Applying Intergroup Contact Theory to Sport-for-Development

Abstract

Despite evidence of its effectiveness in the area of conflict studies, intergroup contact theory (ICT) has rarely been applied to specifically designed sport-for-development (SFD) interventions. As such, the purpose of this study is to demonstrate the suitability and applicability of ICT as a framework analyzing SFD interventions that aim to foster integrative social transformation. In this paper, we first situate ICT within the broader sport and SFD contexts before demonstrating the utility of ICT through a reflective analysis of League Bilong Laif (LBL), an education-focused SFD intervention in Papua New Guinea. Our examination of LBL demonstrates that ICT may well be a useful framework to design and deliver SFD interventions, particularly in the context of existing intergroup tensions. To maximize opportunities for positive social impact, we propose the aspect of 'cultural relevance and excitement potential' as an additional critical condition for achieving meaningful intergroup development.

Keywords: sport-for-development, intergroup contact theory, Papua New Guinea, Rugby League, cultural relevance and excitement potential

Applying Intergroup Contact Theory to Sport-for-Development

1. Introduction

Sport is increasingly used as a vehicle to affect positive development and social change on the micro, meso, and macro levels of society. As a fast-growing academic discipline, sport-for-development (SFD) is also an emerging area for the development and testing of both new and existing theory (Schulenkorf & Spaaij, 2015; Welty Peachey, 2015; Welty Peachey, Schulenkorf, & Hill, 2019; Welty Peachey, Schulenkorf, & Spaaij, 2019). In fact, theoretical engagement is a particularly important step for SFD, as any new discipline lacking strong theoretical and/or conceptual underpinnings is in danger of being reduced to a process-led managerial exercise (Coalter, 2013; Cunningham, 2013; Doherty, 2013; Fink 2013). In recent years, some important groundwork has been laid in this space including conceptual SFD studies on management, capacity building and leadership (Jones et al., 2019; Kang & Svensson, 2019), as well as the engagement with—and development of—theoretical underpinnings around different forms of networks, group relations, conflict and contact theories (Brake & Misener, 2020; Darnell et al., 2018; Gelbman, 2019; Hayhurst et al., 2018; Krasniqi & Krasniqi, 2019; Sugden et al., 2020). Importantly, scholars have consistently argued for specific attention to be paid to theory-practice links in the design, delivery, and evaluation—in short, the overall management—of SFD interventions (Coalter, 2013; Dao & Smith, 2019; Schulenkorf, 2017; Svensson, 2017). This, in turn, will ensure that the right organizational frameworks are in place to facilitate and realize desired social change processes.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the suitability and applicability of intergroup contact theory (ICT; Allport, 1954) as a framework analyzing SFD interventions that aim to foster integrative social transformation. To achieve this aim, we argue that an *explicit* study focus on ICT and its key conditions is critical. This is important given that to

date, most sport-related contact studies have presented ICT as merely an *implicit* aspect or backdrop for projects on community development and conflict resolution (see, e.g., Bartle & Craig, 2017; Brake & Misener, 2020; Krasniqi & Krasniqi, 2019; Litvak-Hirsch et al., 2016). Instead—and by using a program in Papua New Guinea (PNG) as an illustrative example— our study takes an *explicit* approach towards analysing research findings in the context of ICT conditions, thereby demonstrating the specific application of ICT in SFD.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Intergroup Contact Theory

Since World War Two, research on group dynamics has been a major area in the field of social psychology. The experience of this war encouraged studies on fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, and social conflict, while research regarding the conditions that influence prejudiced attitudes and negative intergroup behavior also emerged. Explanations for these issues could not have been more different. For instance, while Adorno et al. (1950) described prejudice as a pathological personality syndrome that represents the externalization of unconscious hostilities and fears, Allport (1954) argued that prejudice is not only an individual sentiment, but a social group phenomenon. According to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, prejudice can be reduced or eliminated through intergroup contact under four optimal conditions: (a) equal status within the contact situation; (b) intergroup cooperation; (c) common goals; and (d) support of authorities, law, or custom.

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis is still considered central to intergroup research today. In fact, his work has been applied to—and supported by—diverse international research studies that have investigated intergroup behavior in populations divided by ethnicity, religion, immigration, and history (Abu-Nimer, 1999; Gibson, 2004; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Niens & Cairns, 2005; Pettigrew, 1997; Robinson & Preston, 1976; Schmid, Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2014). Positive intergroup contact has also been found to reduce

prejudice and bias towards people living with disabilities, as well as individuals with diverse

sexualities and sexual preferences (Herek & Glunt, 1993; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ

2011). In short, these studies analyzed how belonging to an *in-group*—in which individuals

share similar interests and beliefs—influences behavior toward others in an *out-group*, as

well as what can be done to improve intergroup relations.

While the theoretical explanations of the term *intergroup relations* vary, the seminal

definition developed by one of the pioneers of the theory of intergroup conflict, Muzafer

Sherif (1967), states that:

> intergroup relations refer to relations between two or more groups and their respective
>
> members. Whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or
>
> individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications
>
> we have an instance of intergroup behaviour. (p. 156)

This definition highlights that only those behaviors and associated attitudes which derive

from *belonging* to a group are seen as cases of intergroup relations. For the purpose of our

study, we build on Sherif's (1967) seminal work, as well as Allport's (1954) contact

hypothesis, to argue that ICT describes the way in which individuals in in-groups perceive,

think about, feel about, and act toward people in out-groups.

In regards to intergroup contact benefits, a recent meta-analysis by Pettigrew and

colleagues (2011) assessed 515 contact studies involving over 250,000 participants in 38

nations and produced strong evidence that positive interpersonal contact with members from

an out-group yields significant bias reduction toward the out-group. Importantly, the authors

also found that the changes brought about by contact are much broader than simply learning

about the out-group; instead, they suggest that positive intergroup contact can lead to

reductions in anxiety, collective threat, and individual threat. As such, the reduction of bias

is not solely reliant on cognitive mechanisms—a source of criticism of the theory (Rothbart

& John, 1985)—but rather, it is the strong affective consequences of contact that exert the greatest influence on peoples' attitudes, thoughts, and behaviors toward people from other social groups.

Studies in the area of conflict reduction are ongoing across a variety of academic disciplines and there is growing evidence of a variety of positive social consequences of contact. As such, research has demonstrated the efficacy of contact in reconciliation, forgiveness, and trust in a range of historically divided contexts, including South Africa (Gibson, 2004), Northern Ireland (Niens & Cairns, 2005), and ethnically diverse communities in the United Kingdom (Schmid, et al., 2014). Here, it is important to recognize Pettigrew's (1997) research on mediating contact processes which are essential for intergroup relationships: in addition to learning about the out-group, critical elements include empathizing, identifying with the out-group, and reappraising the in-group. Together with the optimal conditions for contact identified by Allport (1954), these findings continue to serve as important guidelines for designing intergroup engagement experiences (including sport projects) that bring together people from different social groups.

From a socio-psychological perspective, a number of ICT models have been proposed over time which connect aspects of intergroup relations to feelings of social and cultural identity (see Hewstone & Brown, 1986; González & Brown, 2003). Of particular interest for our sport-related study is the Common In-group Identity Model where individuals are dropping their sub-identities during contact and re-group under an inclusive superordinate identity (Gaertner et al., 2000). Here, boundaries between groups are weakened or in fact redrawn; in other words, groups are being subsumed within the superordinate identity of the collective. A sporting example for this inclusive development are supporters of the English national team who are dropping their different club allegiances during international matches,

simply identifying as Three Lions fans and getting on with supporters of rival club teams under their salient superordinate identity.

2.2 ICT, Sport and SFD

Sport has been discussed as an important medium for intergroup contact since the emergence of the contact hypothesis, with Allport (1954) himself using the example of "the multi-ethnic athletic team" (p. 276) as a context in which common goals, cooperation, and solidarity can override racial and ethnic divisions. Early studies using ICT focused on whether competitive sports settings provide suitable settings for prejudice-reducing contact (Brown, Brown, Jackson, Sellers, & Manuel, 2003; Chu & Griffey, 1985; Hanssen, 2001; Krouwel, Boonstra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006; Lawrence, 2004; Slavin & Madden, 1979). For instance, Slavin and Madden's (1979) landmark research on intergroup contact through sport in the United States found that teenage members of mixed-race sports teams held more positive attitudes toward people of other races than teenagers who did not interact cooperatively with members of different races in sport. The authors concluded that facilitating cooperative group activities—such as sports with mixed-race teams—was critical and most effective in achieving successful racial integration. This proposition was subsequently confirmed by research which for example focused on relationships between Caucasian and African Americans in competitive sports settings such as baseball (Hanssen, 2001), American football (Miracle, 1981) and athletic activities (Brown et al., 2003; Lawrence, 2004).

Meanwhile, researchers have argued that the conditions for optimal contact do not tend to appear naturally in interracial sporting activities, and a failure to purposely design opportunities for positive social engagement may in fact lead to minimal positive change, or in fact unintended negative social consequences (Chu & Griffey, 1985; Krouwel et al., 2006; Rees & Miracle, 1984). For example, Chu and Griffey (1985) surveyed over 1,000 student

athletes in New York City and concluded that in uncontrolled, "real-life" settings, interracial

contact through sport had only a very mild effect on the attitudes and behaviors of young

people, while Krouwel et al. (2006) found that single-race teams competing *against* each

other exacerbated racial tensions. This finding aligns with Allport's (1954) original

proposition that simple, unmanaged forms of interaction may indeed be ineffective at

reducing intergroup bias and can run the risk of further aggravating divided societies.

As a next step, sport management research has shifted the focus on applying contact

theory to *designing* effective contact experiences in diverse sports settings (see, e.g.,

Bruening et al., 2014; Cohen, Melton, & Peachey, 2014; Lyras & Hums, 2009; Schulenkorf,

2010). One socio-managerial aspect that has consistently been identified as critical for

reducing prejudice among groups and people is the facilitation of personal and longer-term

forms of contact compared to brief, superficial engagements. Pettigrew (1997) had

previously argued that this aspect is actually essential in order to provide the potential to

develop friendships, as it is through a combination of affective and cognitive processes that

positive intergroup contact outcomes emerge. Recent empirical studies have supported these

arguments; as such, sport-specific development research has moved beyond ICT's early

experimental settings to real-world scenarios to improve relations between people of different

genders (Cohen, Melton & Peachey, 2014; Lyras & Hums, 2009), socioeconomic classes

(Bruening et al., 2014), religions (Sugden, 2006), and ethnicities (Schulenkorf, 2010;

Schulenkorf, Sugden, & Burdsey, 2014; Sugden et al., 2011).

Purposely designed activities that aim to improve intergroup relations through sport

are particularly prevalent in the SFD theme of sport for peace and/or sport for reconciliation

(see Richards et al., 2013). In this space, socio-managerial research has gained in importance,

as it discusses the conditions and processes towards achieving positive contact and social

engagement outcomes. For instance, one of Bruening et al.'s (2014) SFD study participants explained,

> … sport is the foundation used to develop relationships with the children. In this manner, although sport is the conduit through which interaction takes place, the end goal is positive relationships or diversity management. … It is essential to keep this goal in mind throughout the design of the contact situation. (p. 42)

This statement suggests that sporting experiences are most effective in reducing prejudice when they are purposely developed and designed for an overarching social purpose. Here, the tenets of ICT—equal status in the contact situation, common goals that require cooperation, avoidance of competition between members of different subgroups, support by social norms and/or authority figures (Allport, 1954)—are not prescriptive elements of contact, but rather facilitate underlying mediating processes leading towards improved intergroup relations.

These theoretical guidelines are also reflected in Schulenkorf's (2010) study of a sport intervention aimed at achieving reconciliation between ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, a society with a history of ethnic divisions. Here, contact theory was used to design an intervention program that included a range of sporting and cultural opportunities for intergroup contact with the intent of improving intergroup relations. The study revealed that sport projects allow the establishment of interpersonal friendships and the creation of inclusive social identities along national lines, organizational lines, common interests, and imagined factors (Schulenkorf, 2010). Similarly, Sugden (2006) had previously shown how deliberately providing appropriate opportunities for positive contact enhanced the outcomes of a Football for Peace intervention in Israel. His study found that intergroup engagement in mixed sport teams on-field was positive; however, some of the off-field activities—those that did not include a specific sporting element and instead focused on cultural exchange—did not have

the same effect. This outcome speaks to the potentially unique potential of sport to be a platform for uniting people and communities, if programs are designed and managed in accordance with supportive contact frameworks.

In one of the more recent studies that used a contact theory framework in a sport-specific setting, Cohen et al. (2014) examined the design of the emerging sport of quidditch[1] and assessed its influence on gender-related attitudes and behaviors. Their analysis drew heavily from previous work by Lyras and Hums (2009), who adapted the ICT framework to apply to gender relations. Cohen et al. (2014) identified four criteria for designing co-ed sporting activities to reduce sexist attitudes and behaviors: (a) authoritative support for gender equality, (b) prominent roles served by both female and male players and equal say in rules and logistics, (c) common goals tailored to fit the setting and context (i.e., competitive or development), and (d) potential to form friendships. The authors concluded that these key elements of the sport's rules and organizational structure were effective in reducing gender-based stereotypes, increasing players' ambition for inclusivity and equality, and increasing the female players' self-confidence and pride. They further suggested, in agreement with Lee and Scott (2013), that the recreational nature of the contact experience may well have been an important positive factor.

Interestingly, Cohen et al. (2014) further suggested that in an attempt to monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of an SFD initiative in reaching its social objectives, "researchers must look beyond numbers and attempt to understand how the attitudes and behaviors of organizational members shape gender equality within the sport organization . . . [As such,] the tenets of Allport's (1954) framework . . . are relevant to investigations of gender equality in sport" (p. 224). In conjunction with Sugden's (2006) and Schulenkorf's (2010) research,

---

[1] Based on the sport played in the *Harry Potter* series, quidditch was founded as a mixed-gender sport that requires both men and women to play important positions.

this statement implicitly suggests that contact theory may well provide a useful lens through which sport-based programs can be assessed in terms of their impact on relations between people from different social groups. However, what previous sport-related contact studies have not yet offered – and what this study seeks to provide – is an *explicit* engagement with ICT and a specific analysis of its key conditions to demonstrate the applicability of ICT in SFD.

Overall, four key themes have emerged from the literature that suggest the suitability of ICT in underpinning SFD initiatives: (a) ICT has shown to be flexible and applicable to a wide range of sports, contexts, and populations; (b) ICT is most effective when activities are purposefully designed to prioritize social transformation over sporting achievements; (c) ICT can be used in the design and delivery of programs in order to manage the tensions that arise from the competitive elements of sport; and (d) ICT promises to provide a holistic program framework across the design, implementation and evaluation stages. Before we discuss our research approach and engage in demonstrating the applicability of ICT as an organizing framework for a targeted SFD intervention in Papua New Guinea, we provide a snapshot of the challenging geographical program contexts in which we conducted our research.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Context

Papua New Guinea (PNG) provides a unique and challenging context for SFD programs; this Pacific nation is home to approximately 860 different cultures with varying customs, values, and languages, and has a difficult history of intergroup tension, geographic isolation, and violent antisocial behavior within its communities (O'Brien & Ponting, 2013). Several regions of PNG are known for intercultural conflict, intercommunity tensions, and tribal battles, in particular in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville and the PNG

Highlands (Abe & Vincent, 2006). During times of open conflict, civil life is severely

impacted and schools remain closed or are too dangerous to access.

As such, the PNG education system faces a number of significant challenges. Overall,

school attendance is poor with an estimated 43% of primary students abandoning study

(Oxford Business Group, 2013); some schools lack regular teaching staff and unexplained

teacher absenteeism is high (Patrinos & Kagia, 2007). The predominantly female teaching

staff's remuneration is comparatively poor and systemic inadequacies often lead to delayed

payments (Patrinos & Kagia, 2007). Although the PNG school curriculum includes

ostensible support for physical education (PE) in elementary, primary, and secondary schools,

PE sessions are rarely implemented and depend entirely on teachers' willingness and ability

to conduct classes (Authors, 2016). Overall, the fields of sport and PE suffer from poor

social status and perceived unimportance within the wider education system.

In PNG, large class sizes of 50 are common and school facilities across the country

remain inadequate (Oxford Business Group, 2013). Sporting resources in schools are

particularly scant and access is hampered by both logistics and climate. Students with a

disability are often excluded from participation and face regular abuse and discrimination

(Human Rights Watch, 2014). Moreover, physical coercion is not uncommon in the

classroom. Finally, communities across PNG face some of the highest levels of poverty and

disadvantage worldwide—the Economist Intelligence Unit's livability index ranks Port

Moresby 137 out of 140 capital cities—and children are required to work to the upkeep of the

family. They often have to contribute to family income or care for younger siblings, thereby

effectively disengaging from the education system.

The educational environment for women and girls is particularly challenging and

significant concerns remain around gender dynamics. In the school setting, tensions exist

between—mostly female—teachers on one side, who often consider their students disruptive

and poorly behaved. On the other side, there are students who view the teacher–student

relationship as essentially combative. The low status of women in the community—

evidenced by sexist attitudes, discriminatory behavior, violence, and the absence of women in

senior administration and management circles, and government roles more widely (UN

Women, 2015)—further contributes to a lack of respect for a female-dominated teaching

workforce. Gender imbalances and equity issues are also reflected in a sport setting, where

boys and girls rarely play together and where female role models are lacking (Seal & Sherry,

2018).

　　　Against this challenging background, League Bilong Laif [League for Life] (LBL)

operates as an SFD program that uses rugby league activities to support social and education

outcomes for elementary and primary school children in PNG. In 2013, the program began as

a three-way partnership between the Australian Government (represented by the Department

of Foreign Affairs and Trade [DFAT]), the PNG Government (represented by the National

Department of Education), and the Australian Rugby League Commission (represented by the

National Rugby League [NRL]). From the outset, the PNG Government and PNG staff in-

country had been embedded in the design and delivery of the program which is delivered in

schools across four regions: the National Capital District (Port Moresby), the Eastern

Highlands (Goroka), East New Britain (Kokopo), and the Autonomous Region of

Bougainville (Buka). As the LBL program is delivered in schools, the PNG Department of

Education reviewed and endorsed all aspects of program design and delivery. Additionally,

on the ground, all local delivery staff and the national LBL manager are local Papua New

Guineans.

　　　In short, LBL is a plus-sport program according to Coalter's (2008) conceptualization;

it uses the sport of rugby league to deliver socially transformative messaging about education

and respect by and with local Papua New Guineans. Specifically, the objectives of LBL are

to (a) improve student engagement in educational activities inside and outside of the classroom; and (b) to communicate positive social messages, with a focus on respect more generally, and gender equality more explicitly. These objectives were identified as most appropriate for this program as they are a national development priority for the Government of Papua New Guinea. As the program has further evolved over time, enhancements and adaptations to both the program design and its delivery in each regional context have been implemented by the local delivery teams.

3.2. Research Approach

In order to demonstrate the suitability and applicability of ICT as a framework for analyzing SFD interventions that aim to achieve integrative social transformation, we engaged in a reflective analysis that built on existing data and our extensive research experience with the LBL program and local context. Specifically, our reflective analysis draws on illustrative examples from a series of site visits in PNG, including 11 empirical qualitative evaluation research studies conducted by the authors on a six-monthly basis between 2014 and 2019. Here, the initial focus was placed on investigating the organisational aspects of LBL, including program stakeholder views, experiences and behaviours. More recently, the program has also been evaluated against stated objectives and outcomes. As the research process evolved, our methods also advanced from interviews only to a number of complementary techniques, including classroom-based story of change activities and iPad facilitated evaluation surveys that were designed and conducted by local staff. The overall LBL research evaluation framework, which has been guiding our investigations and includes our data collection and analysis approaches across key program outcome domains, is provided in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 here

For the purpose of this article, we have built on our lived experiences in PNG and have used all available qualitative data from past interviews and focus groups to re-analyze and re-conceptualize findings thematically. Specifically, our reflective analysis was guided by Thomas & Harden's (2008) three-step thematic synthesis technique of a) the coding of text; b) the development of descriptive themes; and c) the generation of analytical themes. Our focus was specifically placed on the first and third step with the intention of going beyond the primary studies to (re-)generate analytical themes with rigor.

The first step involved a thorough re-reading of data by both researchers and a comparative analysis of the original findings of the studies. For the subsequent manual coding process, we used relevant explorations of program stakeholder views, experiences and behaviours to generate relevant findings that could be applied to the four conditions of ICT in a deductive way. At the same time—and allowing for a hybrid inductive/deductive approach to research (see Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Schulenkorf & Siefken, 2019)—we were also open to new themes to emerge from our data that would complement Allport's (1954) key conditions for intergroup contact.

Overall, we managed to achieve what Thomas & Harden (2008) had intended with their thematic synthesis approach: We stayed close to the findings of the primary studies, using and synthesising them in a transparent way, and facilitating the explicit transfer into advanced categories including the creation of new thematic concepts. We also considered a vital concern commonly linked to reflective analysis processes, namely the detachment of findings from the original context which could lead to themes or concepts being misinterpreted by researchers. We addressed this issue not only by following the specific analysis process outlined by Thomas & Harden (2008), but also by employing author cross-checking (see Patton, 2014) and open discussions during the analytical theming phase. Moreover, we made the conscious choice to exclusively focus on studies we had designed and empirically conducted ourselves. Taken

together, we always intended to preserve a robust research process, an intimate understanding of the programs' focus, as well as detailed knowledge of the local context.

4. Reflective Findings and Discussion

In this section, we present our reflections on how the varied practical and organizational experiences of LBL were applied to ICT. In doing so, we provide selective key examples and discuss how ICT serves as a useful organizing framework for key aspects of SFD management. We have structured this section according to the four conditions that help facilitate positive intergroup contact and reduce wider societal benefits, namely: (a) equal status within the contact situation; (b) intergroup cooperation; (c) common goals; and (d) support of authorities, law, or custom. An emerging fifth condition—(e) cultural relevance and excitement potential—is further proposed and critically discussed in the context of seminal ICT studies and recent sport-specific research. Overall, we suggest that the five conditions should not be seen in isolation, but in concert with each other, as arguments are often relevant across more than one condition.

4.1. Equal status within the contact situation

The status of people in PNG not only links to their respective family backgrounds, financial opportunities, educational achievements, or positions in society, but it also heavily influenced by their gender and tribal / community association. Against this rather complex socio-cultural background, one of the specific goals of LBL is achieving a level playing field related to gender equality and female empowerment both on and off the sporting pitch. As noted earlier, both education and gender equality are key goals of the PNG national development plan, and as such, were integrated into the program design. On the field, equal rights for boys and girls to participate in sporting activities were provided through careful activity planning adhering to the tenets of ICT, as described in Table 2. These considerations were indeed critical, given that varying playing skills could have otherwise resulted in an

unfair and unequal representation and (dis-)advantage on the field which —in turn—could have led to power imbalances (see Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012; Sugden 2006). The local PNG staff grew increasingly adept at ensuring full and equitable participation in each school, in some cases politely refusing to start the program until all children—both boys and girls— were released from the classroom to the sporting field by their teacher to participate.

Interestingly, less managerial involvement was needed to secure equal status *off the field*, where rugby league fandom and knowledge is widespread, multigenerational, and not gender-specific in PNG. Hence, the commonalities shared by teachers and students—male and female alike—were highlighted and the potential for a positive affective response was increased during rugby league related discussions.

Insert Table 2 about here

In regards to staffing and empowerment, one key long-range objective of LBL has been to provide a new generation of female leaders with specific opportunities to forge a career in rugby league, not only by playing, but also by taking on coaching and administrative roles. Hence, 50% of LBL delivery and managerial staff were made up of local PNG women, all of whom were provided with tailored professional development opportunities to achieve the same skill level as their male counterparts. At the same time, as role models for participants and other stakeholders, all staff—male and female—were trained to deliver key social messages about gender equality and respect in the office and on the rugby league fields. These aspects were particularly important given the traditionally low status of women across PNG and the program's key social transformation goal. At the time of writing, all regional leadership roles are now held by these women who have developed their leadership and technical skills through the program.

Considerations of status equality also underpinned the engagement with key network partners; as such, the opportunity for stakeholders to provide input was essential and

represented a crucial step in the communication of the program's social transformation intent.

Throughout LBL, opportunities for reflection and feedback were built into the training and

development regime; in fact, as part of the regular monitoring and evaluation (M&E)

exercise, local contributions from internal and external contributors were used to improve the

program's design and delivery. Here, LBL organizers realized that it was essential for M&E

to be formative, ongoing, and locally informed in order to meaningfully develop program

design and implementation (Coalter, 2008; Darnell, 2012). As part of the M&E exercises, the

initial program design was tested for its adherence to ICT principles and progressively, LBL

staff and teachers fed back their insights and experiences to address identified issues or to

enhance activity effectiveness. During the final evaluations, LBL staff and teachers took part

in formal focus group and interview sessions; here, they were encouraged to reflect on the

benefits and challenges of the program, as well as suggest further opportunities for positive

change. Children's reflections were also gathered, in this case through writing and drawing

their stories of change. Again, the local views of participants, stakeholders and staff were

instrumental in the development of recommendations for adaptation and improvement of the

program's design and delivery.

Overall, the variety of approaches and combination of different methods ensured that

the voices of all program participants and stakeholders, regardless of their role, were equally

heard and represented. As such, feelings of inclusion, ownership and equal status were

fostered. This is a critical point, given that local contributions to M&E aspects of SFD

programming are indeed vital, yet often ignored or undervalued by external SFD organizers

(Sherry, Schulenkorf, Seal, Nicholson, & Hoye, 2017; Spaaij, Schulenkorf, Jeanes, & Oxford,

2018).

4.2. Intergroup cooperation

The program design provided opportunities for cross-group cooperation—for example, between LBL staff and local school teachers, as well as amongst students including boys and girls. Training sessions were conducted in participating schools and sessions were carefully delivered across a 6-week program. As such, sessions included rugby league-related on-field and also off-field classroom activities that were initially delivered by LBL staff, and later by both LBL staff and school teachers. Here, a transfer of responsibility and control was critical for fostering cooperation and buy-in, and it required genuine participation and commitment from all parties involved. In other words, intergroup cooperation was needed to achieve the desired and all-important strategic process of local empowerment (see Schulenkorf, 2010).

From a content perspective, the sessions ensured the prioritization of social objectives over overtly competitive activities, which facilitated the delivery of key social messaging. In other words, potential tensions arising from the inherent competitive nature of sport were strategically addressed and accounted for to encourage cooperation among all participants (see program design, as summarized in Table 1). As part of the strategic design exercise, mixed-gender, all-ability teams were created to allow for contact with other children in a well-balanced, non-threatening social environment (see Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012).

Given the focus of LBL and its aim to establish positive engagement between students and teachers, the sessions also included 'beyond sport' opportunities for social interaction and cooperation between these two groups. For instance, LBL classroom activities such as mixed-gender reading groups and math activities using stories and measures from rugby league clubs and players were designed to engage teachers, boys and girls, and they required genuine collaboration between all groups. For example, teachers and students participated in a large group activity where—based on information on their player swap cards—they had to work together to sort their team's players from lightest to heaviest in order to complete

associated educational tasks that functioned as superordinate goals (see Sherif, 1979). Here,

intergroup cooperation and engagement facilitated the opportunity for shared experiences and

common in-group feelings to develop (see Gartner et al, 2000)

4.3. Common goals

As indicated above, for LBL to make an inclusive difference for participating

individuals and groups, contact situations had to include strategic opportunities to enhance

the contact experience (Chu & Griffey, 1985; Coalter, 2008). Consequently, LBL staff were

trained to deliver the core program values of "respect" and "equality," as well as the

"importance of education for all Papua New Guineans", through inclusive teaching and

coaching practices that aimed to generate the cooperative pursuit of common goals, the third

key condition of Allport's (1954) optimal contact theory. For instance, the LBL staff worked

with the schools and classroom teachers to ensure that no activities (in class or on field)

would commence until all children of both genders and from different community

backgrounds were provided the opportunity to participate. In particular, girls in each

classroom who would had previously been excluded from any on-field rugby league

activities—or children with a disability who were usually excluded from sport participation at

school—were purposely brought into the playing environment by the LBL staff.

Interestingly, in some cases classroom teachers would only send the boys on to the field, and

the LBL staff would then use this opportunity to reinforce values of gender equality and

inclusion. They were delaying the start of the session until all children—including girls or

those with a disability—had joined them on the field. As such, mixed gender, all-abilities and

inter-cultural activities were designed and promoted to increase the potential for creating

engagement and developing friendships beyond group boundaries (see also Schulenkorf &

Edwards, 2012).

Moreover, and as previously indicated, teachers and students had the opportunity to provide direct input into rules and organization of different (sporting) activities, which allowed students to identify closely with the program and work toward realistic and desired common goals. Importantly, children worked in changing groups multiple times per week over the duration of the program, in an attempt to reduce the salience of pre-existing group categorizations and to allow for common in-group feelings and new social relations to emerge (see Gaertner et al., 2000; Schulenkorf, 2010). We shall return to the importance of local input and engagement for culturally relevant activities as a suggested condition for ICT later in this paper.

4.4. Support of authorities, law, or custom

With support from the Australian NRL, initial training and development of LBL staff took a *train-the-trainers* approach (see, e.g., Blom, 2015; Rich & Giles, 2015; Sugden, 2006; VanSickle & Schaumleffel, 2016), in which senior and full-time staff received the most training and then in turn provided training and development to the casually employed program delivery staff. The managerial intent of this approach was to provide all-important initial support and to provide a framework for collaboration and skill-sharing with a view to empower all those that would eventually deliver the social transformation messaging of the program. As part of this, annual program-wide training to the entire staff cohort was provided in consultation with key authorities and partners, including the Department of Education, the NRL and DFAT further established support from authority. Here. program-specific training was coupled with training for broader management and education skills, such as working with children, logistics, and project management.

Under the train-the-trainers framework, a number of senior staff were invited to engage in professional development opportunities in Australia. Here, three Australian Aid Fellowships, including one for a female team member, facilitated travel to Australia for a

two-week intensive leadership course that included peer learning and mentoring within the

NRL. The managerial intent here was to build local capacity in line with the long-term

objective of transferring ownership and strategic management of the program to local staff.

On the operational level, the process of transferring responsibility for the delivery of

LBL—both on the field and in the classroom—involved LBL staff and local teachers.

Following a two-month educational development process during which LBL staff trained

local school teachers to assist in the facilitation of the program—and during which they

provided active and ongoing mentoring—school teachers were able to continue the delivery

of both on and off-field programming as part of their regular curriculum. At this time,

ongoing support, resources, training, and follow-up visits by LBL staff were provided to

ensure continuous and sustainable program implementation. Ongoing support took the form

of train-the-trainers sport development sessions, as well as program equipment, books,

curriculum materials, and training manuals. The transfer of responsibilities from external

'change agents' to local communities has been one of the key challenges in SFD work in the

past (see, e.g., Schulenkorf, 2010; 2017); however, it has also proven successful if considered

a critical part of a wider local ownership strategy. As such, examples exist where long-term

development outcomes have been achieved in some of the longest-running and locally

sustained SFD initiatives (see e.g. Schulenkorf, Sugden, & Burdsey, 2014; Sugden, 2010)

Finally—from an operational perspective—an interesting observation relates to the

use of language in LBL program delivery. In short, LBL staff—and later teachers—were

encouraged to deliver all programs and sessions in English; the intent here was to build

capacity in the language of government and education. A secondary, related intent of using

English as the language of transmission was to underscore the importance of education for all

Papua New Guineans, a key social transformation message of the program. While this

approach had the support of authorities such as the Department of Education and the NRL

itself, the utilization of English also resulted in challenges. Particularly in groups where the

level of English varied considerably, the difference in language skills resulted in weaker

students feeling upset and/or disadvantaged. Given that only a small percentage of people in

PNG can speak English, this decision may well be interpreted as neo-colonial with the

unintended consequences of disadvantaging local people and their respective languages (see,

e.g., Darnell, 2007, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011).

Similarly, data collected from LBL staff and teachers also reported that a number of

students struggled with some of the Australian-designed learning materials. For example,

valuable classroom time was spent explaining foreign cultural concepts (e.g., a sheep farm),

thereby potentially derailing the intended social messaging. This also had the unintended

consequence of introducing inequity into the group setting due to differing levels of

knowledge of foreign culture. In other words, the LBL learning materials were designed to

better engage teachers and children with literacy; however, for those with little knowledge or

experience of Australian culture, this in fact highlighted the differences between individuals

and groups. This example highlights once more the importance of engaging local

stakeholders in the design of culturally relevant and meaningful SFD activities, something

that could have been undertaken more comprehensively in this aspect of the LBL program.

4.5. Cultural relevance and excitement potential

Our findings highlight that the consideration of cultural relevance coupled with

excitement potential presents a critical factor in successful SFD programming; as such, we

argue that it deserves to be treated and discussed as an explicit fifth consideration for positive

intergroup contact. Our argument aligns with—and builds on—previous research in the wider

(sport) psychology field around initiative and engagement. In particular, Larson (2000), in his

seminal piece *Toward a Psychology of Positive Youth Development*, suggested that

meaningful "structured voluntary activities" such as sports have the best chances to make a

positive difference on youth's sporting and social development. Since then, scholars in the area of positive youth development have been able to show that sport's popularity and malleability—combined with the fact that young people are often interested, motivated, and engaged in sport settings—creates a distinct opportunity to use sport to facilitate desired development outcomes both on and off the pitch (see, e.g., Armour et al, 2013; Camiré et al., 2013; Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005; Holt et al., 2017).

In recent years, SFD programs around the world have attempted to provide and capitalize on such structured voluntary activities. Here, SFD research has been able to show that cultural aspects are vital contributors to successful SFD programming; importantly, this relates as much to the choice of sport and social activities in the overall program design, as to the recruitment and development of participants and volunteers, different socio-managerial issues around local-international engagement, or aspects of power (im)balances and program sustainability (see Brake & Misener, 2019; Darnell, 2007; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Khoo, Schulenkorf & Adair, 2014). In current SFD research on contact and intergroup relations the aspect of cultural relevance has also been addressed, albeit largely implicitly. However, there is a lack of meaningful discussions around the potential (if not, the need) for 'added excitement' that may be required to entice people to engage—something that our reflective findings suggest should be changed.

At LBL, the strategic use of the country's favorite sport provided a conducive context with which all participants—teachers and students—were familiar and in which a high level of enjoyment could be expected. As discussed, in conjunction with the downplaying of competitive elements and mixing of teams during LBL sessions, this aspect contributed to providing equal status between teams as well as an understanding of clear rules for participants and teachers during sport sessions. Importantly, the prospect of learning through rugby league-related activities and exercises provided a distinct excitement for students and

distinguished the LBL program from standard education sessions. In other words, the LBL

organizers were able to leverage the excitement that rugby league created to achieve

additional social and educational outcomes. For instance, school activities that framed

learning objectives in terms of *rugby league* rather than *math* were seen to increase

engagement and reduce discomfort or anxiety in the classroom; this aspect is of particular

importance, as these factors have previously been identified as inhibitors to positive contact

(Pettigrew et al., 2011).

Beyond the facilitation of positive intergroup contact, we also found that excitement

potential may be a critical aspect for inclusive social identity formation that specifically

tailored SFD programs can provide. At LBL, it was interesting to observe that school staff

were simultaneously taking their usual guiding role as teachers, but also were excited to

acquire new sport skills and techniques as learners. From our observations and teacher

feedback, we argue that the latter also had positive impacts on teacher–student relations. The

teachers' willingness and excitement to engage in a culturally significant leisure activity

(rugby league) also resulted in new forms of intergroup dynamics. At times, the students were

more skilled in the respective sport activity or drill, and they could take a teaching role with

their educators and other peers. This provided incredible excitement for some of the skilled

rugby league players in class—some of whom rarely had the opportunity to shine in a

traditional classroom setting. Against the background of ICT, we suggest that future SFD-

related socio-psychological research could specifically examine the varying social identities

within this context, and how to leverage and sustain traditional and newly formed group

categorizations to achieve positive intergroup benefits.

Finally, a special type of added excitement was provided through the recruitment of a

popular figure head for the LBL program. In an attempt to secure rugby league knowledge,

networks and credibility—as well as wider community support and leverage opportunities—

the program was headed by a local rugby league hero who had finished a successful

international career and had previously captained the PNG rugby league national team for a

number of years. In addition to the ability to secure support from community and authorities

(see Allport's fourth condition), the installment of a local hero and role model added

significant excitement and popularity to the program. Moreover, cultural relevance and

legitimacy was achieved—something that has previously been criticized as lacking in SFD

promotion, where all too often international superstars have been engaged on a fly-in, fly-out

basis and without any concerns for a strong local connection and sustainability (see

Schulenkorf & Adair, 2014).

5. Conclusion and Future Research

In this paper we have used and discussed Allport's (1954) ICT as an explicit

framework for analyzing SFD programming aimed at achieving social transformation goals

in disadvantaged community settings. We have employed the LBL plus sport program as our

guiding example—a specifically designed SFD education program that was underpinned by

the principles of ICT. Overall, we suggest that the flexibility of ICT and its applicability in a

range of contact situations between various groups make it a useful conceptual framework

with which to design, deliver, and evaluate SFD programs that aim to achieve inclusive social

transformation in challenging community settings.

Based on the premise that purposefully designed SFD activities designed to facilitate

social transformation are typically more successful than those prioritizing sport per se, the

LBL program participants were provided equal status during play and were encouraged to

work cooperatively to achieve common (superordinate) goals on and off the field; moreover,

cooperative aspects of sport participation and learning were consistently prioritized over

competitive aspects. Intergroup and interpersonal engagement between students and

teachers, and between boys and girls, was facilitated through a variety of contact experiences,

some of which served to specifically promote common in-group feelings (see Gaertner et al., 2000). The principles of ICT also underpinned the program's formative M&E processes which benefited from stakeholder input and an organizational support framework that allowed to collectively (a) help determine short-, medium- and long-term goals and indicators; (b) inform the analysis of evaluation data; and (c) shape evaluation methods and approaches to secure equal contributions and positive cross-gender contact, thereby contributing to program objectives.

An important finding and contribution of this study is the newly suggested condition of cultural relevance and excitement potential. As such, this condition complements Allport's (1954) and Pettigrew et al.'s (2011) work and *explicitly* highlights what has previously been discussed among intergroup contact scholars in a predominantly *implicit* way. In short, we argue that cultural relevance presents a precondition for any meaningful planning and management across groups, while excitement potential is paramount for being 'positively different'—a critical aspect when trying to secure local buy-in, engagement and collaboration amongst individuals and groups. Here, our arguments link with work in the area of positive youth development when we suggest that well-designed SFD programs are in a prime position to provide activities and contact opportunities that go beyond common experiences in development work. To maximize the benefits for everyone involved, it will be the SFD program organizers' responsibility to activate and leverage the potential of sport on and off the pitch to enable truly inclusive, exciting contact and intergroup development.

While our reflections suggest that ICT represented a suitable framework for analyzing the LBL program and its efforts to achieve inclusive social transformation, we are aware of the limitations of our research and would like to acknowledge these accordingly. Firstly, the preceding discussion rests on the reflection of findings and experiences from previously conducted studies. A more targeted and bespoke investigation on intergroup relations will

likely reveal additional aspects relevant to the application of ICT, and we are committed to

continuing our research in this space. Secondly, the ongoing development of M&E systems

in and around the LBL program is likely to support a better analysis of outcomes in future

evolutions of the program. With this in mind, indicators are currently being developed to

assess the extent to which LBL is successful in encouraging increased, respectful and

equitable engagement in education. A future analysis of actual program outcomes—rather

than processes and observations—will add significant depth to arguments around program

effectiveness and overall impact.

In addition to these immediate next steps, future research could also examine the

extent to which positive indirect contact outcomes might be leveraged and maximized beyond

the LBL domain. Such a study would be particularly intriguing given that previous research

on indirect and extended forms of contact indicates that the potential for generating greater

impact can only be realized if members of the larger community are able to observe or

become involved in positive direct contact situations (Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Sugden,

2006). Here, studies on the actual and potential reach of plus-sport programming in a wide

variety of conflict contexts could examine the best ways of reaching significant others in the

development process, including family and community members who are not directly

involved in the contact situation (e.g., as spectators of sporting activities). For such future

studies, we also suggest that the newly suggested condition of cultural relevance and

excitement potential should be tested across a range of local, national, and international sport

settings and intergroup contexts.

References

Abe, T., & Vincent, P. (2006). *Papua New Guinea tourism sector review and master plan - 2007–2017: Growing PNG tourism as a sustainable industry*. Retrieved from http://www.tpa.papuanewguinea.travel/PicsHotel/PNGTA/Brochure/TPAFactsheets/Tourism%20Master%20Plan.pdf

Abu-Nimer, M. (1999). *Dialogue, conflict resolution and change*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York, NY: Harper.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Armour, K., Sandford, R., & Duncombe, R. (2013). Positive youth development and physical activity/sport interventions: Mechanisms leading to sustained impact. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy, 18*(3), 256-281. https://doi.org/10.1080/0013191042000274196

Bartle, M., & Craig, P. (2017). Learning about sport for development and peace through international volunteers. In A.M. Benson & N. Wise (Eds.), *International Sports Volunteering* (pp. 188-211). Routledge.

Blom, L. C., Gerstein, L., Stedman, K., Judge, L., Sink, A., & Pierce, D. (2015). Soccer for peace: Evaluation of in-country workshops with Jordanian coaches. *Journal of Sport for Development*, *3*(4), 1-12.

Brake, J., & Misener, K. (2020). "It's a ripple effect": the role of intergroup contact within an inner-city youth sport for development and peace program. *Managing Sport and Leisure*, *25*(3), 203-219.

Brown, K. T., Brown, T. N., Jackson, J. S., Sellers, R. M., & Manuel, W. J. (2003).

Teammates on and off the field? Contact with black teammates and the racial attitudes

of white student athletes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 33*, 1379–1403.

doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2003.tb01954.x

Bruening, J., Fuller, R. D., Cotrufo, R. J., Madsen, R. M., Evanovich, J., & Wilson-Hill, D. E.

(2014). Applying intergroup contact theory to the sport management classroom. *Sport

Management Education Journal, 8*, 35–45. doi:10.1123/SMEJ.2012-0026

Camiré, M., Forneris, T., Trudel, P., & Bernard, D. (2011). Strategies for Helping Coaches

Facilitate Positive Youth Development Through Sport. *Journal of Sport Psychology

in Action, 2*(2), 92-99.

Chu, D., & Griffey, D. (1985). The contact theory of racial integration: The case of sport.

Sociology of Sport Journal, 2, 323–333. Retrieved from

http://journals.humankinetics.com/ssj

Coalter, F. (2008). *Sport-in-development: A monitoring and evaluation manual*. Retrieved

from http://www.sportni.net/sportni/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Sport_in

_Development_A_monitoring_and_Evaluation_Manual.pdf

Coalter, F. (2013). *Sport for development: What game are we playing?* New York, NY:

Routledge.

Cohen, A., Melton, E. N., & Peachey, J. W. (2014). Investigating a coed sport's ability to

encourage inclusion and equality. *Journal of Sport Management, 28*, 220–235.

doi:10.1123/jsm.2013-0329

Cunningham, G.B. (2013). Theory and theory development in sport management. *Sport

Management Review*, *16*, 1-4.

Dao, M., & Smith, T. (2019). The Capability Approach as a Conceptual Bridge for Theory-

    Practice in Sport-for-Development. *Journal of Global Sport Management*, 1-17.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/24704067.2019.1703117

Darnell, S. C. (2007). Playing with race: Right to play and the production of whiteness in

    'development through sport'. *Sport in Society, 10*(4), 560-579.

Darnell, S. (2012). *Sport for development and peace: A critical sociology*. New York, NY:

    Bloomsbury Academic.

Darnell, S. C., Giulianotti, R., Howe, P. D., & Collison, H. (2018). Re-assembling sport for

    development and peace through actor network theory: Insights from Kingston,

    Jamaica. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *35*(2), 89-97.

Darnell, S. C., & Hayhurst, L. M. C. (2011). Sport for decolonization: Exploring a new praxis

    of sport for development. *Progress in Development Studies, 11*(3), 183-196.

    doi:10.1177/146499341001100301

Doherty, A. (2013). Ingesting in sport management: The value of good theory. *Sport*

    Management Review, *16*, 5-11.

Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A

    hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development.

    International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5, 80–92.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107.

Fraser-Thomas, J. L., Côté, J., & Deakin, J. (2005). Youth sport programs: an avenue to

    foster positive youth development. *Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy, 10*(1), 19-

    40.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Rust, M. C., Nier, J., Banker, B., & Ward, C. (2000). The

common ingroup identity model for reducing intergroup bias: Progress and

challenges. In D. Capozza & R. J. Brown (Eds.), *Social identity processes: Trends in*

theory and research (pp. 133–148). London, United Kingdom: Sage.

Gelbman, A. (2019). Sport tourism and peace: Crossing the contested wall. *Tourism*

Geographies, *21*(1), 163-189.

Gibson, J. L. (2004). Does truth lead to reconciliation? Testing the causal assumptions of the

South African truth and reconciliation process. *American Journal of Political Science,*

48, 201–217. doi:10.1111/j.0092-5853.2004.00065.x

González, R., & Brown, R. (2003). Generalization of positive attitude as a function of

subgroup and superordinate group identifications in intergroup contact. *European*

Journal of Social Psychology, 33(2), 195-214. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.140

Hanssen, F. A. (2001). A test of the racial contact hypothesis from a natural experiment:

Baseball's all-star voting as a case. *Social Science Quarterly, 82*, 51–66.

doi:10.1111/0038-4941.00006

Hayhurst, L. M., Sundstrom, L. M., & Waldman, D. (2018). Post-colonial Feminist

International Relations Theory and Sport for Development and Peace. In L.

Mansfield, J. Caudwell, B. Wheaton, & B. Watson (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of*

Feminism and Sport, Leisure and Physical Education (pp. 589-607). Palgrave

Macmillan, London.

Herek, G. M., & Glunt, E. K. (1993). Interpersonal contact and heterosexuals' attitudes

toward gay men: Results from a national survey. *Journal of Sex Research, 30*, 239–

244. Retrieved from http://www.sexscience.org/journal_of_sex_research/

Hewstone, M., & Brown, R. (1986). *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters*. Oxford,

United Kingdom: Blackwell.

Holt, N. L., Neely, K. C., Slater, L. G., Camiré, M., Côté, J., Fraser-Thomas, J., MacDonald,

D., Strachan, L., & Tamminen, K. A. (2017). A grounded theory of positive youth

development through sport based on results from a qualitative meta-study.

International Review of Sport and Exercise Psychology, 10(1), 1-49.

https://doi.org/10.1080/1750984X.2016.1180704

Human Rights Watch. (2014). *World report 2015: Papua New Guinea*. New York, NY:

Author.

Jones, G. J., Edwards, M. B., Bocarro, J. N., Svensson, P. G., & Misener, K. (2019). A

community capacity building approach to sport-based youth development. *Sport

Management Review*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2019.09.001

Kang, S., & Svensson, P. G. (2019). Shared leadership in sport for development and peace: A

conceptual framework of antecedents and outcomes. *Sport Management Review*,

22(4), 464-476.

Krasniqi, S., & Krasniqi, B. (2019). Sport and peacebuilding in post-conflict societies: the

role of Open Fun Football Schools in Kosovo. *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and

Peace Research*, *11*(3), 145-157.

Krouwel, A., Boonstra, N., Duyvendak, J. W., & Veldboer, L. (2006). A good sport?:

Research into the capacity of recreational sport to integrate Dutch minorities.

International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 41, 165–180.

doi:10.1177/1012690206075419

Larson, R. W. (2000). Toward a psychology of positive youth development. *American

Psychologist*, *55*(1), 170-183.

Lawrence, S. M. (2004). An examination of the African American male athlete's experience

of race in sport. *Sociology of Sport Online, 7*(1). Retrieved from

http://physed.otago.ac.nz/sosol/home.html

Lee, K. J., & Scott, D. (2013). Interracial contact experience during recreational basketball

and soccer: Korean American males' perspectives. *Journal of Leisure Research, 45*,

267–294. doi:10.18666/JLR-2013-V45-I3-3152

Lemmer, G., & Wagner, U. (2015). Can we really reduce ethnic prejudice outside the lab? A

meta-analysis of direct and indirect contact interventions. *European Journal of Social

Psychology, 45*, 152–168. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2079

Litvak-Hirsch, T., Galily, Y., & Leitner, M. (2016). Evaluating conflict mitigation and health

improvement through soccer: a two-year study of Mifalot's 'United Soccer for Peace'

programme. *Soccer & Society*, *17*(2), 209-224.

Lyras, A., & Hums, M. A. (2009). Sport and social change: The case for gender equality.

Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance, 8, 7–21.

doi:10.1080/07303084.2009.10598256

Matejskova, T., & Leitner, H. (2011). Urban encounters with difference: The contact

hypothesis and immigrant integration projects in eastern Berlin. *Social & Cultural

Geography, 12*, 717–741. doi:10.1080/14649365.2011.610234

Miracle, A. W. (1981). Factors affecting interracial co-operation: A case study of a high

school football team. *Human Organization, 40*, 150–154.

doi:10.17730/humo.40.2.715440h448jh5347

Niens, U., & Cairns, E. (2005). Conflict, contact, and education in Northern Ireland. *Theory

Into Practice, 44*, 337–344. doi:10.1207/s15430421tip4404_7

O'Brien, D., & Ponting, J. (2013). Sustainable surf tourism: A community centered approach

in Papua New Guinea. *Journal of Sport Management, 27*, 158–172. Retrieved from

http://journals.humankinetics.com/jsm

Oxford Business Group. (2013). *The report: Papua New Guinea*. London, United Kingdom:

Author.

Patrinos, H. A., & Kagia, R. (2007). Maximizing the performance of education systems: The

    case of teacher absenteeism. In J. E. Campos & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *The many faces of*

    corruption: Tracking vulnerabilities at the sector level (pp. 63-89). Washington, DC:

    World Bank.

Patton, M. Q. (2014). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods: Integrating theory and*

    practice (4th ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. *Personality &*

    Social Psychology Bulletin, 23, 173–185. doi:10.1177/0146167297232006

Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in

    intergroup contact theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35*, 271–

    280. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.03.001

Rees, C. R., & Miracle, A. W. (1984). Participation in sport and the reduction of racial

    prejudices: Contact theory, superordinate goals hypothesis or wishful thinking. In N.

    Theberge & P. Donnelly (Eds.), *Sport and the sociological imagination* (pp. 140-152).

    Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press.

Rich, K. A., & Giles, A. R. (2015). Managing diversity to provide culturally safe sport

    programming: A case study of the Canadian Red Cross's Swim Program. *Journal of*

    Sport Management, *29*(3), 305-317.

Robinson, J. W., & Preston, J. D. (1976). Equal-status contact and modification of racial

    prejudice: A re-examination of the contact hypothesis. *Social Forces, 54*, 911–924.

    doi:10.1093/sf/54.4.911

Rothbart, M. & John, O.P. (1985). Social categorization and behavioral episodes: A cognitive

    analysis of the effects of intergroup contact. *Journal of Social Issues, 41***,** 81–104.

    doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01130.x

Schmid, K., Ramiah, A. A., & Hewstone, M. (2014). Neighborhood ethnic diversity and

    trust: The role of intergroup contact and perceived threat. *Psychological Science, 25*,

    665–674. doi:10.1177/0956797613508956

Schulenkorf, N. (2010). Sport events and ethnic reconciliation: Attempting to create social

    change between Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim sportspeople in war-torn Sri Lanka.

    International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 45, 273–294.

    doi:10.1177/1012690210366789

Schulenkorf, N. (2017). Managing sport-for-development: Reflections and outlook. *Sport

    Management Review, 20*(3), 143-151. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2016.11.003

Schulenkorf, N., & Adair, D. (2014). Sport-for-Development: The Emergence and Growth of

    a New Genre. In N. Schulenkorf & D. Adair (Eds.), *Global Sport-for-Development:

    Critical Perspectives* (pp. 3-11). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schulenkorf, N., & Edwards, D. (2012). Maximizing positive social impacts: Strategies for

    sustaining and leveraging the benefits of intercommunity sport events in divided

    docieties. *Journal of Sport Management, 26*, 379–390. Retrieved from

    http://journals.humankinetics.com/jsm

Schulenkorf, N., & 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), 235-256.

Schulenkorf, N., Sugden, J., & Burdsey, D. (2014). Sport for development and peace as

    contested terrain: Place, community, ownership. *International Journal of Sport Policy

    and Politics, 6*(3), 371-387. doi:10.1080/19406940.2013.825875

Schulenkorf, N., & Spaaij, R. (2015). Commentary: Reflections on theory building in sport

    for development and peace. *International Journal of Sport Management and

    Marketing, 16*(1/2), 71-77.

Seal, E., & Sherry, E. (2018). Exploring Empowerment and Gender Relations in a Sport for Development Program in Papua New Guinea. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 35*(3), 247-257. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.2017-0166

Sherif, M. (1967). *Group conflict and co-operation: Their social psychology*. London: Routledge.

Sherif, M. (1979). Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict: An experimental evaluation. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 257-261). Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Pub. Co.

Sherry, E., Schulenkorf, N., Seal, E., Nicholson, M., & Hoye, R. (2017). Sport-for-development: Inclusive, reflexive, and meaningful research in low- and middle-income settings. *Sport Management Review, 20*(1), 69-80. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2016.10.010

Slavin, R. E., & Madden, N. A. (1979). School practices that improve race relations. *American Educational Research Journal, 16*, 169–180. doi:10.3102/00028312016002169

Spaaij, R., Schulenkorf, N., Jeanes, R., & Oxford, S. (2018). Participatory research in sport-for-development: Complexities, experiences and (missed) opportunities. *Sport Management Review, 21*(1), 25-37. doi:https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2017.05.003

Sugden, J. (2006). Teaching and playing sport for conflict resolution and co-existence in Israel. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 41*, 221–240. doi:10.1177/1012690206075422

Sugden, J. T., Schulenkorf, N., Adair, D., & Frawley, S. (2020). The role of sport in reflecting and shaping group dynamics: The "intergroup relations continuum" and its application to Fijian rugby and soccer. *Sport Management Review, 23*(2), 271-283. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2019.02.001

Svensson, P. G. (2017). Organizational hybridity: A conceptualization of how sport for

    development and peace organizations respond to divergent institutional demands.

    Sport Management Review, 20(5), 443-454.

Thomas, J., & Harden, A. (2008). Methods for the thematic synthesis of qualitative research

    in systematic reviews. *BMC Medical Research Methodology, 8*(45), 1-10.

UN Women. (2015). Papua New Guinea. Retrieved from http://asiapacific.unwomen.org

    /en/countries/png

VanSickle, J., & Schaumleffel, N. A. (2016). Developing recreation, leisure, and sport

    professional competencies through practitioner/academic service engagement

    partnerships. *Schole: A Journal of Leisure Studies and Recreation Education*, *31*(2),

    37-55.

Welty Peachey, J. (2015). Sport for Development and Peace Theory Building and Program

    Development: Introduction to the Special Issue. *International Journal of Sport*

    Management and Marketing, 16(1/2), 1-4.

Welty Peachey, J., Schulenkorf, N., & Hill, P. (2019). Sport-for-Development: A

    Comprehensive Analysis of Theoretical and Conceptual Advancements. *Sport*

    Management Review.

Welty Peachey, J., Schulenkorf, N., & Spaaij, R. (2019). Sport for Social Change: Bridging

    the Theory-Practice Divide. *Journal of Sport Management, 33*(5), 361-365.

    doi:https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.2019-0291

Walton, G., & Swan, A. (2012). Fourth time's the charm: a brief history of 'free education'

    policies in PNG, *Devpolicyblog, From the Development Policy Centre*. Retrieved

    from http://devpolicy.org/fourth-times-the-charm-a-brief-history-of-free-education-

    policies-in-png-20141209/