this decision may seem more acceptable given that CFDP-US only operate programme in Anglophone regions in Cameroon, it is not to say that Francophone (French speaking) participants living in Anglophone regions do not take part. The design of the questions is open-ended is a very poor design as it depends heavily on literacy and commitment of the participants to complete the questionnaire. Like CWB - there is no evidence of a behavioral change theory (e.g. TTM) to help evaluate the perceived behaviour change, or at what stage the participants are on the model. As such this level of data cannot be considered any more than knowledge recall and opinions from programme participants, which like CWB, means that participants who show short term changes to attitudes/level of knowledge does not necessarily correlate towards long-term behaviour changes (Petty et al., 2002; McKenzie-Mohr, 2000)

In addition, the 'formal' discourse gathered from the CFDP-US website indicates that evaluating the levels of school attendance and attainment is also a priority for CFDP-US. The CFDP website stated that:

85% of youth in Cameroon will NOT graduate from secondary school (equivalent to American high school). Barriers to this accomplishment include financial strains, access (the majority of young people living in rural areas of the country do not even have access to school after the primary level), parental support, and a number of additional social challenges youth face (pregnancy, drugs, alcohol) (CFDP website, 2017, Impact on education).

The website suggests that, based on a survey of participants involved in their first year of operation, 92 per cent had graduated or were still attending school. It is important to state that the raw data or survey design was not examined, which prevents detailed scrutiny, but considering the significance of the claim that CFDP-US take responsibility for directly increased levels of school attendance and attainment, the vagueness of the 'evidence' presented on the website warrants questions in itself, related to their assumptions regarding the cause and effect of their intervention.

While difficult to measure, CFDP-US also attempts to demonstrate the success of its programme through qualitative stories. In particular CFDP-

US detail the stories of their peer leaders, coaches and referees. For example, one of the peer leaders is quoted on the CFDP-US website (2017):

I made a promise to myself that I wanted to be that coach someday, making a change in someone else's life.

As noted earlier, the use of locally recruited peer leaders by CFDP-US is viewed as a positive outcome of the programme. However, all of the qualitative stories documented on the website highlights focused on male peer leader and coaches. While it is not possible to comment on the representativeness of these qualitative stories with regard to the everyday practices, it is disappointing that given one of the core objectives of CFDP-US is gender equality, the use of female role models on the website was not more prevalent. If this lack of female role model does reflect the programme realities, it is likely that the perceived self-efficacy of female programme participants as their peer leaders and community coaches/referees will be limited as their 'role models' are not 'like them'.

6.6.1 Section summary

In this final section of the chapter, the monitoring and evaluation methods employed by CWB and CFDP-US have been highlighted. Understanding how the two INGOs monitor and evaluate the 'success' of their programmes is integral to enable a rounded critical examination of the principal features of the INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon. Robust monitoring and evaluation methods would give the INGOs insight into the effectiveness and efficiency of its activities, projects and programmes and the opportunities to adjust its activities as necessary.

The section has shown evidence of multiple methods. However, the techniques used suffer from poor methodology and design and there is limited evidence that participatory techniques that actively engaged the end user groups have been used. As such, the approaches of the INGOs align most closely with Giulianotti's 'technical' SfD model. Methodologically, the INGOs lack an overarching behaviour change theory that helps to guide the monitoring and evaluation of their interventions. This is a considerable omission given the advice that a programme theory or behaviour change theory should inform, programme design and practice (Coalter, 2007a). This omission is coupled with issues of poor design; e.g. lack of cultural awareness by producing and gathering monitoring and evaluation only in

English (no translation into French or Cameroonian informal languages), the use of small sample sizes, and a lack of detail concerning the qualitative measurements and use of open-ended questions.

In addition, this section has alluded to an inherent problem with how external monitoring and evaluation data is collected within the SfD as 'evidence'. As earlier outlined the two SfD programmes in Cameroon are funded by 'Global Northern' donors (e.g. individual donors, grants from organisations such as FIFA and CAC) which require CWB and CFDP-US to collect 'evidence' of the programmes impact and effectiveness to satisfy donors and other partners in the 'Global North'. These examples of 'Global North' and 'Global South' power imbalances impact on the type of evidence that is collected as external monitoring and evaluation processes. In turn, this leads to questions about the value of this information gathered particularly when intending to use such knowledge to guide future policy and enhance practice the inherent methodological difficulties that stem from measuring the impact of programmes. In this regard, Coalter (2013) makes a suggestion that rather than concentrating on demonstrating impact, the SfD sector needs to develop greater understanding of the processes or mechanisms that may lead to such impact.

6.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has addressed the first Research Question - *what are the principal features of the two identified SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon?* - and corresponding objective - *to provide a critical account of the principal features of two SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon* - by examining in detail the 'formal' discourses concerning the practice and intended outcomes of the two INGO programmes. The intent was to contrast how the 'formal' discourses from CWB and CFDP-US is discursively framed and produced across five key areas; the perception of development; the defining institutional features of the INGO SfD programme; the properties of the SfD work; the types of social relations within the SfD programme and the monitoring and evaluation methods employed. While the ambitions and intentions of both SfD programmes are laudable, the process of programme design, implementation and evaluation is variable and inconsistent with the participatory language throughout the 'formal' discourses. The illustrative examples share principles that align to a mixture of Giulianotti's 'ideal type' SfD models (2011a). These findings are consistent with Giulianotti (2011a)

assertion that most SfD projects feature different combinations of the 'technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical' ideal-type SfD models (especially the first two).

Cricket Without Boundaries

This chapter has shown illustrative examples that CWB has prominent 'technical' aspects, for example problem-solving objectives, specific social units as user groups, strong interventionist approaches, externally designed programme curricular and narrow applications of monitoring and evaluation, lacking participatory techniques. The reviewed documents show the core intention of CWB is to change attitudes and behaviours regarding HIV/AIDS awareness and sexual practices by empowering programme participants. However this is not guided by any theory of behaviour change and as such warrants substantial criticism. While the intentions of CWB are indeed wide-ranging and full of positive intentions, the overwhelming evidence that emerged from the interviews and QDA of organisational documents presents a hierarchical power system in respect of CCF, CWB's 'in country' partner. Examples reveal that CWB implies a one directional transfer and flow of knowledge, concepts, and values by controlling and decision making over resources which includes the recruitment and flow of human resources (UK volunteers), financial resources and the monitoring and evaluation of its programmes. There are some (if limited) aspects of CWB practices which harbour key 'dialogical' aspects (Giulianotti, 2011a) (e.g. the 'training the trainers' methods used to train local teachers and coaches about cricket and HIV/AIDS awareness), however there was no evidence of the employment of 'critical' approaches. This blend of 'technical' and 'dialogical' models is not uncommon and according to Giulianotti "(2011a, p.223) most SfD programmes "feature different mixtures of these ideal-type models (especially the first two)" - referring to the 'technical' and 'dialogical' models.

Cameroon Football Development Programme-US

Examples have shown a range of 'technical' aspects, for example problem-solving objectives, a strong intervention approach, externally designed programme curriculum, the use of a recognised sport and a limited approach to monitoring and evaluation. However, in contrast to CWB there are more examples within the CFDP-US 'formal' discourse of 'dialogical' aspects (e.g. train the trainer's approach, peer leaders, and extensive local consultation about the programme need) which has been earlier highlighted as positive outcomes. Evidence also points towards some 'critical'

approaches as well (Giulianotti, 2011a). Examples include the diverse community groups that CFDP-US engage with; not just young people, but also parents, families, friends, village elders and so forth, who all contribute to programme's delivery. In addition, the

Yet, despite the 'formal' discourse promoting horizontal relationships between CFDP-US and CFDP-Cameroon, it is important not to overly idealise such relationships. In essence the CFDP-US and CFDP-Cameroon relationship shares similar aspects to CWB's relationship with CCF, it is a donor-recipient relationship and as such is open to the criticisms of unequal power commonly found within the development studies and SfD studies literature (Giulianotti et al., 2016; Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009; Hearn, 2008; Crush, 2005; Mawdsley et al., 2002; Kothari, 2001). Like CWB, the CFDP-US team are positioned in the more powerful position to control the programme objectives given that funding, strategy and governance of the INGO is being driven, generated and monitored by the CFDP-US team and/or outside donors (e.g. CAC and FIFA).

This chapter has shown that both INGOs heavily influence and shape their partnership with their 'in country' partner. However there are some subtle differences to note. For example interview and INGO documents suggest that CFDP-US do show more of a commitment to try to flatten out the power dynamics with CFDP-Cameroon through practices which promote local consultation, use of peers leaders - as opposed to short term 'fly in and fly out' programmes led by international volunteers. Building on from this chapter - which has been necessary to comprehensively outline and critique the programme ambitions of CWB and CFDP-US - the following two chapters further explore the complex forms of power that are associated with SfD partnerships. It does so by prioritising localised perspectives, specifically from Cameroonian SfD practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon and CCF; the 'in country' partners of CFDP-US and CWB. Indeed, to obtain locally owned perspectives "implies the presence of a diversity of stakeholders" perspectives" (Joldersma, 1997, p.209), a decision which also takes on board Nicholls et al's., (2011, p.250) argument that if 'Global Southern' partners are not recognised as providing valuable contributions to the partnership process then "it merely perpetuates a cycle of domination of the donor/recipient relationship instead of a partnership approach".

The next two chapters juxtapose the local perspectives concerning the localised challenges and responses to the relationship with the 'Global Northern' INGO partner (Chapter 7) and the localised challenges and responses concerning the day-to-day delivery of the INGO programme (Chapter 8) with the 'formal' discourse presented above. As Mosse (2004, p.666) emphasises, “[policy and programme] ideas do not have a life of their own apart from the institutions, persons and intentions, but can only be understood in terms of the institutions and social relationships through which they are articulated.” In summary, the next two chapters will explore how power relations embedded in the social process of policy-making are responded to by local practitioners. By doing so, the intention is to uncover the extent to which the 'formal' discourse shown here are reflective of the day-to-day realities and practices experienced by local Cameroonian SfD practitioners.

**CHAPTER 7:
LOCAL CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES TO THE RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE CASE STUDY INGOs**

7.1 Chapter introduction

Chapter 7 provides a continuation of the research findings and also marks an intentional shift in the orientation of the thesis. In contrast to Chapter 6 which assumed a 'Global Northern' lens, the following two chapters adopt a 'Global Southern' lens to examine how the social relations between Cameroonian SfD practitioners and their respective INGO are negotiated (Chapter 7) and how the day-to-day delivery of the INGO programme plays out from the perspective of the Cameroonian SfD practitioner (Chapter 8).

This chapter seeks to address Research Question Two: *what are the locally identified issues and responses concerning the relationships with the INGOs and INGO practitioners?* It also intends to address the corresponding research objective: *to critically analyse any localised issues and responses concerning the relationship between the INGOs and Cameroonian SfD practitioners from the INGOs 'in country' partner.*

The chapter will address this question by highlighting the importance and complexity of the 'Global North' and 'Global South' partnership and the ever-changing interplay of power between the local SfD practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon and their INGO partner CWB and CFDP-US. The 'Global Southern' localised orientation of the chapter is consistent with the approach of a growing number of SfD scholars (Nicholls et al., 2011; Forde, 2014, 2015; Banda and Holmes, 2017; Hasselgard and Straume, 2015; Lindsey and Bello Bitugu, 2018; Lindsey et al., 2017) who advocate that local perspectives should be at the fore of SfD research. By promoting a postcolonial Cameroonian narrative throughout the remaining findings chapters, an understanding is maintained that local knowledges should be “recognized as valid knowledges that have a role to play in furthering the understanding of the concept of sport as a tool for development” (Nicholls et al., 2011, p.13).

Drawing on interviews with Cameroonian SfD practitioners (which included PE Teachers, Sports Coaches, Peer Leaders, Managers and Senior Managers working for CCF and CFDP-Cameroon), the chapter closely examines the personal experiences and relationships of the Cameroonian SfD practitioners with their partner INGO (CCF with CWB and CFDP-Cameroon with CFDP - US) and considers the associated challenges and benefits for Cameroonian practitioners. Through these narratives, the

intention is to convey issues of acceptance, frustration, conflict and contradictions experienced by local practitioners in maintaining a working relationship with the INGO. Interviews highlighted key issues of power, hegemony and race, issues that were often contradictory and include both positive and negative perspectives and consequences.

As indicated in Chapter 4, selected theories of power provide a theoretical framework and enable the important issues of power, conflict and agency to be explored. Specific to this chapter, Lukes' (2005) radical three dimensional view of power, key concepts of power (e.g. structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness) and Coleman's (1988, 1990) social capital theory are drawn on to question the extent to which North-South relationships purely reflect a "vertical hierarchy" (Nicholls, 2009, p.158). The intention is that by using multiple theories and concepts, this chapter will explore the positive (e.g. social capital theory) and negative manifestations of power - e.g. Lukes radical view of power (2005) (which views power as domination) - the combination of these theories helps to provide a nuanced understanding of power relations, whereby power, conflict and agency are not necessarily in opposition, but entangled and negotiated in a complex interaction. These underpinning theories and key concepts help to show that dominating groups have the ability to exercise and maintain power and privilege, but that this position is not fixed and can be subject to change and local moments of conflict. Specifically, the concepts of hegemony, whiteness and agency are used to highlight localised perspectives, particularly the tension between a strategic acceptance of INGO power on one hand but also frustration towards some elements of it. This tension and frustration was accelerated and reinforced by post-colonial residue, specifically through the presence of 'white', 'western' INGOs and practitioners (Darnell, 2007; Heron, 2007). At the same time, key constructs from Coleman's (1988, 1990) understanding of social capital helps to identify the perceived personal and professional benefits and agency of local practitioners, for example; improved social networks and status, job prospects and career development.

The chapter is split into three sections and is guided by the three prominent themes which emerged from interviews with CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners. The first section explores the widespread strategic acceptance held by both CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners towards a donor-recipient power-based relationship with their 'Global Northern'

partner INGO, specifically it examines race-based assumptions held by local practitioners towards the INGOs and its practitioners. Next, the chapter presents data to show that whilst local SfD practitioners accept an asymmetrical power-based relationship, they do also perceive some frustration towards some elements of their relationship with their partner INGO. Finally, the chapter shows that despite the donor-recipient based relationships, the Cameroonian practitioners are in fact not passive recipients of the effects of power, but instead have the ability to exercise some level of agency and forge social capital opportunities for themselves by developing personal relationships with the INGOs which are used as strategies for professional and personal gain.

The chapter concludes that the relationships between the local SfD practitioners and INGOs are often fluid, even contradictory which come to light through a range of frustrations and negative perceptions. It highlights a tension between the strategic acceptances of the donor-recipient power relationship on one hand, but shows frustration with some elements of it on the other hand. It is argued that moments of frustration take place for local practitioners evidencing some level of agency. However the level of agency should be measured within a wider hegemonic framework which often draws on the ideologies and practices of 'Global North' INGOs, and tend to reinforce patriarchal ideologies, representations of 'whiteness' and top down social structures. In short, the 'Global South' - 'Global North' partnerships between i) CFDP-US and CFDP-Cameroon and ii) CWB and CCF is hybrid, fluid and inherently dynamic; and findings show that local SfD practitioners are by no means passive recipients of the effects of power.

7.2 The perceived 'expert' status of INGOs and widespread strategic acceptance of donor-recipient relationship

This section considers *how* CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners perceive their partnership and relations with CWB and CFDP-US based on their interaction with the INGOs 'formal' discourse. Christian (Senior Manager, CCF, June 2015) described how he perceived the relationship between CCF and CWB:

FECACRICKET [CCF] are responsible to execute and CWB are the one to fund. I think Cameroon is a developing country and CWB is a charity from a developed country, it is an international organisation

Local challenges and responses to the relationship with the case study INGOs

and international organisations are there to help developing countries develop.

Beyond the binary differentiation seen here through language such as 'developed', and 'developing', Christian's quotation takes a prescriptive tone regarding the observed roles of CCF and CWB in undertaking SfD activities, which is based on a perceived northern expertise. Similarly, Thierry (Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2015) recognised an exchange of resources and ideas from - a developed nation - to himself and his counterparts - in the 'Global South' (Briggs, 2008; McEwan, 2009). Thierry suggested that:

Cricket Without Boundaries is like the teacher coming to teach the student, so whatever they say we listen and take to what they have to say because one knows more than the other in this aspect of the discipline, they are coming to teach so we just have to learn.

Christian and Thierry's comments point towards an unequal power relationship with CWB which is based on a lack of local resources and knowledge; distinguishing characteristics of the broad international development sector which often assumes passivity or inferior capabilities of the 'Others' (Baaz, 2005). The illustrative examples shown above imply that local practitioners reflect Lukes' two-dimensional view of power (2005), in that the INGO makes the key decisions and setting the agenda within the 'partnership', and as a practitioner with the local stakeholder they accept that they have little power. It is argued that by focusing on the explanations that produce this perceived 'expert' status; it allows the remainder of the chapter to explore *why* these perceptions are held by local practitioners. The examples from Christian and Thierry illustrate the local perception, which perceives CWB as having far more expertise than CCF, an assumption which is arguably also laden with colonial discourse based on the binary terms used e.g. 'us' and 'them', 'developed' and 'developing', 'teacher' and 'we listen'.

In a similar nature to their CCF counterparts, CFDP-Cameroon practitioners too seem equally accepting and consenting to the powerful status of its partner CFDP-US; which is headquartered in the USA. Richard (Peer Leader, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2015) submitted:

Our country [Cameroon] is in the developing world. If we go back to study geography you see our country falls under the developing country, whilst the US is already a developed country. So since we are now fighting to arrive at the developed stage, the mature stage, so since the US guys they are already in the mature stage, since the whites are coming here they can use football or other methods to attract youths, that will help bring up the development of the youths [in Cameroon].

Similarly, Cedric (Senior Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2015) described the relationship between Kumba (CFDP-Cameroon office) and Pittsburgh (CFDP-US Headquarters):

It's like a bigger brother and that of a younger brother... You know, its true Cameroon like every other country in Africa is developing as against countries like the US. That's the most influential state. You know?

Interviews with Richard and Cedric show that CFDP-Cameroon practitioners also support western hegemonic views; views that license the one-way flow of practices and knowledge from the 'developed' 'Global North' to the 'under-developed South'. The insights offered by Richard and Cedric do not attempt to disrupt the North/South binary, but instead support the characteristics of wider development interventions (Razack, 2004; Hayman et al., 2016). Overwhelmingly, findings indicate that CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners position the UK and US - and by extension CWB and CFDP-US - as the powerful partner, that implants western knowledges, resources and ideologies into local Cameroonian practices.

For a number of interviewees the importance of working with INGOs and other international organisations was highlighted. Below, Jean-Claude (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2015) reflected on his association with CFDP-US and Coaches Across Continents (CAC); an international agency commissioned by CFDP-US to visit Cameroon annually to deliver technical football coach training workshops to Cameroonians.

My relationship with the team over there in America and [with] CAC, well we know that the experts are always coming here each year.

The sense of 'expertise', acceptance and even re-enforcement of the donor-recipient relationship is subscribed to by a large number of CFDP-

Cameroon and CCF practitioners from a variety of levels, including senior managers, managers, PE teachers and voluntary sports coaches. These perceptions of the 'Global North' clearly emphasise hegemonic discourses and power relations that reinforce neo-colonial conceptions of development (Darnell, 2010). Such views from a Cameroonian perspective imply that 'Global Northern' INGOs are viewed as being progressive, having expertise, funding and having a level of responsibility to support the development of Cameroon which is perceived as being underdeveloped and lacking resources.

CWB and CFDP-US donate a range of resources and sports equipment to their Cameroonian partners. Whilst well intentioned on the part of INGOs, providing donated equipment such as cricket bats, stumps balls, footballs and shirts may actually re-enforces the INGOs as the powerful and influential partner because of their external sources of financial and material support. As Fabrice (Volunteer cricket coach and national cricketer, CCF, June 2015) explained:

It is an advantage of CCF to work with the English NGO because first of all they have the materials, everything is available...they bring in material like the bats, the soft balls, the plastic kit which can easily be used, so it's easy to work with that especially in the schools, that is something that CCF doesn't have, they have those which are not advised to be used in schools.

Echoing the gratitude of Fabrice, Justine, (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) stated that:

They [Cameroonian participants] did not have shoes, but just donations that people give from America those young boys wear those boots and we talk to them they are so happy and so when people give us their things.

Here, CWB are positioned and constructed as generous and benevolent which is contrasted to CCF who position themselves as grateful recipients. Such perspectives draw on and reinforce unequal power relationships between the dominant group and the subordinate group, and by doing so assume 'Global North' cultural superiority and 'expert status'. Arguably, the examples above could be applied to all of Lukes' (2005) three radical views of power. Firstly, interviews with CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners

appear to show an awareness and acceptance that the INGOs make key decisions and hold the power (one-dimensional) and also that the INGO have the power to set the agenda and 'rules' of the partnership and programme (two-dimensional). However, it is also argued that the repeated references of 'us' and 'them' which draws on the colonial past of Cameroon, is so culturally embedded and internalised that Lukes' (2005) 'third dimension' could also be applied given that this view of power recognises the centrality of cultural hegemony (Lukes, 2005).

So far, this section has focussed on 'how' Cameroonian practitioners draw on perceptions about the INGOs, perceptions which contribute towards a widespread strategic acceptance of a donor-recipient or teacher-student relationship. In order to explore a more nuanced account of local perceptions it is useful to explore the reasons behind 'why' local practitioners perceive their relationship with the INGOs in the way that they do. The next section explores the contributing factors behind the donor-recipient and expert status attributed to the INGOs, and explores the connection between race and colonialism.

7.2.1 Exploring race-based superiority and post-colonial residue ascribed to the 'experts'

It has been widely recognised that international development - and by extension the SfD sector - is a largely white endeavour (Biccum, 2011; Duffield, 2005). This assertion leads to a number of concerns and potential problems including structural inequities and power imbalances between 'Southern' and 'Northern' countries power relations (McEwan, 2009). Previous SfD studies have acknowledged the significance of white volunteers (Darnell, 2007) and the dominance of western institutions, volunteers, academics and sports students (Mwaanga and Banda, 2014) in the SfD sector. While these studies offer interesting insights into issues of race, there has been little research conducted from a localised perspective about issues of 'whiteness' within the SfD sector.

Interviews revealed that the 'expert status' credited to CWB and CFDP-US draws heavily on local perceptions of race-based superiority, particularly 'whiteness'. Here, 'whiteness' is taken up not as a fact of biology, but as a racial ideology that assumes and presumes a normative social position through the discursive intersections of gender, class, sexuality, domesticity, respectability and superiority (Fusco, 2005). Drawing on Darnell's work

(2007), it is not suggested that the 'UK', the 'US' or the 'Global North' is always white, either socially or ethnically, but rather that 'whiteness' is commonly perceived by CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners as a position of dominance which is evidenced in the following examples which position the 'Global Northern' expert within a Cameroonian SfD context. The opportunity to work with British INGO 'experts' as noted in the previous section is palpably linked to 'whiteness' of the volunteer workforce from CWB, which Romeo (Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016) strongly adhered to:

The fact that they [CWB volunteers] are strangers has an impact on the African mind, the white skin. When we see white skin we think it is better than whatever the black skin will tell you because for example, I used to talk about cricket to my own cousins in various communities but they rarely took an interest, [but] when CWB team came and they saw the whites they think what the whites will say is different or better than what I told them, so they took more interest because they saw CWB.

For Romeo, race-based notions of superiority construct 'white' British NGO volunteers as having significant cricket knowledge, more so than his local cricket knowledge, despite personally identifying as a cricket coach and national cricketer for Cameroon. The claim by Romeo is that 'whiteness' functions as an important capital in the construction of social status, which according to Reiter (2010) can contribute to an elevated position in the existing social hierarchies. 'Whiteness' to Romeo is an ideological construct which has been established in his daily life as a cricket coach and interaction of working with white volunteers from CWB. Following Hartigan Jr (2006), the interpretation and ideological cultural constructions of 'whiteness' is often compounded with hegemonic stereotypical images and narratives of white people which then makes 'whiteness' a tangible subject that is co-constructed with issues of class, oppression and national identity. The findings of this chapter, support insights gained from a study by Nyamnjoh and Page (2002) who interviewed young Cameroonians about their attitudes towards 'whiteness'. They found that individual constructs of 'whiteness' are based on the historical colonial context of Cameroon, something which is supported by wider societal influences such as the Cameroonian media which:

Reinforce ideas of western superiority and attractiveness, thus buttressing fantasies that deny the reality of actual experience of the modest circumstances of the white tourists, volunteers, researchers or clergy often encountered by Cameroonian young people. (Nyamnjoh and Page, 2002, p.622-623)

Similarly, interviews with CFDP-Cameroon practitioners evidenced race-based notions of superiority towards CFDP-US. Here, Sebastian (Volunteer Football Coach, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2015) offered his reflections:

Whenever you see a white in a particular direction we always believe in that white, because you know that those people are more advanced more than us in everything. It is true, it is normal. So when he came [CFDP-US CEO] whatever he taught we believed because we knew that he was, he has been an expert from that direction, he is coming from overseas to teach us here in Africa so we must always believe. That is how it is it with the African society. We always believe in whites whenever they come to teach us anything.

Sebastian's language offers gratitude, evidence which serves to reconfirm the generosity of CFDP-US and their supposed advanced position. Patrice (Volunteer Football Coach, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2015) also echoed race-based assumptions when describing how he felt when University interns and board members from CFDP-US visited Cameroon; "You know with the whites, they're advanced more than us."

To further analyse these comments, the work of Alcoff (2002, p.267) is useful as she suggests that it is:

Only when we come to be clear about how race is lived, in its multiple manifestations; only when we come to appreciate its often hidden epistemic effects and its power over collective imaginations of public space, can we entertain even the remote possibility of its eventual transformation.

This is a complex task, and therefore in order to understand how race is perceived locally, an interrogation of race is done, not based on biological fact or an essential component of identity, but as Darnell (2007, p.561) suggests:

Local challenges and responses to the relationship with the case study INGOs

as a historically constituted and culturally dependent social practice, one that is complicated, in this case, by the particularities of the development context, including global politics, economics and the history of colonialism.

In the examples highlighted above, the notion of the 'white expert' is decidedly racialized based on the INGO practitioner (donor) - local stakeholder (recipient) encounter, these findings share similarities to Darnell's (2007, 2010) research on the perceptions of Canadian SfD practitioners who encountered racialized perspectives about 'whiteness' whilst working on SfD programmes in Africa.

This is further exemplified in an interview with Junior, (Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2015) who reflected on his experiences of working with white volunteers from CWB:

The conception of white skin pulls and attracts because it has greater value than black skin.

Eric (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016) echoed Junior's perception:

Cameroonians they find it favourable to work with whites and particularly the fact that the complex is still there in the minds that white skin means something which is very much important.

There is a textual undercurrent in these quotes, namely the recognition that the presence of western 'white' INGO's re-enforces certain binary attitudes towards race. A wide number of local practitioners ranging from senior paid personnel to volunteer sports coaches viewed the INGOs as the dominant group and by doing so re-inforce their privileged position as the hegemon over local practitioners as the subordinate group. These findings echo Saidian (1993) and Gramsci's (2011) view of power, in that power is not gained through law or force but instead is concerned with how opinions construct the world and simultaneously reinforce the authority of those who generate the opinions, ideas, values, and norms which are the promoted across civil society; a term Gramsci (2011) refers to as 'consensual domination'. This Saidian (1993) and Gramscian (2011) view of power is similar to Lukes' (2005) third dimension of power (which is about power as decision making, agenda setting and preference shaping) that denotes an unconscious process whereby locals - in this case CFDP and CCF

practitioners - assume the ideas and norms that place value on 'Global Northern' approaches and view Global South ideas as inferior. Darnell (2007, p.562) has argued that this type of power is based on the ideologies of SfD programmes and their associated racial encounters serve as a way to (re)construct whiteness as a standpoint of racialized privilege whereby "Global North characteristics are taken to signify the *raison d'être* of development."

A notable point of difference between CCF and CFDP-Cameroon SfD practitioners was that interviewees from CCF (who worked alongside the British INGO CWB) often alluded to the colonial period and British rule as the source of this perception. Eric (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016) explained:

There is still that white skin complex when they see whites people believe that it is something grand, you see something big, it is big, it is something which is worth looking at because only then they try to do it but the number that they have when they turn up is not as big as when they hear that the whites are coming... It is something that dates right from the colonial period, the white is still superior and it stems from back then, it is still in the minds of people even today.

Eric's assumptions and notions of superiority and expert status are purely based on racial grounds and do not consider ability or experience of the CWB volunteers. Such connotations also draw on the colonial cricketing culture which concurs with Williams' (2001, p.18) argument that the British utilised the global reach and influence of the Empire as a way to demonstrate cricket's worth, something which inevitably became "intimately bound up with notions of white supremacy."

Patrick, (Senior Manager, CCF, July 2016) shared his perception of how the partnership with CWB has affected many Cameroonians:

Well that mind-set is not a peculiarity [laughs] with the CCF. It happens with, it's just the Cameroonian, the African mind-set that when you have things to do with people from the UK, white people they think you are better off than people who don't have these kind of opportunities.

Samuel (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016) offers further evidence that supports a hegemonic perception which is based on the colonial influence of white Europeans in Cameroon:

All we learn is that if you want to look at the history, you see how the whites, well the blacks were controlled by the whites. So blacks have always regarded the whites as the superior being and more to that we have been colonised by the whites which means they are more superior.

Analysing local perspectives such as this example from Samuel emphasises the problematic stereotypes of international volunteers, (particularly white volunteers) involved with delivering programmes in developing countries (see Heron, 2007). The insights presented in this section demonstrate parallel concerns which have emerged from the volunteer tourism sector in recent years; a sector that promotes and facilitates volunteers tourists (often white from western countries) who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve seeking to aid or alleviate the material poverty of some groups in the 'Global South' (Lyons, 2008; Wearing, 2001). Critical research concerning the volunteer tourism sector has shown that international volunteers often work with community members with racial and ethnic differences to their own, a practice which has been shown to exacerbate unequal power relations (Chung, 2012; Heron, 2007; Loftsdóttir, 2002). Analysing Samuel's comments above, he appears to reinforce neo-colonial constructs that continue to underpin a hegemonic view and influence of Cameroon's former coloniser, in this instance by sending white, British sports volunteers, which maintains a level of local control of socio-cultural values and colonial attitudes of power. This construction of 'whiteness' by Samuel and other local practitioners consistently locates INGO practitioners as having more significant knowledge than themselves and in doing so positioned them as 'experts' in the Cameroonian post-colonial context.

7.2.2 Section summary

The findings in this section contribute towards answering Research Question Two by adopting a localised perspective to illustrate a range of issues concerning their relationships with the INGOs and INGO practitioners, specifically detailing 'how' and 'why' the case study relationships play out in the way they do. In particular, locals in Cameroon

have explained the ways in which the relations of power (such as hierarchies of nationality and race) play out for them as the 'Global South' practitioner on the ground. The localised perspectives have emphasised the complexity of the CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioner relationship with their respective INGO partners which help to identify potential limitations of such working relationships (for example the use of international 'white' volunteers to deliver externally written curriculum, the donation of sports equipment - all examples of actions which reinforce a donor-recipient relationship). The perspectives presented show that the presence of INGOs reproduce historic colonialist perceptions in that the perceived expert status of the INGO draws heavily on race based notions of 'whiteness'. The local perceptions also reinforce notions of 'Global South' dependency, powerlessness, and need, while perpetuating the idea of 'Global North' generosity, and capacity to act, assist, and save.

Moreover, the findings suggest that local Cameroonian practitioners have a perceived inferiority when it comes to knowledge and resources about SfD. These findings draw parallels to some narratives found within the international development literature which suggests that despite decades of independence, many nations still suffer from 'colonization of the mind' (Ngugi, 1986), wherein whiteness is associated with progress, power, and higher status (Kothari, 2005). It is argued by some scholars that the historic roots of racial inferiority/superiority discussed are further perpetuated by contemporary neo-colonial aid relationships in the SfD sector (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Mwaanga and Adeosun, 2017). However, until this point, SfD policies and academic literature has shown little attention - with the exception of Darnell (2007) - to the interlocking issues of 'voluntourism' and 'whiteness' within the SfD, which has been illustrated here. In summary, the use of (typically white) international volunteers by INGOs to support the delivery and development of SfD programmes has shown that for local Cameroonian SfD practitioners, the notion of 'whiteness' cannot be divorced from the ways in which societal norms are produced. The section has argued that critical research from volunteer tourism sector should be more closely considered, research which warns that relying on 'Global North' volunteers can cause a number of concerns and potential problems, including; i) a lack of conscious recognition by volunteers of the structural inequities and power imbalances between 'Global South' and 'Global North' countries; ii) host communities'

perception of international service as a colonial legacy, racialized relationships between black host-community members and white volunteers and; iii) a clear dependency mind-sets and disempowered identities among intended beneficiaries (Lough and Carter-Black, 2015). However, as the next section shows local practitioners are not purely passive recipients, as a range of frustrations are experienced regarding the donor-recipient relationship that CCF and CFDP-Cameroon have with their respective INGO.

7.3 Frustration with aspects of the relationship with the INGO

This section presents a range of frustrations and consequences facing local practitioners due to their association with partner INGOs. Issues of agency and frustration are considered, but are done so within the context of western hegemony. The intention is that by examining moments of frustration concerning the donor-recipient based relationships and structures, a better understanding about the capacity of local practitioners to exercise agency to affect such structures and relationship can be achieved.

Through interviews, local SfD practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon constantly discussed their concerted interest in supporting the INGO's mission, and their appreciation of the financial and material support provided by the INGOs. However, interviews also showed that the donor-recipient relationship was layered with frustrations regarding; i) the misconceptions of the Cameroonian general public and media regarding the relationship between CCF and CFDP-Cameroon and their respective INGO; ii) the INGO's lack of understanding of Cameroonian conditions and realities; and iii) a widespread frustration (exclusive to CFDP-Cameroon practitioners) at the one-directional exchange of US staff who visit Cameroon. Building on these issues, this section explores how the local practitioners were, in many ways, constrained by the presence of colonial attitudes and post-colonial residue.

7.3.1 Dealing with the local misconceptions about the INGO relationship

Despite the gratitude and expert status attributed to the INGOs, many of the local practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon and CCF complained that they had to frequently deal with (mis)conceptions of their financial association and relationships with the INGOs by their friends, family, the

media, government ministries and even passers-by. Many local practitioners voiced similar frustration. Alex (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2015) explained:

I will say that most people when they see you people coming here they think you are coming with bags of money to give CCF and we will tell them that CWB yes they are coming with money, but the money is in kind, the money is for the development and to empower us. It is to build our capacities; the money is spent and comes in the form of paying their air tickets, lodgings, transportation and feeding and materials. All to help us develop cricket...It is a matter of education, you see, we are educating eventually... we succeeded to sensitise the public, journalists and some stakeholders of cricket and they now know that it is a partnership that we have to develop the game and there is no money kept anywhere for somebody to share around people.

Here, Alex uses racialized language (e.g. 'you people') to illustrate wider attitudes and stereotypical generalisations towards 'white' people by drawing on my race as a white researcher - in doing so he draws a connection between 'whiteness' and the assumption of wealth. For Alex - and other local practitioners - 'whiteness' was widely associated with perceptions of wealth, being successful, having access a high level of education which contributes to a perceived heightened social status and enhanced life opportunities.

Christian, (Senior Manager, CCF, July 2016) highlighted how the concept of 'whiteness' (and related racialized attitudes) impacted on the young black CCF volunteer cricket coaches who work with white CWB volunteers:

Given the fact that people [Cameroon general public] see these coaches, black coaches, working with them [CWB white volunteers] so closely, strolling around town, strolling in the bus with them, think that the local boys have so much money. So, it's a point for these guys, these black guys to share their monies with their friends [who are not involved with CWB] even though they have no pay - and so if they don't share, they will be seen like being very stingy.

As explored earlier, 'whiteness' has shown to be associated with progress, power, and higher status (Ngugi, 1986). However, as Michael, (Manager,

Local challenges and responses to the relationship with the case study INGOs CFDP-Cameroon, June 1015) explained, this association has resulted in a level of pressure and expectation from his own family;

So, with the small income you are having, your parents are expecting much from you. They think as you are leaving the house every day you are having something big. Especially they have a notion here that when you are working with whites you work with whites you are rich.

Justine, (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) also agreed that wider perceptions of 'whiteness' are a challenge for herself and her Cameroonian colleagues:

The whole team, the challenge is that first of all the perceptions that Cameroonians have. The perception of working with white people and money. That is a barrier. Every member of the team, not only me, anywhere you go... We try to lobby with other people like, we struggle to lobby with FECAFOOT [National Governing Body for Football], we struggle to lobby with other organisations but it's a problem especially in our Cameroon context. When they see you working with whites, they know that there is money. So anywhere you go they would always expect that you should give them money.

Here, it is pertinent to explore the reasons as to *why* local practitioners find addressing these misconceptions directly with the INGO difficult. Smith (1999a) suggests that local organisations in the 'Global South' tend to avoid any actions that may destabilise their relationship with their Northern funder by avoiding any confrontation that would challenge western culture approaches. Similarly, Mwaanga and Banda (2014, p.178) have argued that SfD programme assumptions (and by extension SfD relationships) that are informed by dominant 'Global Northern' discourse "often go[es] unchallenged at the risk of eroding communal values and practices." As shown earlier, racial stereotypes exist from a local perspective about the presence of 'white' INGO volunteers in Cameroon. Local constructs of being 'inferior' to 'the whites' seemingly result in a difficult set of personal and work based circumstances for local practitioners because of their association and close working proximity to 'white' INGO practitioners.

From a critical perspective, fundamental questions about the recruitment and deployment of international volunteers from the 'Global North' need

considering. As such it is argued that critical literature from the longer-established fields of international development and volunteer tourism sector needs to be considered by organisations operating SfD programmes. Critical literature from these sectors tends to portray development interventions that are initiated in the 'Global North' as being aligned with the hegemonic maintenance of power relations which has the potential to subjugate those in the 'Global South' (Guttentag, 2009; Mosse, 2004; Mosse, 2005). As such, development studies and volunteer tourism literature overwhelmingly argues that more participatory approaches to development interventions need to be embraced to help address the power imbalance (Hickey and Mohan, 2004; Hickey and Mohan, 2005; Kenny et al., 2017).

Local practitioners shared constraints and frustrations related to funding and working with the INGO, as Cedric (Senior Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2015) highlighted:

The funding for the organisation kind of comes from the US, right. So since funding dictates what programmes happen, there is nothing that the operations can do without the funds. One of the biggest challenges is that you don't get to do what you feel like is good. Because the resources are limited and who makes the resources available can only dictate, that's one of the biggest challenges.

The dilemma of trying to secure local funds in Cameroon in order to have more autonomy to make local decision was articulated in many interviews, yet the frustration to try to achieve this is shown in the excerpt below and overleaf with Grace (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon):

Researcher: What challenges do you face to secure funding in Cameroon?

Grace: Yes the challenge we face is that the tendency is that working with white people.

Researcher: What do you mean white people, can you explain?

Grace: In Cameroon when they see a white person they see that there is money.

Researcher: That's the perception?

Grace: Yes that's the perception. It is difficult to even convince them. So when Simon [CFDP-US Senior Manager] comes, those interns come from America, that is why they associate, they think we have money, so we go there and plead to support our programmes, they don't.

Researcher: Really?

Grace: They don't, they say you people already have money. Why are you people asking for money again. It is a serious perception, even when you are working with the kids like for example, when you people were in the field on Wednesday, if a parent comes and sees you people, they will say tell them to give us money, you work with white people and they don't give us money. So that is the problem we are facing. Black people know that anything that happens, a white person means money

Local practitioners show that being seen working with 'whites' - whether from the INGO or like myself a white researcher, has the potential to create negative consequences for local practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon in attracting local funding sources from Cameroonian organisations.

Whilst not wanting to under-estimate these negative consequences, interviews also indicated that local practitioners are not passive about the misconceptions about their relationship with the INGO. Here, Justine described how the CFDP-Cameroon team respond to misconceptions of CFDP-Cameroon's relationship with the CFDP-US by talking to the local Cameroonian media:

Even when we organise, even when I go to the radio and tell people that 'no, this is our youth'. They just say but I have heard that these people [CFDP-US] have money.

Taking a proactive role with the media in an attempt to try to counter local misconceptions is also commonplace for CCF, as Franck (Senior Manager, CCF, November, 2015) explained:

It is a matter of education, you see, we are educating eventually. There was a time the last time CWB came here some journalists were asking the chairman [of CCF] to give him money because they are sure that CWB has given money. The leader from CWB was asked to explain to them and he did and so the journalist wanted

somebody from CWB to explain to them that no, look we are coming here for capacity building or with materials, we are not giving CCF any money.

Christian, (Senior Manager, CCF, December 2015) offered his view of where such perceptions may stem from:

History has taught us, because Africa in effect was colonised by many European countries in the likes of France, the Great Britain and so forth. We know that they are richer than us and whenever we ever we see them we see money. So automatically everybody is attracted by money. That's why they are just coming closer to the white people.

Christian's views echo the argument by Hooks (1998) that constructions of 'whiteness' have come about through systems of economic dominations of domination (e.g. imperialism and colonialism) which were supported by hegemonic practices. Practices that Hooks (1998) claim coerced black people to internalise negative perceptions of 'blackness' and positive perceptions of 'whiteness'. The representations of 'whiteness' outlined in this chapter reflect the history and practice of African post-colonisation. Perceptions of the 'white Other' are constituted through imagery and narratives consistent with cultural stereotypes which have been influenced by dominant 'Global Northern' discourses of development. The examples highlighted exhibit the local views and challenges facing CCF and CFDP-Cameroonian practitioners - all of whom are 'black' - of working with 'white' practitioners from CWB and CFDP-US. Through key theories of power, such as cultural hegemony, (similar to Lukes' (2005) third-dimensional view of power) and notions such as 'whiteness', the construction of 'white' INGO workers by Cameroonian SfD practitioners, their families, Cameroonian media and passers-by draw on post-colonial residue and stereotypes to construct a racial opposite of 'us' and 'them'.

7.3.2 The INGOs' lack of understanding of Cameroonian realities and opportunities for transnational exchange

The relations between CCF and CWB, and CFDP-Cameroon with CFDP-US were nuanced. As shown earlier, interviews with local SfD practitioners revealed a genuine appreciation and respect for the INGO's mission, and unsurprisingly, for the INGO's financial support. However, this was layered

with frustrations regarding the lack of understanding of local circumstances and context by INGO staff. This section interprets these narratives to examine the kind of frustrations that characterise experiences of local practitioners. The examples offered by CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners indicate that the INGOs have a limited understanding of Cameroonian realities.

A considerable source of frustration for CCF practitioners was the lack of time spent in country by CWB, which resulted in a perceived lack of engagement and understanding of local cultures and Cameroonian realities facing CCF practitioners. Claude (Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2015) illustrated a widespread feeling from CCF practitioners that the INGOs short stay in Cameroon to deliver tightly defined programmes leaves very little opportunity to truly understand the needs and concerns of the local community:

[CWB] should stay longer, stay longer in Cameroon, because when they just come they have two weeks and they have already a well-defined plan of action which they have to execute. For them to really feel the realities the daily happenings in Cameroon, they should stay much longer and should like come out from their normal usual way of life that they have been living when they come to Cameroon; to feel the impact of what the realities, what happens out there, out of their daily activities.

Eric (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016) agreed:

they [CWB] are too based on their work, they do not take time to care about the traditions and all of those other things, they are just focused on their work and what they have come to do.

Various studies have suggested a range of negative outcomes of short term 'fly in and fly out' approaches like the one adopted by CWB, in that they do not tend to actively involve intended recipients and local communities in decision making (Giulianotti, 2011a; Giulianotti et al., 2016). Whereas others have argued that the presence of short term volunteer tourists (as with CWB) promote the 'western-saviour complex' (McGehee and Andereck, 2009).

The approach of CWB with regard to the living and eating arrangements of its volunteers while in Cameroon was also noted by CCF practitioners as a significant frustration, which re-enforced a cultural division of 'us' and 'them':

For example, the apartment that they [CWB] usually live in Bastos and when they are going out of town, they have hotels where they lodge in and they [CWB] have a vehicle to their disposal. They don't board the taxis like the coaches, the children, the teachers and the administrators of CCF do. So, they cannot really have a feeling of these realities (Christian, Senior Manager, CCF, July 2016).

They [CWB] are not aware because they don't live these realities...because when they come they live in hotels. They live in hotels. They don't eat...I am not sure that they eat the same foods like us. They don't go around the quarters like us. They don't play cricket in the mud in quarters like we play. So that's the way it is. It is not easy. They cannot easily share the realities back here like we do (Jeremy, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016).

The guys from CWB have never really bothered to ask how do we live, they just think oh 'I stay in a hotel, I can pay this bill, you too should be able to pay your bills' (Fabrice, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016).

Here, local practitioners from CCF speak about their frustrations with CWB (e.g. staying in a hotel in Bastos - a wealthy part of Yaoundé - not using local taxis, but instead having a private mini bus at their disposal and eating out in western restaurants without consideration of the cost for local SfD practitioners). However CCF practitioners also engage in what is known as 'resigned behavioural compliance' or 'instrumental value compliance', whereby people working with others from different backgrounds or cultures accept the values of the dominant other in order to obtain some perceived return, such as furthering their careers or develop a positive social network of peers (Ogbonna and Harris, 1998). This level of compliance echoes the postcolonial understanding that local organisations in the 'Global South' tend to avoid an actions that may destabilise their relationship with their Northern funder (Mwaanga and Banda, 2014; Smith, 1999a).

Local challenges and responses to the relationship with the case study INGOs

In contrast, the insights from CFDP-Cameroon practitioners were somewhat different. Interviews did illustrate that a number of CFDP-US practitioners travel to Cameroon each year (University Interns, Board Members and Senior Managers from CFDP-US) but in contrast to the practices of CWB volunteers it was noted that CFDP-US practitioners made good attempts to understand some aspects of the local context and realities. For example, it was highlighted that US practitioners tend to stay for at least one month at a time (up to three months) and were housed by Cameroonian practitioners in home stay arrangements which encouraged US visitors to engage with local cultures and customs, such as trying new foods and socialising with Cameroonians by attending family and community activities. The main frustration from CFDP-Cameroon practitioners focused on the one directional exchange of INGO staff in the US who travels to Cameroon. Cedric, (Senior Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) summed up the view of most of the CFDP-Cameroon staff interviewed:

Each time we only get visitors from the US, we don't get to go to the US. I think it brings some kind of... when is this organisation going to be big enough so that we can facilitate this?

Hugo (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) suggests that the issue has been continually raised with a CFDP-US Senior Manager, however "[he] is still complaining of lack of finances to sponsor the trip." Interviews highlighted that the relationship between the Cameroon and US team is channelled through their interactions with one individual - a US based Senior Manager. This bottleneck in the relationship with the INGO turns to frustration and even suspicion for some staff, seen here in this excerpt from Jean-Claude (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016):

We have been running this organisation for 5 years and all of the work is being done by us. Normally when he [a US based Senior Manager] comes, he sends normally 2 or 3 people, because we have partnership with an American University, so 2 team members in Cameroon should be able to visit the US, but he is not always d'accord [okay]. We believe when there is a fundraising either one person from this organisation needs to go and see what they are doing there, but it is like he does not want us to see what is happening out there. You understand what I am saying? That is

what I [would] really like. For, it gives you power to learn and to see also the cultural exchange.

Jean-Claude's description links the action of travelling to personal development and is viewed as a way to increase education and status. A number of CFDP-Cameroon practitioners provided examples whereby they perceived that international travel broadens the mind and results in an increased social status for the individual back in Cameroon. The apparent link was explicitly made by Michael and Justine:

We have been having [US University] interns here come and go but none of us have ever travelled. Well that was a problem, when he [a US Senior Manager] came here last we like ask him please, we too need to share ideas, attend seminars, he said OK. Within the next 5 years he will try to work on that, link us with certain opportunities. None of us have ever gone out [travelled overseas]. We need that to happen because when you go out there, you share ideas, you learn new things, you learn more. Travelling is education. You meet other people with different experiences because most of them have been coming. Interns from the US have been coming here to do their work and go and none of us have ever travelled (Michael, Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016).

Our own problem is that we cannot raise funds is because we don't have the opportunity, for example if like Cedric goes to America, meets with the [US] board, carries out some activities, when he comes back to Cameroon, people will believe him more. Even when trying to raise just small funds, people will believe that he has gone there and he is a serious person, but just staying here in Kumba he will not, we are limited (Justine, Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016).

Insights by Michael and Justine are consistent with the findings of a study by Cao et al., (2014) in that traveling expands social ties and trust. In other words, international travel increases a sense of status and trust that not only extends to the groups that one may encounter abroad but also can generalise to their social status as a whole. This type of social status is a key element of successful societies; it is an effective indicator of social capital (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Putnam, 2000), a theme which will be explored in more detail in the closing sections of this chapter.

7.3.3 Section summary

This section has built on the findings outlined in first section of this chapter which revealed a range of issues with regard to the relationships between Cameroonian SfD practitioners and their respective INGO and INGO practitioners. The findings in this section have continued to fulfil the ambitions of the chapter and Research Question Two by presenting a range of responses to the earlier identified issues. Here, For example, this section has shown that local SfD practitioners experience moments of frustration concerning their relationship with their partner INGO. These 'moments' of resistance do not alter the hegemonic power relations with the INGO, but rather contribute towards stabilising and preserving the prevailing power order of the wider SfD sector (Mwaanga and Banda, 2014). The assumed cultural superiority of the INGOs stems from several differences (e.g. race, nationality, access to money), the racial difference in particular is something which Barker (2005) has described as a matter of cultural representation which tends to be deeply ingrained within the practices, discourses and subjectivities of post-colonial societies (in this case the attitudes of many Cameroonians). The level of frustration shown by CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners radically contradict the findings presented in Chapter 6, which presented the 'formal' discourse from the INGOs who perceive their relationship with their Cameroonian 'in country' partner to indicate bottom-up development approaches which is reflective of the local contexts, needs and realities. However, on the contrary interviews with CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners imply that the relationship with their partner INGO lacked an in-depth understanding of the local realities and frustrations facing Cameroonians, which impacts on the INGO relationship. Thus, the SfD programmes which aim to be locally driven are in fact criticised by those closest to the programmes, which results in tensions and frustrations with elements of the relationship.

7.4 Examining the capacity of local practitioners to facilitate social capital through INGO relations

This section continues to examine the personal experiences and relationships of the Cameroonian practitioners with their partner INGO. Specifically it focuses on the localised perception that their relationship with their INGO partner has the ability to facilitate a range of personal and professional gains via the creation and use of social capital.

For more than two decades, the concept of social capital has gained

salience as a means of understanding how communities might operate to become safer and more productive, and be seen as places where positive identities and lifestyles might be forged (Putnam, 2000; Skinner et al., 2008). The section utilises Coleman's (1988, 1990) interpretation of social capital that views social capital as a 'resource' that can be of benefit to individuals and communities. As social capital is embedded in family and community relations, it has the potential to create mutually beneficial relationships that are based on obligation and reciprocity for its members (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Putnam, 2000). In this regard, the concept of social capital is useful to capture the essence of friendships and professional networks and associated resources which come from the case study partnerships. In particular, reciprocal trust, social support and social connectedness, which are typically understood as key features of social relationships, are also understood as important social resources. Resources can take several forms, for example, access to useful information, personal connections and networks, emotional, and instrumental support (e.g. economic support, understanding work based procedures) all of which may also benefit individuals (Viviana et al., 2018). In particular, Coleman (1998, 1990) perceives that such 'resources' are constituted through three component parts, which include (i) establishing obligations, expectations and trustworthiness; (ii) creating channels for information; and (iii) setting norms. An example of Coleman's obligations, expectations and trustworthiness would be whereby person 'A' does something for person 'B' and trusts 'B' to reciprocate in the future, this establishes an expectation in A and an obligation on the part of B (Coleman, 1988). Creating information channels are understood as the sharing and exchange of information between members that facilitate action. Finally, norms are established and effective sanctions set (e.g. for 'freeloaders' who do not fulfil their obligations) to help facilitate or constrain certain action which is reinforced by "social support, status, honour, and other rewards" (Coleman, 1990, p.311).

Relevant to this thesis, research has recognised that interpersonal relationships developed through sports volunteering can offer the potential for positive outcomes and should be considered as meaningful appearances of social capital (Coalter, 2010b,; Adams et al., 2017; Skinner et al., 2008). However, Coalter (2010b, 2007b) has warned that largely untheorized assertions about sport and social capital also illustrate a major

problem for many of the claims made by those involved with SfD. By the same token, Portes and Landholt (2000, p.542) have argued that:

One must not be over-optimistic about what enforceable trust and bounded solidarity can accomplish at the collective level, especially in the absence of material resources. Social capital can be a powerful force promoting group projects but...it consists of the ability to marshal resources through social networks, not the resources themselves. When the latter are poor and scarce, the goal achievement capacity of a collectivity is restricted, no matter how strong the internal bonds. . . . social capital are not a substitute for the provision of credit, material infrastructure and education.

Taking heed of these warnings, the manifestations of social capital presented below should be understood as 'perceived' appearances of social capital and associated outcomes (e.g. personal and professional benefits) and are not to be taken as over-zealous claims about the transformational nature of such social benefits.

Both CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners described the relationships with their respective INGO as being beneficial, because of the resources which derive from such social networks, for example the opportunity to widen their social and professional networks. The following comments are representative of local practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon and CCF who spoke of their appreciation of the friendship and opportunities provided to them by CFDP-US and CWB:

I have made some connections with many people. I have friends outside [Cameroon] now; like in the US I have good friends. We sit, we exchange calls, and ideas...we make friends with them (Michael, Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016).

I personally enjoy their friendship, their relationship, their messages and most especially too their sport aspect (Alex, PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016).

The main benefit is the contacts, getting to know people, exchanging, the exchange so because one never knows, you may need him tomorrow (Fabrice, Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016).

The quotations above indicate that Cameroonian practitioners seek out mutuality beneficial relationships with INGO staff (e.g. trusting each other, sharing the experience of friendship, cultural dialogue and open communication) in order that they can benefit from the resources available e.g. new social networks. In this regard, it is clear that the spirit of reciprocity did not refer to a physical resource exchange, but imbued more of an intangible exchange between local and INGO SfD practitioners. As the comments from Michael, Alex and Fabrice above indicate, interactions are built on the notion of developing trust so that the information potential of social network development could be used to bring about action, for example as Fabrice states "because one never knows, you may need him tomorrow". For Fabrice, the prospect of developing social capital is based on future interactions which *may* give him access to useful resources. The perception of the resources available from these new social networks, together with a sense of belonging can generate forms of commitment and belief towards practitioners from the INGOs, giving rise to Coleman's (1990, p.306) notion of a "credit slip", in that if person 'A' does something for person 'B' and trusts 'B' to reciprocate in the future, then this establishes an expectation in A and an obligation on the part of person B to keep that trust. However, it is significant to acknowledge that the above account only offers a one-sided analysis of matters regarding reciprocity and therefore any affirmation about the level of reciprocity would require two parties to be committed. Regrettably, the analysis of the INGO interviews with CWB and CFDP-US staff failed to show any obvious examples of the same spirit of reciprocity shown by CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners. As such it is difficult to affirm a two way commitment regarding the matters of reciprocity.

This chapter earlier illustrated how and why INGOs are positioned as 'experts' by local practitioners; indicating a level of trust and confidence. However, relations and social exchanges between local practitioners and INGO staff/structures have also shown to be infused with issues of power and control. A hierarchical donor-recipient relationship has been shown to be the established 'social norm' between i) CWB and CCF and ii) CFDP-US and CFDP-Cameroon (e.g. the established interaction between the INGO and local 'in country' partner). Such issues of power and control are closely associated with the emphasis given by Coleman (1988, 1990) on 'sanctions' in that social norms are sustained by the threat of social disapproval or punishment for norm violations (e.g. sanctions could

potentially lead to tensions with the partnership, withdrawal of funding, equipment). However, despite the social norms and sanctions being largely controlled by the INGO, interviews with CCF and CFDP-Cameroon SfD practitioners illustrated that they did perceive a range of benefits with regard their relationship with the INGO. The following section illustrates these perceived social capital outcomes, specifically relating to personal and professional 'gains'.

7.4.1 Manifestations of social capital and personal and professional 'gains'

Cameroonian SfD practitioners perceive that the benefits of having a relationship with the INGOs has positively trickled into their daily lives, and, in some instances, profoundly altered the way in which their families, employers and communities think of them. The structure of the donor-recipient relationships meant that social exchanges and relations between participants and staff were likely to be infused with issues of power and control, and while this may be the case, local practitioners do perceive a range of positive personal benefits (tangible and intangible) including; receiving free sports equipment/clothing; enhanced knowledge about different cultures other than their own; and the opportunity to practice and improve (English) language skills. Further to these personal social gains, interviews showed the perceived ability of local practitioners to gain enhanced professional status from their relationship with the INGO. The perceived professional gains highlighted by local practitioners included; an enhanced status with the INGO; career security and development, an enhanced status and recognition by their current employer; and an increase in work-based skills, such as IT and organisations skills. These social capital 'gains' are arguably a by-product of the activities that the practitioners engage in, resulting in a particular perceived outcomes.

Receiving free sports equipment was perceived as a positive outcome by the majority of interviewees. A key example of this is provided by Paul (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016), who described how he had benefited because of his relationship with CWB:

Working with the NGO we like, we always benefit, we have bats, stumps. We have t-shirts with the message of AIDS, we have books that we always benefit from and it goes a long way to boost our training, to help us work with the kids.

Likewise, Sebastian (Volunteer Football Coach, CFDP, July 2016) exemplifies the view of many CFDP-Cameroon practitioners who benefit from free equipment given to them as a result of their relationship with CFDP-US:

You have things like bags and pens and books to my community - all given by CFDP. It is really wonderful.

Indeed these excerpts represent a sense of obligation amongst Cameroonian SfD practitioners for the material rewards, which amount to Coleman's (1990) notion of 'credit slips', if they demonstrate commitment to their respective INGO through volunteering. Fundamentally for many local practitioners at CFDP-Cameroon and CCF a key element of their interpersonal relationships was the potential for a positive impact on personal development. It should be noted that the SfD programmes themselves do not specifically aim to develop social capital of 'in country' partners. Despite this, Christian reflects on the various forms of social capital that have been created as a result of developing a relationship with the INGO:

CWB has enhanced in a positive way my social life. I have met so many people, new friends, because I believe that it is friendship that will go a long way. A long way. Yeah because, it's not about Cricket, Cricket Cricket. What next, life is not about Cricket, life is about making friends, being happy, living in peace with people, that is life (Christian, Senior Manager, CCF, June 2016).

There is a level of immeasurability in Christian's quotation, in that it is almost impossible to determine between the creation and outcomes of social capital. Indeed, throughout the analysis of all interview data, this distinction was often difficult to identify. However, the perceived trustworthiness and relationships with INGO practitioners (and myself as the researcher) and learn more about other cultures resulted in useful resources, and was perceived as a cultural benefit, as seen from this dialogue with Benjamin (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016) and myself:

Researcher: Personally, what are the benefits of working with CWB for you?

Benjamin: For me it is a cultural benefit.

Researcher: Can you expand?

Benjamin: Cultural benefit, I am a Cameroonian, a black from the South-West. I don't know, Jo is from somewhere in England?

Researcher: From Leeds.

Benjamin: You see. We have different ideas, different ways of viewing things and just the fact that we come together to share ideas. It is a good thing. I learned some things about England, you learn some things about Cameroon. I personally have never left Cameroon, not even to go to Gabon, Central Africa. So, I don't know most of those realities. So, my benefit is to see people from other places and be very attentive to learn. To learn how other places look like. My personal benefit.

An increased level of knowledge about different cultures was also a perceived benefit for many CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, as evidenced below in Michael's interview (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016):

When you work with them, cultural differences are learnt... There are two cultures, we teach them what we do here, they tell us how things operate the other way round. The cultures are not like, we have differences in our cultures. So, as we do these exchanges, we learn from us and we learn from them. So, when I am going there now I know what is demanded from me there and like most often any person that is making themselves here for the second time, they too clearly understands how things work out here.

The recurring reference to friendship and the 'perceived' two-way cultural dialogue between Cameroonian SfD practitioners and INGO staff shows how the obligations and expectations could become normatively embodied in the everyday by individuals who, prior to working with the INGO, may not have seen such 'benefits'. This perception is however rather naïve, given that it was noted earlier that the spirit of reciprocity was absent from interviews with INGO practitioners.

Although Coleman (1990) observes that obligations and expectations as internalised cognitive emotions, interviews showed that they can be expressed as interactional capacities that have an impact on how local Cameroonians practitioners are perceived locally. Here, Jean-Claude

reflects that his association with CFDP-US has resulted in an increased status within his local community:

I have so many kids in Kumba that know me. When I walk by and pass by they say 'Hey coach, a coach with CFDP, a coach from CFDP'. So I am a popular somebody in Kumba through CFDP, through working with the kids.

In a more explicit way, Louis (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) links his increased social status within his community to his work with CFDP-US and draws on the racial differences as leverage to personally benefit:

In my community my status has changed by working with the organisation [CFDP-US] because I always take whites to the village.

Samuel (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016) also drew on racial differences and revealed that he has utilised his connections with CWB to facilitate social capital gains in his work setting. Working as a Secondary school PE teacher, he discussed how he was financially rewarded by his head teacher because his connections with CWB, he explained:

Last year my boss, the principal of this school had to congratulate me for the hard working in order to bring you people in. He told me that he really like the way I am moving as far as sport is concerned. I have really brought in some people and also sensitised. I have also brought in some new students. The population of this school I think is due to those visits. It has increased because people are coming here to learn the cricket game. They are coming to learn the cricket game, they also like the association that we have. They are liking the interaction that we have with white people.

Here, in somewhat of a novel finding, Samuel's example shows that local practitioners utilise their contacts and relationships with white INGO practitioners to create capital, which Portes (1998) refers to as social capital 'currency'. Claude, (Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016) too reflects that his relationship with CWB has resulted in trust and enhanced status by senior figures at his Children's school, a school which CWB have visited. He shared how the head teacher at his children's school has allowed special financial payment arrangements for him due to his

association with the INGO:

I was the one, even though I am a parent, because I brought CWB to them. My children can go for the whole year without me paying my fees. The head teacher has confidence in me. So I can pay at the end of the year. Not as other parents do, they will be putting pressure on them. The school always asks when are they coming again, when are we working, when are we working. You know, that enthusiasm is always there, always there.

The evidence above is unique as it indicates that positive outcomes occurred and were linked in many instances to having an association with 'white' 'Global Northern' INGO staff which results in a heightened social currency and status for practitioners locally in Cameroon. As outlined previously, local practitioners recognise the western hegemonic system in which they operate, and use this status and societal norms to create stocks of social capital by creating links with people outside of their immediate circles - an example of bridging (Putnam, 2000) and linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001). In addition, applying Coleman's (1990) social 'norms', which here has been shown to be imbued with racial undertones helps to facilitate social capital for local practitioners by drawing on post-colonial 'residue'. However, on the other hand - by doing so - these societal 'norms' also constrain and uphold a hegemonic system. This is an uncomfortable reality and an area which is absent from existing SfD research. Clearly, this finding does not fit well with the prevailing positive rhetoric embedded within INGO 'formal' discourse about their work and partnerships in Cameroon. In light of this novel finding, it is hoped that this study can stimulate a scholarly discussion within the SfD sector about issues of race-based assumptions of white Global Northern INGOs and their presence in developing, post-colonial countries.

According to Coleman (1990) the development of trust can be viewed as both an action and an outcome. The excerpt below indicates that by volunteering in a programme with an English speaking INGO, self-esteem and trust are developed, particularly for French speaking Cameroonians (Francophones). Franck (Senior Manager, CCF, December 2015) shared his perception of how other Francophones have benefited:

Through cricket and CWB they [Francophone practitioners] have learnt a lot. English terminologies and language, Junior for example

is speaking English through his cricket and Eric is getting better and better every day because of his involvement in cricket, so that many of them use cricket in this way.

The quotation by Franck is representative of other Francophone CCF practitioners who perceived a tangible benefit in developing a relationship with CWB as it provided an opportunity and 'space' to practice and develop English language skills by interacting with British volunteers from CWB during their time in Cameroon. As shown above, Coleman's (1988, 1990) conceptualisation of social capital views trust as a social glue that can be seen in types of social exchange within sport which can result in facilitating actions and positive outcomes.

The extracts above indicate that local practitioners, through volunteering with the INGOs, have located themselves in a position where they can and want to reciprocate with INGO practitioners and in doing, so trust others, engage in cultural dialogue and develop friendships. While Collier (2002) has noted that instances or manifestations of social capital are very difficult to measure, the quotations presented do indicate the potential for positive micro-level outcomes of social capital, which should be taken as individual and context specific. Following Coleman's (1988, 1990) interpretation of social capital, the 'perceived' development of interpersonal trust and/or reliance is seen as being important in bringing about action, or in contributing towards a positive action. In many ways the cultural exchange and dialogue between local practitioners and INGO staff provided particular instances that enabled some positive characteristics associated with social capital, to develop. What is clear for many local SfD practitioners is that their relationship with the INGO provides the potential for a transformative impact at a personal or professional level, which in many instances draws on and celebrates their connections with 'white' INGO volunteers - despite the lack of commitment towards a two way reciprocal relationship by the INGO volunteers.

7.4.2 Section summary

In the final section of this chapter, findings have illustrated a series of responses by Cameroonians with regard to their relationships with their respective INGO/INGO practitioners. In particular, this section has explored the 'perceived' manifestations and positive outcomes of social capital through the relationships developed by local practitioners with INGOs. It is apparent from the analysis that Coleman's (1990) three forms

of social capital are relevant (e.g. (i) obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures; (ii) information channels and (iii) norms and effective sanctions). - In addition to other concepts of social capital - e.g. bridging (Putnam, 2000) and linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001). Examples of 'obligations and expectations and the trustworthiness of structures' have been illustrated through Coleman's (1990) notion of 'credit slips' which are prized by local SfD practitioners as they result in tangible rewards (e.g. free sports equipment and clothing and the opportunity to work with English speaking volunteers and practice their English speaking skills). These are earned based on their commitment and trustworthiness to their respective INGO through volunteering. Next, Information channels have shown that social networks and connections are recognised outlets for transferring information and that one position in a social structure will deliver certain information benefits. In this regard, interviews indicated that having an association with white INGO volunteers functions as an important information resource in the construction of social status, because it determines those able to claim it as it indicates an elevated position in the existing social hierarchies. Finally, social norms and effective sanctions have been shown to be embedded in the relationships and established partnerships between CCF, CFDP-Cameroon and their respective INGO partner. These 'social norms' are based on hierarchical donor-recipient relationships which arguably are sustained by the threat of social disapproval or punishment. It is important to note that each of these constituent parts of Coleman's (1990) 'capital' do not operate in isolation but offer an entrance point to conceptualise issues associated to 'whiteness' within the post-colonial Cameroonian context. Due to Cameroon's long history and attitudes towards 'whiteness' which has become culturally embedded through its triple colonialism heritage with largely 'white' European nations of Germany, France and Britain, 'whiteness' has developed into the strongest marker of elevated social status that symbolises privilege, status and education.

7.5 Chapter summary and implications

This chapter has considered the perspectives of local Cameroonian practitioners and examined the challenges and responses to the relationship with case study INGOs and in doing so has addressed the Research Question Two (and corresponding Objective). The findings from the chapter raise questions about the findings presented in Chapter 6 (from

a 'Global Northern' perspective) which indicated that CWB and CFDP-US seek to foster bottom-up 'participatory' approaches to their SfD programmes which reflect the local contexts, needs and realities.

The chapter began by illuminating the perceived 'expert' status, which included an understanding of the ways in which the relations of power (such as hierarchies of nationality and race) play out for them as 'Global South' practitioners on the ground. Issues regarding race-based superiority were discussed to understand more about why this status was ascribed to the INGOs. These perspectives support broader ideology and emphasis within international development that despite being in an era of sustainable development, local practitioners living in post-colonial contexts continue to be constructed and bound up with post-colonial residue and attitudes towards 'whiteness'. At the same time, the chapter has suggested that local practitioners are not simply passive agents who wholeheartedly support the 'formal' discourses transmitted to them, but instead that a range of local frustrations with the donor-recipient relationship exist. Whilst it is deemed positive that local practitioners are able to exercise some agency to make active choices about how to respond and (re)construct dominant discourses – the relationship with their partner INGO still operates within hegemonic structural and constraints that prevent the local practitioners from being able to fundamentally change the wider power structures/relationships.

A central debate for many SfD scholars is the extent to which social and structural change is brought about or constrained by forces beyond people's control (social structures such as gender, race or ethnicity) or through individual and collective action (agency) (See Guest, 2009; Lindsey and Grattan, 2012; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Hayhurst, 2009; Hayhurst et al., 2016). This chapter has shown that moments of frustration are exercised by local practitioners which show some (if limited) level of agency. However a hegemonic power structure exists which guides and channels the actions and agency of local practitioners; structures that local practitioners actively operate within, but cannot structurally change. Finally, the chapter discussed the 'perceived' benefits which derive from local practitioner's association with the INGOs which in turn manifests into perceived personal and professional positive outcomes. It was contended that the act of local black SfD practitioners associating with white INGO practitioners, appears to function as an important social capital currency

(Portes, 1998) in the construction of social status because it indicates an elevated position in the post-colonial social context of Cameroon.

Overall, the key argument in this chapter is that relationships between local practitioners and the case study INGOs are not as linear or vertical as they may appear. It is acknowledged that the strategic relationships are often contradictory and exist within a wider hegemonic power structure - a structure which guides and channels the actions and agency of local practitioners. However it is also a structure that enables local practitioners to actively operate within - and benefit from both personally and professionally, most often by drawing on the concept of 'whiteness' through their relationships with 'white' INGO practitioners. The next and final findings chapter takes a more operational and micro-level perspective to discuss the challenges facing local practitioners regarding the delivery of the programme and examines how they respond to such challenges.

**CHAPTER 8: LOCAL CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES TO THE
DELIVERY OF THE INGO PROGRAMMES**

8.1 Chapter introduction

The aim of this chapter is to answer Research Question Three: *what are the locally identified issues and responses relating to the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes?* It will also address the corresponding research objective: *to critically examine any issues, responses, conflicts and contradictions related the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes from the localised perspective of Cameroonian SfD practitioners.* In doing so, the chapter explores how local practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon navigate and negotiate Cameroonian contextual issues as well as the everyday delivery challenges that arise as a direct result of the INGO's influence. This chapter is situated within a growing body of SfD and broader development studies literature that seeks a better understanding of how local practitioners are positioned within wider agendas of development, specifically regarding 'Global North' directives and influences within 'Global South' nations (Mosse, 2004; Agathangelou and Ling, 2009). Such concerns with the distribution of power and agency have characterised much of the SfD literature in recent years, as noted in Chapters 1 and 3.

This chapter responds to the discussions of power that feature in much of the existing SfD literature (see Darnell, 2012; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Hasselgard and Straume, 2015) which tends to contribute to a monolithic interpretation of Gramscian (2011) notions of 'Global Northern' cultural hegemony. Instead, it is argued that by entirely stressing the influence of 'Global Northern' hegemony on the everyday practices of SfD, the detail of domestic, internal power systems within a nation (in this case Cameroon) are masked. As such domestic cultural matters are seldom considered as possible influences that could affect the ability of local practitioners to deliver the SfD programmes as intended, a novelty that this study offers - with the exception of Lindsey et al, (2017) who explored the influence of the Zambian government, the education sector and domestic NGOs on the practices of SfD in Zambia. This chapter does not dismiss the concept of cultural hegemony per se, but as Gramsci (2011) asserts the terrain of hegemony should be considered as a site of constant struggle and contestation, as such cultural hegemony is used to consider the effects of domestic (social, cultural, political) power within Cameroon, as well as the effects and power systems which derive from 'Global Northern' influences (e.g. the INGOs).

In terms of structure, this chapter is split into two sections. Section one draws critical attention to the Cameroonian contextual issues facing local practitioners (e.g. the ongoing socio-political crisis, challenges with language, gender (in)equality and attitudes towards HIV/AIDS) and explores how these issues interplay with existing structures of power such as national politics, patriarchy, and cultural beliefs. Following this, section two presents the key programme delivery challenges affecting local practitioners which stem from the INGO 'formal' discourse (e.g. curriculum). In sum, by considering Cameroonian contextual issues alongside INGO influences, the aim is to develop a nuanced understanding of the complexity of power relations by exploring the nexus between the 'formal' INGO discourses and the informal everyday practices - and opportunities for agency - from the perspective of local practitioners.

8.2 Programme delivery challenges and responses to the Cameroonian context

At the time of ethnographic data collection in Cameroon (2015-2016), Kumba and Buea in the South-West region of Cameroon were two targeted delivery sites for CWB and CFDP-US. As well as being delivery sites for the INGO SfD programmes, the towns were central sites of an ongoing national crisis, the effects of which were felt by many of the Cameroonian SfD practitioners. By way of a brief recap, Chapter 3 outlined the 'Anglophone problem', a national crisis in Cameroon which owes its roots to the partition of the country by Britain and France in 1916 (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003; Konings, 2011). To recap, Anglophone Cameroonians (who live in regions which were previously ruled by the British) feel that reunification with French ruled Francophone Cameroon in 1961 has marginalised the Anglophone minority - endangering Anglophone cultural heritage and identity (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019). Anglophone resistance has been a permanent feature of Cameroon's post-colonial history and rather than identifying as Cameroonian, people in Cameroon tend to classify themselves as either Anglophone or Francophone citizens (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 1997). Frustration among minority Anglophone citizens regarding their political, legal, education and economic discrimination - relative to their Francophone counterparts - has resulted in rising tensions in the predominantly Anglophone North-West and South-West regions (where are where the two case study partnerships operate).

Since 2015, the Anglophone resistance has increased and attempts to claim autonomy from the French dominated regions has grown. This ongoing tension has caused a series of recent protests, school and court closures and teacher strikes, in response to government-led interventions to control Anglophone resistance which had included internet cuts, curfews and violent clashes (Kouega, 2018; Tamfu, 2018; Abdur, 2017; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Kindzeka, 2017). At the same time, the military's presence in Anglophone regions had greatly expanded and government authorities had detained opposition activists who pursued outright separation from Cameroon with a new state called 'Ambazonia' (Mwakideu, 2017), a move which Abah (2018) has suggested caused major challenges for the state regarding national unity. A number of scholars have attributed the emergence of 'regionalism' and lack of progress concerning the ongoing Anglophone/Francophone dispute to the domestic (cultural) hegemonic tendencies of the Francophone-dominated state (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Angwafo, 2014; Ekanjume-Ilongo, 2016). Representing the majority of government ministry positions, Francophone Cameroonians are the largest in number, and therefore hold a dominant position in terms of defining the social, cultural and political agenda in Cameroon (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019).

The socio-political crisis in Cameroon shows that those with the most power (e.g. Francophone dominated government) are trying to strongly influence and control what other - less privileged - people (e.g. Anglophone community) perceive as the everyday 'reality' in Cameroon (i.e. an attempt to achieve Lukes' (2005) third dimensional hegemonic view of power). In this context, the Francophone dominant state has tried to project what Gramsci (2011) refers to as the 'leading worldview' (e.g. Cameroonian laws, rules, norms, and habits of a society). However, recent literature has shown that cultural hegemony has not been achieved because issues of power are contested (e.g. visible through protests and violent clashes). This is illustrated in the discussion below and overleaf with Anthony (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, July 2016):

Anthony: I would say that the Anglophones are like pushed at the background, because the policies, those who are at the helm of power, most of them are Francophones.

Researcher: As in the government?

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

Anthony: Yes in the government, you will see some types of decisions taken most often are for Francophones, for example sending a judge who is a Francophone and doesn't understand English to be a judge in an Anglophone town, purely Anglophone town and he passes his judgement in French, I don't think this is helping the people. Because he is passing judgement in French perhaps the lawyers of the Anglophones are speaking English and not understanding French and so the persons who have the problem are the Anglophones who do not understand French in an Anglophone region and now there is this judge who is Francophone. Most of the texts that he has in front of him are in French and this always causes problems, yeah it does. That is just one example. There is always an outcry from the Anglophones' side saying we need everything to be bilingual and every time they shut us down.

Here, Anthony sees through the Francophone dominated government policies and recognises that his real interests are in fact, very different from the view that the government is promoting. Similarly, Richard (Peer Leader, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) outlined his awareness that Francophones are given more advantages in society, than Anglophone Cameroonians.

Say you are going for exams or going through tests, you will see that most of the teachers favour the Francophones because more of them are Francophones. So those higher posts are being obtained by the Francophones so they will say right let our people follow us since we are from the same places. They like to give an upper hand; the Francophones are always on top.

Here, Richard alludes to the practice of favouritism based on cultural, ethnic and/or linguistic representation; issues that reflect the ongoing Anglophone/Francophone rift. Richard's quote supports the claim made by many Cameroonian scholars who argue that cultural favouritism is rife within Cameroonian society (Nyamnjoh, 1999; Angwafo, 2014), and especially prevalent within educational settings (Mforteh, 2007). In these circumstances, and considering the quotes above from Anthony and Richard, it could be claimed that the ongoing struggle for power between Anglophones and Francophones means that whilst cultural hegemony has

not been fully achieved, contested hegemony is apparent, which is evidenced through the disputes over cultural favouritism.

An abundance of existing SfD research has focused on the dominance of 'Global Northern' hegemonic agendas (e.g. Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012; Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst et al., 2011); however as yet, SfD studies rarely consider the possibility and effects of internal (domestic) cultural hegemony. According to Lukes' (2005) three-dimensional view of power - which is heavily influenced by Gramsci's (2011) concept of hegemony - power is seen as the ability to shape preferences and beliefs. In Cameroon, it is argued that the Anglophone/Francophone crisis occurs within a social, cultural, economic, political institutional framework which favours some interests (Francophones) over others (Anglophones). It is important here to stress that Gramsci (2011) argues that hegemony is a contested terrain, an issue which is palpable within the socio-political landscape of Cameroon. Nonetheless, it is argued that the illustrative quotes from Anthony and Richard - taken alongside literature which details the current 'Anglophone' problem (Mwakideu, 2017; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Zongo, 2018,; Abdur, 2017; Amnesty International, 2017; Kindzeka, 2017) - evidences a dominating Francophone led government which endeavours to shape citizen preferences and constrain the Anglophone culture (visible through education systems, laws and cultural attitudes). However, it is also argued that the practices described above by Anthony and Richard indicates an awareness that domestic hegemony is a goal of the Francophone dominated government. For example, their quotations show that they recognise their real, objective interests, which means that the attempt by Francophone government to secure cultural hegemony - Lukes' (2005) third dimension of power - has failed, because power is strongly contested and the government has resorted to the use of force to try and control the domestic unrest in the recent past.

8.2.1 The effects of the Cameroonian socio-political instability on local practitioners

The socio-political instability and Francophone dominance has caused international reaction and nervousness (Mwakideu, 2017), which has in turn led to disruption and challenges to the everyday delivery of the CWB and CFDP-US programmes. It is worth noting at this juncture that the challenges outlined throughout this section are outside of the immediate control of the local practitioners and/or the INGOs, but nonetheless they still

affect the delivery of the SfD programme and cause a range of problems for the local SfD practitioners.

As shown above, Cameroon is a country in crisis. More than fifty years after independence many scholars and observers of Cameroonian society are anxious about the ongoing and deep rooted socio-political instability which stems from the British and French colonial influence (Konings, 2011; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2019; Abdur, 2017; Dyers and Abongdia, 2010; Kindzeka, 2017,; Kouega, 2018; Tamfu, 2018). Strike action initiated by lawyers and teachers in the two English-speaking regions of the country, coincided with fieldwork in 2015 and 2016 which resulted in a large proportion of local practitioners (working in Anglophone regions) sharing examples of how the national crisis impacted on their relationship with INGOs and their ability to deliver the SfD programmes effectively. Interviewees referred to the schools strikes and the internet outage which was widespread for weeks in Anglophone regions.

The lack of internet access particularly affected CFDP practitioners as they work purely in Anglophone regions (which were subject to government-led power outages). As Grace (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) outlined, her ability to work day-to-day and fulfil the expectations of CFDP-US staff was hindered due to the internet infrequency which resulted in some tensions with CFDP-US staff:

The pressure that they [CFDP-US] put to us, sometimes they want information like, there is a workshop today and they need me to send all of the pictures of that workshop, sometimes you don't even have the means to even send it because our internet here you can see for yourself is not very regular.

CFDP-Cameroon practitioners raised other local issues which affected their role, Hugo (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) explains:

At first I was in charge of the school programme but since we had to put a halt on that, the school programme has been halted; I am now the manager of donor equipment at CFDP.

Hugo's previous role at CFDP-Cameroon included liaising with school administrative staff to book facilities and influencing senior leadership and teachers within schools about the benefits of the CFDP-US programme. However, as a result of school closures and strikes, Hugo's role changed

because CFDP-US took the decision to shift its programme delivery from a school location to a community environment, as such his previous role involving bookings, relationships building and lobbying was redundant. The quotes from Grace and Hugo outline the ongoing effects that they face as a result of Cameroon's government restrictions and pressure on internet connection and education establishments in one of the Anglophone regions.

A number of CCF practitioners (who operate in both Anglophone and Francophone regions) did show an awareness of the cultural divide within Cameroonian society; however, no major concerns relating to the day-to-day fallout from the ongoing socio-political instability were raised which affected the CWB programme delivery. The reason for this is unclear, but feasibly, as the majority of the interviews with CCF practitioners were conducted at the CCF head office in Yaoundé, (the capital city and Francophone stronghold), the CCF practitioners interviewed were not working in an environment rife with internet cuts, curfews and school closures, in the same way that Anglophones regions (as CFDP-Cameroon practitioners) were. However, shortly after fieldwork in 2016, CCF practitioners were faced with the news that CWB had taken the decision to pause all UK volunteer-led programme delivery in Cameroon, a decision which has remained in place (to the time of writing). A main driver for this decision was the international reaction to the instabilities in Cameroon reflecting the socio-political instability between Anglophones/Francophones. These instabilities have resulted in a number of security concerns, which taken alongside the terrorism and kidnapping threats in Cameroon's Northern regions (World Bank, 2017) has led to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) warning against all but essential travel to much of Cameroon.

The evidence of this chapter has so far shown that local practitioners (specifically those operating in Anglophone regions) operate within a challenging socio-political context which requires them to work within the controlling constraints of the Cameroonian state, which shows a preference towards Francophone Cameroonians over Anglophone Cameroonians. This is an original finding of this thesis. Reflecting on the context of this thesis, it is acknowledged that there have been previously published studies that have examined the SfD practices in Cameroon (Fokwang, 2009; Spaaij et al., 2017), however these studies did not take into

consideration domestic issues such as the 'Anglophone problem'. As such, the findings presented in this chapter offer a novel and contemporary insight into the challenges facing Cameroonian SfD practitioners. In addition to these domestic issues, local practitioners have to contend with the decision making powers of INGOs - for example when and how the SfD programmes are delivered, as outlined in Chapters 6 and 7 - which indicates, that to an extent, both partnerships (CFDP-Cameroon with CFDP-US and CCF with CWB) are externally shaped, driven and influenced by INGOs (despite Chapter 6 arguing that there are subtle differences in the level of external shaping). These findings show that the INGOs are the recognised power holders and strategic decision makers which align with Lukes' (2005) second dimension of power. However, within this constraining environment, local practitioners described how they constantly worked to navigate the complex and unstable local environment to deliver the SfD programme as best they could.

8.2.2 Contrasting emphasis on sport within the Anglophone and Francophone education systems

Another major theme that emerged was the differing emphasis placed on sport within Anglophone and Francophone education systems. Interviews showed that the complexity of Anglophone and Francophone cultures - as noted in the previous section - was clearly linked to contrasting attitudes towards sport. Cynthia (Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, November 2015) suggested:

In the Francophone educational system, the subject of sports is given credit officially in exams, whereas it is not given in Anglophone exams. If an Anglophone is put in the system of sports of schooling of a Francophone he too would be better if put in this system of sports.

In this quote, Cynthia outlines that the importance placed on sport with Anglophone and Francophone education systems differs, in that one system gives academic credit to sport as a subject (Francophone education system) and one does not (Anglophone education system). This difference derives from the French and English influences during colonial rule (Kouega, 2018). Alex, (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) stated:

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

For Anglophones sport is just for play in school, but there are international exams in Francophone schools, they have exams in sports. They have a GCE technical exam of sport; it means that they have sports promoted to them. As an Anglophone we do not have sport promoted to us. We just do sport normally in our schools and fill in our report cards, but there is no examination. No public exam for sports in our system.

Because of the differing educational values placed on sport, Francophone families tend to encourage sports participation more so than Anglophone families, as Michael (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016) described, "They are more into sports, the Francophone parents encourage their kids to do sports rather than the Anglophones". In fact, many of the practitioners observed that their attempts to encourage Anglophone children to participate in SfD programmes caused them difficulties. Fabien (Peer Leader, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) highlighted this issue:

For most of the French system of education you find that they all have sport as a curriculum exam an official exam subject whereas here [in the Anglophone regions and schools] it is not. But in the Anglophone subsystem of education you don't find it there, we don't practice that. So for that reasons you don't see Anglophone parents believing that their children have anything to gain from sports.

The fact that Francophone children might participate in and have more parental support to take part in sports related programmes reflects and reasserts the contested hegemonic domestic culture in Cameroon. The differing attitudes discussed by both CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners were described as an ongoing cultural challenge which affected their ability to be able to equitably deliver the INGO programmes. Nonetheless, within these difficult set of circumstances, CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners explained how they took proactive approaches and focused on building rapport with the programme participants and, importantly, their parents where possible. Laurent (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) explained:

You know we always have one and one talks with their [programme participants] parents. We have sessions with their parents, at times parents in the office, at times at home.

This action was echoed by Eric (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, July 2016) who advised that CCF coaches adopt similar lobbying tactics with parents:

We give assistance in such situations by going back to the homes of these children, explaining things to the parents.

This pro-active approach is echoed by Sebastian (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) who described how he looks to take control of the complex cultural challenges he faced:

It is now for us to carry out and sensitize the parents on the importance and you see that is the reason why we are having coaches' meetings. Because we have a particular target and a particular goal to change the mentalities of the parents, to orientate and to tell them the better sports people come from the kid level. That is our mission and that is what we are working on.

These examples show that CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners worked to challenge the 'norms' of Anglophone culture in proactive ways (e.g. by visiting participants' homes, and discussing the importance of the INGO programme with parents). These findings are in line with Lie (2008, p.118), who claims that local programme staff can be "manipulative and strategic" with regard to "imposed discourses" (in this case tackling the embedded Anglophone cultural beliefs which are reinforced through the Anglophone education system). The ways in which the day-to-day delivery of SfD programmes is adapted to meet the local contextual challenges should not be seen as a criticism of the local practitioners, but rather as a positive example of local agency and how the delivery of CFDP-US and CWB programmes work in practice - tweaked by CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners. This demonstrates that even though CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners operate broadly within the INGO 'formal' discourse and curriculum, they do not always reproduce the donors' understanding of SfD and illustrate some, (if limited), levels of agency. This finding aligns with Mosse (2004, 2005) who has argued that the practice of local programme staff can often contradict the instructions in project plans, but that simultaneously, local staff also work hard to maintain and protect the project's official discourse. Furthermore, this illustrates the complexity of the INGOs implementing a 'one-size-fits-all' development programme within

a diverse and complex society in Cameroon, without due consideration of the cultural and social challenges.

8.2.3 Language complexities

Following independence, Cameroon opted for English and French as its two official languages (Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2003), although as shown earlier, the prevalence of French is far more dominant than English. In addition to these two colonial influenced 'official' languages, Cameroon has over 230 indigenous languages and local dialects, plus a number of informal languages such as Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), Pidgin French and Fran-anglais (Echu, 2003). Bearing in mind the complex multilingual nature of language in Cameroon - as shown in Chapter 3 - this section raises a fundamental issue with the 'formal' discourses of CWB and CFDP-US, specifically that all programme delivery mechanisms (e.g. coaching cards, curriculum, and language spoken by CFDP-US and CWB staff) are only produced in English. Local practitioners stressed that the local realities and complex nature of language in Cameroon obliges them to deviate from the 'formal' English-only INGO discourse and be resourceful in their use of language when delivering the SfD programmes. As Christian (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) outlined:

English and French are the two most commonly used languages. But that notwithstanding, amongst the CCF coaches, who have grown up together, they can communicate in French, in English or in pidgin, in franc-anglais and so many other coded languages. But among the CWB volunteers, of course it is only English that they have, they will never understand pidgin. So far no one [from CWB] has ever understood pidgin.

Interviews with Cameroonian SfD practitioners showed that the use of language in Cameroon is complicated. Outlining the complexities linked to the two 'official' languages (French and English), Ada (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, November 2015) offered a representative view of local practitioners:

Cameroon is bilingual but the Cameroonians are not bilingual, so really the language is really a barrier especially to the Francophones very few Francophones are interested and have the zeal to learn English language because they already know that with

the French language in Cameroon, you are have an upper hand but with the English language it is like a hindrance.

This quote from Ada supports the argument made by many Cameroonian scholars that the true situation in Cameroon today does not reflect the official bilingualism of the language policy (Mbaku, 2005; Mbaku and Takoungang, 2004). There were a number of subtle differences in the issues facing CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners, owing to the differing delivery locations (and associated linguistic preferences) of the SfD programme.

Taking the case of CCF practitioners who work in French and English speaking regions, challenges were raised regarding the monolingual way in which the CWB materials are produced, causing a range of difficulties for CCF practitioners when delivering the CWB programme. A recurring example was related to the HIV prevention messages of Abstain, Be faithful, and use Condoms (ABC). Specifically, CCF practitioners faced interpretation issues, as Christian (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) outlined:

It [the ABC message] doesn't directly translate in French. In French, it's A for Abstain, F for Fidelity and then P for Preservative.

It was apparent that CCF practitioners worked to translate and adapt the CWB curriculum about the 'ABC' message to the needs of the programme participants by drawing on their multilingual skills, as Eric (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, July 2016) outlined; "Most often, I proceed with the direct translation, AFP."

Lawson (2005) has contended that the prevalence of English language and lack of regard for local language practices and traditions within international collaboration is not uncommon. The quotes from Christian and Eric show that local practitioners draw on their aptitude and initiative to respond to the linguistic challenges facing them when working with CWB as an English-speaking INGO. Here, local practitioners are able to showcase their linguistic abilities and exert a level of agency and autonomy in the daily practices of SfD programmes. Beyond the basic translation of the ABC message from the CWB coaching cards into French, CCF practitioners shared examples of how they continuously reacted by drawing on linguistic skills when delivering fast paced, energetic coaching sessions alongside

English speaking CWB volunteers in schools. Anthony (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) outlined:

When we go out to work with the students it may well be a government bilingual high school. There may be an Anglophone class whereby there are also francophone students present. So let's say Laura [CWB volunteer] is taking a class and speaking English, we [CCF practitioners] who speak French work with her to translate what she is saying or to compliment whatever it is she is trying to say.

Beyond the direct translation from English into French, CCF practitioners discussed how they used their linguistic skills intuitively to read certain situations and react accordingly, Cynthia (Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, November 2015) explained the language you use in Cameroon is dependent upon circumstance:

It depends on who is in front of me. Yeah. I can speak in Pidgin, English, Franc-anglais or French because I just want the [CWB ABC] message to go through. Since it [CWB programme] is an unofficial context I can choose any of these four, knowing that the person in front of me may speak at least one of the four. Basically it's an assessment of who is around the table or on the field.

The linguistic skills of the CCF practitioners showed that they were able to exert agency in the everyday delivery of the SfD programme through their ability to use their language skills to make the delivery of the CWB programme more contextually appropriate. These examples show that CCF practitioners are able to subtly modify the 'formal' discourse, thus exercising some (if limited) local agency. It is important to state that the challenges facing CCF practitioners regarding the translation of the INGO curriculum from English into French were less of an issue for CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, as their delivery is centred purely in Anglophone regions.

However, notwithstanding the direct translation discussed above regarding the two 'official' languages, local practitioners from both CCF and CFDP-Cameroon spoke about the commonness of using informal languages (for example pidgin English, otherwise known as CPE and Franc-anglais), which were also absent from INGO resources. The use of informal

language in Cameroon is very much based on the situation, as Patrick, (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, July 2016) stated:

With respect to letting the CWB message flow and what language to use, it depends on the persons you have in front of you. Normally, in a formal situation you will not go and teach a child in pidgin.

Kum (2018) has contended that CPE is widely discouraged in Cameroon within formal settings such as schools and state institutions, as it is considered a non-standard form of English by the Cameroonian government and as such has been allocated an inferior status. This was reinforced by Sebastian (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) who asserted that:

The pidgin language is criticised because here in Cameroon pidgin language is not an official language.

However, at the same time, Jules (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) spoke on behalf of many practitioners who outlined that the local reality and use of language is less clear cut:

Jules: the dominant language that they speak is pidgin. Yes. Maybe they speak English in school, but few of them in their homes. In the midst of their friends, in the society, they speak pidgin. So the pidgin is, I can say it's the first language because it used in more than ninety five percent of their communication, they communicate using pidgin. So they easily understand...pidgin rather than English.

Researcher: So why so why wouldn't you just deliver in pidgin if ninety five percent of people talk in pidgin? Why would you deliver in English and not in pidgin?

Jules: Because pidgin is not an official language.

Although CPE is discouraged because it is not an 'official' language, many CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners shared that in a practical setting, CPE was often deemed to be the best language to use - alongside English or French - to ensure that the INGO messages were understood, as Samuel (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, July 2016) explained:

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

In a practical class you would talk pidgin. You discuss in pidgin, but in a theoretical setting you cannot speak pidgin. Speaking to them in classes like that is not allowed. As a sports teacher, take the topic of football or cricket, I explain everything about football, about cricket and so there we teach using the English language but when you are out at the field in a practical form there certain things that you can explain in pidgin.

Cedric (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) agreed that CPE was the language most appreciated by programme participants:

We've had to find a different way to demonstrate our [CFDP-US] messages so that, in some cases we use pidgin. We change the language from English to pidgin.

These findings relate to studies which show that CPE is one of the most widely used languages of wider communication in Cameroon, examples of CPE use tend to be focused in settings such as market places, railway stations and on the streets (Echu, 2003; Alim et al., 2009; Ayafor, 2006). The evidence presented above supports the idea that CPE - although an informal language - continues to be prevalent and important in the daily lives of Cameroonians and is used by local practitioners within practical SfD settings.

To summarise, the diversity of language (official, indigenous and informal) in Cameroon contrasts dramatically with the monolingual English 'formal' discourses written and spoken by INGO staff (see Chapter 6). This section has shown how local practitioners respond to the English language which is culturally embedded in the social practices (e.g. coaching sessions) and curriculum of the CWB and CFDP-US SfD programmes. Within this context, local practitioners have been able to exercise a level of agency in order to effectively deliver INGO programmes in a complex Cameroonian setting. For example, SfD scholars, Straume and Hasselgard (2015, p.100) have stressed the possibility that local SfD programme staff, in some scenarios are able to "use their practical knowledge to translate, modify and reshape the formal discourse, thus exercising local agency". Whilst it has been shown that practitioners utilised their linguistic understanding, it is important to also note that local practitioners did not feel comfortable raising these fundamental issues of language with the INGOs. Perhaps local practitioners did not want to overtly disagree or challenge the decision-

making or agenda of the INGOs (even with the practical issue of curriculum language) because the INGO funds and influences the direction of the SfD programme and this may de-stabilise the power of the partnership (see Smith, 1999; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014). In addition, local practitioners may also be aware of the possible social and professional benefits available to them because of their association with the INGOs, and as a result felt unwilling to raise the language issues with the INGOs because it may weaken the social ties and potential resources that they could obtain from their association INGOs.

8.2.4 Gendered (in)equality

The 'formal' discourse of CWB and CFDP promote equal opportunities for females to participate in their programmes, (as noted in Chapter 6). However, the logistics of delivering this intention within a Cameroonian society is not an easy task as girls and women in Cameroon live in a patriarchal society, whereby their dependency on men is reinforced by discriminatory laws, policies in public institutions, and under-representation in government (Fonjong, 2001; Atanga, 2009; Konde, 2005). In this regard, Burnett (2018, p.2) has proposed that examining the nexus of gender and SfD helps to contribute to "a constructivist view of how women and girls exert, challenge, negotiate or avoid agency as inherently part of society".

Of the SfD literature to date, only one study has explored issues of gender within a Cameroonian context (Spaaij et al., 2017). In their study, Spaaij et al., (2017) showed that Cameroonian women and girls (in the main) have little autonomy to participate in sport and argue that it is "not uncommon for girls as young as 15 to enter into arranged marriages or for girls far younger to take on major household responsibilities", and that "many girls never attend school or otherwise drop out when their work at home grows too burdensome" (2017, p.574). This concurs with broader SfD research (conducted outside of Cameroon) which illustrates that girls and young women are often responsible for household chores, caring for family members and as such have little personal free time, which means that the possibility of being actively involved in sports is very limited (Meier and Saavedra, 2009).

Findings of this thesis support those presented by Spaaij et al., (2017) in that patriarchal cultural practices continue to exist in many Cameroonian

communities, which prohibit female participation in sport. Franck (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, November 2015) explained:

There are some traditions that totally forbid the female to take part in sporting events, in the way that if they get into sporting events they are going to be fat, they will build outwards, that is some beliefs, cultural beliefs. Two, that there is the belief that sport can bring nothing to a woman. Thirdly, there is this belief that a woman who gets into sporting activities will not be brought to bed; it will be difficult for her to conceive, to get pregnant. So for this reason, most parents or most traditional cultures, this was an obstacle for women or girls to maybe take in sporting activities.

Similarly, Michael (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016) highlighted some of the traditional views that CFDP-Cameroon practitioners are faced with:

Their mothers taught them that girls should stay in the house and do cooking. The boys can go out. It is the culture actually. The culture, mothers think to keep your children home for them to help you cook, they don't find it normal for a girl child to be going to do sports. They think when she is free she has to help the mother to cook at home. So it has made it now to get the child from the house to sports we have to really convince the parents, it is like a cultural something. So it is just now that very few girls are maybe seeing the advantages of female.

Franck and Michael indicated that in some Cameroonian communities the role of women and men are still strongly based on traditional views. This gendered perspective supports an argument by Atanda (2009, p.19) that over time "a model traditional Cameroonian woman [has been] constructed" which is based on a historical practices, a view which is reflected through Franck and Michael's observations as presented overleaf.

Brady and Khan (2002) who have written extensively about ways in which to promote female participation in a SfD setting noted that it is essential that trusted female role models and leaders from the community are identified and asked to serve as mentors and advisors to girls. However, there is a distinct lack of female practitioners (coaches, administrators or peer mentors) working with CCF and CFDP-Cameroon. For example, of the

thirty-seven interviewees in Cameroon from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, only four practitioners were female (n=2 with CFDP-Cameroon and n=2 with CCF). It is suggested that the dominant approach seen 'on the ground', is distinctly gendered, not exclusively due to the influence of the INGO (donor), but instead as a result of the gendered structures which were very apparent within CCF and CFDP-Cameroon.

When questioned about working in a male dominated SfD setting, the few female practitioners interviewed tended to express the cultural beliefs outlined by their male counterparts, as Cynthia, (Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, November 2015) outlined, "the female gender is always like cold as concerns sports, they are not really active as the males". Grace (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) provided further insights to the key challenges she faces trying to inspire and increase female participation in the CFDP-US programme:

Grace: In Cameroon and Africa, we have that kind of culture that parents don't allow their girl child to go out for sport. They think that if they are just going there to play, it has no benefit. Whereas when they see their boys, parents would go the market to buy a football but they would not hand it over to the girl child. It's normal here. Yes. So they don't...our parents don't encourage the girl child on that. So like what...

Researcher: Why is that...?

Grace: It's just culture. It's not something like...it's just culture. They just believe that it is a man thing. It's something for men not for women. So they don't encourage women on that. So that's why you'll see few women on football or on sport. And then on one other thing that they think is they do believe that sport; when they say I'm going out for sport is all about football. That is why CFDP come in to break the barrier that it's not all about football. It's more about education.

These insights from Grace indicate that family and wider community groups have extensive and pervasive influences over female participants. Such gender ideology here does not assume more subtle forms of power - for example Lukes' third dimension (2005) - but instead support more open examples of power and discrimination (e.g. Lukes' first dimension). What is

clear from the interviews conducted with female practitioners (based on the scope of this study) is that altering gender roles and norms for the long term - as a minority group - is a difficult task, as Justine (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) outlined:

We are struggling to do anything, especially for like us the women because as you see we are two females, out of all males [practitioners]. We are just two females. They [programme participants] think that a sporting domain is somewhere that women are not supposed to be.

Justine's quote shows that as one of only two female practitioners within CFDP-Cameroon she finds it difficult to change the perceptions of girls on the programme that sport is a place where women are not welcome. Within this context, it is useful to draw on the work of Cooky (2009, 2011) who has argued that it is not enough to simply expect girls and young women to self-motivate and challenge these systems and structures of inequality on their own without external support mechanisms in place, or without altering sexist ideologies that serve to legitimate institutional discrimination (in this case the structures of CCF and CFDP-Cameroon).

A practical recommendation could feasibly be to increase the number of female role models within local organisations (CCF and CFDP-Cameroon), in an attempt to challenge systems of inequality and inspire girls and young women to take part in SfD programmes. This may be more of a 'quick fix' for CFDP-Cameroon however, who already have a well-established peer leadership programme in place. However, the use of role models should also be met with caution, as scholarly literature on role models based on scientifically-validated evidence evaluating their effectiveness in changing behaviour is slim (Coalter, 2009). That said there are some useful insights to be drawn from the literature on role models. As noted earlier, Brady and Khan's (2002) work is valuable as it has questioned whether there are appropriate role models (including coaches, referees, and so forth) for girls who participate within a SfD context. More broadly within education-based literature, West et al., (2001) has shown that female role models are important because they demarcate the role for girls and young women. Likewise, Nixon and Robinson (1999) have also shown that women's performance in an education setting can be influenced by the presence of female role models within the associated staff team. In relation to the

content of the role model's educational message, Bandura's self-efficacy theory (1977) is helpful as it suggests that the success of a message is likely to be influenced by the individual's feelings of capability in relation to the likelihood of the desired outcome, and the value that the outcome represents. In other words, the function of a female role model within a patriarchal Cameroonian setting would be to influence and inspire other females by demonstrating their own success, which (it is hoped) would affect the likelihood that such success can be replicated by following a similar set of choices, behaviours and actions within the reach of girls and young women. Yet, the evidence presented above signals a missed opportunity for the SfD programmes to be gender sensitive, which according Saavedra (2009, p.127) could have "the power to upend what is seen/presented as 'normal' and become a major force to social change beyond sport by challenging gender norms".

In this section, critical attention has been paid to the challenges facing male and female practitioners in the face of patriarchal regimes in Cameroon which are mirrored within CCF and CFDP-Cameroon organisational structures. Insights have shown cultural and organisational barriers and limitations which provide female practitioners in particular with limited options to demonstrate agency.

8.2.5 The topic of HIV/AIDS is a cultural taboo

As with many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has affected Cameroon. Statistics collected in 2013 suggested that 4.5 per cent of adults in Cameroon (Est 620,000) were living with HIV. Whilst this percentage is not as high as some of its African neighbours, new HIV infections in Cameroon are on the rise and those accessing antiretroviral treatment is estimated at only 37 percent of the infected population (UNAIDS, 2016). Of the 620,000 who have HIV, the infection is particularly widespread among young women (UNAIDS, 2013, 2016) and has created considerable social difficulties in Cameroon. For example cultural beliefs mean that talking about sex and HIV/AIDS is generally regarded as a taboo, particularly with children and young people (Cumber et al., 2017; Nkuo-Akenji et al., 2017).

This context means that conveying sexual information about HIV/AIDS - which is central to CWB's 'formal' discourse (e.g. curriculum) and a part of a wider CFDP-US programme - causes challenges for local practitioners. As

Michael (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016) explained, the family values of many Cameroonians do not permit discussions around these topics:

You know kids are a little shy; they are not open like the western kids. The problem is their parents don't tell them that at home. Here parents see it like a taboo. Things concerning sex, they keep it from their children, they are like shy so that is making their kids to be shy and they don't want to talk on topics like that.

Here, Michael signals a cultural difference between Cameroonian and 'western' children regarding their willingness to discuss sexual practices and issues of HIV/AIDS. The critical role that families play is evident here in both shaping young people's health values and attitudes regarding HIV/AIDS which depends on the norms established within the family/cultural context. Florent (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, November 2015) concurred that this issue is widespread across Cameroon:

You know, there is something that they call taboo. Yeah. Some topics in African cultures are quite taboo, for parents and children. I can talk to my child about sports, education, and nature. But when it comes to HIV, which involves not only sexual intercourses but any topic that involves sexual activities is quite taboo in African culture so it is very, very difficult unless your parent is very open and you brought up your child in a very open environment.

According to Nkuo-Akenji et al., (2017) who examined knowledge and attitudes towards HIV and AIDS with Cameroonian youth, there is a lack of knowledge on HIV prevention methods and the high level of misconception. As shown earlier in this chapter, INGO programmes adopt the ABC approach to HIV/AIDS education; 'abstinence, be faithful, use a condom'. Sports coaching is integrated with sessions that provide basic information on HIV/ AIDS (what it is, how infection occurs), and young people discuss why it may be difficult to adopt safe sexual behaviour.

Local practitioners discussed how they worked hard to create safe spaces for young people to discuss the important issues surrounding HIV/AIDS, for example to learn the correct information regarding prevention, transmission, testing, stigmas and even treatment. In order to bridge

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

cultural taboos practitioners shared how they used various tactics to try to encourage students to discuss HIV/AIDS. For example, Hugo (Manager, CFDP-Cameroon, November 2015) explained how he finds solutions to the challenges of delivering HIV/AIDS messages by utilising peers within coaching sessions:

Hugo: It's some of things that it's a taboo if you have HIV, it's...you're an outcast. People don't want to see you again. But meanwhile they don't know that it's a normal illness.

Researcher: Yeah. How do you overcome the fact that some kids think it's a taboo? What do you have to do?

Hugo: During the sessions we make them to talk. We, we can point one student to lead the session that day.

Researcher: So you get the youth to lead the session?

Hugo: To lead the session, yes.

Researcher: So you are like encouraging them...

Hugo: Encouraging them, encourage them to talking.

The use of peer leadership as a mechanism to encourage participants to discuss sensitive issues such as HIV/AIDS is not uncommon within sports based programmes (Daniels and Leaper, 2006; Jeanes, 2011; Coalter, 2013). For example, Campbell and Mzaidume (2002, p.230) have explained the logic that, "peer education seeks to empower lay people through placing health related knowledge in their hands". Following this approach aims to increase the likelihood that participants will feel they have some control over their health, especially if the message comes from (or is reinforced) by their peers. However, what is most apparent from Hugo's insight is that as a local practitioner he feels able to make the decision to adapt the CFDP-US curriculum and mould it to his local context by drawing on peer leadership approaches. Similarly, it was pointed out by several practitioners that they drew on local knowledge - that HIV/AIDS is a scarcely discussed topic, and adapts the HIV/AIDS information presented in the INGO curriculum to deliver it in more subtle, informal ways, in order to not panic programme participants. For example, Florent (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, November 2015) outlined that

he used storytelling approaches to communicate the HIV/AIDS prevention messages from CWB:

So I use the approach of fun to teach and to pass my message because HIV for me as I said earlier is just the same as the others. The fun activities like coming to class and telling them about the fact I know HIV patients. I tell them that I know HIV persons and that we are good friends, we eat from the same plate, we swim in the same river, we hug, we work together so it's just these type of activities that I use when I talk to them about HIV, because I want them not to be stigmatised or mystified by the whole thing.

The above insights from Hugo and Florent demonstrate that even though CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners operate within the curriculum constraints and 'formal' discourse of CWB and CFDP-US, they do not always reproduce the donors' understanding of SfD verbatim; they are able to locally adapt the delivery of the ideas and concepts contained within the 'formal' discourses to counter some contextual challenges in Cameroon.

8.2.6 Section summary

In summary, this section has responded to Research Question Three by illustrating a range of domestic social, political and cultural issues in Cameroon which affect the ability of local practitioners to deliver the INGO SfD programme as intended, the section has also outlined how local SfD practitioners have responded to these domestic issues. Drawing on Lukes' (2005) understanding of power means that power can be seen not only as exercised through overt decision making (one dimensional), or covert "non-decision making" through agenda setting (two dimensional) (2005, p.22), but also through the "influencing, shaping or determining" of people's beliefs, values and opinions (three dimensional) (Lukes, 2005, p.16). In this regard, Lukes (2005) third dimension of power draws parallels to Gramsci's (2011) cultural and political hegemony (and as Chapter 4 highlighted); this is the most contentious dimension of power as it is largely invisible and difficult to evidence. In some cases in this section we have seen that power is overt and one dimensional in nature (for example the influence of family members in some communities who prohibit female participation in the SfD programme). In other cases, power is more subtle (two dimensional), common examples here include the ability of the INGOs to prescribe and control the SfD programme agenda, specifically pushing

for gender equality of programme participants and a focus on HIV/AIDS awareness, despite the challenges that this causes within a Cameroonian context (e.g. being a patriarchal society and the taboo status of HIV/AIDS as a topic). Specific to CFDP-US, they changed the context of the SfD programme from a school setting to a community setting, signalling a change of agenda. Similarly, CWB fundamentally changed the delivery of the programme by halting all future UK volunteer led programmes in Cameroon. There are also examples whereby the nature of power is largely invisible (third dimension) – and is based on the attempts of the powerful (e.g. the Francophone-dominated Cameroonian state) to distort people's perceptions and shape preferences in society which favours some interests (Francophones) over others (Anglophones). It has been illustrated that an attempt has been made (by the Francophone-dominated Government) to achieve cultural hegemony; however, as power and attempts to achieve hegemony are contested by Anglophones (e.g. via awareness of self-interests, and broader social movements such as protests and violent clashes) cultural hegemony, in this instance, has not been achieved.

However, as the findings indicate in this section - power is not always one way (e.g. power as domination). It is not disputed that practitioners face significant internal cultural complexities within Cameroon, but the section has also illustrated that by combining Lukes' (2005) understanding of power alongside concepts such as 'hegemony', 'structure' and 'agency', local practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon have been able to exercise a level of agency to shape the programme delivery within the contextual and structural constraints. Nevertheless, a word of warning from Banks and Hulme (2012, p.10) should be considered, so that the examples of agency are not over exaggerated:

Improved agency through increases in individual collective assets is not enough to promote empowerment, which is a process that must be accompanied too by wider changes in the structural environment that improve the terms of recognition of poor and excluded groups.

To offer a final word on this section, domestic issues are seldom discussed in SfD literature and in doing so this study offers a novel insight to how these issues may affect the delivery of SfD programmes. In addition, there have been only two published studies that have previously examined the

practices of SfD within Cameroon (Fokwang, 2009; Spaaij et al., 2017). Therefore, this study not only illustrates a range of novel findings about the domestic issues facing SfD practitioners, but does so in an under-researched country context. Following on from the Cameroonian contextual challenges presented above, the next section reflects on the everyday delivery challenges, and localised responses to the 'formal' INGO discourses presented in the curriculum.

8.3 Programme delivery challenges and responses to the INGO 'formal' discourse

Building on the contextual factors outlined previously, this section aims to identify and understand a range of 'everyday' delivery challenges facing Cameroonian SfD practitioners (challenges which are directly influenced by the INGO - rather than the broader Cameroonian society). The intention is to understand how these ideas and concepts are transmitted, contested, reassembled and negotiated from a localised perspective.

8.3.1 The local volunteerism agenda

The dependence on recruiting and deploying local volunteers was raised as a major challenge regarding the delivery of the INGO SfD programmes. As presented in Chapter 6, a fundamental principle in the 'formal' discourse (e.g. curriculum) of both CWB and CFDP-US SfD programmes is their reliance on local volunteers in Cameroon to deliver and sustain the programme. In particular, a combination of peer leaders, local teachers and other community based volunteers are positioned as fundamental actors to the success and sustainability of the CWB and CFDP-US programmes year-round. These findings connect to other studies which show that utilising sports volunteers is often perceived as 'free labour' or a cheap alternative; an appealing and cheap prospect for programme funders/donors to deliver and sustain community sport programmes (Stebbins, 2013; Morgan, 2013).

On one hand, the notion of local volunteerism supports the idea of 'bottom-up planning', 'local ownership' and the development of 'human capital', which have become leading discourses in the international development sector, meaning that the intended recipients and beneficiaries of aid are supposed to do the planning and make the decisions (Chambers, 1997; Walton et al., 2016). However, on the other hand, the INGOs' ability to

prescribe this delivery model reflects Lukes' (2005) second dimension of power known as 'agenda setting' and overt decision making.

Interviews indicated that local practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon and CCF face a variety of challenges operating within this 'power over' structure. Michael (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016) explained a fundamental floor with CFDP-US's reliance on volunteerism:

You know here, Cameroonians, they don't believe in volunteering...it's a new concept. They don't believe in the concept of volunteerism.

By the same token, Franck (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, July 2016) advised that "the spirit of volunteerism in Cameroon is not there". Laurent (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) identified a key reason for this: "Cameroonians don't like to volunteer; they only want a paid job". This claim is expanded on by Alex (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) who explained that "my main sacrifice is to be a volunteer...it is hard, the economic situation of the nation is not very good". Not only does Alex allude to wider economic factors within Cameroon, but he shows that for many Cameroonians, giving up time, without payment is just not an option because of the need to secure and maintain a paid job. Alex maintains that encouraging Cameroonians to volunteer is not a straightforward task:

Alex: So if you want to volunteer here, you must be somebody who really has a bit of back up, before you can volunteer.

Researcher: A bit of financial back up?

Alex: Yes. May be a bit of financial back up; or help from somebody or you are living with somebody who can take care of your lost costs.

Here, Alex argues that the notion of volunteering is somewhat of a luxury, and that to volunteer, you need to be financially supported up by a relative/friend. In a similar way, Patrice, (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016) highlighted comparable challenges:

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

It's difficult for somebody to just come out and volunteer without having any money. It is very very difficult because things are hard, things are difficult, and things are not easy here.

There are several explanations for these findings. Firstly, Cameroon is a poor country, and giving up one's time for free is not seen as a priority, or even an option, available to many. As a lower-middle-income country Cameroon has deep rooted social, economic and political issues to contend with (United Nations Development Programme, 2016), which include poverty, high unemployment rates and ongoing social/political instability (Philemon, 2009; United Nations Development Programme, 2016; Abdur, 2017; Clarke and Ojo, 2017). Second, as evidenced in the above quotes, there has been little tradition for sport-related volunteerism in Cameroon and therefore the idea of volunteerism is not highly valued by society. However, in 2015, the Cameroonian Minister for Youth Affairs and Civic Engagement - in somewhat of a step change - announced a national volunteering strategy called "The world is moving, are you? Volunteer!" with the aim of increasing the awareness and uptake of volunteering in Cameroon (Ndukong, 2015). In particular, the strategy claimed that volunteering could help youth to develop life skills and encourage them to give back to their communities. In this regard, a study by Ball (1993) considered the influence of governmental strategies and noted that strategies tend to create a set of circumstances whereby choices available to the public are narrowed, influenced and/or changed. Although it is perhaps too simplistic to treat the government volunteer strategy and the INGO 'formal' discourse which promotes local volunteering as a blueprint of intent, it could certainly be considered evidence of Lukes' (2005) second dimension of power, known as 'agenda setting'.

However, despite the positive volunteerism agenda-setting rhetoric from the Cameroonian government and the INGOs, many local practitioners outlined the personal sacrifices they felt obliged to make to ensure the successful delivery of the INGO programme INGO. Samuel, (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2016) described the sacrifices he makes for the CWB programme:

I have to put in my own finances, for instance a group had to go into town so I had to go and work there free of charge, with that you have to move through your finances to transport yourself, feed

yourself...I sacrifice my time. I also chip out some money. I chip out money in order, because it is not all students that have transport to go there to the [CWB] festival.

Similarly, many volunteer practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon echoed that that they too paid for transport, in the delivery of the CFDP-US the programme involved travel across the town of Kumba for weekly training and across the South-West region for regular competitions. In other examples, local practitioners explained how they personally paid for, and prepared food for, programme participants to ensure they stay nourished whilst participating in the football programme. Not only are volunteer practitioners giving up their time and money to support the delivery of the INGO programme, many local paid managers (from CFDP-Cameroon) felt obliged to work over and above their agreed contracted days/hours in order to satisfy the requests of practitioners from CFDP-US. As Justine (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) explained:

Sometimes you would be sleeping in the night and he [CFDP-US senior administrator] would say please but I really want those things, even against your own working hours we have to get up and go to the cyber [internet café] and struggle to send those pictures, try to send reports so that he can use it.

Baaz (2005) has argued that 'Global North'-'Global South' partnerships should not be viewed as equal or based on mutual interests and goals, but as battlefields of knowledge informed by differing goals and interest. These findings show that local practitioners are willing to make personal sacrifices of time and money. Perhaps, on one hand they feel obliged to maintain their role and relationship with their Northern funder which is established on race-based assumptions (as discussed in Chapter 7), and in doing so local practitioners evade any action, to confront or challenge western culture approaches (Smith, 1999b; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014). Or, perhaps on the other hand, the high 'value' placed on the relationships with the INGO - also shown earlier in Chapter 7 - result in wider (non-monetary) 'benefits', which are perhaps deemed worthwhile when making such personal sacrifices. This understanding is an example of Coleman's (1988, 1990) notion of 'obligation', in that if person A (the Cameroonian SfD practitioner) does something for B (INGO practitioner) and trusts B to reciprocate in the

future, this establishes an expectation in A and an obligation on the part of B.

In summary, the idea of local volunteerism occupies a key position in both the 'formal' programme discourse of the INGOs as well the Cameroonian government (Philemon, 2009; Ndukong, 2015). This creates a host of challenges for local SfD practitioners, despite the participatory language laced within the 'formal' discourse of CWB and CFDP-US and opportunities for human and social capital promoted by the Cameroonian Government. Furthermore, the volunteerism delivery model agenda set by the INGOs - is modelled on the UK sports sector, and findings show that this not replicable in a Cameroonian context as local practitioners involved in the delivery of INGO SfD programmes are often unemployed and come from poor communities, and often do not have the economic imperative that volunteering requires.

8.3.2 The problematic nature of using cricket and football as delivery 'tools'

In addition to highlighting issues around the volunteerism agenda, interviews incorporated discussions around the challenges of using football (CFDP-Cameroon) and cricket (CCF) as the chosen delivery tools.

Cricket

Cricket, as a relatively new sport in Cameroon, presented a set of challenges for local practitioners. Lionel, (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, July 2016) highlighted that cricket is not a widely known sport in Cameroon, particularly amongst many Cameroonian youth:

The children around me know that cricket is a small insect that lives in the ground, so the moment I told them that cricket is a sport they were like 'wow', how can cricket be a sport. Cricket locally is a small four-legged insect that digs and stays in the ground, and as you have to play cricket, they say, 'no sir, no sir we cannot play cricket'. Cricket I said no, it is a game, it is a kind of sport that you need to get involved in, to feel it, to enjoy it and be part of it.

This finding is not surprising, given that cricket has only been a recognised sport in Cameroon since 2005 and is implemented by a small group of volunteers with access to limited resources (Clarke and Ojo, 2017; Clarke, 2019). The lack of awareness of cricket as described above by Lionel is

widespread, as Patrick, (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, June, 2016) confirmed:

When you enter an institution and say that you would like to introduce cricket they will tell you 'what is that?' 'Cricket' and they will liken it to a cricket, the insect. People will say 'that it is an insect, how can you play that?' You have to go and explain and explain and explain. That has been a huge challenge, it deterred us from entering into institutions, and it was a hindrance.

Local practitioners explained that in instances where the programme participants had a limited understanding of cricket they had to focus on learning the basics of cricket, which as a result diverted away from the time, spent on HIV/AIDS awareness education messages. The lack of cricket knowledge is compounded by costly and inaccessible resources/equipment, along with a lack of playing facilities. Phillipe (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, July 2016), explained the challenges he faces when trying to find and/or buy cricket equipment:

The real challenges we have is the equipment. We know the equipment is expensive. Difficult to find in Cameroon because you go to the market, you move around Cameroon, you will not see a bat in any store.

Phillipe's assertions were supported by other local practitioners. Ada, (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) explained how she intended to respond to the lack of cricket equipment in her school:

Yeah, I think for now we have been given 11 balls and a bat [by CWB]. I think that it's not enough to really play cricket but we are going to watch what is happening do research and try to adapt our local materials for now. Maybe we can use some grass as cones, we can try to, we will use some sticks, we will look for some sticks and dig for some holes for the bars. And other small adaptations, to adapt to the game.

Similarly, Christian, (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CCF, November 2015) discussed how he takes a proactive attitude to find local solutions and adaptations to counter the fact that cricket requires specialised equipment

"we did not have the materials, [so] we used locally made materials, local stumps, local bats." At the same time, local CCF practitioners repeatedly pointed out that cricket is not a named sporting discipline on the PE national curriculum; as Alex (PE teacher and Volunteer Cricket Coach, CCF, June 2015) explained:

We have...a syllabus from the Ministry, but when you look in it, it doesn't have anything like cricket in it. It has all sorts of disciplines but we don't have cricket.

Christian supports this extensive challenge and suggested that CCF attempt to lobby with the Ministry of Sport to include cricket on the national PE curricular. As discussed in Chapter 2, a body of SfD literature has explored the agency of local practitioners in the 'Global South'. Here, on one hand, findings concur with Straume and Hasselgard's (2015) study in that local CCF practitioners (e.g. CCF coaches, administrators and PE teachers) take a proactive approach when responding to the challenges they face when delivering the CWB programme. For example, they continue to introduce and encourage participants about playing cricket in schools - despite the challenge that cricket is not on the national PE curriculum; and they adapt local materials to make cricket bats/stumps - because of a lack of available/affordable cricket equipment, all of which evidence a level of local agency. However, on the other hand, these examples raise problematic assumptions that the agency of local practitioners is an unrestricted process whereby local practitioners are able to "actively participate in the social construction of their own social worlds and in the socialization processes that occur in those worlds" (Coakley, 1996, p.356). This assumption is problematic, because the level of agency shown in the above quotes is not limitless, but instead embedded within a broader imposed structures and hegemonic tendencies of the INGO and Cameroonian government.

Football

When questioned, CFDP-Cameroon practitioners outlined that the main delivery challenge they faced was that programme participants wanted to play competitive football. Freddie, (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016), explained that the desire to win is the most important factor for most programme participants:

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

Youths that just want to play football...It's difficult in Cameroon because nobody wants to lose. Everybody focuses on success. Everybody wants to win.

Freddie's quote demonstrates that the attitudes of programme participants relate to broader attitudes about football within Cameroonian society. Such attitudes reflect the widespread understanding that football is by far the most popular sport in Cameroon. For example Vidacs (1999, p.102) asserted that football is:

A game everybody [in Cameroon] understands, and thus have an interest in. Also, given the proliferation of teams of various levels, a very large number of people have taken an active part in football, both as players and as managers or officials of some sort.

The attitudes towards sport encompass the preference of participating in (just) sport, rather than 'sport plus' and 'plus sport' as identified by Coalter's (2010a) classification. Chapter 6 outlined that football - the chosen programme delivery tool - was selected because of its popularity in Cameroon. However, somewhat ironically, its popularity (and 'cultural baggage') causes a range of challenges for local practitioners whose role is to mobilize programme participants through football, in order to achieve their critical objective and address social issues such as HIV/AIDS awareness, life skills, leadership and gender equity. Hugo, (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) explained:

The difficulty is since they [programme participants] know that they are just coming to play football, so when you start talking to tell them about the +7 model, about the HIV messages, it becomes boring to them. They are only keen to go and play forgetting that they have come to get some other knowledge. You see most of them twisting their face.

Likewise, Jules (Volunteer Football Coach, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) explained that participants often shout:

Well I am just here to play football I am not coming to learn, I am not at school, at school we are learning, here we are still learning.

Interviews showed that the majority of local volunteer football coaches who deliver the CFDP-US SfD programme are recruited from a football playing

or coaching background, and according to paid CFDP-Cameroon managers, these coaches often just wanted to coach competitive football themselves, which may explain why some participants perceived the non-sporting education element of the programme as being 'boring' and 'irrelevant'.

In response, paid CFDP-Cameroon practitioners were instrumental in the introduction of the peer-leadership scheme. Cedric (Senior Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) summarised how and why a change to the initial coach-led delivery model came about:

[The feeling was that] if people from the same community can be empowered, they can best address their problems...You see the concept? So that's how this idea of peer leaders came in to be and we thought for clubs where the coaches have serious limitations, peer leaders will really serve the purpose of the programme. So we ran peer leaders training for a couple of months where students like Fabien and Richard could excel and today they take responsibility for CFDP programs in their club and it is doing well.

Justine (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) highlighted the importance of the peer leader scheme:

[The participants] believe more in their peers. If a peer comes and plays something, you'll see all of them would say ok tomorrow, I will also want to be like that peer because you are seeing that child as your age, you are you're the same level, the same family, the same community background. You see that if that your age, your peer is doing it, it means you can also do it. So just...it acts like a booster to them, to the youths. So when the peer is saying something, it acts like a booster to the youths.

Fabien, (Peer Leader, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) explained his role:

We [peer leaders] summarise the session into our own words of understanding and then communicate it in our own words...It makes it easier because we are from the same community.

As previously acknowledged, there is a wealth of SfD literature which highlights the growing use of young people to deliver programmes as peer

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

coaches/leaders/educators (Nicholls, 2009; Jeanes, 2011; Lindsey et al., 2017; Coalter, 2013). Caution, however, must be taken when reviewing the effectiveness of peer leader programmes, as Darnell and Hayhurst (2012) suggest, that actions of local practitioners (who manage peer leaders) may be necessitated by, embedded within hegemonic relations. Indeed, while CFDP-Cameroon practitioners show a level of agency as shown above by observing a delivery problem and initiating the peer leader scheme as a response, they also outlined that in the main CFDP-Cameroon practitioners (which includes peer leaders, CFDP-Cameroon paid staff and volunteers) have little to no input into SfD programme planning as this is largely dictated to them by CFDP-US team:

One of the biggest challenges is that you don't get to do what you feel like is good. Because the resources are limited and who makes the resources available can only dictate, that's one of the biggest challenges (Cedric, Senior Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016).

Similarly, Justine (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016) outlined that CFDP-Cameroon practitioners have little autonomy to make any major changes to the programme delivery.

Simon [CFDP-US Senior Manager] has to dictate everything for us because the money comes from there. You know in the house the father [Simon] will give you the money always...will always tell you what to do. Right?

Here, Simon (CFDP-US Senior Manager) is characterised as the father figure, leader, and sole financial provider. This finding supports an argument by Mwaanga and Banda (2014) that conflicts of interest between donors (INGOs) and 'in country' SfD partners are typically downplayed. Perhaps as the above quotes suggest, as paid CFDP-Cameroon managers, Justine and Cedric are not likely to initiate any conflicts or complaints directly with the CFDP-US-team likely because they are managed by Simon (a CFDP-US Senior Manager). Conceivably, their job security is more important to them than initiating any complaints or unhappiness with the person who is in charge of hiring (and firing) staff and controlling the INGO purse strings.

8.3.3 Age and maturity of participants

A further challenge outlined by local practitioners was the lack of age-appropriate guidance within the INGO 'formal' curricula about sensitive and often taboo topics. According to 'formal' discourse (as outlined in Chapter 6), CWB programme participants range from six year olds up to early twenties and CFDP-US participants range from ten year olds up to young adults in their early twenties. When addressing HIV/AIDS awareness - a central issue for both INGOs - the ABC approach (Abstinence, Be faithfulness and Condom use) is at the core of both programmes. Previously, literature has questioned whether this approach has really contributed to better protection of young people against HIV/AIDS, particularly in environments where sex and sexuality is a taboo or that they are too young for it to be relevant (Kaufman et al., 2012).

Nevertheless, the ABC approach is replicated in CFDP-US and CWB's toolkits and curriculum, and details how local practitioners should seek to use interactive football/cricket sessions to raise awareness of, and prevent, HIV/AIDS. According to 'formal' discourse - shown in Chapter 6 - these activities aim to create behaviour change among programme participants by using direct ABC messages about abstaining from sex, being faithful to one sexual partner and using condoms. The issue raised by local practitioners is that the curriculum makes no differentiation to the message delivered based on age/level of maturity, a problem which Pascal (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, June 2016) questioned:

You cannot talk to a twelve year old youth because they are not having sex at that age but you can talk about it with a person that has matured a little bit. So I tell the older ones that this is how you have to protect yourself, you have to abstain from these type of things. But you cannot talk about that with a twelve year old child.

Anthony (Senior Manager and Volunteer Cricket Coach, Anglophone, CCF, June 2016) described some of the challenges this creates locally:

You see, sex, condom, it is sort of a taboo with us. You see at ten years old, no parent can speak about sex to their child who is in the primary school. You know there are still some teachers who still find it hard for example, I myself say "sex" in front of the children, I still feel difficult saying that, but due to the educative message about it,

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes
about what will happen, I am now forced to say “sex”, or “condom”
or “protection”.

This 'one size fits all' curriculum design approach causes challenges and concerns because, as Fabrice (Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, June 2015) showed in some instances young children took part in sessions whereby the messages are delivered verbatim as per the curriculum:

At the tender young ages they don't really understand what it means when they see abstinence, fidelity [be faithful], condoms, those words don't really have an impact on them at that moment.

Throughout discussions with local practitioners, it was clear that there were deep misgivings regarding the mandate of the curriculum, and whether or not the ABC messages should/could be adapted locally. However, the majority of practitioners did discuss how they deviated from the curriculum and tailored/softened the ABC messages according to age/maturity of the participants, as Claude (Volunteer Cricket Coach, Francophone, CCF, July 2016) outlined:

You will find children who will recite this ABC 'Abstinence', 'fidélité' [be faithful] 'condom' but in effect; they don't even know what they are saying. They just say it. That is why I change things with respect to the age group in front of me. You see. Like I say, those who are below ten years, they don't know what they are saying; to them it is a rhyme. It is a rhyme, 'ABC, ABC'. Whereas, with the adolescents, they know, they already have an idea, not that they know. They already have an idea of the subject. So it is this age group that needs much more insistence so that they could be able to understand the implications of the subject.

This feeling of autonomy and agency to adapt messages was supported by Louis (Manager, Anglophone, CFDP-Cameroon, July 2016):

When it comes to the ages and the HIV games that they practice, the volunteers make sure that they adapt or they bring down to the best understanding of the kids.

Despite a lack of guidance or differentiation from INGOs, findings show that local practitioners were able to resist and question the implications of

delivering the curriculum verbatim as outlined in the INGO 'formal' discourse. By drawing on Lukes' (2005) second dimension of power (which views power as having influence e.g. 'power over'), and contrasting this with the concept of agency (where power is not perceived as simply repressive), this section has shown that subtle instances of agency exist. In particular, following Andrews and Loy (1993, p.267-268), this section has demonstrated that the human agent (local practitioner) is not "structurally positioned within an ideological field; rather the agent actively produces meanings of social experience from which the agent is able to explore, reproduce, contest, and hence create, the world in which he or she lives." However, at the same time, Darnell and Hayhurst (2012, p.112) have cautioned researchers not to romanticise the level of agency obtainable within some 'Global South' contexts as it "occurs amidst the hegemony of neoliberal development, often promoted by northern institutions, and should be viewed as strategies for survival within oppressive structures, more so than evidence of structural change".

8.3.4 Section summary

This section has contributed to answering Research Question Three by illustrating a range of perceived challenges that Cameroonian SfD practitioners face when working within the boundaries of the INGOs' 'formal' discourse. The section also reveals how these challenges affect the ability of local practitioners to deliver the INGO SfD programme as intended. Findings have helped to fulfil the intention of this chapter by showing that there is a gap between the 'ideal' practice (as presented in the 'formal' discourse - e.g. curriculum - developed by the INGOs) compared to how the everyday delivery of SfD programmes occurs, which, to some degree is negotiated by local practitioners showing some, if limited, agency. As argued in Chapter 7, agency is exercised by local practitioners who use their association with the INGO to attain their own personal and professional 'gains', this agency and associated 'benefits' or 'gains' are real. However, they are set within a broader context whereby their actions are bound by, and entrenched within global hegemonic relations, heavily influenced by the INGOs. Inspired by a mixed understanding of power - drawing on Lukes' (2005) three dimensions of power and concepts of 'agency' - this section has paid critical attention to the resourcefulness and initiative of local practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon who operate within an environment whereby CFDP-US and CWB make overt decision

making (one dimensional) and foster an agenda-setting approach (two dimensional view of power). It is evident that local practitioners do not passively receive and take up the INGO curriculum verbatim; rather, they interpret and respond to the INGO 'formal' discourse in ways which fit the local environment, evidencing some (if limited) level of agency.

8.4 Chapter summary and implications

This chapter has addressed Research Question Three and the corresponding objective by demonstrating that local practitioner's deliver the SfD programmes within a complex environment which requires them to navigate a range of domestic difficulties in Cameroon as well as working within the power systems and constraints of the 'formal' discourses (e.g. the curriculum) promoted by the INGOs.

Specifically, the first section of the chapter focused on domestic challenges and examined the ways in which local practitioners struggled to deliver the INGO programmes in a difficult Cameroonian context, which has seen attempts at cultural hegemony (by the Francophone-dominated Government) fail. Interviews showed how local practitioners continually worked to deliver the INGO SfD programmes within a politically unstable environment in which Anglophone Cameroonians (practitioners and participants) are marginalised. In addition, the use of language is extremely complex and women - in the main - are disadvantaged. At the same time, local practitioners operate in an environment whereby are required to deliver HIV/AIDS awareness messages in a socio-cultural system that considers discussions about sex and HIV/AIDS with children and young people as a taboo. As a consequence, local practitioners have shown their ability to draw on local contextual knowledge (and often linguistic skills) to make local adjustments to the programme delivery in order for it to meet the needs of the Cameroonian context, which evidences a level of agency on their part. The examples presented enabled an examination of how domestic power within Cameroon plays out (for example the Francophone dominated state and the marginalisation of Anglophones) affects local practitioners. It is argued that this is compounded by broader global hegemonic forces (as argued in Chapter 7) which views globalised 'hegemonic' frameworks (social, cultural, economic, political and institutional) as key influencing drivers of power which foster the donor-recipient relationships between CCF/CWB and CFDP-Cameroon/CFDP-US.

Local challenges and responses to the delivery of the INGO programmes

The second section presented and discussed the gap between the 'ideal' intended delivery of the SfD programmes (as presented in the curriculum developed by the INGOs) in comparison to the everyday realities and demands of delivering the SfD programmes from the perspective of local practitioners. In particular this section illustrated the resourcefulness of local practitioners who operate in a difficult environment where INGOs make overt decisions (one directional) and also promote an 'agenda setting' imperative (two dimensional view of power) (see Lukes, 2005).

In summary it is argued that local practitioners do not submissively take up the curriculum as dictated by the INGOs; but rather local practitioners are able to interpret and respond to the INGO 'formal' discourse (e.g. curriculum) in ways which fit the local environment, evidencing some (if limited) level of agency.

**CHAPTER 9:
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

9.1 Chapter introduction

This thesis has explored issues of SfD North-South partnerships by critically examining two case study partnerships, namely; (i) Cricket Without Boundaries (CWB) and Cameroon Cricket Federation (CCF) and (ii) Cameroon Football Development Programme-US (CFDP-US) and Cameroon Football Development Programme-Cameroon (CFDP-Cameroon).

In doing so, the thesis has made an original contribution to knowledge by addressing gaps in the current SfD literature in relation to SfD partnerships and practice on two fronts. Firstly it has presented contrasting evidence from a 'Global North' and 'Global South' perspective - and prioritised localised knowledge and understanding. Secondly it has focused on an under-researched SfD context - Cameroon - with a view to explore manifestations of power in this post-colonial setting. In doing so, the thesis has sought to strengthen the work of scholars who have suggested that issues of power profoundly underpin partnerships within SfD (Lindsey and Bello Bitugu, 2018; Hayhurst and Frisby, 2010; Banda et al., 2008) and the broader international development sector (Schoneberg, 2017; Contu and Girei, 2014; Bräutigam and Segarra, 2007; Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff, 2004; Ashman, 2001; Brehm, 2001; Lister, 2000).

Responding to this assertion, this thesis has promoted an understanding of SfD partnerships as an dynamic process, and argues that investigations of 'Global North and 'Global South' SfD partnerships must not only consider issues of power - both positive and negative - but also be carried out from dual perspectives in order to compare the policy rhetoric with everyday practice. Moreover, it is argued that it is not sufficient to just to consider asymmetries of power between organisations as constraints to partnership, but it is also important to consider the perceived positive outcomes of partnerships. Finally, it is important to explore and take into consideration the wider context within which the SfD organisations from the 'Global North' and 'Global South; operate (e.g. the SfD sector, the Cameroonian domestic context).

However - as indicated in each of the preceding chapter summaries, the gap between policy and practice have provided a trigger for explanation building and to explore exactly who is benefiting from SfD partnerships. Studying the social consequences of SfD partnerships is important

because, as indicated in Chapter 1 and 2, the commitment to issues of (in)equality is the distinctive trait of SfD INGOs (Lindsey and Bello Bitugu, 2018; Lindsey et al., 2017; Lindsey and Banda, 2011; Banda et al., 2008) which is also the setting of this thesis and seen in the intentions of the two INGOs - CWB and CFDP-US. The thesis has shown how partnerships are constituted, and has outlined the gap between policy rhetoric (e.g. 'formal' discourses produced) and how this plays out on the ground, which in turn produces tensions, as well as opportunities and benefits for local practitioners. Next, addressing the findings of the first Research Question more directly, the conclusion outlines issues of power and (in)equality, showing the social consequences of how the two SfD partnerships are constructed.

This concluding chapter encapsulates the overall findings and significance of this research and is split into three sections. Section one critically examines the core findings and arguments in relation to the three Research Questions and corresponding Research Objectives. Second, it considers the implications of the research for theory, methodology and practice and finally it concludes with suggestions for future research.

9.2 Conclusions in relation to the research questions and objectives

The primary aim of this research was to provide a critical examination of the power relations within and between the two case study SfD partnerships. This thesis has highlighted the messiness, tensions and contradictions generated in the day-to-day workings of SfD partnerships. The findings of the thesis are consistent with other studies (e.g. Kamat, 2003; Lister, 2000) which have cast a critical eye at partnerships between INGOs and 'in country' partners as a way of promoting effective development and equality - demonstrating a clear gap between policy rhetoric and everyday practices. The following sections respond to the three Research Questions and corresponding Research Objectives which have guided this thesis.

9.2.1 Core findings and arguments in relation to Research Question One

The first Research Question - *what are the principal features of two identified SfD INGOs with regard to their presence in Cameroon?* - aimed to establish the intentions and practices of the INGOs, through the 'Global Northern' lens of the INGO. Theoretically, this question was largely guided by Giulianotti's (2011a) four "social heuristics" (p.213) and 'ideal type' SfD models ('technical', 'dialogical' and 'critical'), to help to critically examine the

'formal' discourses against the day-to-day practices of the INGOs and provide explanations for the following findings:

Characteristics of the INGO 'formal discourse are inconsistent and contradictory

On one hand the case study 'partnerships' - as outlined in the 'formal' discourse of CWB and CFDP-US - assert a functional, mutually beneficial working relationship with their respective 'in country' partners (CCF and CFDP-Cameroon). For instance, the INGO intentions and rhetoric outlined in the websites, strategic documents, operational documents and interviews with INGO practitioners is laced with language which emphasises a collaborative partnership, which promotes intentions of empowerment and a participatory stance to positive change the lives of programme participants.

However, the research found a range of inconsistencies with this participatory rhetoric (e.g. expressed ambitions and intentions of the INGOs) when considered alongside the practices of the INGO (e.g. the process of programme design, implementation and evaluation). For instance, it was evident that both INGOs heavily influence and shape their relationships with their 'in country' partners (to varying degrees) by shaping and setting the agenda of the partnership which reproduce and foster (in subtle and not so subtle ways) the unequal power dynamic between North/South partners. For example, illustrative examples have shown that CWB unilaterally set the conditions of existence of the partnership with CCF who are positioned as subordinate and must comply with its prescriptions, in order for CCF to enter into a partnership with the SfD INGO. This explicit decision making and agenda setting imperative reflects Lukes' (2005) one and two dimensional understandings of power. In this situation, no dialogue was sought with CCF regarding the focus of the partnership - which, following the WB's definition could be described as a 'hollow' partnership.

The 'formal' discourse of CWB was mainly reflective of Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical' SfD model which is hierarchical and directive in nature. Chapter 6 outlined how CWB delivered a range of problem-solving strategies, for example using international volunteers to deliver coaching clinics and education workshops in a bid to foster behaviour change in Cameroon's youth, with regard to issues of sexual awareness and practices, the

outcomes of which were quantifiably measured. Next, the 'formal' discourse of CFDP-US featured a mixture of Giulianotti's (2011a) 'technical' and 'dialogical' ideal-type models. As with CWB, there was evidence of some 'technical' aspects, for example problem-solving objectives; a strong intervention approach; externally designed programme curriculum; the use of a recognised sport and a limited approach to monitoring and evaluation. However, in contrast to CWB there were more examples of 'dialogical' aspects (e.g. 'train the trainer's' approach, peer leaders, and extensive local consultation about the programme need) which have been earlier highlighted as a positive outcome. In summary, the CFDP-US discourse reflected more of a commitment to try to flatten out the power dynamics with CFDP-Cameroon through practices which promoted local consultation, use of peers leaders - as opposed to short term 'fly in and fly out' programmes led by international volunteers (as with CWB). Evidence indicated that both INGOs relied on external 'Global Northern' funders (donors) - which in turn reproduce values and norms that may be detached from the needs of the communities they work for, and the delicate set of relationships they are embedded in. This empirical knowledge parallels existing studies in the international development and SfD domain that have shown a gap between the promise and reality of partnership (Lewis, 2010; Lewis and Kanji, 2009; Mosse, 2004).

However there is widespread recognition across the SfD and development studies literature that the term 'partnership' is ambiguous and indeed lacks clarity of what it actually constitutes (Lindsey and Bello Bitugu, 2018). By way of a recap, the WB has defined a partnership as:

A collaborative relationship between entities to work towards shared objectives through a mutually agreed division of labor" (World Bank, 1998, p.8).

The words, 'shared objectives' and 'mutuality' are the key terms in detailing the meaning of partnership. The WB (1998) have outlined that a 'true' partnership should encompass local 'decision-making' which it argues helps foster local 'ownership'. These features are deemed central in countering 'Global Northern' donor driven development initiatives which it argued have proved neither effective nor efficient:

Stakeholder participation in the design and implementation of the programs and projects is an important feature of ownership, as

such, an additional key to increasing development effectiveness. Those affected by the provision of aid need not only to be consulted. They also need to be part of the decision-making on the use of the aid in a true partnership relation (World Bank, 1998, p.8-10).

This meaning is also solidified whereby 'true' partnerships are contrasted with 'hollow' partnerships "where the terms are defined only by one party – the donor"; and so-called 'inflexible' partnership where there are rigid rules "with no scope for reassessment and dialogue over outcomes" (World Bank, 1998, p.5). In addition, the broad literature concerning international development 'partnerships' is useful as it helps make the distinction between 'partners' (indicative of a 'true' partnership) and 'donors' (indicative of a 'hollow' partnership). Contu and Girei (2014) have noted that a 'partner' tends to be interested in the overall work of the 'in country' stakeholder organisation to fulfil the aims of the programme, and its overall work in changing the lives of locals who participate in the programme. Whereas a 'donor' (otherwise known as a 'hollow' partnership), demands certain unilaterally decided indicators of impact. In addition 'hollow' partnerships tend to prioritise other interests and agendas (for instance, MDGs, SDGs or funders) that may override real (local) interests of improving the lives of programme participants based on local need or circumstances.

So what does all of this mean and to what extent does the 'formal' discourse of the INGOs reflect the practices of a 'true' partnership? To summarise, the 'formal' discourse and 'technical' attributes of CWB (Giulianotti, 2011a) have shown that their presence in Cameroon and relationship with CCF was shaped and defined by CWB - an example of a 'hollow' partnership, indicative of a donor-recipient relationship. The lack of local consultation was evident in the INGOs 'formal' discourse; however it has been noted that CWB do utilise their relationship with CCF to help justify and perpetuate their operations and intentions to change the lives of programme participants. In contrast, the 'formal' discourse of CFDP-US - is somewhat messier and has shown features that span two of Giulianotti's (2011a) models - 'technical' and 'dialogical'. Importantly though, in contrast to CWB there was *some* evidence of shared objectives, local consultation (about the programme need) and decision making which evidenced more features of 'true' partnership.

9.2.2 Core findings and arguments in relation to Research Question

Two

Next, in addressing Research Question Two – *what are the locally identified issues and responses concerning the relationship with the INGOs and INGO practitioners?* – the thesis has shown that, in practice, the case study partnerships generate local perceptions that reproduce asymmetric relations which in turn produced varying social consequences. As discussed in Chapter 7, theorisation was guided by Lukes' (2005) three dimensional understanding of power, James Coleman's (1988, 1990) social capital theory and broader concepts relating to power (e.g. discourse, whiteness, hegemony and agency). The theories provided useful frameworks to analyse the relationship between the CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners and INGO SfD practitioners as they offer contrasting ways to explore and explain the various displays of power (e.g. which result in negative and/or positive effects).

The INGOs and INGO practitioners are positioned as the 'experts'

The lens of discourse, whiteness, hegemony and agency, also shaped the focus when exploring the various social consequences of the relationship between CCF/CFDP-Cameroon practitioners with their INGO partners.

The first consequence related to the 'expert' status ascribed to the INGOs by local SfD practitioners. Broadly speaking, the INGOs framing of their partnerships reproduced historically rooted asymmetries between local and 'Global Northern' stakeholders. Whilst well intentioned on the part of the SfD INGOs, the realities of the case study partnerships showed that they were embedded in, and reproduced broader global inequalities whereby the 'Global South' partners (CCF and CFDP-Cameroon) had to follow an agenda set in the 'Global North' - akin to Lukes' (2005) second dimension of power. In this scenario, the INGOs dictated what was possible and what was not. It is argued that this 'expert' status was influenced by the 'formal' discourse and tangible resources such as the one-directional flow of money and donated sports equipment and less intangible materials, such as the flow of knowledge and values which promoted what was legitimate and valuable knowledge on the ground. The following section unravelled and explored ways in which the relations of power (such as hierarchies of nationality and race) played out for 'Global South' SfD practitioners on the ground.

The tangible flow of resources - included money, donated sports equipment, curriculum, teaching aids - was reflective of the asymmetry of decision making and financial arrangements evident between the INGOs and the 'in country' partners. The control of money and tangible resources was an important force in the power dynamic of partnerships between donors in the 'Global North' and 'in country' partner (recipients) located in 'Global South' nations. This has been noted by many scholars as the biggest constraint on the formation of authentic partnerships (Lister, 2000; Dichter, 1989; McEwan, 2009; Briggs, 2008). For example, 'in country' partners CCF and CFDP-Cameroon received their funding from their INGO partner and rarely had direct access to other sources of funding, and therefore the two INGOs tightly safeguarded their position as key decision makers and 'conductors' of the funding streams. In addition to tangible resources, a one directional flow of knowledge and values (for example the INGOs programme curriculum, monitoring and evaluation systems, and in one case the use of Global North volunteers) positioned 'in country' partners as recipients who were expected to comply with INGO policies and procedures. The flow of knowledge/values by the two INGOs from the 'North' to the 'South' were founded on positive assumptions by the INGOs - however such decision by the INGOs have shown to be ignorant of the post-colonial context where they are applied and unaware of and negative effects they may have caused. In particular, Chapter 7 illustrated that issues relating to race-based superiority are prevalent in the perceptions of local practitioners living in Cameroon; perceptions that are constructed and bound up with local perceptions about post-colonial residue and attitudes towards 'whiteness'.

CCF and CFDP-Cameroon SfD practitioners are not purely passive recipients and experience frustration regarding their relationship with their INGO partner

Whilst compliance with and acceptance of the 'expert status' was evident on one hand, Chapter 7 also showed that the relationships with the INGOs produce a range of tensions and frustrations.

Findings highlighted that both CCF and CFDP-Cameroon staff have to fend off local misconceptions (e.g. media, government officials, family and friends) about their relationship with CWB and CFDP-US. Furthermore, there was evidence of frustration about the lack of understanding that the

INGOs had regarding the local realities which negatively impacted on the relationship with the INGO. The final finding was specific to CFDP-Cameroon staff - and was based on a lack of decision making opportunities concerning the strategic direction or operational aspects of the programme. In particular, there was frustration and tension regarding the one-way exchange of US practitioners who visited Cameroon. This finding is in stark contrast to the participatory discourse found in CFDP-US 'formal' discourse (and outlined in Chapter 6), which promoted some aspects of a 'dialogical' SfD model (Giulianotti, 2011a) - illustrative of 'true' partnership.

CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners draw on race-based assumptions to enable positive personal consequences

Chapter 7 discussed how the relationships with the INGO (despite its frustrations) are seen as valuable by CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners. These findings can be understood from a social capital perspective.

Coleman's (1990) understanding of social capital - in addition to other concepts of social capital - e.g. bridging (Putnam, 2000) and linking social capital (Woolcock, 2001) framed this analysis. The core finding here was that the local practitioners at CFDP-Cameroon and CCF work within a hegemonic structure and manufacture a range of positive social outcomes for themselves. Specifically their interpersonal relationships with SfD INGO practitioners from the UK and USA are deemed 'valuable' which can in turn be used to positively impact on their lives - personally and professionally. For instance, CCF and CFDP-Cameroon SfD practitioners illustrated how the social act of developing personal networks and connections with white 'Global Northern' SfD practitioners resulted in perceived personal and professional positive outcomes. Put another way, there was an overwhelming consensus amongst CCF and CFDP-Cameroon SfD practitioners that the act of them (as black practitioners) associating with and working with white INGO practitioners from the 'Global North', functioned as an important social capital currency (Portes, 1998). This currency - has arguably been heightened due to the post-colonial context and post-colonial residue - and has been drawn on in exchange for various positive social outcomes such as a heightened social status, professional advancement in their role, and in some cases a salary increase in their paid role due to their association with 'whites' and the SfD INGOs. While on one

hand it is positive to assert that local practitioners are able to exercise some agency to make active choices about how to respond and (re)construct dominant discourses, it is important not to overly romanticise the level of agency obtainable in some 'Global South' contexts as it "occurs amidst the hegemony of neoliberal development, often promoted by northern institutions" (Darnell and Hayhurst, 2012, p.112).

9.2.3 Core findings and arguments in relation to Research Question Three

In response to Research Question Three - *what are the locally identified issues and responses relating to the day-to-day delivery of the SfD INGO programmes?* - Chapter 8 discussed how CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners navigate the day-to-day challenges of delivering the INGO programme in Cameroon. Findings reveal how local SfD practitioners navigate a complex domestic environment in Cameroon as well as working within the power systems and constraints of the 'formal' discourses promoted by the INGOs

The domestic context of Cameroon presents obstacles for CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners to effectively deliver the INGO SfD programme

Chapter 8 outlined and examined a range of social, political and cultural issues in Cameroon constraining the ability of local practitioners to deliver the INGO SfD programme as intended. The domestic context in Cameroon is extremely complex and issues affecting the delivery of the SfD programme include; a volatile socio-political context; differing views and attitudes across Cameroon about the value of sport; the language complexities they face across Cameroon; matters of gendered (in)equalities and the taboo nature of HIV/AIDS as a topic.

Theoretically, Lukes' (2005) three dimensional understanding of power provided an analytical lens to examine the challenging domestic context of Cameroon and how it affects local SfD practitioner's ways. For instance, illustrative examples showed:

- i) Cases of overt decision making (one dimensional view of power) - e.g. the influence of family members in some communities who prohibit female participation in the SfD programme.
- ii) Instances of covert "non-decision making" through agenda setting (two dimensional view of power) (2005, p.22) - e.g. the

ability of the INGOs to prescribe and control the SfD programme agenda.

- iii) Attempted instances of “influencing, shaping or determining” of people’s beliefs, values and opinions (three dimensional view of power) (Lukes, 2005, p.16). E.g. powerful actors (e.g. the Francophone-dominated Cameroonian state) have shown attempts to distort people's perceptions and shape preferences in society which favours some interests (Francophones) over others (Anglophones). This attempt to achieve cultural hegemony has failed as there has been an ongoing struggle over hegemony (e.g. protests, violent clashes and police intervention).

The INGOs 'formal' discourse presents challenges to the day-to-day programme delivery

Building on the domestic challenges that affect programme delivery, Chapter 8 also identified and discussed a range of 'everyday' delivery challenges facing Cameroonian SfD practitioners which were directly influenced by the INGO (rather than from the broader Cameroonian context). For example, the INGO 'formal' discourse relied on local volunteers to sustain the programme delivery year round, which causes programme delivery issues. Also, the use of cricket and football as delivery 'tools' caused a range of delivery challenges. In addition, the age and maturity of participants was not accounted for within the INGO curriculum which caused a different set of challenges for practitioners to operate within and navigate. A core finding here related to the resourcefulness of local SfD practitioners who operate in a difficult environment whereby the INGOs make overt decisions (one directional) and also promote an 'agenda setting' imperative (two dimensional view of power) (see Lukes, 2005).

The central findings related to Research Question Three confirmed a gap between the 'ideal' practice (as presented in the curriculum developed by the INGOs) and how the everyday delivery of SfD programmes occurs (from the perspective of local practitioners). It is argued that power is not always one way (e.g. power as domination) as Lukes' (2005) leads us to believe. It is not disputed that practitioners face significant internal domestic complexities within Cameroon alongside the influence of the INGOs. However, the findings have also highlighted that by combining

Lukes' (2005) understanding of power, alongside the concept of 'agency' has shown that local practitioners from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon are able to interpret and respond to the INGO 'formal' discourse in ways which fit the local environment, evidencing some (potentially limited) agency within the contextual and structural constraints.

9.3 Key contributions and implications of this research

As detailed throughout this study, the SfD sector has rapidly grown in the past two decades. Despite this growth, there is still limited knowledge of how the SfD sector is structured socially and organizationally; and how different aspects of SfD work (partnerships, programme etc.) are planned, implemented and experienced in diverse cultural contexts. The hope is that this study can make an original contribution to knowledge by providing a critical understanding of SfD partnerships, particularly those involving INGOs from the 'Global North' and 'in country' stakeholder organisations in the 'Global South'. In doing so this research has the potential to inform and improve future practices and strategies in relation to SfD partnerships and in doing so help to strengthen the sector.

In the section that follows, the key contributions and scholarly connotations of the thesis - theoretically, methodologically and practically - are outlined.

9.3.1 Theoretical contributions

This first sub-section focuses on the four key theoretical contributions of this thesis, namely: (i) a critical examination of SfD partnership working; (ii) the prioritisation of localised perspectives; (iii) a comprehensive contextual understanding and (iv) the adoption of a holistic theoretical approach to understand power.

A critical examination on SfD partnership working

This thesis supports the argument that there is a necessity within the SfD sector for more critical reflection on partnership working (Lindsey and Bello Bitugu, 2018). In doing so, the thesis has paid close attention to both the 'formal' discourse produced by two SfD INGO's, as well as insights 'on the ground' concerning the day-to-day practices and INGO structures. This approach has been followed in order to avoid, as Hardy and Phillips (1998) have warned, shortcomings when exploring manifestations of power. For example, it is not acceptable to *just* accept the stated goals and definitions of the most powerful in their account of the partnership, and these "surface

dynamics" (e.g. claims of participation and mutuality) for actually "what is going on beneath" (1998, p.217) within the partnerships.

As outlined in Chapter 2, existing empirical SfD literature concerned with 'Global North'/'South' issues of power tends to either examine the i) policy discourse associated with the SfD sector (some examples include Hayhurst, 2009; Hasselgård, 2015; Adams and Harris, 2014; Mwaanga and Mwansa, 2014) or ii) examines the everyday practices associated with SfD programmes and partnerships (Collison and Marchesseault, 2018; Banda and Holmes, 2017; Lindsey et al., 2017; Mwaanga and Adeosun, 2017; Forde and Frisby, 2015; Mwaanga and Banda, 2014; Banda et al., 2008). To date, few studies have contrasted the rhetoric found within the 'formal' discourses of organisations that fund and develop SfD programmes with accounts of how this rhetoric plays out in everyday practice (with the exception of Hasselgard and Straume, 2015).

The findings of this thesis support Lindsey and Bitugu's (2018, p.88) argument that power is an ever-present theme within partnerships, and that "any suggestion that partnerships may have, share or develop 'equal power' or be based on a level playing field may be more of an idealised wish than a reality". For instance, Chapter 6 showed that the 'formal' discourse of CWB and CFDP-US generates empowering intentions about 'participation', 'partnership' and 'development'. These intentions share a similarity with 'bottom up' development discourses found in the international development sector, which aim to include programme participants and 'in country' partners in the planning and decision-making processes (Chambers, 1997). Consistent with the wider SfD sector, the case study partnerships are positioned as an unquestioned 'good' (based on their positive intentions) and are seen to be a sound mechanism for SfD programming. However, when the positive intentions were critically examined (e.g. by delving deeper into the INGO programme documents and interviewing INGO practitioners) a clear gap between this positive rhetoric and the structure and practices of the two INGOs was uncovered, with examples of hierarchical structures and a lack of local decision making. The disjuncture between the INGOs' intentions and the SfD programme and structure appears to place local SfD practitioners from CFDP-Cameroon and CCF in a position whereby they frequently have to navigate between the local realities of Cameroonian culture (e.g. multiple languages, attitudes towards gender, HIV/AIDS) and the INGO 'formal'

discourse, which in some cases contradicts the local realities. In such scenarios, local practitioners use their practical knowledge to translate, and make some small adaptations to the 'formal' discourse, thus exercising some level of local agency (e.g. changing the language from English to Pidgin English). But on the other hand, they do not work independently of the INGO curriculum – but rather in accordance with it to ensure the programmes' intentions are upheld. This supports the findings of Mosse (2005) who demonstrated how the practice of local practitioners contradicted the formal position in project plans, but at the same time, they worked hard to strategically maintain and protect the project's intentions. The empirical evidence presented within this thesis substantiates and supports Mosse's (2005) work and other studies in the international development and SfD domain that have shown a gap between the promise and reality of partnership (Lewis, 2010; Lewis and Kanji, 2009; Mosse, 2004; Hasselgard and Straume, 2015).

In accordance with Hardy and Phillips' (1998) aforementioned warnings, this thesis has also shown that, SfD partnerships warrant critical examination from a variety of perspectives. For example, by contrasting 'formal' discourse with insights of everyday practice to explore the realities 'on the ground'.

A prioritisation of localised perspectives

The evidence and knowledge constructed by organisations and scholars from the 'Global North' tends to maintain the dominant narrative within SfD - that sport is a useful tool to tackle development 'problems' and transform the lives of those in developing countries. It is argued, that if the SfD sector as a whole is to progress as a scholarly and practical domain, then a localised critical stance must be adopted. In particular, the positive intentions and rhetoric of 'Global Northern' organisation should be locally challenged to question the extent to which the 'formal' discourse is relevant to local needs.

A key contribution of this study is that it examines various perceptions of partnership policy and practice from two sides of the partnership, and the findings reinforce the importance and value of obtaining empirical qualitative accounts from local practitioners. This approach has been guided by a range of SfD scholars who also prioritise localised experiences (see Lindsey and Grattan, 2012; Lindsey et al., 2017; Nicholls et al., 2011;

Hasselgard and Straume, 2015). For instance, Lindsey and Grattan, in their critique of the SfD literature, highlighted that there is a "significant need for methodologically justified research that seeks to understand sport-for-development from the perspective of actors in the Global South" (2012, p.96). It is argued that the decision to prioritise localised experiences adds a further dimension to the everyday practices and relations that affect the Cameroonian SfD practitioners. The thesis has not just prioritised a dichotomised 'structure' versus 'agency' debate, but has also made a commitment to explore issues of power by examining the relationship between 'formal' (often hegemonic) discourses and everyday practice. In doing so, Chapters 7 and 8 revealed the complexity of the relationship with the INGOs and the day-to-day delivery of the INGO SfD programmes. These chapters have highlighted the responses to the INGO 'formal' discourse which has uncovered instances of agency and social capital benefit to local practitioners, but also a strategic acceptance of the donor-recipient relationship which is embedded in a post-colonial residue, specifically ideologies about 'whiteness' and 'Global North' superiority.

The thesis has shown that a critical reflection on partnership working is necessary and to do that effectively, a local perspective must be prioritised. It has been shown that the case study relations and practices are full of contradictions, tensions; ambiguities and that localised perspectives are typically underpinned by post-colonial residue. It is argued that if SfD partnerships do not consider or have open discussions about issues of power, then partnerships will remain unequal and "will cater to the dominant member's political agenda" (Nicholls et al., 2011, p.257).

A comprehensive contextual understanding

Giulianotti (2011a) has outlined that SfD programmes should be understood within their historical context and their political setting. This thesis supports this viewpoint and has felt it necessary to provide a detailed empirical examination of the contextual and distinctive conditions in Cameroon, in order to better understand the various challenges facing the local SfD practitioners.

For instance, the thesis has offered practical insights into a national context where SfD partnerships operate. The social, political and cultural contexts of Cameroon present challenges for Cameroonian SfD practitioners. For example, Chapter 3 highlighted and set the Cameroonian context to the

study, whereas Chapter 8 illustrated a range of social, political and cultural issues in Cameroon which noticeably affected the ability of local practitioners to deliver the INGO SfD programme as intended. In particular, Chapter 8 showed that several issues (e.g. sustaining the SfD programme delivery with local volunteers; the dominant use of English by the INGOs; issues relating to gender equality; attitudes towards HIV/AIDS, and the differing challenges of using football/ cricket), are all explained by a combination of the underpinning social, political and cultural contexts. Another point to note is that local SfD practitioners can turn contextual challenges (e.g. post-colonial nation and apparent post-colonial residue) into opportunities to generate positive personal outcomes. This is not to dispute that the post-colonial context reinforces power inequalities, but instead to highlight that it is also apparent that this context also spurs local SfD practitioners onto exercising their agency and negotiating some personal and professional gains from their association with the INGOs.

Based on these findings, it is argued that all empirical SfD studies should conduct research into national contexts with a focus on social, political and cultural aspects. This suggestion is consistent with the advice of a range of scholars, including Long (2001, p.50) who has recognised that "social action and interpretation are context-specific and contextually generated". In summary - and in accordance with other SfD scholars (e.g. Lindsey et al., 2017) - this thesis has shown that SfD partnerships exist within particular contexts which are best understood from empirical, locally orientated perspectives, which allow for a greater appreciation of the challenging contexts within which local SfD practitioners live and work. These insights are essential if any efforts to improve SfD practices or policies sought by the INGOs.

A holistic understanding of power

The empirical nature of this thesis, which has focussed on the relationships between CWB/CCF and CFDP-US/CFDP-Cameroon, sought to make a contribution to the analysis of power within SfD - an issue which Lindsey and Bello Bitugu (2018) argue is ever-present within SfD partnerships. Banda et al., (2008, p.15) have argued that "the power of international donors resides primarily in the funding that they make available." This is consistent with the findings of this thesis, in that CWB and CFDP-US control the finances of the SfD programmes. This thesis has also shown

however, that the workings of power within SfD partnerships are more complex than a simple direct 'power over' type of relationship. It has shown that power is not a static force, but instead it is in flux and something which is socially negotiated. For instance, examples of agency and social capital development have also shown that power within SfD partnerships can be used as an enabling force for local SfD practitioners. As outlined in Chapter 4, different theories of power have been employed to explore and explain how power plays out within these SfD partnerships, representing a novel theoretical approach which has not been previously used by SfD scholars. For instance, Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal' type SfD models were useful to examine 'how' SfD partnerships were formulated, by identifying the intentions of the INGOs (Chapter 6). Following which a combination of Lukes' (2005) radical three dimensional view of power, key power-based concepts (e.g. discourse, structure, agency, hegemony and whiteness) and Coleman's (1988) social capital theory were presented as useful theories in the findings chapters (6, 7 and 8) to re-think the possible constraining and enabling elements of power. The thesis has argued that, by linking together a number of theories and concepts (which all explore issues related to power), a more holistic understanding of power can be achieved, an approach which is open to the idea that power can be both an enabling and (simultaneously) constraining process which is expressed through the constant action and interaction. For example, the thesis has shown that power should be viewed as a relational force, a force which is central to human agency, and involving relationships based on dependence and/or autonomy.

9.3.2 Methodological contributions

There are three key methodological contributions which can be taken from this thesis, they include (i) the utility of a multifaceted qualitative methodology, (ii) the combination of an ethnographic approach and critical realism and (iii) the value of adopting a comparative case study research design.

The utility of a multifaceted qualitative methodology

Methodologically, multifaceted qualitative methodologies have not yet been widely adopted within SfD studies. As such, within this thesis, I have sought to outline a range of useful research strategies in order to examine the complex nature of power within SfD partnerships; these have included the QDA of 'formal' INGO discourse to examine the key intentions of the

SfD INGOs, which has then been contrasted with semi-structured interviews with various key groups (part of which involved ethnographic fieldwork in Cameroon). I argue that using a multifaceted qualitative methodology that combines multiple perspectives from 'Global Northern' SfD INGOs and 'Global Southern' SfD practitioners has provided new insights and meanings into the nature of SfD partnerships. While previous studies of SfD NGOs have been useful for providing in-depth accounts of policies, programmes and impacts, it is argued that such studies (which take either a 'Global North' or a 'Global South' perspective), may potentially be ignoring important contrasting perspectives on these same issues.

In particular, the ethnography in Cameroon taught me a range of research lessons, specifically the importance of being reflexive. As the ethnography sought to prioritise localised perspectives the decision was made to immerse myself in Cameroonian life and to help me better understand the context and to get a sense of how the partnerships work on the ground. As such, I lived and worked in Cameroon between October-December 2015 and June-July 2016, during which time I worked hard to build up rapport with the SfD practitioners in order to carry out 58 in-depth semi-structured interviews. Whilst arguably this immersion has been of critical value to this thesis, it has also required me to learn how to be reflexive. As outlined in Chapter 5, my immersion into Cameroonian life was challenging due to my positionality, including my physical and social characteristics such as my female gender, white skin and blonde hair colour, and my ability to only converse in English. These combined factors made me highly visible when conducting fieldwork in Cameroon, a predominantly patriarchal black social setting in which multiple languages are spoken. Reflecting on the immersion challenges, Benson and Nagar (2006, p.583) have asserted that "positionality has become a critical concept and practice to address questions of voice and authority." As such, it has been imperative for me as a researcher to question, for example, how it is possible to be sensitive to inequalities of power and acknowledge localised voices, when inevitably my voice has become 'the authority' in this thesis, as I write on behalf of the localised practitioners.

While I acknowledge the existence of power differentials in my own positionality with local SfD practitioners in Cameroon (see reflexive discussion in Chapter 5), I maintain that the strategy of immersion - one that requires the researcher to be a part of the daily routine of those being

researched (Brewer, 2000; Yin, 2003) - can be of benefit in this context if a researcher is able to continuously reflect on the cultural, social, gender, ethnic and historical forces that shape their interpretations, which I have sought to do throughout the thesis.

Combining an ethnographic approach with critical realism assumptions

This thesis contends that an ethnographic approach in Cameroon has been useful to help link together rich individual accounts of Cameroonian SfD practitioners to various layers of context and social structure which has enabled an explanation, rather than merely offering a description of the two SfD partnerships. Seen in this way, the well-established core principle of ethnography – to examine the lives of individuals and their 'subjective understandings' – is insufficient. Rather, it is argued that a localised ethnographic approach has enabled me to reveal the links between 'subjective understandings' and their structural social origins (Rees and Gatenby, 2014). As such, it is argued that critical realism has been useful to help connect the subjective understandings and social structures within this ethnographic study. Crucially, critical realist assumptions maintain the existence of underlying structures and mechanisms and therefore offer a suitable paradigm to help explain the underlying 'generic mechanisms' that shape human agency and the social relations that this agency in turn reproduces and transforms (Reed, 2005). However, a word of caution is needed as structures and 'generic mechanisms' are not readily visible and tend to be observed and experienced through their effects. For example, this understanding has enabled the thesis to explore the effects of some 'generic mechanisms' found within SfD programmes and partnerships such as the use of language, post-colonial residue, lack of consultation as well as explore the effects of some Cameroonian specific mechanisms; namely the Anglophone/Francophone socio-political divide.

A core methodological contribution of this thesis has been that ethnographic approaches are most useful when located within a critical realist paradigm, and utilised not merely as a method of data collection but rather as a methodology to help to link together localised subjective accounts with context and structures, rather than just seeking to describe social phenomena (Watson, 2012). Following Rees and Gatenby (2014, p.13), these arguments imply that the full value of the data gathered

through ethnographic approaches can only be realised if they "are situated and interpreted in their historical, economic and social contexts".

The value of adopting a comparative case study approach

In order to consider the research design that would most satisfactorily address my Research Questions, I chose to use a comparative case study approach. Yin (2003) has described case study methodology as a useful and distinctive means of empirical study which is particularly suitable for exploring the 'how' and 'why' of contemporary phenomena within a real-life context. In particular, Yin (2003) notes that this approach is particularly relevant when the researcher believes the context to be highly pertinent to the subject under study. This has led to a rationale for choosing an approach that allowed for comparisons of issues of power within SfD partnerships, a popular delivery approach within the SfD sector (Lindsey and Bitugo, 2018). This research design allowed me, therefore, to understand and compare the operation of two 'Global North' SfD INGOs, by tracing relevant factors, actors, and features (Stake and Savolainen, 1995) e.g. policies and practice found within 'formal discourse' and contrasting this with the perspectives of the local SfD practitioners in Cameroon who work to deliver the INGO programme. This constant comparison enabled a scrutiny of what is happening within one SfD partnership with what has happened in the other SfD partnership. The comparative case study approach was informed by a critical theoretical stance and its concerns and assumptions regarding power and inequality. Drawing upon Giulianotti's (2011a) 'ideal type' SfD organizational models, Lukes (1974, 2005) radical view of power, Coleman's (1988, 1990) social capital theory, as well as broader concepts related to power; the thesis has been able to study and compare the cultural production of structures, processes, and practices of power and agency. In doing so, this comparative case study approach arguably allows for more valid generalizations than a single case study, as there has been a guiding theoretical framework with which to compare within and between cases (Rhodes, 1995).

9.3.3 Practice-based contributions and recommendations

Implications arising from this research are mainly for SfD INGOs who fund SfD programmes in the Global South, who hold the most powerful position within their partnerships. This research demonstrated that there is a need

for the two SfD INGOs based in the 'Global North' to increase levels of local consultation/learning, autonomy, and ownership of the SfD programmes. In this regard, an attempt to maintain dialogue and present findings to the CWB and CFDP-US has been made in a bid to 'close the loop'. With regard to the research findings, data maps have been produced and shared with senior practitioners in the two INGOs to help visualise the findings for each INGO (see appendix C). In addition, an offer to discuss these findings has been made, which to date has been taken up by staff at CFDP-US.

With regard to organisational practices, three recommendations arose from the research findings, (i) a review of the SfD programme objectives which considers the local realities and needs, (ii) ensuring that INGO practitioners truly understand the local contexts and (iii) to encourage a cultural shift towards decolonising knowledge, all of which are outlined below and overleaf in more detail. The first suggestion responds to the perceptions about Northern dominance and dependency and also is based on an image of a partnership which is based on mutuality and reciprocal relations. For the second, with regards to INGO staffing, this informs the need for some reflection about how to better recruit and train 'Global Northern' practitioners to ensure that they have a better understanding of local contexts before travelling to Cameroon. In addition, it places a renewed emphasis on locally based 'in country' partners to employ/recruit practitioners who have context-relevant experience of SfD (and not just an interest in sports participation). Lastly, in order to encourage participatory approaches and shared knowledge, it is recommended that efforts should be made by the two INGOs to establish an enabling structure and culture.

A review of SfD programme objectives to consider the local realities and need

As noted throughout this thesis, the processes and mechanisms that shape the power dynamics between INGOs and 'in country' partners are implicitly and explicitly shaped by historical and current structures of power. If CWB and CFDP-US are serious about wanting to have 'real' partnerships with CCF and CFDP-Cameroon based on mutuality and shared objectives, they must do more than merely state positive rhetoric in their 'formal' discourse. In a sector which faces criticism about issues of 'Global Northern' dominance and dependency, organisations like CWB and CFDP-US must pay close attention to the make-up of their partnerships and seek a

renewed commitment with their 'in country' partners about the SfD programme and its objectives, to reflect the local need and reality - areas which this thesis has shown are lacking.

Collaboration between two organisations should not be assumed to be partnership. As several scholars have noted, partnerships do not function by themselves and typically may take years to develop (Fowler and Malunga, 2010; Fowler, 2000). If a partnership is to be mutual, the mechanisms underpinning it have to be carefully managed and balanced with input from both parties. A starting point for this would be to review the current SfD programme objectives and have an open dialogue about the local needs and realities facing local CFDP-Cameroon and CCF practitioners and make adjustments accordingly.

Ensuring that INGO practitioners truly understand the country context

This thesis has shown that context-related knowledge is essential for delivering the INGO SfD programmes and making them relevant to and appropriate for a specific Cameroonian context. With regard to understanding the Cameroonian contexts, it is important to have knowledgeable staff in the first place. This suggestion is supported by some local accounts from CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners, which revealed that some INGO practitioners have difficulties with the complex language system in Cameroon, levels of gender inequality, the sporting infrastructure, and the levels of poverty, which can cause difficulties in the relationships with local staff. This does not necessarily mean that only those who have previously worked in Cameroon can understand the context. However, it is recommended that the INGOs should try to recruit more practitioners who are diverse - based on their gender, race, age, as well as offering better country specific training to help new practitioners understand the realities of the SfD alongside the wider domestic issues in Cameroon.

Encourage a cultural shift within the INGOs towards decolonising knowledge

This research shows a picture of partnerships on the ground whereby inequality is prevalent, and a clear gap exists between 'the promise and practice of partnership' (Brinkerhoff, 2002). For instance, this thesis has outlined the practices of CWB and CFDP-US who operate in a post-colonial

Cameroonian context, and in differing ways support their 'formal' discourse with the rhetoric of participation and ownership. This empirical research has summarised that the two partnerships are largely characterised by top-down relations where the 'in country' partner has little possibility of changing the terms of the relationship and has to comply with the demands of the international 'partner'. In other words, the SfD INGOs do not go far enough in trying to redress the power imbalance, in particular taking account of localised knowledge. Moving forward, it is suggested that the SfD INGOs should consider more participatory approaches to enable shared knowledge production. In this context, Collison et al., (2016) have argued that "the importance of building strong relationships with skilled, experienced and informed locals [is needed] in order to collect accurate and valuable data in unfamiliar locations" (p. 422). Underpinning this recommendation would require the SfD INGOs committing to localising and decolonising knowledge production, for example by putting more emphasis on local practitioners and participants to input more fully into, and help shape, the programme design, implementation as well as the research processes (e.g. from the development of Research Questions through to the communication of the results for action). This would help "facilitate more reflexive, inclusive, and transformative investigations into SfD processes and outcomes" (Spaaij et al., 2018, p.10).

The goal of decolonising knowledge is to end the static 'Global North' - 'Global South' knowledge binaries that trap 'Global Southern' actors into being represented as either 'empowered' (Cornwall or Eade, 2010) or the 'victim' in need of rescuing or fixing (Coalter and Taylor, 2010; Coakley, 2011). As Grosfoguel (2009, p.27) has argued "an inter-cultural north-south dialogue cannot be achieved without a decolonization of power relations in the modern world."

The decolonisation standpoint favours local participation in knowledge production, in which the SfD agendas and focus are derived from local interests. In doing so, SfD INGOS should consider the broader top down 'Global North' and 'Global South' history (e.g. colonisation and associated post-colonial residue) through which their SfD programmes operate, particularly assumptions about knowledge. It is suggested that SfD INGOs need to take on a reflective, participatory, collaborative approach to partnerships. This approach is needed to help displace the assumptions of 'Global Northern' superiority and dependency, as shown in this study. But instead, SfD INGOs need to consider the post-colonial context of their work

and be sensitive and supportive of practices which may destabilise and decolonise the structures of hegemony that are evident in these SfD partnerships.

9.4 Limitations of the thesis

There are limitations involved in conducting this study which need to be acknowledged. Firstly, my positionality (British, white, female) could be considered a limitation or criticised given the prevalence of post-colonial residue in Cameroon and assumptions about 'Global Northern' knowledge. In postcolonial research, Benson and Nagar (2006, p. 583) have argued that "positionality has become a critical concept and practice to address questions of voice and authority." In light of this, I maintain that accounting for my own positionality and social background (given the post-colonial context of Cameroon) has been of utmost importance. In this regard, I have outlined in detail the importance of researcher reflexivity and positionality at the outset of Chapter 5, and again reflected on these issues upon completion of my Cameroonian fieldwork, which can be found at the end of Chapter 5.

Secondly, it may be argued that the research findings have *limited* transferability given their emergence through a case study design. However, my response to this limitation is that a comparative case study approach offers more opportunities for transferability than a single case study. For example, this thesis has been able to explore the effects of some 'generic mechanisms' which arguably can be found within other SfD programmes and partnerships (e.g. the use of English language, post-colonial residue, lack of local consultation), as well as outlining the effects of some Cameroonian particular mechanisms; namely the Anglophone/Francophone tensions.

Thirdly, in relation to data collecting, it is not proposed that the findings presented can be taken as a comprehensive account of all of the relationships or other stakeholders. For example, the scope of the research and time in Cameroon meant that it was not possible to capture the perspectives of the full range of stakeholders with a vested interest in the partnerships, such as programme participants, parents, community elders, or government officials. As such, the scope of the study prioritised the voice of those practitioners working for the local 'in country' partner (e.g. Coaches, PE teachers, Managers) who were involved in the day-to-day design and delivery of the SfD programmes.

9.5 Directions for future research

A consideration of this study's contributions and limitations leads to considerations for future research. Further research that replicates aspects of the theoretical and methodological framework would be valuable, given the lack of research in SfD partnerships, and the use of case study design, which has limitations to its generalization. Relating to the need for more empirical studies, further research that takes methodological concerns towards local agency in SfD partnerships is required. It is suggested that adopting a multifaceted qualitative methodology, similar to that employed here, with contrasting perspectives on partnerships from both a 'Global North' donor and 'Global South' partner outlook might offer interesting avenues to advance knowledge on partnership. This requires further exploration of issues of power and local agency, especially the 'voice' of local people in post-colonial contexts, who work with SfD INGOs. Such perspectives are rarely captured in the literature, which is why it is suggested that future studies should not only analyse the translation of 'formal' discourses of practice seen from the perspective of local practitioners, but also consider the 'voice' of the intended beneficiaries of the SfD programmes (for instance, children, youth and parents). Finally, from a theoretical perspective, further research is required to ascertain whether the holistic understanding of power can be utilised within other SfD contexts to help capture and analyse the different outcomes of power within SfD partnerships.

CHAPTER 10: REFERENCES

Abah, I. 2018. 'Ambazonia War' drowns SDF 28th Anniversary. *Journal du Cameroon*. [Online]. 25th May 2018. [Accessed October 20th 2018]. Available from: <https://www.journalducameroun.com/en/ambazonia-war-drowns-sdf-28th-anniversary/>

Abdur, R. 2017. *Cameroon restores internet in 2 Anglophone regions after 93-days offline*. Africa News. [Online]. 20th April 2017. [Accessed November 11th 2017]. Available from: <http://www.africanews.com/2017/04/20/cameroon-lifts-internet-blackout-in-2-anglophone-regions-after-93-days-offline/>

Acho-Chi, C. 2002. The mobile street food service practice in the urban economy of Kumba, Cameroon. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*. **23**(2), pp.131-148.

Adams, A. and Harris, K. 2014. Making sense of the lack of evidence discourse, power and knowledge in the field of sport for development. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*. **27**(2), pp.140-151.

Adams, A., Harris, K. and Lindsey, I. 2017. Examining the capacity of a sport for development programme to create social capital. *Sport in Society*. **21**(3), 558-573.

Agathangelou, A.M. and Ling, L.H. 2009. *Transforming world politics: From empire to multiple worlds*. London: Routledge.

Akonumbo, A. 2003. The legal aspects of Privatisation in Cameroon: the experience and the lessons. *Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. **36**(1), pp.75 - 102.

Alcoff, L. 2002. Towards a phenomenology of racial embodiment. In: Bernasconi, R. ed. *Race*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.267-283.

Alemazung, J. 2010. Post-colonial colonialism: An analysis of international factors and actors marring African socio-economic and political development. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. **3**(10), pp.62-84.

- Alim, H., Ibrahim, I. and Pennycook, A. 2009. *Global linguistic flows: Hip-hop cultures, youth identities and the politics of language*. New York: Routledge.
- Altheide, D., Coyle, M., DeVriese, K. and Schneider, C. 2008. Emergent qualitative document analysis. In: Hesse Biber, S. and Leavy, P. eds. *Handbook of emergent methods*. New York: The Guilford Press, pp.127–151.
- Amin, J. 2014. *African Immersion: American College Students in Cameroon*. Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Amnesty International. 2017. *Cameroon: Inmates 'packed like sardines' in overcrowded prisons following deadly Anglophone protests*. [Online]. London, Amnesty International. [Accessed November 2nd 2017]. Available from: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/10/cameroon-inmates-packed-like-sardines-in-overcrowded-prisons-following-anglophone-protests/>
- Anderson, E. 2003. *International Boundaries: A Geopolitical Atlas*. New York: Routledge.
- Andrews, D.L. and Loy, J.W. 1993. British cultural studies and sport: Past encounters and future possibilities. *Quest*. **45**(2), pp.255-276.
- Angwafo, P. 2014. *Cameroon's Predicaments*. Bamenda: Lanngaa Research and Publishing CIG.
- Apthorpe, R. and Gasper, D. 1996. *Arguing development policy: Frames and discourses*. London: Frank Cass.
- Ardener, E. 1962. The political history of Cameroon. *The world today*. **18**(8), pp.341-350.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. 2008. *Key concepts in post-colonial studies*. London: Routledge.
- Ashman, D. 2001. Strengthening North-South partnerships for sustainable development. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. **30**(1), pp.74-98.
- Atanga, L. 2009. *Gender, Discourse and Power in the Cameroonian Parliament*. Langaa: RPCIG.

- Austin, G. 2010. African Economic Development and Colonial Legacies. *International Development Policy*. [Online]. **1**, pp.11-32.
- Ayafor, M. 2006. Kamtok (Pidgin) is gaining ground in Cameroon. In: Chia, E. ed. *African Linguistics and the Development of African Communities*. Senegal: CODESEIA, pp.191-199.
- Baaz, M. 2005. *The paternalism of partnership: A postcolonial reading of identity in development aid*. London: Zed Publishing.
- Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M. 1962. Two faces of power. *American Political Science Review*. **56**(4), pp.947–952.
- Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M.S. 1970. *Power and poverty: Theory and practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baden, G. 2014. Imagining a Bilingual Nation: a study of Cameroons independence and reunification at its fiftieth anniversary. 21st March 2014. [Online]. [Accessed 23rd June 2019]. Available from: <https://grahambaden.com/2014/03/21/imagining-a-bilingual-nation-a-study-of-cameroons-independence-and-reunification-at-its-fiftieth-anniversary/>
- Baert, P. 2005. *Philosophy of the Social Science*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ball, S.J. 1993. What Is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes. *The Australian Journal of Education Studies*. **13**(2), pp.10-17.
- Banda, D. and Holmes, M. 2017. Sport-for-development and the struggle for subaltern voices to be recognised: a response to Manley, Morgan and Atkinson. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **9**(4), 723-738.
- Banda, D., Lindsey, I., Jeanes, R. and Kay, T. 2008. *Partnerships involving sports-for-development NGOs and the fight against HIV/AIDS*. York: York St John University.
- Bandura, A. 1962. *Social learning through Imitation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Bandura, A. 1977. Self-efficacy: toward a unifying theory of behavioural change. *Psychological Review*. **84**(2), pp.191-215.
- Banks, N. and Hulme, D. 2012. *The role of NGOs and civil society in development and poverty reduction*. Manchester: The Brooks World Poverty Institute.

- Barker, C. 2005. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.
- Barry, P. 2002. *Beginning theory: An introduction to literary and cultural theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bazeley, P. and Jackson, K. 2013. *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo*. London: Sage.
- BBC. 2018. *Cameroon's President Biya wins seventh term*. London, The BBC. [Online]. 22nd October 2018. [Accessed 23rd May 2019]. Available from: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-45940414>
- Bebbington, A. and Farrington, J. 1992. NGO-government interaction in agricultural technology development. In: Hulme, D. ed. *Making a Difference: NGO's and Development in the Changing World*. London: Earthscan, pp. 49-59.
- Bell, M. 1986. *Contemporary Africa*. New York: Longman.
- Benson, K. and Nagar, R. 2006. Collaboration as resistance? Reconsidering the processes, products, and possibilities of feminist oral history and ethnography. *Gender, Place and Culture*. **13**(5), pp.581-592.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Beutler, I. 2008. Sport serving development and peace: Achieving the goals of the United Nations through sport. *Sport in Society*. **11**(4), pp.359-369.
- Bhabha, H. 1994. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bhaskar, R. 1989. *Reclaiming reality*. London: Verso.
- Biccum, A. 2011. Marketing development: Celebrity politics and the 'new' development advocacy. *Third World Quarterly*. **32**(7), pp.1331–1346.
- Birt, L., Scott, S., Cavers, D., Campbell, C. and Walter, F. 2016. Member Checking: A Tool to Enhance Trustworthiness or Merely a Nod to Validation? *Qualitative Health Research*. **26**(13), pp.1802–1811.
- Black, D. 2010. The ambiguities of development: Implications for 'development through sport'. *Sport in Society*. **13**(1), pp.121–129.
- Blaikie, N. 2000. *Designing social research*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Blaikie, N. 2007. *Approaches to social enquiry: Advancing knowledge*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bloyce, D. and Smith, A. 2010. *Sport policy and development: an introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J.G. ed. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, pp.241-258.
- Bourdieu, P. 2002. The Forms of Capital. In: Biggart, N. ed. *Readings in economic sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.280-291.
- Bowen, R. and James, C.L.R. 1970. *Cricket: a History of Its Growth and Development: Throughout the World*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Bradshaw, A. 1976. A critique of Steven Lukes' power: a radical view. *Sociology*. **10**(1), pp.121–127.
- Brady, M. and Khan, A. 2002. *Letting Girls Play. Mathare Youth Sports Association's Football Program for Girls*. New York: Population Council.
- Brehm, V. 2001. *Promoting Effective North-South NGO Partnerships*. Oxford: INTRAC.
- Brewer, J. 2000. *Ethnography*. London: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Briggs, J. 2008. Indigenous knowledge and development. In: Desai, V., R ed. *A companion to Development Studies*. Second Edition. London: Hodder Education, pp.107 - 111.
- Briggs, J. and Sharp, J. 2004. Indigenous Knowledges and Development: A postcolonial caution. *Third World Quarterly*. **25**(4), pp.661-676.
- Brinkerhoff, D. and Brinkerhoff, J. 2004. Partnerships between international donors and non-governmental development organizations: Opportunities and constraints. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*. **70**(2), pp.253-270.
- Brinkerhoff, J. 2002. *Partnership for International Development*. Boulder County: Rienner.

- Brooks, J., McCluskey, S., Turley, E. and King, N. 2015. The utility of template analysis in qualitative psychology research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 12(2), pp.202-222.
- Bryman, A. 2012. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bräutigam, D.A. and Segarra, M. 2007. Difficult partnerships: the World Bank, states, and NGOs. *Latin American Politics and Society*. 49(4), pp.149-181.
- Burawoy, M. 2009. *The extended case method: Four countries, four decades, four great transformations, and one theoretical tradition*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Burnett, C. 2006. Building social capital through an active community club *International Review For The Sociology Of Sport*. 41(3-4), pp.283-294.
- Burnett, C. 2009. Engaging sport-for-development for social impact in the South African context. *Sport in Society*. 12(9), pp.1192-1205.
- Burnett, C. 2014. A critical reflection on Sport-for-Development Discourses: A review. *South African Journal for Research in Sport, Physical Education and Recreation*. 36(3), pp.11-24.
- Burnett, C. 2018. Politics of gender (in) equality relating to sport and development within a Sub-Saharan context of poverty. *Frontiers in Sociology*. 3(27), pp.1-15.
- Business Anti Corruption Network. 2017. *Cameroon*. [Online]. New York: Business Anti-Corruption Portal. [Accessed 20th November 2017]. Available from: <http://www.business-anti-corruption.com/country-profiles/cameroon>
- Buzan, T. and Buzan, B. 2010. *The Mind Map Book: Unlock Your Creativity, Boost Your Memory, Change Your Life*. London: Pearson/BBC Active.
- Cabral, R.J., Cotton, D., Semaan, S. and Gielen, A.C., 2004. Application of the transtheoretical model for HIV prevention in a facility-based and a community-level behavioral intervention research study. *Health promotion practice*, 5(2), pp.199-207.

- Cameroon Ministry of Sports and Physical Education. 2013. *Official Programmes for Physical Education and Sport in Secondary School Cycles and Teacher Training Colleges*. Yaounde: Cameroonian Ministry of Sports and Physical Education.
- Cameroon National Institute of Statistics. 2015. *Population of Cameroon*. [Online]. Yaounde, Cameroon National Institute of Statistics. [Accessed October 5th]. Available from: <http://www.statistics-cameroon.org/news.php?id=18>
- Campbell, C. and Mzaidume, Y. 2002. How can HIV/AIDS be prevented in South Africa? A social perspective. *British Medical Journal*. **324**(7331), pp.229-328.
- Campbell, S. 2010. Comparative Case Study. In: Mills, A., et al. eds. *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.174–175.
- Cao, J., Galinsky, A. and Maddux, W. 2014. Does travel broaden the mind? Breadth of foreign experiences increases generalized trust. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*. **5**(5), pp.517-525.
- Carrington, B. 2010. *Race, sport and politics: The sporting black diaspora*. London: Sage.
- Carroll, W.K. and Huxtable, D. 2014. Expose/oppose/propose: The Canadian Center for Alternative Policy and the Challenge of Alternative Knowledge. *Labour/Le Travail*. **74**, pp.27-50.
- Carspecken, P. 1996. *Critical ethnography in qualitative research*. London: Routledge.
- Chambers, R. 1997. *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last*. London: Practical Action Publishing.
- Chiweshe, M. 2014. The problem with Africa Football: Corruption and the (Under)development of the game on the continent. *African Sports Law and Business Bulletin*. **2**, pp.27-33.
- Cho, J. and Trent, A. 2006. Validity in qualitative research revisited. *Qualitative Research*. **6**(3), pp.319–340.

- Chung, A. 2012. Professionalising whiteness in volunteer work, Jakarta. In: *2012 Images of Whiteness Global Conference, 7-9th July 2012, Mansfield College, Oxford. UK.*
- Clark, K. and Clark, M. 1940. Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro pre-school children. *Journal of Social Psychology.* **11**(1), pp.159-169.
- Clarke, J. 2019. Cameroonian cricket: the interface between local and colonial dominant discourses. In: Gennaro, M. and Aderinto, S. eds. *Sports in African History, Politics, and Identity Formation.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp. 43-58.
- Clarke, J. and Ojo, J. 2017. Sport Policy in Cameroon. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics.* **9**(1), pp.189-200.
- Clarke, J. and Salisbury, P. 2017. The motives and social capital gains of Sport for Development and Peace volunteers in Cameroon: A comparative analysis of international and national volunteers. In: Benson, A. and Wise, N. eds. *International Sports Volunteering.* London: Routledge, pp.212-233.
- Coakley, J. 1996. Socialization through Sports. In: Bar-Or, O. ed. *The Child and Adolescent Athlete.* Malden: Blackwell, pp.353– 363.
- Coakley, J. 2011. Youth sports: What counts as “positive development?” *Journal of sport and social issues.* **35**(3), pp.306-324.
- Coalter, F. 2007a. *A wider social role for sport: who's keeping the score?* London: Routledge.
- Coalter, F. 2007b. Sports Clubs, Social Capital and Social Regeneration: 'ill-defined interventions with hard to follow outcomes'? *Sport in Society.* **10**(4), pp.537 - 559.
- Coalter, F. 2008. Sport-in-development: Development for and through sport? In: Nicholson, M. and Hoye, R. eds. *Sport and social capital.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, pp.39-67.
- Coalter, F. 2009. Sport-in-Development: Accountability or Development? In: Levermore, R. and Beacom, A. eds. *Sport and International Development.* Houndsmills: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.55–75.

- Coalter, F. 2010a. Sport-for-development: going beyond the boundary? *Sport in Society*. **13**(9), pp.1374-1391.
- Coalter, F. 2010b. The politics of sport-for-development: Limited focus programmes and broad gauge problems? *International review for the sociology of sport*. **45**(3), pp.295-314.
- Coalter, F. 2013. *Sport for development: What game are we playing?* London: Routledge.
- Coalter, F. 2014. Researching sport-for-development: the need for scepticism. In: Smith, A. and Waddingham, I. eds. *Doing Real World Research in Sports Studies*. London: Routledge, pp.163-179.
- Coalter, F. and Taylor, J. 2010. *Sport-for-development impact study. A research initiative funded by Comic Relief and UK Sport and managed by International Development through Sport*. Stirling: University of Stirling.
- Cole, I. and Robinson, D. 2003. *Somali housing experiences in England*. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University, Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research.
- Coleman, J. 1990. *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Coleman, J.S. 1988. Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American journal of sociology*. **94**, pp.95-120.
- Collier, P. 2002. Social capital and poverty: a microeconomic perspective. In: Bastelaer, T.V. ed. *The Role of Social Capital in Development*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp.19-41.
- Collison, H., Darnell, S., Giulianotti, R. and Howe, D. 2018. *Routledge Handbook of Sport for Development and Peace*. London: Routledge.
- Collison, H. and Marchesseault, D. 2018. Finding the missing voices of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP): using a 'Participatory Social Interaction Research' methodology and anthropological perspectives within African developing countries. *Sport in Society*. **21**(2), pp.226-242.
- Confederation of African Football. 2018. *Decisions of CAF executive committee*. [Online]. Cairo, CAF. [Accessed 2nd February 2019]. Available from: <http://www.cafonline.com/en->

[US/NewsCenter/News/NewsDetails?id=wSvy6GZWpzLfv5t9y32%2fw%3d%3d](https://www.usnews.com/news/newsdetails?id=wSvy6GZWpzLfv5t9y32%2fw%3d%3d)

Contu, A. and Girei, E. 2014. NGOs management and the value of 'partnerships' for equality in international development: What's in a name? *Human Relations*. **67**(2), pp.205–232.

Cooky, C. 2009 "Girls just aren't interested." The social construction of interest in girls' sport. *Sociological Perspectives*. **52**(2), pp.259–283

Cooky, C. 2011. Do girls rule? Understanding popular culture images of "girl power" and sport. In: Prettyman, S. and Lampman, B. eds. *Learning culture through sports: Perspectives on society and organized sports*. Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, pp.210–226.

Cornwall, A. and Brock, K. 2005. What do buzzwords do for development policy? a critical look at 'participation', 'empowerment' and 'poverty reduction'. *Third World Quarterly*. **26**(7), pp.1043-1060.

Cornwall, A. and Eade, D. 2010. *Deconstructing Development Discourse: Buzzwords and Fuzzwords*. London: Practical Action Publishing.

Cowen, M. and Shenton, R. 2017. The invention of development. In: St. Clair, A. eds. *Development Ethics*. London: Routledge, pp.3-21.

Crabbe, T. 2006. Reaching the 'hard to reach': engagement, relationship building and social control in sport based social inclusion work. *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing*. **2**(1-2), pp.27-40.

Crabbe, T. 2008. Avoiding the numbers game: social theory, policy and sports role in the art of relationship building. In: Nicholson, M. and Hoye, R. eds. *Sport and Social Capital*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, pp.21-37.

Crabbe, T., Bailey, G., Blackshaw, T., Brown, A., Choak, C., Gidley, B., Mellor, G., O'Connor, K., Slater, I. and Woodhouse, D. 2006. *Knowing the score. Positive futures case study research: Final report*. London: The Home Office.

Crabtree, B. and Miller, W. 1999. *Doing Qualitative Research*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

- Cracknell, B. 2000. *Evaluating development aid: Issues, problems and solutions*. London: Sage Publications.
- Crawford, G. 2003. Partnership or power? Deconstructing the "partnership for governance reform" in Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly*. **24**(1), pp.139-159.
- Creswell, J.W. 2012. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. London: SAGE.
- Cricket Without Boundaries. 2015. *Our Countries*. [Online]. [Accessed 12th November 2015]. Available from: <http://www.cricketwithoutboundaries.com/index.php/our-work/countries>
- Cricket Without Boundaries. 2016. *Cameroon, Spring 2016: 5th - 19th March*. [Online]. London, Cricket Without Boundaries. [Accessed April 10th 2017]. Available from: <http://www.cricketwithoutboundaries.com/cameroon-projects/248-cameroon-spring-2016>
- Cronin, O. 2011. *Comic relief review: Mapping the research on the impact of Sport and Development interventions*. London: Comic Relief.
- Crotty, M. 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. Australia: Allen and Unwin.
- Crush, J. 2005. *Power of Development*. London: Routledge.
- Cumber, S., Tsoka-Gwegweni, J., Jackson Jr, N. and Kanjo-Cumber, R. 2017. HIV/AIDS amongst street children in Cameroon: their relative knowledge, attitudes and sexual experience. *International Journal of Community Medicine and Public Health*. **4**(5), pp.1450-1458.
- Dahl, R. 1961. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. **48**(4), p756.
- Daniels, E. and Leaper, C. 2006. A longitudinal investigation of sport participation, peer acceptance, and self-esteem among adolescent girls and boys. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, **55**(11-12), pp.875-880.
- Darby, P. 2012. Association Football, Cameroun. In: Nauright, J. and Parrish, C. eds. *Sports around the world: history, culture, and practice*. Denver: ABC-CLIO, pp.94-95.

- Darnell, S. 2007. Playing with Race: Right to Play and the production of whiteness in 'Development through Sport'. *Sport in Society*. **10**(4), pp.560-579.
- Darnell, S. 2010. Power, politics and "sport for development and peace": Investigating the utility of sport for international development. *Sociology of Sport Journal*. **27**(1), pp.54-75.
- Darnell, S. 2012. *Sport for development and peace: A critical sociology*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Darnell, S. and Hayhurst, L. 2011. Sport for decolonization. *Progress in Development Studies*. **11**(3), pp.183-196.
- Darnell, S. and Hayhurst, L. 2012. Hegemony, postcolonialism and sport-for-development: a response to Lindsey and Grattan. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **4**(1), pp.111-124.
- Davies, T.R. 2012. The Transformation of International NGOs and Their Impact on Development Aid. *International Development Policy*. **3**, pp.48-59.
- Davis, R., Campbell, R., Hildon, Z., Hobbs, L., & Michie, S. 2015. Theories of behaviour and behaviour change across the social and behavioural sciences: a scoping review. *Health psychology review*, **9**(3), pp.323-344.
- DeLancey, M., Mbu, R. and DeLancey, M. 2010. *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*. Maryland: Scarcrow Press.
- Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. 2005. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Denzin, N., Lincoln, Y. and Tuhiwai Smith, L. 2008. *The Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. London: Sage.
- Dichter, T. 1989. *Issues critical to a shift in responsibilities between U.S. PVOs and Southern NGOs*. United States: USAID.
- Dickson, E. 1998. Through the prism of a local tragedy: political liberalisation, regionalism and elite struggles for power in Cameroon. *Africa*. **68**(3), pp.338-359.
- Disch, R. and Schwartz, B. 1970. *White racism*. New York: Dell.

- Doffonsou, R. and Andrianarison, F. 2017. *Cameroun 2017*. [Online] African Economic Outlook. [Accessed 3rd February 2018]. Available from: https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEO_2017_Report_Full_English.pdf
- Dowding, K. 1996. *Power*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Dowding, K. 2006. Three-dimensional power: a discussion of Steven Lukes' power: a radical view. *Political Studies Review*. **4**(2), pp.136–145.
- Dudfield, O. 2014. *Strengthening Sport for Development and Peace: National Policies and Strategies*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Duffield, M. 2005. Getting savages to fight barbarians: Development, security and the colonial present. *Conflict, Security & Development*. **5**(2), pp.141–159.
- Dudfield, O. and Dingwall-Smith, M. 2015. *Sport for Development and Peace and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: Commonwealth Analysis Report*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Dwyer, S. and Buckle, J. 2009. The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. **8**(1), pp.54-63.
- Dyer, R. 1997. *White*. London: Routledge.
- Dyers, C. and Abongdia, J.-F. 2010. An exploration of the relationship between language attitudes and ideologies in a study of Francophone students of English in Cameroon. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. **31**(2), pp.119-134.
- Echu, G. 2003. *Influence of Cameroon Pidgin English on the linguistic and cultural development of the French language*. Indiana: Indiana University Linguistics Club Working Papers.
- Edwards, M., & Hulme, D. 1996. Too close for comfort? The impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations. *World development*. **24**(6), pp.961-973.
- Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. 1992. *Making a difference: NGO's and Development in a Changing World*. Abingdon, Oxon: Earthscan.

- Edwards, M. and Hulme, D. 2013. *Non-Governmental Organisations - Performance and Accountability: Beyond the Magic Bullet*. Oxon: Earthscan.
- Egan-Robertson, A. and Willett, J., 1998. Students as ethnographers, thinking and doing ethnography: A bibliographic essay. In: Egan-Robertson, A. and Bloome, D., Eds. *Students as researchers of culture and language in their own communities*. New Jersey: Hampton Press, pp.1-32.
- Egbo, O., Nwakoby, I., Onwumere, J. and Uche, C. 2010. *Legitimizing corruption in government: security votes in Nigeria*. Leiden: African Studies Centre.
- Ekanjume-Ilongo, B. 2016. An overview of the Pidgin English in Cameroon. *International Journal of Humanities Social Science and Education*. **3**(2), pp.154-160.
- Eriksen, T. 1995. *Small places, large issues: introduction to social and cultural anthropology*. London: Pluto Press.
- Escobar, A. 2008. Afterword. In S. Dar. ed. *New development management: critiquing the dual modernization*. London, UK: Zed Books, pp. 198-203.
- Escobar, A. 2011. *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Esteva, G. 1992. Development. In: Sachs, W. ed. *The Development Dictionary: a guide to knowledge as power*. London: Zed books, pp. 1-24.
- Estrada, S. 2017. Exploring Tensions in Knowledge Networks: Convergences and Divergences from Social Capital, Actor-Network Theory and Sociologies of the South. *Current Sociology Review*. **65**(6), pp.886–908.
- Eyben, R. 2010. Hiding relations. The irony of “effective aid”. *European Journal of Development Research*. **3**(22), pp.382–397.
- Eyoh, H., Azeyeh, A. and Lyonga, N. 2013. *Critical perspectives on Cameroon writing*. Bamenda: Langaa Research and Publishing Common Initiative Group.

- Falconer Al-Hindi, K. and Hope, K. 2002. Toward a More Fully Reflexive Feminist Geography. In: Moss, P. ed. *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp.103-115.
- Falzon, M.A. 2009. *Multi-Sited Ethnography*. London: Routledge.
- Fanso, V. 1999. Anglophone and francophone nationalisms in Cameroon. *The Round Table*. **88**(350), pp.281-296.
- Feagin, J.R. 2010. *The white racial frame: centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. London: Routledge.
- Fehling, M., Nelson, B. and Venkatapuram, S. 2013. Limitations of the Millennium Development Goals: a literature review. *Global Public Health*. **8**(10), pp.1109-1122.
- Femi Okiremuete, S. 2015. The colonial legacy. *Third Text*. **19**(3), pp.297-305.
- Ferim, V. 2013. One-party domination, a flaw in Africa's democracy: Comparative cases from Cameroon and South Africa. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*. **7**(7), pp.304-309.
- Field, J. 2003. *Social Capital*. London: Routledge.
- Fielding, N. and Thomas, H. 2008. Qualitative Interviewing. In: Gilbert, N. ed. *Researching Social Life*. 3rd ed. London: Sage, pp.245-265.
- Fine, M. 1994. Distance and other stances: Negotiations of power inside feminist research. In: Gitlin, A. ed. *Power and method: Political activism and educational research*. New York: Routledge, pp.13–35.
- Fletcher, T. 2011. The making of English cricket cultures: empire, globalization and (post) colonialism. *Sport in Society*. **14**(1), pp.17-36.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 2006. Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*. **12**(2), pp.219–245.
- Fokwang, J. 2009. Southern perspective on sport-in-development: A case study of football in Bamenda, Cameroon. In: Levermore, R. and Beacom, A. eds. *Sport and International Development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.198-218.

- Fonjong, L. 2001. Fostering Women's Participation in Development through Non-Governmental Efforts in Cameroon. *The Geographical Journal*. **167**(3), pp.223-234.
- Fonjong, L.N. and Athanasia, M.F. 2007. The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Women Rice Producers in Ndop, Cameroon and the Implications for Gender Roles. *Journal of International Women's Studies*. **8**(1), pp.133-147.
- Forde, S. 2015. Fear and loathing in Lesotho: An autoethnographic analysis of sport for development and peace. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. **50**(8), pp.958-973.
- Forde, S. and Frisby, W. 2015. Just be empowered: how girls are represented in a sport for development and peace HIV/AIDS prevention manual. *Sport in Society*. **18**(8), pp.882-894.
- Forde, S. 2014. Look after yourself, or look after one another? An analysis of life skills in sport for development and peace HIV prevention curriculum. *Sociology of Sport Journal*. **31**(3), pp.287-303.
- Foster, M. 1994. The power to know one thing is never the power to know all things: Methodological notes on two studies of Black American teachers. In: Gitlin, A. ed. *Power and method: Political activism and educational research*. New York: Routledge, pp.129–146.
- Foucault, M. 2002. *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, A. 2000. Introduction—beyond partnership: getting real about NGO relationships in the aid system. *IDS Bulletin*. **31**(3), pp.1–13.
- Fowler, A. 2016. Non-governmental development organisations' sustainability, partnership, and resourcing: futuristic reflections on a problematic dialogue. *Development in Practice*. **26**(5), pp.569-579.
- Fowler, A. and Malunga, C. 2010. Introduction: NGOs in a world of uncertainties. In: Fowler, A. and Malunga, C. eds. *NGO Management: The Earthscan Companion*. London: Earthscan, pp.1-12.
- Frankenberg, R. 1993. *The social construction of whiteness: White women, race matters*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Frankenberg, R. 2004. On unsteady ground: Crafting and engaging in the critical study of Whiteness. In: Bulmer, M. and Solomos, J. eds. *Researching race and racism*. London: Routledge, pp.104–118.
- Fukuda-Parr, S. 2004. Millennium Development Goals: Why They Matter. *Global Governance*. **10**(4), pp.395-402.
- Fukuyama, F. 1995. Social capital and the global economy. *Foreign Affairs*. **74**(5), pp.89-103.
- Fusco, C. 2005. Cultural landscapes of purification: Sports spaces and discourses of whiteness. *Sociology of Sport Journal*. **22**(3), pp.282-309.
- Gallant, M. and Maticka-Tyndale, E. 2004. School based HIV/AIDS prevention programmes for African youth. *Social Sciences and Medicine*. **58**(7) pp.1337-51.
- Gaventa, J. 2003. *Power after Lukes: A Review of the Literature*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.
- Giddens, A. 1994. *Beyond left and right: The future of radical politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gilbert, M. 1994. The politics of location: doing feminist research at 'home'. *Professional Geographer*. **46**(1), pp.90-96.
- Gille, Z. and Ó Riain, S. 2002. Global Ethnography. *Annual Review of Sociology*. **28**, pp.271–295.
- Giulianotti, R. 2004. Human rights, Globalization and sentimental education: The case of sport. *Sport in Society*. **7**(3), pp.355-369.
- Giulianotti, R. 2011a. Sport, peacemaking and conflict resolution: a contextual analysis and modelling of the sport, development and peace sector. *Ethical and racial studies*. **34**(2), pp.207-228.
- Giulianotti, R. 2011b. Sport, Transnational Peacemaking, and Global Civil Society: Exploring the Reflective Discourses of “Sport, Development, and Peace” Project Officials. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. **35**(1), pp.50–71.
- Giulianotti, R. 2012. The Sport for Development and Peace Sector: An Analysis of Its Emergence, Key Institutions, and Social Possibilities. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*. **18**(2), pp. 279-293.

- Giulianotti, R. 2016. *Sport: A critical sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giulianotti, R., Hognestead, H. and Spaaij, R. 2016. Sport for Development and Peace: Power, politics and patronage. *Journal of Global Sport Management*. **1**(3-4), pp.129-141.
- Go, J. 2013. For a postcolonial sociology. *Theory and Society*. **42**(1), pp.25–55.
- Goldberg, D. 1993. *Racist culture: philosophy and the politics of meaning*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Gonzalez, M.C. 2003. An ethics for post-colonial ethnography. In: Clair, R.P. ed. *Expressions of ethnography: Novel approaches to qualitative methods*. New York: State University of New York Press, pp.77–86.
- Gough, K. 1968. Anthropology and Imperialism. *Current Anthropology*. **9**(5), pp.403-407.
- Gramsci, A. 2011. *Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gratton, C. and Jones, I. 2004. *Research Methods for Sport Studies*. London: Routledge.
- Grillo, R. and Stirrat, R.L. 1997. *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Grix, J. 2002. Introducing students to the generic terminology of social research. *Politics*. **22**(3), pp.175-186.
- Grix, J. 2012. 'Image' leveraging and sports mega-events: Germany and the 2006 FIFA World Cup. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*. **17**(4), pp.289-312.
- Grosfoguel, R. 2009. A decolonial approach to political-economy: Transmodernity, border thinking and global coloniality. *Kult*. **6**(1), pp.10-38.
- Groves, L. and Hinton, R. 2013. *Inclusive Aid: Changing power and relationships in international development*. London: Routledge.
- Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. 1994. Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. eds. *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.105-117.

- Guest, A.M. 2009. The diffusion of development-through-sport: analysing the history and practice of the Olympic Movement's grassroots outreach to Africa. *Sport in society*. **12**(10), pp.1336-1352.
- Gupta, A. 2004. The globalization of cricket: the rise of the non-West. *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. **21**(2), pp.257-276.
- Guttentag, D. 2009. The possible negative impacts of volunteer tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. **1**(11), pp.537-551.
- Hall, R. 1997. Eurogamy among Asian-Americans: A note on Western assimilation. *Social Science Journal*. **34**(3), pp.403-408.
- Hall, R. 2001. Descriptive analysis of post-colonial residue. *Philippine Studies*. **49**(4), pp.584-596.
- Hall, R. 2006. The Bleaching Syndrome among people of color. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*. **13**(3), pp.19-31.
- Hall, S. 1997. The spectacle of the "Other". In: Hall, S. ed. *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage, pp.225–277.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London: Routledge.
- Hardy, C. and Phillips, N. 1998. Strategies of engagement: Lessons from the critical examination of collaboration and conflict in an interorganizational domain. *Organization Science*. **9**(2), pp.217–230.
- Hartigan Jr, J. 2006. *Odd tribes: toward a cultural analysis of white people*. London: Duke University Press.
- Hartmann, D. and Kwauk, C. 2011. Sport and Development An Overview, Critique, and Reconstruction. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*. **35**(3), pp.284-305.
- Hasselgard, A. and Straume, S. 2013. They need to get the feeling that these are their ideas: trusteeship in Norwegian Sport for Development and Peace to Zimbabwe *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **6**(1), pp.1-18.
- Hasselgard, A. and Straume, S. 2015. Sport for development and peace policy discourse and local practice: Norwegian sport for development and

peace to Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **7**(1), pp.87-103.

Hasselgård, A. 2015. Norwegian Sports Aid: Exploring the Norwegian 'Sport for Development and Peace' Discourse. *Forum for Development Studies*. **42**(1), pp.1-25.

Hay, C. 1995. Structure and Agency. In: Marsh, D. and Stoker, G. eds. *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp.189-208.

Hay, C. 2002a. *Beyond Structure versus Agency, Context versus Context*. London: Palgrave.

Hay, C. 2002b. *Political analysis*. London: Palgrave.

Hayhurst, L. 2014. Using postcolonial feminism to investigate cultural difference and neoliberalism in sport, gender and development programming in Uganda. In: Young, K. and Okada, C. eds. *Sport, Social Development and Peace*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing Group Limited, pp.45-65.

Hayhurst, L. and Frisby, W. 2010. Inevitable tensions: Swiss and Canadian Sport for Development NGO perspectives on partnerships with High Performance Sport. *European Sport Management Quarterly*. **10**(1), pp.75-96.

Hayhurst, L., Giles, S. and Wright, J. 2016. Biopedagogies and Indigenous knowledge: examining sport for development and peace for urban Indigenous young women in Canada and Australia. *Sport, Education and Society*. **21**(4), pp.549-569.

Hayhurst, L., Wilson, B. and Frisby, W. 2011. Navigating neoliberal networks: Transnational Internet platforms in sport for development and peace. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. **46**(3), pp.315–329.

Hayhurst, L.M.C. 2009. The power to shape policy: charting sport for development and peace policy discourses. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **1**(2), pp.203-227.

Hayman, R., King, S., Kontinen, T. and Narayanaswamy, L. 2016. *Negotiating Knowledge: Evidence and Experience in Development NGOs*. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing.

- Hayward, C. and Lukes, S. 2008. Nobody to shoot? Power, structure, and agency: A dialogue. *Journal of Power*. **1**(1), pp.5-20.
- Hearn, J. 2007. African NGOs: The New Compradors? *Development & Change*. **38**(6), pp.1095-1110.
- Hearn, J. 2008. What's wrong with domination? *Journal of Power*. **1**(1), pp.37-49.
- Hedge, R.S. 2009. Fragments and interruptions: Sensory regimes of violence and the limits of feminist ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*. **15**(2), pp.276–296.
- Heron, B. 2007. *Desire for development: Whiteness, gender, and the helping imperative*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Hickey, S. and Mohan, G. 2004. *Participation--from tyranny to transformation?: Exploring new approaches to participation in development*. London: Zed books.
- Hickey, S. and Mohan, G. 2005. Relocating Participation within a Radical Politics of Development. *Development & Change*. **36**(2), pp.237-262.
- Hill, M. 2005. Ethical considerations in researching children's experiences. In: Greene, S. and Hogan, D. eds. *Researching children's experience: approaches and methods*. London: Sage, pp.61–86.
- Hine, C. 2005. *Virtual methods: Issues in social research on the Internet*. London: Berg.
- Holt, N., Scherer, J. and Koch, J. 2013. An ethnographic study of issues surrounding the provision of sport opportunities to young men from a western Canadian inner-city. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*. **14**(4) pp. 538-548.
- Hooks, B. 1998. Representations of Whiteness in the Black Imagination. In: Roediger, D. ed. *Black on White: Black writers on what it means to be White*. New York: Schocken Books, pp.38-53.
- Houlihan, B. and Green, M. 2011. *Routledge Handbook of Sports Development*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Houlihan, B. and White, A. 2013. *Politics of Sports Development*. London: Taylor and Francis.

- Hylton, K., Bramham, P., Jackson, D. and Nesti, M. 2001. *Sports Development: Policy, Process and Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Ingham, A. and Macdonald, M. 2003. Sport and community/communitas. In: Wilcox, R., et al. eds. *Sport dystopias: the making and meaning of urban sports cultures*. New York: SUNY, pp.17-33.
- International Cricket Council. 2016. *Cameroon affiliate member*. [Online]. Dubai: ICC. [Accessed July 4th 2018]. Available from: <http://www.icc-cricket.com/about/177/icc-members/affiliate-members/cameroon>
- International Crisis Group. 2017. *Cameroon's Anglophone Crisis at the Crossroads*. [Online]. Brussels, International Crisis Group. [Accessed November 11th 2017]. Available from: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/250-camerouns-anglophone-crisis-crossroads>
- International Monetary Fund. 2010. *Country report: Cameroon Poverty reduction strategy paper*. Washington: IMF.
- Jeanes, R. 2011. Educating through Sport? Examining HIV/AIDS education and sport-for-development through the perspectives of Zambian young people. *Sport, Education and Society*. **18**(3), pp.388-406.
- Jeanes, R. and Spaaij, R. 2016. Examining the educator: Towards a critical pedagogy of sport development and peace. In: Hayhurst, L., et al. eds. *Beyond sport for development and peace: Transnational perspectives on theory, policy and practice*. London: Routledge, pp.155-168.
- Jessop, B. 1990. *State Theory: Putting Capitalist States in their Place*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Johnston, G. and Percy-Smith, J. 2003. In Search of Social Capital. *Policy and Politics*. **31**(3), pp.321-334.
- Joldersma, C. 1997. Participatory policy making: Balancing between divergence and convergence. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*. **(6)**2, pp.207-218.
- Jones, I. 2015. *Research Methods for sports studies*. Third edition. London: Routledge.

- Jones, J., Nast, H. and Roberts, S. 1997. *Thresholds in Feminist Geography: Difference, Methodology, Representation*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Jua, N. and Konings, P. 2004. Occupation of public space: Anglophone nationalism in Cameroon. *Cahiers d'études africaines*. **44**(175), pp. 609-633.
- Kamat, S. 2003. NGOs and the new democracy. *Harvard International Review*. **25**(1), pp. 65-69.
- Kapoor, I. 2004. Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'. *Third World Quarterly*. **25**(4), pp.627-647.
- Katz, C. 1994. Playing the field: questions of fieldwork in geography. *Professional Geographer*. **46**(1), pp.67-72.
- Kaufman, J. and Patterson, O. 2005. Cross-national cultural diffusion: The global spread of cricket. *American Sociological Review*. **70**(1), pp.82-110.
- Kaufman, Z.A., Welsch, R.L., Erickson, J.D., Craig, S., Adams, L.V. and Ross, D.A. 2012. Effectiveness of a sports-based HIV prevention intervention in the Dominican Republic: a quasi-experimental study. *AIDS care*. **24**(3), pp.377-385.
- Kay, T. 2009. Developing through sport: Evidencing sport impacts on young people. *Sport and Society*. **12**(9), pp.1177-1191.
- Kay, T. and Bradbury, S. 2009. Youth sport volunteering: developing social capital? *Sport, Education and Society*. **14**(1), pp.121-140.
- Kenny, S., McGrath, B. and Phillips, R. 2017. *The Routledge Handbook of Community Development: Perspectives from Around the Globe*. London: Routledge.
- Kerrigan, D. 1999. *Peer Education and HIV/Aids: Concepts, Uses and Challenges*. Washington DC: Horizons/Population Council.
- Kidd, B. 2008. A new social movement: Sport for Development and Peace. *Sport in Society*. **11**(4), pp.370-380.
- Kidd, B. 2013. Canada and Sport for Development and Peace. In: L, T. and J, H. eds. *Sport Policy in Canada*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, pp.69-94.

- Kindzeka, M. 2017. Cameroon: *Troops deployed ahead of Anglophone independence declaration*. [Online]. Bonn, DW. [Accessed November 12th 2018]. Available from: <http://www.dw.com/en/cameroon-troops-deployed-ahead-of-anglophone-independence-declaration/a-40751054>
- King, N. 2012. Doing template analysis. In: Symon, G. and Cassell, C. eds. *Qualitative organizational research: Core methods and current challenges*. London: Sage, p.426-450.
- Knowles, M. 1984. *Andragogy in Action*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Kofele-Kale, N. 1986. Ethnicity, Regionalism, and Political Power: A Post-Mortem of Adidjo's Cameroon. In: Schatzberg, M. and Zartman, W. eds. *The Political Economy of Cameroon*. New York: Praegar, pp. 53–82.
- Konde, E. 2005. *African Women and Politics: Knowledge, Gender and Power in Male-dominated Cameroon*. Michigan: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Konings, P. 2011. *Neoliberal bandwagonism: Civil society and the politics of belonging to Anglophone Cameroon*. Leiden: Langaa African Studies Centre.
- Konings, P. and Nyamnjoh, F. 2003. *Negotiating an Anglophone Identity*. Boston: Brill Leiden.
- Konings, P. and Nyamnjoh, F. 2004. President Biya and the "Anglophone problem" in Cameroon. In: Mbaku, J. and Takougang, J. eds. *The Leadership Challenge in Africa: Cameroon Under Paul Biya*. New Jersey: Africa World Press, pp.191-234.
- Konings, P. and Nyamnjoh, F. 2019. Anglophone Secessionist Movements in Cameroon. In: de Vries, L., et al. eds. *Secessionism in African Politics: Aspiration, Grievance, Performance, Disenchantment*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.58-89.
- Konings, P. and Nyamnjoh, P. 1997. The Anglophone problem in Cameroon. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. **35**(2), pp.207-229.
- Kothari, U. 2001. Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development. In: Cooke, W., U ed. *Participation: The New Tyranny?* London: Zed Books, pp.139–152.

- Kothari, U. 2005. Authority and expertise: The professionalisation of international development and the ordering of dissent. *Antipode*. **37**(3), pp.425-446.
- Kouega, J.P. 2018. The Anglophone Problem in Cameroon: Focus on Education. *Open Access Library Journal*. **5**(3), pp.1-9.
- Krane, V. and Baird, S. 2005. Using ethnography in applied sport psychology. *Journal of Applied Sport Psychology*. **17**(2), pp.87–107
- Kruse, S.E. 2006. *Review of kicking AIDS out: is sport an effective tool in the fight against HIV/AIDS?* Oslo: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD).
- Kuhn, T. 1970. *The nature of scientific revolutions*. Second ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kum, H. 2018. Language and Culture: Marginalisation or Opportunity in Cameroon's official 'state bilingualism'. In: Evans, D. ed. *Language, identity and symbolic culture*. London: Bloomsbury, pp.105-124.
- Kumba Urban Council. 2000. *Kumba Urban Council Statistical Year Book*. Buea: The National Printing Press.
- Kvale, S. and Brinkmann, S. 2009. *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Lavrakas, P.J. 2008. *Encyclopedia of survey research methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Lawson, H.A. 2005. Empowering people, facilitating community development, and contributing to sustainable development: The social work of sport, exercise, and physical education programs. *Sport, Education and Society*. **10**(1), pp.135-160.
- Lee, A. and Schultz, K. 2012. Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity Analysis of Cameroon. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*. **7**, pp.1-46.
- Leonhardt, A. 2006. Baka and the magic of the state: Between autochthony and citizenship. *African Studies Review*. **49**(2), pp.69-94.
- Levermore, R. 2011. Evaluating sport-for-development approaches and critical issues. *Progress in Development Studies*. **11**(4), pp.339-353.

- Levermore, R. and Beacom, A. 2009. *Sport and International Development*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Levermore, R. and Beacom, A. 2012. Reassessing sport-for-development: moving beyond 'mapping the territory'. *International Journal of Sport Policy*. **4**(1), pp.125-137.
- Lewis, D. 2010. Nongovernmental organizations, definition and history. In: Anheier, H.K. and Toepler, S. eds. *An International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. New York: Springer, pp.1056-62.
- Lewis, D. and Kanji, N. 2009. *Non-Governmental Organisations and Development*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Lewis-Beck, M.S., Bryman, A. and Liao, T.F. 2004. *The Sage Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Li, T.M. 2007. *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Liamputtong, P. 2008. Doing research in a cross-cultural context: Methodological and ethical challenges. In: Liamputtong, P. ed. *Doing cross-cultural research: Ethical and methodological perspectives*. The Netherlands: Springer, pp.3-20.
- Lie, J.H.S. 2008. Post-development theory and the discourse-agency conundrum. *Social Analysis*. **52**(3), pp.118–137.
- Lindsey, I. and Banda, D. 2011. Sport and the fight against HIV/AIDS in Zambia: A 'partnership approach'? *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. **46**(1), pp.90-107.
- Lindsey, I. and Bello Bitugu, B. 2018. Partnerships in and around SDP. In: Collison, H., et al. eds. *Routledge Handbook of Sport for Development and Peace*. London: Routledge, pp.80-88.
- Lindsey, I. and Grattan, A. 2012. An 'international movement'? Decentring sport-for-development within Zambian communities. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **4**(1), pp.91-110.
- Lindsey, I., Key, T., Jeanes, R. and Banda, D. 2017. *Localizing Global Sport For Development*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Ling, L. 2002. Cultural Chauvinism and the liberal international order: "West vs. Rest" in Asia's financial crisis. In: Chowdhry, G. and Nair, S. eds. *Power in a Postcolonial World: Race, Gender and Class in International Relations*. London: Routledge, pp.115-124.
- Lister, S. 2000. Power in partnership? An analysis of an NGO's relationships with its partners. *Journal of International Development*. **12**, pp.227-239.
- Loftsdóttir, K. 2002. Never forgetting? Gender and racial–ethnic identity during fieldwork. *Social Anthropology*. **10**(3), pp.303–317.
- London School of Economics. 2016. Cameroon Vision 2035. [Online]. London: LSE. [Accessed 13th July 2018]. Available from: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/GranthamInstitute/law/cameroon-vision-2035/>
- Long, J. and Hylton, K. 2002. Shades of white: an examination of whiteness in sport. *Leisure Studies*. **21**(2), pp.87-103.
- Long, N. 2001. *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Lough, B.J. and Carter-Black, J. 2015. Confronting the white elephant: International volunteering and racial (dis)advantage. *Progress in Development Studies*. **15**(3), pp.207–220.
- Lukes, S. 1974. *Power: A Radical View*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Lukes, S. 2002. Review article: power and agency. *British Journal of Sociology*. **53**(3), pp.491–496.
- Lukes, S. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*. London: MacMillan Press.
- Lyons, D. 2008. *Journeys of discovery in volunteer tourism: International case study perspectives*. Oxford: CABI.
- Maclean, K. 2007. Translation in cross-cultural research: An example from Bolivia. *Development in Practice*. **17**(6), pp.784–790.
- Madill, A. and Sullivan, P. 2017. Mirrors, portraits, and member checking: Managing difficult moments of knowledge exchange in the social sciences. *Qualitative Psychology*, **5**(3), pp. 321-339.

- Mama, A. 1995. *Beyond the Masks: Race, Gender and Subjectivity*. London: Routledge.
- Mander, J. and Goldsmith, E. 1996. *Economy and Work The Case Against the Global Economy: And for a Turn Toward the Local*. San Francisco: Sierra Club.
- Marsh, D. and Smith, M. 2000. Understanding Policy Networks: towards a dialectical approach. *Political Studies*. **48**(1), pp.4-21.
- Mathare Youth Sports Association. 2019. *Who we are*. [Online]. [Accessed March 25th,]. Available from: <http://www.mysakenya.org/>
- Mawdsley, E., Townsend, J., Porter, G. and Oakley, P. 2002. *Knowledge, Power and Development Agendas: NGOs North and South*. Oxford: INTRAC.
- Mbaku, J. 2005. *The Culture and Customs of Cameroon*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Mbaku, J. and Takougang, J. 2004. *The Leadership Challenge in Africa: Cameroon Under Paul Biya*. New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- McAnulla, S.D. 2002. Structure and Agency. In: Marsh, D., G ed. *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.271-291.
- McEwan, C. 2009. *Postcolonialism and Development*. London: Routledge.
- McGehee, N.G. and Andereck, K. 2009. Volunteer tourism and the “voluntoured”: the case of Tijuana, Mexico. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. **17**(1), pp.39-51.
- McIntosh, P. 1990. White privilege : Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Peace & Freedom Magazine*, July/August, pp.10–12.
- McSweeney, M. and van Luijk, N. (2019) Leaving the comfort zone: utilizing institutional ethnography in sport for development and peace research, *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, **11**(4), pp.559-572.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D. 2000. New Ways to Promote Proenvironmental Behavior: Promoting Sustainable Behavior: An Introduction to Community-Based Social Marketing. *Journal of Social Issues*. **56**(3), pp.543–554.

- Meier, M. and Saavedra, M. 2009. Esther Phiri and the Moutawakel effect in Zambia: an analysis of the use of female role models in sport-for-development. *Sport in Society*. **12**(9), pp.1158-1176.
- Mforteh, A. 2007. In search of new identities in multilingual Cameroon. In: Anchimbe, A. ed. *Linguistic Identity in Postcolonial Multilingual Spaces*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp.87–101.
- Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. London: Sage.
- Mkpatt, B. 2015. *National Youth Policy: Youth Operational Plan*. [Online]. Yaounde: Ministry of Youth and Civic Education. [Accessed 21st June 2017]. Available from: <http://ndhcam.org/sotuCameroun/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/YOUTH-OPERATIONAL-PLAN.pdf>
- Mohan, G. 2006. Beyond participation: strategies for deeper empowerment. In: Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. eds. *Participation: The new Tyranny?* London: Zed books, pp.153-167.
- Moakeba, H. 1989. *The Politics and Diplomacy of Cameroon Sports: A Study in the Quest for Nation Building and International Prestige*. PhD thesis, University of South Carolina.
- Morgan, H. 2013. Sport volunteering, active citizenship and social capital enhancement: what role in the 'Big Society'? *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **5**(3), pp.381-395.
- Morikang, I. 2006. Cameroon: Sports Charter - Texts of Application Awaited. *Cameroon Tribune*. [Online] 10th August 2006. [Accessed 15th May 2017]. Available from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/200608100276.html>
- Morris, J., Marzano, M., Dandy, N. and O'Brien, L., 2012. Theories and models of behaviour and behaviour change. *Forest Research: Surrey, United Kingdom*.
- Mosse, D. 2004. Is Good Policy Unimplementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice. *Development and Change*. **35**(4), pp.639-671.
- Mosse, D. 2005. *Cultivating development: An ethnography of aid policy and practice*. London: Pluto Press.

- Muchhala, B. and Sengupta, M. 2014. A déjà vu agenda or a development agenda? A critique of the post-2015 Development Agenda from the perspective of developing countries. *Economic and Political Weekly*. **49(46)**, pp.28-30.
- Mullings, B. 1999. Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum*. **30(4)**, pp.337-350.
- Munro, S., Lewin, S., Swart, T. and Volmink, J. 2007. A review of health behaviour theories: how useful are these for developing interventions to promote long-term medication adherence for TB and HIV/AIDS? *British Medical Council Public Health*. **7(1)**, p104.
- Musiimenta, A. 2012. *A Controlled Pre-Post Evaluation of a Computer-based HIV/AIDS Education on Students' Sexual Behaviours, Knowledge and Attitudes*. *Online Journal of Public Health Information*. **4(1)**, pp.1-18.
- Mwaanga, O. 2014. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Sport for Development and Peace (SDP). In: Henry, I. and Ling-Mei, K. eds. *International Hand Book for Sport Policy*. London: Routledge, pp.83-92.
- Mwaanga, O. and Adeosun, K. 2017. Decolonisation in practice: A case study of the kicking AIDS out programme in Jamaica. *Journal of Sport for Development*. **5(9)**, pp.58–69.
- Mwaanga, O. and Banda, D. 2014. A Postcolonial Approach to Understanding Sport-Based Empowerment of People Living with HIV/ AIDS (PLWHA) in Zambia: The Case of the Cultural Philosophy of Ubuntu. *Journal of Disability & Religion*. **18(2)**, pp.173-191.
- Mwaanga, O. and Mwansa, K. 2014. Discourse in Sport for Development and peace: A case study of the Ubuntu Cultural Philosophy in EduSport Foundation, Zambia. In: Schulenkorf, N. and Adair, D. eds. *Global Sport-for-development: Critical Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.115-129.
- Mwakideu, C. 2017. Will 'Ambazonia' become Africa's newest country? DW. [Online]. October 2nd 2017. [Accessed 15th May 2018]. Available from: <https://www.dw.com/en/will-ambazonia-become-africas-newest-country/a-40780904>

- Narayanaswamy, L. 2013. Problematizing 'Knowledge-for-Development'. *Development and Change*. 44(5), pp.1065-1086.
- Narayanaswamy, L. 2016. *Gender, Power and Knowledge for Development*. London: Routledge.
- National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon. 2010. *Politico-administrative organisation*. Yaounde: National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon.
- National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon. 2016. *National Report on the Millennium Development Goals in 2015: A synthesis note*. Yaounde: National Institute of Statistics of Cameroon.
- Ndukong, K.H. 2015. Cameroon: National Volunteer Programme Envisaged. *All Africa News*. [Online]. December 7th 2015. [Accessed 17th February 2017]. Available from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201512071976.html>
- Nederveen-Pieterse, J. 2010. *Development Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ngenge, T. 2003. The institutional roots of the "anglophone problem" in Cameroon. In: Gros, J. ed. *Cameroon: Politics and society in critical perspectives*. Lanham: University Press of America, pp.61-86.
- Ngugi wa, T. 2008. The Language of African Literature In: Ashcroft, B., et al. eds. *The post-colonial studies reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 285-291.
- Ngugi wa, T. 1986. *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Nicholls, S. 2009. On the backs of peer educators: using theory to interrogate the role of young people in the field of sport-in-development. In: Levermore, R. and Beacon, A. eds. *Sport and International Development*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.156–175.
- Nicholls, S., Giles, A.R. and Sethna, C. 2011. Perpetuating the 'lack of evidence' discourse in sport for development: Privileged voices, unheard stories and subjected knowledge. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. 46(3), pp.249-264.

- Nixon, L.A. and Robinson, M.D. 1999. The educational attainment of young women: role model effects of female high school faculty. *Demography*. **36**(2), pp.185-194.
- Nkuo-Akenji, T., Anyangwe, I. and Fomboh, R. 2017. Knowledge, Attitude and Practice on Mode of Transmission of HIV/AIDS and Prevention among Youths in the North West Region of Cameroon. *Clinical Microbiology*. **6**(1), p270.
- Nkwi, P.N. and Vidacs, B. 1997. Football: politics and power in Cameroon. In: Armstrong, G. and Giulianotti, R. eds. *Entering the field: new perspectives on world football*. Oxford: Berg, pp.123-139.
- Nkwi, W. 2010. *Voicing the Voiceless: Contributions to Closing Gaps in Cameroon History, 1958-2009*. Cameroon: Langaa Research/Publishing Common Initiative Group.
- Nols, Z., Haudenhuyse, R. and Theeboom, M. 2017. Urban Sport-for-Development Initiatives and Young People in Socially Vulnerable Situations: Investigating the 'Deficit Model'. *Social Inclusion*. **5**(2), pp.210-222.
- Nurani, L. (2008). *Critical Review of Ethnographic Approach*. *Journal of Sociology*. **14**(7). pp. 441–447.
- Nyamnjoh, F. 1996. *Africa's Media: Democracy and the politics of belonging*. London: Zed Books.
- Nyamnjoh, F. 1999. Commentary: Cameroon, A country united by ethnic ambition and difference. *African Affairs*. **98**(380), pp.101-118.
- Nyamnjoh, F. and Awasom, N. 2008. Introduction. In: Percival, J. ed. *The 1961 Cameroon Plebiscite: Choice or Betrayal*. Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG, pp. 1-12.
- Nyamnjoh, F. and Rowlands, M. 1998. Elite Associations and the Politics of Belonging in Cameroon. *Journal of the International African Institute*. **68**(3), pp.320-337.
- Nyamnjoh, F.B. and Page, B. 2002. Whiteman Kontri and the enduring allure of modernity among Cameroonian youth. *African Affairs*. **101**(405), pp.607-634.

- Nye, J. 1967. Corruption and Political Development: A cost-benefit analysis. *The American Political Science Review*. **61**(2), pp. 417-427.
- Ogbonna, E. and Harris, L. 1998 Managing organizational culture: Compliance or genuine change? *British Journal of Management*. **9**(4), pp.273–288.
- Onwumechili, C. and Akindes, G. 2014. *Identity and Nation in African Football: Fans Community and Clubs*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pakenham, T. 1991. *The Scramble for Africa, 1876-1912*. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson.
- Palmay, I. 2011. "In your experience" Research as gendered cultural translation. *Gender, Place & Culture*. **18**(1), pp.99–113.
- Pannenberg, A. 2008. *How to win a football match in Cameroon: An anthropological study of Africa's most popular sport*. Leiden: African Studies Centre.
- Pannenberg, A. 2010. Football in Africa: Observations about political, financial, cultural and religious influences Unpublished.
- Patten, S., Vollman, A. and Thurston, W. 2000. The utility of the transtheoretical model of behavior change for HIV risk reduction in injection drug users. *Journal of the Association of Nurses in AIDS Care*. **11**(1), pp.57-66.
- Patton, M.Q. 1990. *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. London: Sage.
- Patton, M.Q. 2002. Two decades of developments in qualitative inquiry a personal, experiential perspective. *Qualitative Social Work*. **1**(3), pp.261-283.
- Pawson, R. and Tilley, N. 1997. *Realistic evaluation*. London: Sage.
- Peake, L. and Trotz, A. 1999. *Gender, Ethnicity and Place: Women and Identities in Guyana*. London: Routledge.
- Pearce, J. 2006. Development, NGOs, and civil society: the debate and its future. In: Eade, D. ed. *Development, NGOs, and Civil Society*. Oxford: Oxfam UK.

- Petty, R., Barden, J. and Wheeler, C. 2002. The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion: Health promotions that yield sustained behavior change. In: DiClementa, R., et al. eds. *Emerging Theories in health promotion practice and research: Strategies for improving public health*. San Francisco: Josey-Bass, pp.71-99.
- Philemon, Y. 2009. *Cameroun Vision 2035*. [Online]. Yaounde: Ministry of Economy, Planning and Regional Development. [Accessed 18th June 2018]. Available from: http://www.cameroon-embassy.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Cameroon_VISION_2035_English_Version.pdf
- Phiri, B.J. 2006. *A Political History of Zambia: From the Colonial Period to the 3rd Republic*. New Jersey: Africa World Press.
- Pickering, M. 2006. Generating social capital for bridging ethnic divisions in the Balkans: Case studies of two Bosniak cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 29(1), pp.79-109.
- Porter, L. 2010. *Unlearning the colonial cultures of planning*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Portes, A. 1998. Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 24(1), pp.1-24.
- Portes, A. and Landolt, P. 2000. Social capital: Promise and pitfalls of its role in development. *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 32(2), pp.529-547
- Postma, W. 1994. NGO partnership and institutional development: making it real, making it intentional. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. 28(3), pp.447-471.
- Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon. 2017a. *Presentation of Cameroon*. [Online]. Yaounde, Presidency of the Republic. [Accessed September 29th 2017]. Available from: <https://www.prc.cm/en/cameroon>
- Presidency of the Republic of Cameroon. 2017b. The first President. [Online]. Yaounde, Presidency of the Republic. [Accessed October 17th 2017]. Available from: <https://www.prc.cm/en/the-president/the-first-president>
- Prochaska, J. and DiClemente, C. 1983. Stages and processes of self-change in smoking: toward an integrative model of change. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*. 51(3), pp.390 –395.

- Prochaska, J., Velicer, W., Rossi, J., Goldstein, M., Marcus, B. and Rakowski, W. 1994. Stages of change and decisional balance for 12 problem behaviors. *Health Psychology*. **13**(1), pp.39-46.
- Punch, K. 1998. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: Sage.
- Putnam, R.D. 1993. The Prosperous Community. *The American Prospect*. **4**(13), pp.35-42.
- Putnam, R.D. 1995. Tuning in, tuning out: The strange disappearance of social capital in America. *American Political Science Association*. **28**(4), pp. 664-683.
- Putnam, R.D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Raymond, E.M. and Hall, C.M. 2008. The development of cross-cultural (mis) understanding through volunteer tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. **16**(5), pp.530-543.
- Razack, S. 2004. *Dark threats and white knights: the Somalia Affair, peacekeeping, and the new imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Reed, M. 2005. Reflections on the “realist turn” in organization and management studies. *Journal of Management Studies*. **42**(8), pp.1621–1644.
- Rees, C. and Gatenby, M. 2014. Critical realism and ethnography. In: Edwards, P.K., O’Mahoney, J. and Vincent, S. eds. *Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism: A Practical Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.1-18.
- Reid, C. 2004. Advancing women’s social justice agendas: A feminist action research framework. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. **3**(3), pp.1–13.
- Reimann, K.D. 2006. The View from the Top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs. *International Studies Quarterly*. **50**(1), p1-25.

- Reiter, B. 2010. Whiteness as Capital: Constructing Inclusion and Defending Privilege. In: Reiter, B. and Mitchell, G. eds. *Brazil's New Racial Politics*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.19-35.
- Rhodes, R. 1995. The Institutional Approach. In: Marsh, D. and Stoker, G. eds. *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, pp. 42-57.
- Rist, G. 2014. *The history of development: From western origins to global faith*. 4th edition. London: Zed Books.
- Ritzen, J. 2005. *A Chance for the World Bank*. London: Anthem Press.
- Rosa, M. 2015. Sociologies of the South and the actor-network-theory: Possible convergences for an ontoformative sociology. *European Journal of Social Theory*. **19**(4), pp.485–502.
- Rossi, T. and Jeanes, R. 2016. Education, Pedagogy and Sport for Development: Addressing Seldom Asked Questions. *Sport, Education and Society*. **21**(4), pp.483–494.
- Rostow, W.W. 1990. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A non-communist manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rushdie, S., E. 1997. *Mirrorwork: 50 years of Indian writing, 1947-1997*. New York: H. Holt & Company
- Saavedra, M. 2009. Dilemmas and opportunities in gender and Sport-in-Development In: Levermore, R. and Beacon, A. eds. *Sport and International Development*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.124-155.
- Saavedra, M. 2019. SDP and postcolonial theory. In: Collison, H., et al. eds. *Routledge Handbook of Sport for Development and Peace*. London: Routledge, pp.208-218.
- Sachs, W. 1992. *The Development Dictionary: a guide to knowledge as power*. London: Zed Books.
- Sadler, G.R., Lee, H.-C., Lim, R.S.-H. and Fullerton, J. 2010. Recruitment of hard-to-reach population subgroups via adaptations of the snowball sampling strategy. *Nursing and Health Sciences*. **12**, pp.369–374.
- Said, E. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London:Vintage.

- Sala, B.M. 2009. Writing in Cameroon pidgin English: begging the question. *English Today*. **25**(2), pp.11-17.
- Samman, E. and Santos, M. 2009. *Agency and Empowerment: A review of concepts, indicators and empirical evidence*. Oxford: Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative.
- Sayer, A. 2004. Why critical realism? In: Fleetwood, S. and Ackroyd, S. eds. *Critical Realist Applications in Organisation and Management Studies*. London: Routledge, pp.6-20.
- Schinke, R., McGannon, K. and Smith, B. 2013. Expanding the sport and physical activity research landscape through community scholarship. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*. **5**(3), pp.287–290.
- Schmidt, V.A. 2008. Discursive institutionalism: The explanatory power of ideas and discourse. *Annual Review of Political Science*. **11**, pp.303–326.
- Schneider, G. 1963. *First Steps to Wes-kos*. Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation.
- Schneider, G. 1967. West African Pidgin English: an overview: phonology - morphology. *Journal of English Linguistics*. **1**(1), pp.49-56.
- Schoneberg, J. 2017. NGO partnerships in Haiti: clashes of discourse and reality. *Third World Quarterly*. **38**(3), pp.604-620.
- Schuerkens, U. 2003. The sociological and anthropological study of globalization and localization. *Current Sociology*. **51**(3/4), pp.209–222.
- Schulenkorf, N., Sherry, E. and Rowe, K. 2016. Sport for Development: An integrated literature review. *Journal of Sport Management*. **30**(1), pp.22-39.
- Schulenkorf, N. and Sugden, J. 2011. Sport for Development and Peace in Divided Societies: Cooperating for Inter-Community Empowerment in Israel. *European Journal for Sport and Society*. **8**(4), pp.235-256.
- Sen, A. 1983. Poor, relatively speaking. *Oxford Economic Papers*. **32**(2), pp.153-169.
- Sen, A. 1992. *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sen, A. 1993. Capability and well-being. In: Nussbaum, M., Sen, A. *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.1-18.

- Sen, A. 1999. *Development As Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sharp, J. 2009. *Geographies of Post-Colonialism*. London: Sage Publication.
- Shelton, J., Halperin, T., Nantulya, V., Potts, M., Gayle, H., Holmes, D., and King, K. 2004. Partner reduction is crucial for balanced “ABC” approach to HIV prevention. *British Medical Journal*. **89**(1), pp.328.
- Sidaway, J., D. 2008. Post-development. In: Desai, V. and Potter, R.B. eds. *The Companion to Development Studies*. Second edition. London: Hodder, pp.16-18.
- Silverman, D. 2005. *Doing Qualitative Research*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.
- Simpson, K. 2004. ‘Doing development’: The gap year, volunteer-tourists and a popular practice of development. *Journal of International Development*. **16**(5), pp.681-692.
- Skinner, J., Zakus, D.H. and Cowell, J. 2008. Development through sport: Building social capital in disadvantaged communities. *Sport Management Review*. **11**(3), pp.253-275.
- Smirl, L. 2015. *Spaces of Aid*. How Cars, Compounds, and Hotels Shape Humanitarianism. London: Zed Books.
- Smith, B. and McGannon, K. 2018. Developing rigor in qualitative research: problems and opportunities within sport and exercise psychology. *International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology*. **11**(1), pp.101-121.
- Smith, D. 2006. *Institutional ethnography as practice*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Smith, F. 2003. Working in Different Cultures. In: Clifford, N., J and Valentine, G. eds. *Key Methods in Geography*. London: Sage, pp.157-173.
- Smith, L. 1999. *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.
- Smith, L. 2005. On tricky ground: Researching the Native in the age of uncertainty. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. eds. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.85–109.

- Spaaij, R. 2011. *Sport and social mobility: Crossing Boundaries*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Spaaij, R. 2012. Building social and cultural capital among young people in disadvantaged communities: lessons from a Brazilian sport-based intervention program. *Sport, Education and Society*. **17**(1), pp.77-95.
- Spaaij, R. and Jeanes, R. 2012. Education for social change? A Freirean critique of sport for development and peace. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*. **18**(4), pp.442-457.
- Spaaij, R., Magee, J. and Jeanes, R. 2014. *Sport and social exclusion in global society*. London: Routledge.
- Spaaij, R., Oxford, S. and Jeanes, R. 2017. Transforming communities through sport? critical pedagogy and sport for development. *Sport, Education and Society*. **21**(4), pp.570-587.
- Sparkes, A. 1992. The paradigms debate: an extended review and a celebration of difference. In: Sparkes, A. ed. *Research in Physical Education and Sport: Exploring Alternative Visions*. London: Falmer Press, pp.9-60.
- Sparkes, A. and Smith, B. 2014a. *Qualitative Research Methods in Sport, Exercise and Health*. London: Routledge.
- Spivak, G. 1990. *The post-colonial critic: interviews, strategies, dialogues*. London: Routledge.
- Spivak, G. 1988. Can the subaltern speak?. In: Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. eds. *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, pp.271-313.
- Squires, A. 2009. Methodological challenges in cross-cultural qualitative research: a research interview. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*. **46**, pp.277–287.
- Stake, R. and Savolainen, R. 1995. *The art of case study research*. London: Sage.
- Stebbins, R. 2013. Unpaid work of love: defining the work–leisure axis of volunteering. *Leisure Studies*. **32**(3), pp.339-345.

- Steele, A. 1999. *The housing and social care needs of Black and Minority Ethnic older people in Derby*. Salford: University of Salford, Salford Housing and Urban Studies Unit.
- Stenhouse, L. 1985. Case study methods. In: Husen, T. and Postlethwaite, T. eds. *International Encyclopaedia of Education*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Stewart, F. 2019. The Human Development Approach: An Overview. *Oxford Development Studies*. **47**(2), pp.135-153.
- Sugden, J. 2015. Assessing the sociology of sport: On the capacities and limits of using sport to promote social change. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **50**(4–5), pp.606–611.
- Sultan, S. 2007. Development in context: the timely emergence of eco-devo. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*. **22**(11), pp.575-582.
- Svensson, P.G. and Woods, H. 2017. A systematic overview of sport for development and peace organisations. *Journal of Sport for Development*. **5**(9), pp.36-48.
- Swadener, B.B. and Kagendo, M. 2008. Decolonizing performances: Deconstructing the global postcolonial. In: Denzin, N., et al. eds. *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. London: Sage, pp.31–43.
- Swartz, D.L. 2007. Recasting power in its third dimension. *Theory and Society*. **36**(1), pp.103-109.
- Szymanski, S. 1996. *Handbook on the Economics of Sport*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Tacon, R. 2014. Social Capital and Sports Clubs. In: Christoforou, A. and Davis, J. eds. *Social Capital and Economics: Social values, power, and social identity*. London: Routledge, pp.236-261.
- Tamfu, A. 2018. A generation of unschooled Cameroonians, another generation of conflict? *The New Humanitarian*. [Online]. December 18th 2018. [Accessed 18th January 2019]. Available from: <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2018/12/19/cameroon-generation-unschooled-children-could-fuel-long-term-conflict>
- Tanjong, E. 2008. Focus and Quality of NGOs as Partners in Development. In: Vubo, E.Y. ed. *Civil Society and the Search for Development*

Alternatives in Cameroon. Cameroon: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, p.155-179.

Tchoungui, G. 2000. Unilingual past, multilingual present, uncertain future: The case of Yaoundé. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. **21**(2), pp.113-128.

Tedlock, B. (2000). Ethnography and Ethnographic Representation. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Second edition. California: Sage Publications.

Thayer, M. 2010. *Making transnational feminism: Rural women, NGO activists, and northern donors in Brazil*. London: Routledge.

The Commonwealth. 2017. Cameroon: Economy. *The Commonwealth*. [Online]. September 28th 2018. [Accessed September 28th 2018]. Available from: <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-member-countries/cameroon/economy>

The Guardian. 2015. Sport for development: more than just fun and games? *The Guardian*. [Online]. August 10th 2015. [Accessed 15th November 2015]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/aug/10/sport-for-development-charity-ngo-effective-change>

Thorpe, H. 2016. Action sports for youth development: Critical insights for the SDP community. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*. **8**(1), pp.91-116.

Tiafack, O. and Ngouanet, C. 2008. Population Dynamics and Urban Growth Challenges in Kumba, South West Province of Cameroon. In: Nguendo, Y. and Bryant, C. eds. *Visages et défis des principales villes camerounaises*. Montreal: Laboratoire Développement Durable et Dynamique Territoriale Géographie, pp.153-175.

Todd, L. 1982. English in Cameroon: Education in a Multilingual Society. In: Pride, J. ed. *New Englishes*. Rowley: Newbury House, pp.119-137.

Transparency International. 2017. *Cameroon*. [Online]. [Accessed 15th November 2017]. Available from: <https://www.transparency.org/country/CMR>

Tzanakis, M. 2013. Social capital in Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's theory: Empirical evidence and emergent measurement issues. *Educate*. **13**(2), pp.2-23.

UNAIDS. 2010. *Combination HIV Prevention: Tailoring and Coordinating Biomedical and Structural Strategies to reduce New HIV Infections*. Geneva: UNAIDS.

UNAIDS. 2013. *Cameroon: HIV and Aids estimates*. [Online]. [Accessed 27th January 2016]. Available from: <http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/cameroon>

UNAIDS. 2014. *The GAP report*. [Online] Geneva: UNAIDS. [Accessed 16th September 2015]. Available from: https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/documents/2014/20140716_UNAIDS_gap_report

UNAIDS. 2016. *Country factsheet: Cameroon 2016*. [Online]. [Accessed 27th January 2016]. Available from: <https://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/cameroon>

United Nations. 2000. *UN General Assembly, United Nations Millennium Declaration, Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, 18 September 2000*. Geneva: United Nations Publications.

United Nations. 2003. *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals: Report from the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace*. Geneva: United Nations Publications.

United Nations. 2006. *Report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005*. Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations. 2012. *Sport for Development and Peace: Mainstreaming a Versatile Instrument (A/67/282)*. Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations. 2014. *The Millennium Development Goals*. [Online]. [Accessed 15th June 2015]. Available from: <https://www.un.org/sport/content/why-sport/millennium-development-goals>

United Nations. 2015a. *Map of Cameroon*. [Online]. [Accessed 20th September 2016]. Available from: <https://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/cameroon.pdf>

United Nations. 2015b. *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 25 September 2015*. Geneva: United Nations Publications.

United Nations. 2016a. *Sport and the Sustainable Development Goals*. [Online]. [Accessed 2nd August 2017]. Available from: <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport/sportandsdgs>

United Nations. 2016b. *Sport for Development & Peace: UN Volunteers*. [Online]. [Accessed 1st August 2017]. Available from: <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/unplayers/fundsprogramme/sagencies/unv>

United Nations. 2017. *Millennium Development Goals*. [Online]. [Accessed November 1st 2018]. Available from: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>

United Nations Development Programme. 2016. *Human Development Report 2016: Cameroon*. New York: United Nations.

United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace. 2017. *Sport and Sustainable Development Goals*. [Online]. [Accessed 10th January 2018]. Available from: <https://www.un.org/sport/content/why-sport/sport-and-sustainable-development-goals>

Van Ness, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H. and Deeg, D. 2010. Language differences in qualitative research: Is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing*. **7**(4), pp.313–316.

Ver Beek, K.A. 2006. The impact of short-term missions: A case study of house construction in Honduras after Hurricane Mitch. *Missiology: An International Review*. **34**(4), pp.477-495.

Vidacs, B. 1999. Football in Cameroon: A vehicle for the expansion and contraction of identity Culture. *Sport in Society*. **2**(3), pp.100-117.

Vidacs, B. 2010. *Visions of a better world: football in the Cameroonian social imagination*. Berlin: LIT Verlag Münster.

Viviana, A., Meggiolaro., S., Rivellini., G. and Zaccarin, S. 2018. Social relations and life satisfaction: the role of friends. *Genus*. **74**(1), pp. 1-18.

- Vromen, A. 2010. Debating Methods: rediscovering qualitative approaches. In: Marsh, D. and Stoker, G. eds. *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp.249-266.
- Vubem Toh, F. 2016. Cameroon: We Want to Install a Cricket Culture in Cameroon. *Cameroon Tribune*. [Online]. February 1st 2016. [Accessed 12th March 2016]. Available from: <https://allafrica.com/stories/201602012841.html>
- Wallace, T. 2003. NGO Dilemmas: Trojan Horses for Global Neoliberalism? In: Panitch, L. and Leys, C. eds. *The New Imperial Challenge*. London: Merlin, pp.202–219.
- Walton, O.E., Davies, T., Thrandardottir, E. and Keating, V.C. 2016. Understanding contemporary challenges to INGO legitimacy: Integrating Top-down and bottom-up perspectives. *International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* **27**(6), pp.2764–2786.
- Wand, Y. and Weber, R. 1993. On the ontological expressiveness of information systems analysis and design grammars. *Journal of Information Systems*. **3**(4), pp.217 - 237.
- Watson, T. 2012. Making organisational ethnography. *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*. **1**(1), pp. 15-22.
- Wearing, S. 2001. *Volunteer tourism: Experiences that make a difference*. Wallingford: CABI Publishing.
- Weiss, C. 1993. Where politics and evaluation research meet. *Evaluation Practice*. **14**(1), pp.93-106.
- West, A., Green, E., Brackenridge, C. and Woodward, D. 2001. Leading the Way: Women's Experiences as Sports Coaches. *Women in Management Review*. **16**(2), pp.85-92.
- Wiener, M. 2013. The Idea of 'Colonial Legacy' and the Historiography of Empire. *Journal of The Historical Society*. **13**(1), pp.1–32.
- Wilding, P., Leventon, J., Favretto, N. and Dyer, J. 2012. *Working with Research Assistants/Translators in Overseas Fieldwork*. Leeds: Centre for Global Development, University of Leeds

Willetts, P. 2011. *Non-Governmental Organizations in World Politics: The Construction of Global Governance*. London: Routledge.

Williams, J. 2001. *Cricket and Race*. Oxford: Berg.

Woolcock, M. 2001. The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcomes. *Canadian Journal of Policy Research*. **2**(1), pp.11–17.

Woolcock, M. and Narayan, D. 2000. Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research and Policy. *World Bank Research Observer*. **15**(2), pp.225-249.

World Bank. 1998. *Partnership for Development: Proposed Actions for the World Bank*. [Online]. New York: World Bank. [Accessed 11th March 2016]. Available from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/789141468153858137/pdf/516050WP0Dev0i10Box342046B01PUBLIC1.pdf>

World Bank. 2017. *The World Bank in Cameroon*. [Online]. [Accessed 20th September 2018]. Available from: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/cameroon/overview>

World Health Organisation. 2015. *Cameroon Urban Health Profile*. [Online]. [Accessed 28th September 2016]. Available from: https://www.who.int/gho/countries/cmr/country_profiles/en/

Yin, K., R. 2003. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Zongo, P. 2018. 'This is a genocide': villages burn as war rages in a blood soaked Cameroon. *The Guardian*. [Online]. May 30th 2018. [Accessed 2nd June 2018]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/may/30/cameroon-killings-escalate-anglophone-crisis>

CHAPTER 11: APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Semi-structured interview schedule: INGO staff (CWB and CFDP-US) questions

The interviews with CWB and CFDP-US staff relate to Research Question 1. These questions were analysed alongside the 'formal discourse' produced by the INGOs (gathered through QDA) to outline the 'formal' discourses produced by SfD INGOs with regard to their activities and presence in Cameroon.

Introduction

1. Tell me about your background, how did you get involved with the INGO?
2. Why did you first become involved?
3. What is your role and what specifically are your responsibilities?

Intentions of the INGO and how the SfD programmes are delivered in Cameroon

1. Can you explain how and why the INGO first become involved in international development/SfD and why it is still involved today?
2. What is the aim of your organisation?
3. How did the INGO decide on its aim and core concern?
4. What is the structure of the INGO and how are the intentions of the INGO realised in Cameroon?
 - a. Could you explain how your NGO is funded and how it delivers its core messages?
5. Can you describe the relationships with your 'in country' partner organisation? How has this changed over time?
6. What are the benefits of working with the stakeholder organisation?
7. What are the current priorities for your organisation in Cameroon?
 - a. How easy/difficult is it to deliver your organisational aim and core messages in Cameroon?
 - b. Do you face any strategic challenges/issues when working with your 'in country' partner? If so, why?
 - c. Do you face any operational 'day-to-day' challenges when working with your 'in country' partner? If so, why?
 - d. Has there been any opposition to the work that your INGO delivers in Cameroon?

The use of sport

1. Based on your experience, what do you feel is the appeal of using 'sport' as the delivery tool development initiatives as opposed to another activity?
2. What is it that cricket/football in particular brings to the SfD initiative?

3. From your experience, what positive values do you attribute to cricket/football when working with children, young people, teachers and coaches in Cameroon?
4. From your experience, what challenges do you face when using cricket/football as a delivery tool in Cameroon?

APPENDIX B

Semi-structured interview schedule: 'In country' partner questions (CCF and CFDP-Cameroon practitioners)

The intention of these interviews is to gather empirical data related to Research Questions 2 and 3. These interviews will consider what the challenges and benefits are regarding their relationship with their partner INGO. The data will be compared to the 'formal' discourse gathered from qualitative document analysis and interviews with INGO staff.

Introduction

1. Tell me about your background, how did you get involved in CCF/CFDP?
2. Why did you become involved? (Probe re: motivation if needed)
3. What is your role and what are your responsibilities?
4. Who directs/manages your workload when you work with the INGO?

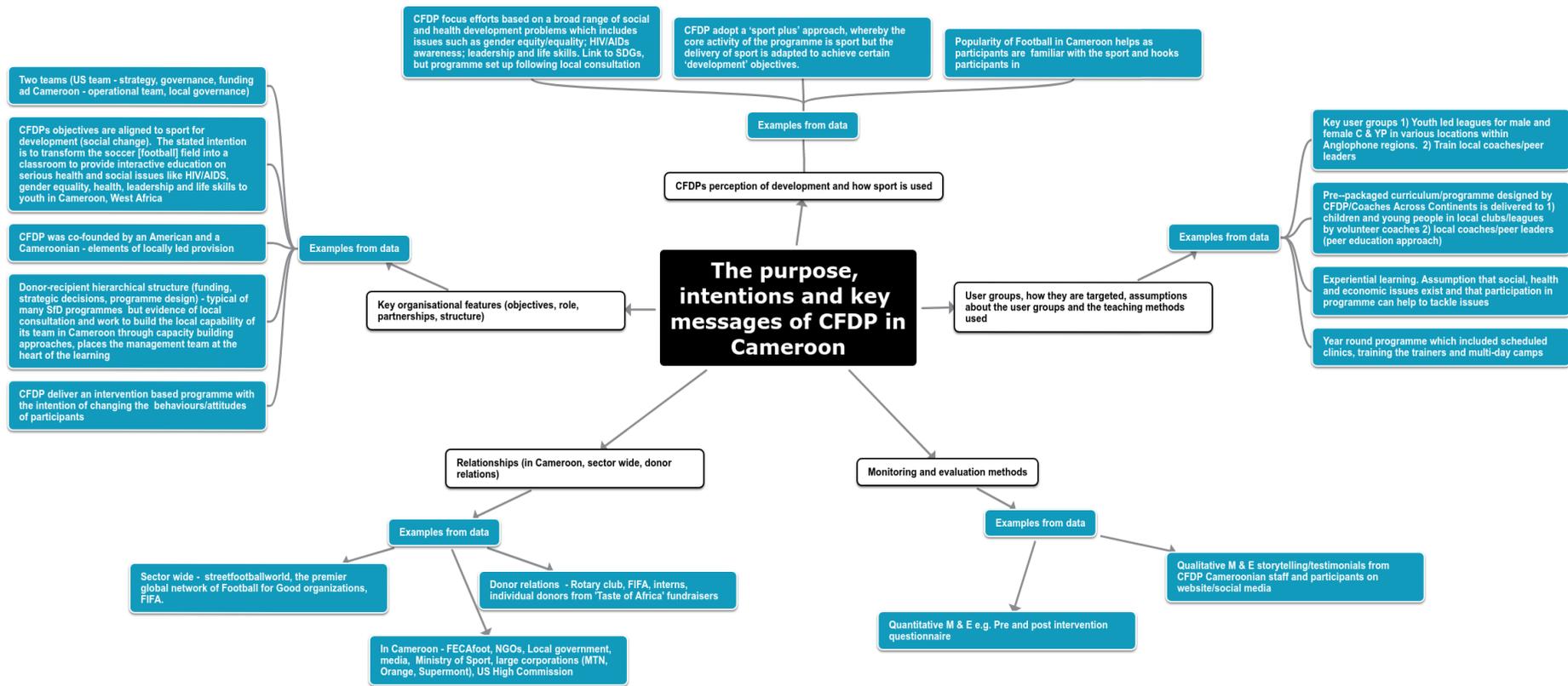
Challenges and benefits of working with the partner INGO

1. In terms of the relationship between the US team and Cameroon team/CWB and CCF, what are the responsibilities of each team? Can you explain why the responsibilities played out this way?
2. Have you personally been to the UK/US INGO headquarters? If not, why?
3. How did CCF/CFDP-Cameroon become involved with CWB/CFDP-US?
 - a. Why specifically did you become involved?
4. Which team mainly makes decisions in the organisation/partnership?
 - a. Why do you think this the case?
5. Can you tell me how the INGO is funded?
6. What do you think about your organisation working with an American/British NGO?
 - a. What are the general perceptions in Cameroon of American/British NGOs?
7. What do you most enjoy about working with an international NGO?
8. Personally, what are the benefits of working with an UK/US NGO? Why are these benefits?
9. What challenges does your (school/CCF/CFDP Kumba/coaching team) face when working with an international NGO?
10. How much do the international NGO (volunteers/workers) understand the local realities in Cameroon? I.e. your life at work? Your life at home? I.e. any struggles that you face?
11. How much do the international NGO (volunteers/workers) understand the local traditions and cultures of Cameroon?
12. How does working for an international NGO led largely by white volunteers from America/Britain affect you? Positively? Negatively?
13. What are the benefits for your school/CCF/CFDP management team/coaching team when working with an international NGO?
14. What are the main messages that the NGO want to deliver in Cameroon?
15. How easy or difficult do you find it implementing the core messages from the NGO?

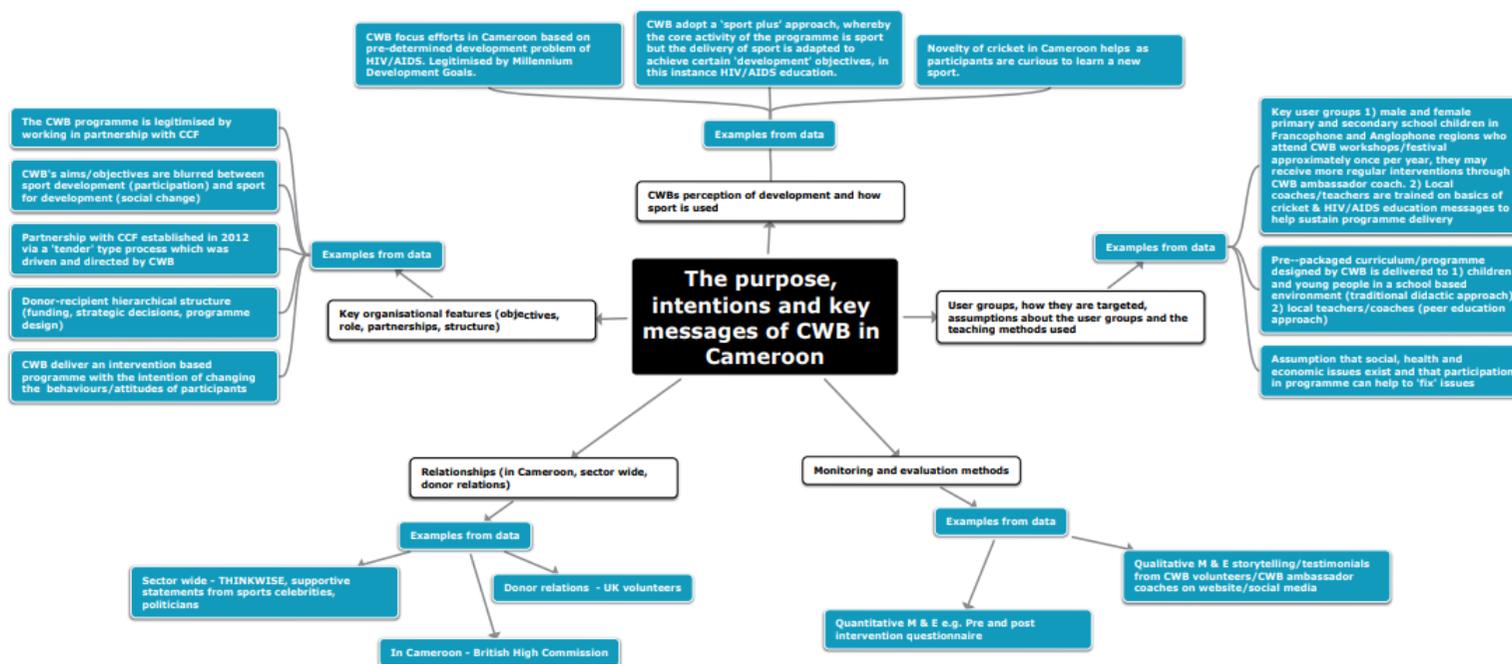
16. What do you personally think about the core messages (ABC, +7 model), are they the right messages to deliver in Cameroon? Why/why not?
17. Are there more important issues that could be dealt with? If so what are they?
18. Do you think that the core messages make a difference?
19. Are there any challenges that you have found when delivering these messages?
 - a. If so, why are these challenges? How do you overcome these challenges?
20. Can you tell me about any compromises or sacrifices you have personally made to work with the NGO? If so, why do you choose to make personal sacrifices to work with the NGO?
21. What kind of workload pressures do you face working with the international NGO?
 - a. Does this pressure increase when the NGO visits Cameroon? How?
22. Has your involvement with the NGO enhanced your social life and social relationships? How has it, can you give an example?
23. Has your involvement with the NGO enhanced your status in school/federation/community in any way? How has it enhanced – give an example?
24. What would you like to do more of in your role with the international NGO?
 - a. Do you feel that this is possible? Why/Why not?
 - b. What are the barriers you face?
25. As we are in a bilingual country can you describe any issues of with working with an English speaking NGO?
26. How does the use of language play out in practice, e.g. language spoke, documents, resources, coaching cards, and website?

APPENDIX C Data maps

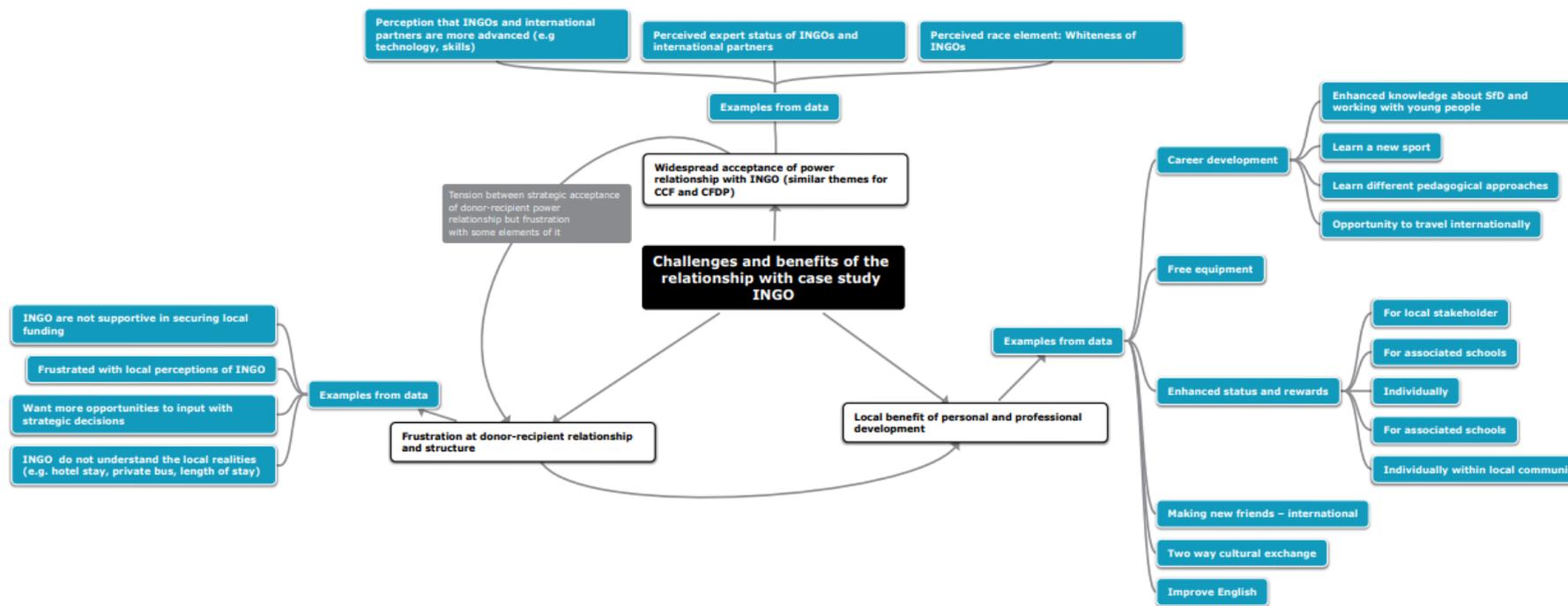
Data Map: Research Question One (CFDP-US):



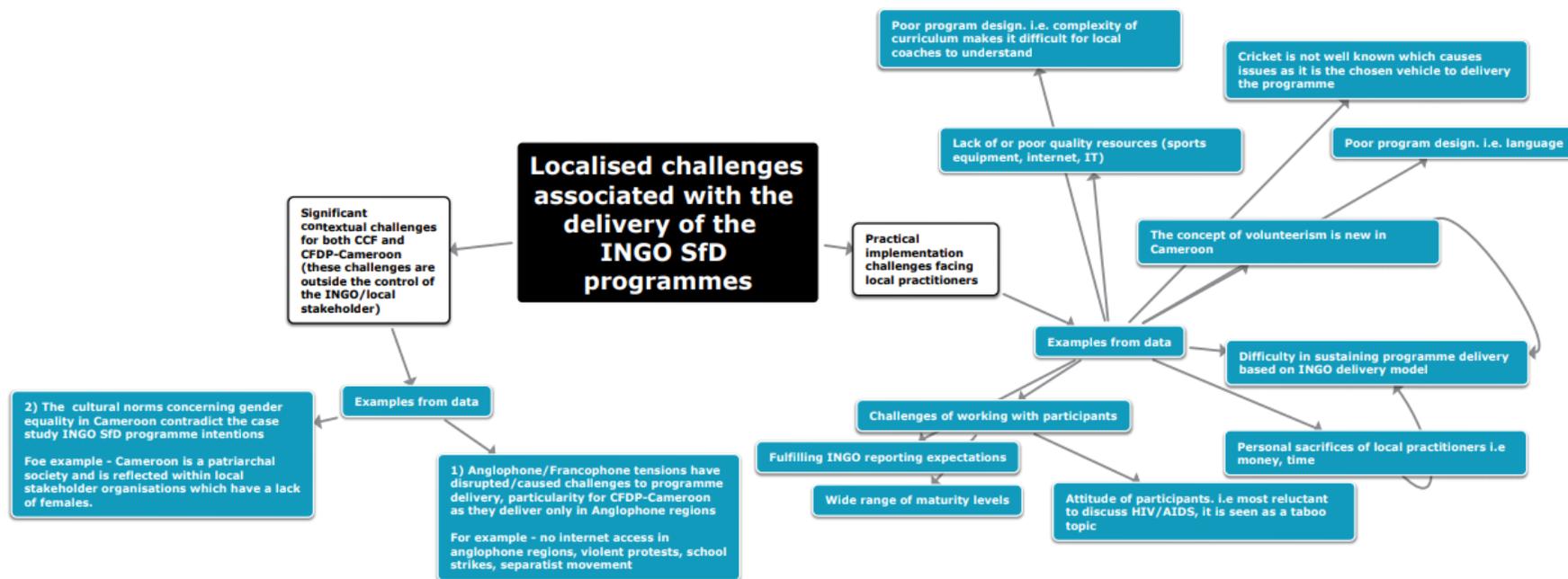
Data Map: Reserach Question One (CWB)



Data Map: Research Question Two



Data Map: Research Question Three



APPENDIX D
Ethics approval confirmation



Brownberrie Lane · Horsforth · Leeds · LS18 5HD · UK
Tel: +44 (0) 113 283 7100 · Fax: +44 (0) 113 283 7200
www.leedstrinity.ac.uk

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

Dr Matthew Sedgwick
Chair of Departmental Ethics
Committee for Sport, Health and
Nutrition
E: m.sedgwick@leedstrinity.ac.uk

Date: 8th July 2015

Dear Jo Clarke

**Re: ethics application [working title] 'Sport for development
discourse and power dynamics: British and American NGOs
in Cameroon'**

Thank you for your recent application for ethical approval for the
above named project. The committee received the application
along with the attached documents.

After reviewing the application I am pleased to confirm that your
application for ethical approval has been successful. Good luck
with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Matthew Sedgwick

Chair of Departmental Ethics Committee for Sport, Health and
Nutrition

Cc: Ethics committee file

APPENDIX E

Consent form (English)



Brownberrie Lane · Horsforth · Leeds · LS18 5HD · UK
Tel: +44 (0) 113 283 7100 · Fax: +44 (0) 113 283 7200
www.leedstrinity.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

'Sport for development discourse and power dynamics: British and American NGOs in Cameroon'

Name of participant (PRINT FULL NAME) _____

By signing this form I confirm that:

- The purpose of this study had been explained to me via the participant information sheet.
- I am satisfied that I understand my involvement in the study.
- The possible benefits and risks of the study have been explained to me.
- Any questions which I have asked about the study have been answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that, during the course of the study, I have the right to ask further questions about it.
- The information which I have supplied to Leeds Trinity University prior to taking part in the study is true and accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and I understand that I must notify promptly of any further changes to the information.
- I understand that once the study has been completed, the information gained as a result of it may be used for research purposes with appropriate ethical approval in place (your name will never be disclosed)

Signature of the participant _____ Date: _____

Contact details of participant:

Telephone: _____

Email: _____

Notes (availability etc): _____

APPENDIX F

Consent form (French)



Brownberrie Lane · Horsforth · Leeds · LS18 5HD · UK
Tel: +44 (0) 113 283 7100 · Fax: +44 (0) 113 283 7200

www.leadstrinity.ac.uk

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

Un projet de recherche sur le discours associé au sport pour le développement et la dynamique du pouvoir des ONG Britanniques et Américaines au Cameroun

Nom du participant (ECRIVEZ LE NOM COMPLET) _____

En signant ce formulaire, je confirme que:

- Le but de cette étude avait été expliqué à moi par l'intermédiaire de la fiche de renseignements de participants.
- Je suis convaincu que je comprends mon implication dans l'étude.
- Les avantages et les risques de l'étude éventuels m'ont été expliqués.
- Toutes les questions que je'ai posées au sujet de l'étude ont été répondues à ma satisfaction.
- Je comprends que, au cours de l'étude, je dois le droit de poser d'autres questions à ce sujet.
- L'information que je l'ai fourni à l'Université de Leeds Trinity avant de prendre part à l'étude est vraie et exacte au mieux de ma connaissance et je comprends que je dois aviser sans délai de toute modification apportée à l'information.
- Je comprends que lorsque l'étude aura été achevée, les informations obtenues à la suite de celui-ci peut être utilisée à des fins de la recherche, avec l'approbation éthique appropriée en place (votre nom ne sera jamais divulguée)

Signature du participant _____ Date: _____

Coordonnées du participant:

Téléphone: _____

Email: _____

Notes (disponibilité, etc.): _____

APPENDIX G

Participant information sheet (English)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



A research project exploring the sport for development discourse of British and American NGOs in Cameroon

Introduction

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study because of your involvement with either Cricket Without Boundaries, Cameroon Football Development Program or you work with their in country partner in Cameroon. Before you decide whether to take part in the study, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information.

Why am I doing the project?

The research study is central to my PhD which I am studying for at Leeds Trinity University. To date there has been limited academic research that has focused on the local lived realities of people involved in sport-for-development programmes and it is the intention of this PhD to explore the interactions, dynamics, relationships and collaborations of people involved with the two case study organisation who deliver programmes in Cameroon.

Why have you been invited?

The PhD study is a comparative case study focusing on the power dynamics and discourse associated with Cricket Without Boundaries, Cameroon Football Development Program and sport more generally. You have been chosen to be part of this study because of your involvement with either of the organisations either as a volunteer, a worker, a collaborator/partner, or a government/ministry official.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be invited to take part in a face to face interview. In addition the principal researcher will carry out some documentary analysis which they may speak to you about. Each activity you are invited to take part in is explained below, along with an estimate of your time commitment.

Activity	What is it and what will happen?	How long will it take?
Semi structured interview	A confidential one-to-one conversation between you and the principal researcher. The researcher will ask you a series of semi-structured questions based on your experience and involvement with the sport-for-development organisation.	1 hour (approx)

If you wish to be part of the study, you will be contacted by the principal researcher (Jo Clarke) to arrange a convenient time to discuss your involvement and agree on your participation day/s/times at a location convenient to you.

The study will involve audio-recording of interviews, which will be discussed with you before the interview begins.

Expenses and payments

The researcher thanks you for your consideration to take part in the study. Unfortunately due to the scale of the study, expenses or payments will not be available to participants.

Will your participation in the project remain confidential?

All information that will be collected from you during the course of the study will be kept strictly confidential, and any information about you will have your name removed so that you cannot be recognised. Your responses to the questions will be used for the purpose of this project only and not shared.

You can be assured that if you take part in the project you will remain anonymous.

What are the advantages of taking part?

This study provides you with an opportunity discuss your thoughts, feelings and opinions on sport-for-development related topics such as partnerships, dynamics and collaborations. We cannot promise that the study will help you personally but the information we get from the study will help to increase the understanding of the local lived realities of people involved in sport-for-development programmes.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part?

It could be that you are not comfortable talking about your involvement and experiences within sport-for-development.

Do you have to take part in the study?

No, your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. You are not obliged to take part, although you have been approached as a person who has an association with either Cricket Without Boundaries, Cameroon Football Development Program or you have a job which involves the governance or management of sport in Cameroon. If you do not wish to take part you do not have to give a reason and you will not be contacted again.

Similarly, if you do agree to participate you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. If you withdraw from the study, we will destroy all personal data (i.e. audio-recorded interviews). Should you wish to withdraw, you can email or text the principal investigator, or the supervisory team. Details are below.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

Participants often want to know the results of the study in which they were involved. In the future, results may be published. Only at this stage, a summary of key findings will be available, please contact the principal researcher if you would like to see these. You will not be personally identified in any report/publication.

What happens now?

If you are interested in taking part in the study please sign below that you have read, understood and are interested in taking part in the study. You will also be asked to sign a consent form.

Name (PRINT FULL NAME).....

Sign:

Date:

Are you associated with Cricket Without Boundaries (tick)

Are you associated with Cameroon Football Development Program (tick)

A sporting body of Cameroon/INGO partner (tick)

Contact details

Principal researcher:

Jo Clarke, Leeds Trinity University, Brownberrie Lane, Leeds, West Yorkshire, LS18 5HD, United Kingdom.

Phone: +44 7946645263 Email: j.clarke@leedstrinity.ac.uk

Supervisors:

Dr. Paul Salisbury (Leeds Trinity University, Sport Health & Nutrition)

Phone: +44113 2837179 Email: p.salisbury@leedstrinity.ac.uk

Dr. Polly Wilding (University of Leeds, School of Politics & International Studies)

Phone: +44 113 343 4785 Email: p.wilding@leeds.ac.uk

APPENDIX H

Participant information sheet (French)

FICHE DE RENSEGNEMENT DE PARTICIPANT



Un projet de recherche sur le discours associé au sport pour le développement et la dynamique du pouvoir des ONG Britanniques et Américaines au Cameroun

Introduction

Je voudrais vous inviter à participer à une étude de recherche en raison de votre implication soit avec Cricket Without Boundaries ou Programme de Développement du Football ou vous travaillez dans le développement du sport au Cameroun. Avant de vous décider participer à l'étude, vous devez comprendre pourquoi la raison d'être de celle-ci et ce que cela impliquerait pour vous. S'il vous plaît prenez le temps de lire soigneusement les informations suivantes. Après lecture, posez des questions sur celles non comprises ou si vous souhaitez plus d'informations.

Pourquoi fais-je le projet

L'étude de recherche est au cœur de ma thèse que j'entreprends à l'Université de Leeds Trinity. À ce jour, il ya eu peu de recherche académique mettant l'accent sur les réalités locales vécues par de personnes impliquées dans les programmes de sport au service du développement et il est l'intention de cette thèse d'explorer les interactions, la dynamique, les relations et collaborations de personnes impliquées avec les deux organisation étudiées et qui fournissent des programmes au Cameroun.

Pourquoi ai-je été invité?

L'étude de doctorat est une étude de cas multiples mettant l'accent sur la dynamique et les discours associés à Cricket Without Boundaries et le Programme de développement du football au Cameroun et le sport en général. Vous avez été choisi pour faire partie de cette étude en raison de votre participation dans au moins une des organisations, soit en tant que bénévole, un travailleur, un collaborateur / partenaire ou un fonctionnaire du gouvernement/ministère

Que se passera-t-il pour moi si je participe?

Vous serez invités à participer à une entrevue tête-à-tête. En outre, le chercheur principal réalisera une analyse documentaire qui ils peuvent vous parler.

Chaque activité, vous êtes invités à prendre part à cela est expliqué ci-dessous, avec une estimation de votre engagement de temps.

Activité	Qu'est ce que c'est et que arrivera-t-il	Combien de temps cela prendra
----------	------------------------------------------	-------------------------------

Entrevue semi structurée	Une conversation confidentielle tête-à-tête entre vous et le chercheur principal. Le chercheur vous posera une série de questions semi-structurées en fonction de votre expérience et implication à l'organisation du sport pour le développement	1 heure (approx.)
--------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------

Si vous souhaitez faire partie de l'étude, vous serez contacté par le principal chercheur (Jo Clarke) afin d'organiser le moment opportun pour discuter de votre implication et du jour de votre participation / de l'heure à un endroit pratique pour vous. L'étude impliquera des entretiens audio-enregistrés, qui seront à discuter avec vous avant le début de l'entrevue.

Dépenses et des paiements

Le chercheur vous remercie de votre considération à prendre part à l'étude. Malheureusement, en raison de l'ampleur de l'étude, les frais ou les paiements ne seront pas disponibles pour les participants.

Votre participation dans le projet restera-t-elle confidentielles?

Toutes les informations recueillies auprès de vous au cours de l'étude sera gardée strictement confidentielle, et toute information sur vous auront votre nom retiré de sorte que vous ne puissiez être reconnu. Vos réponses aux questions seront utilisées aux fins de ce projet et non partagées. Vous pouvez être assuré que si vous prenez part au projet, vous resterez anonyme.

Quels sont les avantages de participer?

Cette étude vous donne l'occasion de discuter de vos pensées, sentiments et opinions sur des sujets de sport au service du développement liés tels que les partenariats, la dynamique et les collaborations. Nous ne pouvons pas promettre que l'étude va vous aider personnellement, mais les informations que nous recevrons de l'étude contribueront à accroître la compréhension des réalités locales vécues par de personnes impliquées dans les programmes de sport au service du développement.

Y a-t-il des inconvénients de prendre part?

Il se pourrait que vous ne soyez pas à l'aise de parler de votre participation et d'expériences dans le sport au service du développement.

Êtes-vous contraint à participer à cette étude?

Non, votre participation à ce projet est entièrement volontaire. Vous n'êtes pas obligé de prendre part, vous avez été approché comme une personne qui a une association avec soit Cricket Without Boundaries ou programme de développement du football Cameroun ou vous avez un emploi qui implique la gouvernance ou de la gestion du sport au Cameroun. Si vous ne souhaitez pas participer, vous ne devez pas donner une raison et vous ne serez pas contacté à nouveau.

De même, si vous acceptez de participer, vous êtes libre de vous retirer de l'étude à tout moment. Si vous vous retirez de l'étude, nous allons détruire toutes les données personnelles (interviews enregistrées en audio). Si vous souhaitez vous retirer, vous pouvez envoyer un courriel ou message

texte au le chercheur principal, ou l'équipe d'encadrement. Les détails sont ci-dessous.

Que deviendra-t-il des résultats de la recherche ?

Les participants veulent souvent connaître les résultats de l'étude dans laquelle ils ont été impliqués. Courant 2016 les résultats pourront être publiés. Seulement, à ce stade, un résumé des principales conclusions sera disponible, vous êtes prié de contacter le principal chercheur si vous souhaitez voir. Vous ne serez pas personnellement identifié dans un rapport ou publication.

Qu'est-ce qui se passe maintenant?

Si vous êtes intéressé à prendre part à l'étude s'il vous plaît signez ci-dessous que vous avez lu, compris et êtes intéressé à participer à l'étude. Vous serez également invité à signer un formulaire de consentement

Nom (IMPRIMER nom complet)

Signature:

Date:

Êtes-vous en rapport avec Cricket Without Boundaries (cochez)

Êtes-vous associé avec le programme de développement du football Cameroun (cochez)

Une organisation sportive du Cameroun (cochez)

Détails du contact

Chercheur principal:

Jo Clarke, Université de Leeds Trinity, Brownberrie Lane, Leeds, West Yorkshire, LS18 5HD, Royaume-Uni.

Téléphone: +44 7946645263 Email: j.clarke@leedstrinity.ac.uk

Superviseurs:

Dr Paul Salisbury (Université de Leeds Trinity, Sport Santé et nutrition)

Téléphone: +44113 2837179 Email: p.salisbury@leedstrinity.ac.uk

Dr Polly Wilding (Université de Leeds, École de politique et d'études internationales)

Téléphone: +44 113 343 4785 Email: p.wilding@leeds.ac.uk