

MASTER THESIS SAFE SPACES

“A SPACE WHERE I’M ABLE TO EXPRESS MYSELF
FREELY AND COMFORTABLY, WITHOUT ANY FEAR”



A INTERPRETATIVE RESEARCH ON SENSEMAKING OF SAFE SPACES IN SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN KENYA

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0. Abstract

This thesis researches sensemaking of the notion of safe spaces in Sport for Development (SfD) programs in Kenya. Two organizations that offer SfD programs, TYSA and Amani Kibera, were used as case studies in this research. Both the participating youth and the people working for the organizations where the programs take place, were interviewed to gain insights in the way they make sense of safe spaces. This research starts with a literature review with already existing literature on SfD, positive youth development and safe spaces.

Secondly, two theoretical frameworks are presented; sensemaking and the triad spatial model. Sensemaking is about structuring the unknown. People always experience stimuli, and they try to make sense out of it by placing these stimuli in some kind of, already existing, framework. They have developed these frameworks through previous experiences and social interactions. These interactions, along with the stimuli the youth and the staff members at the organizations lead to the way they make sense of safe space. The other framework, the triad spatial model describes three spaces; the conceived space, the perceived space and the lived space. The conceived space describes the way a space is designed by the SfD organizations, and the rules and policies that apply to that space. The perceived space is the way these spaces are valued and the way the users make sense of these spaces, based on the way they are conceived. The third space, the lived space, describes the actual experiences users of the space have in that space, and their feeling of safety. These frameworks were used to analyze the responses of the youth and the staff members after the interviews were conducted.

In total, eleven interviews were conducted, five with people working for the organizations, and six with youth. The interviews were conducted with the use of Skype. The outcomes of this research show that the youth makes sense of safe spaces in the following way; it is a space where they are free to express themselves without being criticized, where they can move freely without fear that anything will happen to them. It is a space without judgements and they cannot get hurt there. They are respected at the space, feel confident and do not feel pressure to perform. They also expressed that they will not come back to a space if they do not feel safe there.

The staff that works at the CSO's makes sense of safe spaces in the following way. They state that a safe space is a space where people feel relaxed, can express themselves, show their feelings and emotions, feel welcome, do not fear and feel uncomfortable, feel at home and where people can explore their talents. The staff states that on the one hand they think their organization is a safe space, because people can express themselves. On the other hand they are

not a safe space because it is hard to make a space where everyone feels safe, because everyone has different experiences.

These outcomes show the need for further development of policies regarding the safeguarding of youth. Because the youth stated that feeling safe should be normal, the organizations that support the youth should be enabled to facilitate that feeling. Having clear, well thought through and up to date policies, will help these organizations to facilitate the youth.

1. Foreword

First of all I want to thank everyone who helped me during the last months with my thesis. I want to thank Nienke for all her support, feedback and the sometimes critical note she gave me. I could not have done it without the many discussions, talks and consults we have had. I also want to thank all my colleagues at the International Sports Alliance (ISA) for their thoughtful insights on the topic, their comments and feedback, and their motivation. Lastly, I want to thank all my friends and family for listening to me talking (and sometimes whining) about my thesis. Thank you all!

I also want to thank all the people I talked to over the last few months, who provided me with new insights and who gave my research more focus. When I started this research I had only been to Kenya once, and had little knowledge and experience of what life in a development country was like. That is why I visited the Gambia, Africa, from February 1st until February 13th 2016. The main reason for my visit was to further explore the topic of safe spaces in relation to the African context. I knew that safe spaces were going to be my topic of research, and I had read about safe spaces in a Western setting a lot. But only one article I had found really discussed the topic in a development setting. That is why the goal of this visit was to explore whether the elements of safe spaces that are described in the literature are also applicable to the African context, and whether there are other elements of safety that were not explored in the already existing literature. Furthermore, the importance of safety to youth living in Africa was explored. And even though the Gambia is a different country than Kenya, my country of research, and therefore making the results of those countries hard to compare, I chose to visit the Gambia anyway because those countries share more similarities, both being African countries, in comparison to the Dutch environment.

During my time in the Gambia, I visited the Vieux Sain Faye Memorial Football Academy three times for observation purposes and to interview youth and coaches. During those three visits, I talked to one coach and five youngsters. The interviews were not recorded, but I made notes during these interviews. This method of data collection was chosen because the interviews were explorative, and this method suited the goals of the visit to the Gambia. The outcomes of these interviews are described in Appendix IV. One of the things I found most striking about talking to these youth was the fact that it was really hard for them to talk about safety and space spaces; all the people I interviewed were not able to explain why they felt safe.

At first I felt disappointed about the outcomes of those interviews and I did not know if I should continue my research the same way. Later on I talked to Frank van Eekeren, who I also want to thank for his feedback on my research, and he told me that the lack of answers the youth gave me, and the difficulty of talking about this subject, were however very valuable. It made me realize that this subject might not mean as much to them, or is not as relevant as the international Sport for Development community claims it to be. This led to a new, more specific focus in my research; giving voice. Because of the lack of research about safe spaces in development countries, it is important to have the beneficiaries and the executors of the programs heard and listened to.

2. Introduction

2.1 Problem Definition & Reason for Research

The sport for development (SfD) sector, is a small sector within the sector of development cooperation, that aspires to achieve social impact by using sport, play and physical activity (Van Eekeren, Ter Horst and Fictorie, 2013). SfD emerged in the 1990's and has grown rapidly since due to two underlying factors; firstly, the increased recognition of the societal meaning of sport by politicians and policy makers, and secondly, the so called 'aid paradigm shift' in the development cooperation, in which more emphasis is laid on social development and realization of social goods, such as social inclusion, health through sports and economic growth. This shift emerged after critics on traditional approaches to development cooperation claimed that the effort by traditional development organizations did not contribute to significant changes, despite large investments that were being made (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013). This opened doors for SfD organizations; their new sport-oriented approach is considered refreshing and is deemed to offer new possibilities in development cooperation (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013).

Ultimately, the overall goal of SfD programs is the positive development of their beneficiaries. The International Sports Alliance (ISA) is a Dutch development organization that aims to empower youth through sports. They focus on youth because they can become '*agents of change*' (International Sports Alliance, 2016) and can create a better future for themselves, their families and their communities. According to Côté and Fraser-Thomas (2007), using sport as a tool for development is deemed to have the potential to reach essential goals for the youth that is participating. These goals include being physically active, improvement of their psychosocial development, and the development of motor skills. Furthermore, according to Bronfenbrenner (1999) these essential goals can only be reached if the programs are delivered in an appropriate surrounding. This does not only refer to the physical environment of the program, but also to the social, emotional and psychological surrounding (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). Furthermore, Vazou, Ntoumanis and Duda (2006) state that the psychosocial safety is also necessary for the programs the youth are involved in. This means that the programs have to encourage respectful interaction between peers, but also between coaches and participants.

However, for the programs to reach these goals and to empower youth through sports, and to ultimately improve their lives, it is essential that the youth is actively participating in these programs. Brady (2005) argues that participation in sports programs can bring youth together, regardless of their background, gender, validity or race. It let them experience sports/play activities that have an intrinsically value for inclusion. This gives them a feeling of

belonging and provides them a place where they can develop new skills. Another positive contribution is that this will lead to an increased capital in the local community (Brady, 2005).

With the rapid growth of the SfD sector, and the prioritization of achieving the goals that are essential for the development of youth, as described above, the sector also faces new challenges. The development of safe spaces is one of them. The organizations involved in SfD, the so called 'Community Based Organizations' (CBO's) and 'Community based Sports Organizations' (CSO's), have made a 'leap of faith' assumption (Women Win, 2016). This assumption claims that because the aims of the programs are noble, the programs are safe. This critical point of view is supported by Women Win (2016), a Dutch based SfD organization, amongst others. But since there are still little policies regarding the safety of the youth, and the policies that are present are still in the process of being developed, the result is the potential risk of the involved youth when they are participating in the programs (Brady, 2005; Women Win, 2016). Besides that, the youth feeling unsafe at the programs could lead to them not coming back to the program, and being socially excluded from the benefits that participation in these programs has to offer. According to the Social Exclusion Unit (2001), social exclusion can take different forms, such as lack of access to power, knowledge, services, facilities, choice and opportunity. But most importantly, it will result in the maintaining of social exclusion and not enjoying the benefits the SfD programs have to offer.

Furthermore, when it comes to their policy making, Western SfD organizations are often driven by topics that are currently popular in the field of development cooperation. One of the organizations that works on SfD is the International Sports Alliance (ISA) from the Netherlands. They work in different developing countries and try to empower youth by using sport as a tool for development. For them, the subject of safe spaces has increasingly become more important, because they believe that a safe space is a condition for their programs (ISA, 2016). Another example is the United Nations (UNDESA, 2015) who recently adopted a new sustainable development agenda, the so-called Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's). One of those goals, number eleven, is to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. This goal aims to provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible public spaces, in particular for women and children (UNDESA, 2015).

An alliance of the three biggest SfD organizations in the Netherlands (Right to Play, KNVB Worldcoaches and the International Sports Alliance) respond to that goal in their proposal on Sport for Development for the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). They state that all their interventions, among other things, result in "*capacitated (young) staff and volunteers of CSO's who facilitate inclusive sport and play (based) activities and learning for*

children and youth in safe sporting spaces” (ISA, KNVB Worldcoaches and Right to Play, 2015, p. 15).

The above shows that safe spaces is currently a trending topic in the SfD sector and is getting plenty of attention throughout the entire development cooperation sector as well. But at the same time, there are some critical questions that can be raised. Are the voices of the local CBO’s and CSO’s heard, when Western SfD organizations are working on this topic? Besides that, are the intended beneficiaries, the local youth, involved when policies that concern them are developed? And furthermore, is the local Southern, context taken into account when these policies regarding safe spaces are developed?

2.2 Research Objectives

The questions that were raised above, are the starting point for the goals for this research. The primary goal is to give the Community Sports Organizations (CSO’s) and the youth that is participating in SfD programs a voice regarding the subject of safe spaces. The youth are the intended beneficiaries for these programs and the CSO’s are the ones executing the programs, so it is important to know and understand their vision and opinion about safe spaces, and take these into consideration when policies are developed.

Besides that, this research aims to provide insights in the way the CSO’s make sense of safe spaces, and what they consider to be important for the policies regarding safe spaces. Furthermore, this research aims to gain insights in the way the participating youth in SfD programs make sense of safe spaces

Finally, the new insights on sensemaking of safe spaces in development countries can contribute to the policies regarding safe spaces, for organizations such as the International Sports Alliance (ISA), a Dutch SfD organization that aims to empower youth through sports. Also other CSO’s that ISA works together with can contribute from the policies and insights, and thus improving their own organization.

2.3 Research Questions

The previously described problem and goal for this research, lead to the following research question:

How do Community Sports Organizations and participating youth make sense of the notion of safe spaces in relation to the Sport-for-Development project they are involved in?

This question will be researched using the following sub-questions:

- 1 What are safe spaces and elements of safe spaces as described in literature?
- 2 How do youth make sense of safe spaces, and what does this mean for their involvement and participation?
- 3 How do community sports organizations make sense of safe spaces, and how is that carried out in practice?
- 4 What implications does this have for the International Sports Alliance's policy regarding safe spaces?

2.4 Relevance

2.4.1 Scientific Relevance

Almost all of the research on safe spaces that have been conducted, has been conducted in a Western setting (Fine and Bertram, 1999; The Glsen Project, 2016; Hillier, 2005), but there is a lack of research on safe spaces conducted in development countries, and therefore knowledge about safe spaces in development countries. Besides that, there is also a lack of research on sensemaking of the notion of safe spaces in SfD and the way different actors that are involved in SfD programs make sense of it. This research aspires to contribute in the discussion on sensemaking of safe spaces and aims to gain new empirical insights, that will also further the discussion regarding the safety of SfD programs.

2.4.2 Social Relevance

As stated before, there is a need for insights on safe spaces in the SfD sector, to get a better understanding of the concept of safe spaces, but also to help organizations to create new policies. This research will gain new insights and SfD organizations (in the Netherlands and in

development countries) can use the outcomes of this research to create these policies regarding the safeguarding of their beneficiaries, and thus positively impacting them.

2.4.3 Organizational Relevance

This research will provide new insights for the International Sports Alliance (ISA) on safe spaces. This organization aims to “*empower youth from disadvantaged backgrounds through sports and creating a better future for themselves, their families and their communities*” (International Sports Alliance, 2016). By getting a better understanding of the safe spaces of the programs, ISA will be enabled to develop new policies regarding the safeguarding of youth, and can contribute to the empowerment of disadvantaged youth.

Furthermore, this research will also provide insights that the CSO’s in the development countries can use to further improve their project and programs, and thus impacting youth

2.5 Reading Guide

The remaining part of this thesis proceeds as follows; firstly, different literature studies about SfD, Positive Youth Development and safe spaces will be discussed in the literature review. Secondly, two different theoretical frameworks that are used in this thesis, the Triad Spatial Model and sensemaking, will be presented and discussed.

Afterwards, the methods that are used in this research are presented, as well as the results and analysis of the results of the research. This thesis ends with the conclusion and discussion, where the research questions will be answered, limitations of the research will be discussed, and recommendations for further research will be presented.

3. Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

This chapter will firstly present scientific insights on the topics of SfD, Positive Youth Development and safe spaces. Afterwards, two theoretical frameworks, the Triad Spatial Model and sensemaking will be explored and discussed.

3.1 Literature Review

3.1.1 Sport for Development

Sport for development is a specific, small sector in the development sector, that aspires to achieve social impact by using sport, play and physical activity. According to Van Eekeren, et al., (2013), is the emergence of Sport for Development (SfD) as a sector in the past two decades largely due to two factors. First, there has been an increased recognition of the societal meaning of sport by politicians and policy makers (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013). Before the 1990's sport was considered a luxury. In 1992 a report, named 'Sport as a source of inspiration for our society' was published (AT Kearney, NOC*NSF, 1992) which made governments reflect on the relationship between sports policy and the social significance of sport (Van Bottenburg and Schuyt, 1996). In the course of time, the conviction emerged that sports can not only be a source of inspiration, but also an effective tool in reducing (social) problems. Positive meanings have increasingly been assigned to sport, by national and international policy documents and declarations (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013).

Second, Van Eekeren, et al., (2013, p.11) claim that the factor that created opportunities for the SfD movement is the "aid paradigm shift" in the sector of development cooperation. There was critique on traditional approaches in the development sector. Claims were made that these traditional approaches did not contribute to significant change in the development countries. New insights in the concept of 'development' led to this paradigm shift, in which more emphasis is laid on social development and realization of social goods. This opened doors for SfD organizations; their new approach is considered refreshing and offers new possibilities in development cooperation (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013).

Before the SfD sector is further discussed, it is important to take a closer look at the concepts sport, development and sport (for) development. In the area of SfD, sport is generally understood to include physical activities that go beyond competitive sports (www.sportanddev.org, 2015). The United Nations Inter-agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace (2012, p.2) states that "*sports include all forms of physical activity*

that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include: play, recreation, organized, casual or competitive sport, and indigenous sports or games.”

Although Skille (2011) argues that competition and the competitive spirit of sports will always be the main convention of sports, in the SfD sector competitiveness is subordinate to other goals in order to realize social goods through sports. And therefore the way sport in SfD is understood (www.sportanddev.org, 2015; the United Nations Inter-agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace, 2012), differ from the way Skille (2011) defines it.

The concept of ‘development’ is not easy to define, it is very complicated and multidimensional. However it is a generally interesting term, because of its complication and multidimensionality (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013). The United Nations Development Program (2006) states that development focuses on improving certain aspects of people’s lives, like increasing health, improving knowledge and education and providing a decent standard of living. Also, according to Small (2002), development is providing entries for the discussion on human rights, justice and citizenship.

The third concept to discuss, is the concept of sport (for) development. There are numerous ways to look at this concept. Three definitions, from Kidd (2008), Levermore (2008) and Coalter (2007a) will be discussed below. Kidd (2008) suggests three broad overlapping approaches: traditional SfD, humanitarian assistance through sports, and the SfD and peace movement. The first approach focuses on the basic coaching of sport, whilst providing some equipment. The second approach focuses on raising funds through sports in order to provide aid. The third approach contains a broad range of organizations, that focus on broad issues and subjects in development. Levermore (2008) uses another definition depending on the focuses of the SfD organization. He distinguishes organizations that are active in development countries on the focus area that they are working on. This can be reducing the conflicts in the areas they are active in or building sustainable communities, improving (gender) empowerment and health, or reducing poverty. Unlike Kidd (2008) and Coalter (2007a), he makes a distinction between the organizations, based on the theme that the organization is involved in.

However, the most used definition is the difference between ‘sport plus’ and ‘plus sport’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1998; Coalter, 2007a). ‘Sport plus’ means: programs and projects with a focus on the improvement and growth in sport, which may (also) results in development outcomes. ‘Plus sport’ takes a specific social or development issue as starting point and uses sport as a tool to overcome and work on that issue.

According to Van Eekeren, et al. (2013), the value of sport for development is that sport has some unique features to contribute to development, especially in comparison with other

interventions. Individuals and groups all over the world are interested in sport, regardless of their background, age, race, religion, gender or status and therefore sport can attract groups who are usually hard to reach. They can easily be involved; sport is “out there” and easily accessible. It also offers role models and contains intrinsic norms that play an important role in society (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013).

There are however some critical notes about Sport for Development. The results that the sector claims to have achieved, are made with a weak evidence base for the positive outcomes that are connected to participation in sport (Coalter, 2007b). However, such lack of systematic evidence is ignored in the way sports enthusiasts in the world look at sports. This is often driven by elite athletes who have benefitted a lot from sport, but who are unrealistic role models for the large majority of participants in programs of SfD (Lyle, 2005; Payne, Reynolds, Brown and Fleming, 2003). Levermore (2008, p.189) argues that 'the use of sport for developmental purposes should be considered in a more nuanced manner' and, much more challengingly, that SfD is 'evaluated relative to other tools that are used in development'.

Despite these points of critique, Coalter (2010) claims that it is possible that in developing communities that are dominated by poverty, do not have strong civil or social organizations, and are lacking welfare services, educational opportunities and job opportunities, sporting organizations can have a much greater impact than in more economically advanced, market based and organizationally complex societies, such as the Netherlands and other developed Western European countries (Coalter, 2010). But on the other hand, when SfD programs seek to contribute to development in general – and thus making claims about improving community cohesion, social capital, peace, economic growth, and gender equality – such claims are immediately viewed with some skepticism by other involved actors who have been seeking to address these big development issues for a longer period of time than the SfD sector has (Coalter, 2010). This statement is supported by Weiss (1993, p105), who states: *"We mount limited-focus programs to cope with broad-gauge problems. We devote limited resources to long-standing and stubborn problems."* He argues that the SfD programs do not have the means to solve these long-standing and stubborn programs, even though they are expected to do that.

3.1.2 Positive Youth Development

As stated above, the aim of the SfD sector is to improve the lives of youth using sport, and contribute to their development. In order to further explore the development of youth, it is

important to explore the concept of youth. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2016) states that youth is best understood “*as a period of transition from the dependence of childhood to adulthood’s independence and awareness of our interdependence as members of a community*”. Youth are also often referred to as adolescents, and this is regarded as a period of transitions between childhood and adulthood (Steinberg, 1993). Traditionally adolescence is seen as a time of stress, and researchers were always focused on finding ways to reduce the problems that adolescents may encounter (Holt, 2008). However, over the past decade a new vision on the development of youth emerged, that focuses on the potential of youth instead of the problems they have. This approach is named ‘Positive Youth Development’ (PYD) and it claims that all youth has the potential for positive developmental change, and regards youth as a resource to be developed, instead of a problem to be solved (Roth, Brooks-Gunn, Murray and Foster, 1998).

Youth can experience this positive development through organized activities, and sport is the most popular organized activity in which youth can engage (Larson and Verma, 1999). According to Côté and Fraser-Thomas (2007), it is evident that sport has the potential to reach three essential goals for the participating youth. First, it can provide youth with opportunities to be physically active, which can lead to improved physical health. Second, youth’s sports is considered important to their psychosocial development. It provides youth with opportunities to learn important life skills, such as leadership, self-control, discipline and cooperation. Third, youth sport is important for the learning of new motor skills, which will serve as a foundation for either recreational adult sport participation (Côté and Fraser-Thomas, 2007).

Furthermore, research shows that young people are both major human resources for development as key agents for social change (Nicholls, 2012). In 1995 the United Nations (1995) already acknowledged the important role that youth plays in influencing the conditions of their own lives. They also claim that the involvement of youth must change from merely participating in the SfD programs that are designed for them, to involving them in designing the programs, that will influence their future. Nicholls (2012) claims that the SfD sector should take up the challenge to further involve the youth when the programs are designed, since the sector is strongly involved with these youth issues. Besides that, the knowledge these youth has, can greatly contribute to the change the SfD programs are striving for.

In order for the essential goals that were described above to be reached in the SfD programs, the programs must be delivered in an appropriate surrounding. This does not only refer to the physical environment of the program, but also to the individuals within that surrounding who form strong ties and relationships with the participating youth and other

involved people (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). Vazou, et al. (2006) state that the psychosocial safety is also necessary in the programs the youth is involved in; and by this he refers to programs that aim to encourage respectful interaction between peers, but also between coaches and participants. This claim is supported by Dukakis, London, McLaughlin and Williamson (2009). They argue that positive youth development requires more than only focusing on individual outcomes. A tri-level perspective that considers context, is needed to understand programs that try to facilitate the development of youth (Dukakis, et al., 2009). This tri-level consist of the individual level, the setting level and the system level. The individual level focuses on indicators that address the personal progress of a youngster. The second level, the setting level, focuses on indicators and resources that are provided by the program for the youth. The third level, the system level, focuses on indicators that address the current development infrastructure in a community or nation (Dukakis, et al., 2009). For this research, setting level indicators could be very important, because the way the SfD program is designed and the resources that are used, are indicators that can contribute to the safety of the youth, and that can lead to the positive development of youth at that level.

3.1.3 Safe Spaces

With the growth of the SfD sector, and the prioritization of achieving goals for the positive development of youth, the SfD sector also faces some challenges. The organizations involved in SfD have made a ‘leap of faith’ assumption, as described in the introduction (Women Win, 2016). But since there are little policies regarding the safety of the youth, this will result in the potential risk of the involved youth when they are participating in the SfD programs (Women Win, 2016). Therefore there is a need in the SfD sector for the definition of safe spaces, that will help in the creation and development of safe spaces within SfD programs. Besides that, SfD organizations are increasingly working on this subject, which emphasizes the need for better understanding of safe spaces.

In order to define safe spaces, it is important to define what “spaces” are used for SfD programs. The “space” that is used in SfD programs and interventions is the playing- or sports field in a local community, often the municipal field or the sports field from the school. This is a place where people can come together to play sports or participate in physical activities. There are often no sports clubs involved and therefore membership is not necessary.

This playing- and sports field is a ‘public space’, and according to research conducted by Brady (2005), a public space is a certain place where people can go to for recreation,

education, entertainment, and participation in social and political life. These ‘public spaces’ need to be safe and supportive for adolescents. “Safe” does not only refer to the physical safety, but it refers to the emotional and psychological safety as well. For example, a space would be safe when it is viewed as socially acceptable to parents and other gatekeepers, like community leaders, on the one hand, but free from outside pressures, on the other hand. It would be a place that is easily accessible at a location that is known by the potential participants, but it is not a space where unwanted authority figures intervene (Brady, 2005)

Because of the little research that is conducted on safe spaces in SfD, it is difficult to define what safe spaces in SfD are. However, a variety of research on safe spaces in a Western setting has been conducted, often focusing on gender and sexuality subjects. The outcomes of these researches will be discussed below, to further define what safe spaces are. First of all, the Glens Sports Project (2016), a campaign that promotes safe sports spaces, describes a safe space as *“a sports space where all people that are involved, including spectators, families, and staff, are safe and treated with respect, without name-calling or harassment, and where everyone can enjoy sports activities.”* In another research, conducted by Hillier (2005), the researcher says that safe spaces are particular spaces in which trusting, supportive relationships can be established. She also argues that a safe space does not always have to be a geographical, concrete location. Fine and Bertram (1999, p. 158) agree with Hillier (2005) and describe safe spaces in the following way:

“They are not just a set of spatial arrangements, but theoretical, analytical and spatial displacements – a crack in an organisation, where youth find unsuspected places within their geographic locations, their public institutions and their spiritual lives, to sculpt spaces for peace, solace, communion, personal and collective work. These are spaces where trite social stereotypes are contested.”

A researcher that has conducted research on safe spaces in the development sector is Martha Brady. In her research with the title: *‘Safe spaces and building social assets for young women in the developing world: a new role for sports’*, she states that safe spaces in SfD can provide spaces where youth can develop new life skills, increase relationships with others and thus their social networks, experience freedom of expression and movement, discover new educational opportunities and receive support from adequate adults. It is also a space that *“should not put the adolescents at any risk of physical or emotional threat or harm, and must offer some degree of privacy and confidentiality”* (Brady, 2005, p. 40).

Women Win (2016), a SfD organization based in the Netherlands, also composed a definition of safe spaces in SfD. They believe it is an environment where youth feel physically

and emotionally secure, where they are protected from bodily harm, including sexual abuse and preventable sport injuries. In a safe space, youth feel free to openly express themselves in a confidential environment, without fear of judgement or intimidation. They are comfortable sharing their deepest concerns and asking sensitive questions.

This organization, Women Win (2016) also makes a distinction between the physical and emotional safety of a program and came up with several indicators for both the physical and emotional safety. The program is physically safe when there are no hazardous objects on the field; the way to and from the organization is safe; there is a first aid kit available and people who can practice first aid; the participating youth has adequate gear and shoes; and the organization has contact information of the parents or guardians, and registration before attending the program is required. In addition, the program is emotionally safe when coaches are specifically trained on working with youth in sport, and pay attention to fair play; the attire that the youth wears is culturally appropriate, spectators are managed; bullying is managed; the participating youth can raise questions, concerns and have complaints about the organization; and there is sensitivity to group specificities, such as the diverse and special needs of participants, regarding religion, gender, culture, ability. Ultimately, the definition of a safe space depends on how youth feel within that space. And therefore, Women Win (2016) states that the program space needs to be consistently evaluated and adjusted by program leaders and youth to ensure their safety

3.2 Theoretical Framework

3.2.1 The Triad Spatial Model

In order to better understand the way different actors make sense of safe spaces, we will have to take a closer look at the types of spaces that are being researched. It is important to understand the spatial aspect of these safe spaces, because they do not only describe emotional spaces, but also the concrete and specific physical spaces that the programs take place in. One way in which these spaces can be studied and better understood, is through Lefebvre's (1991) "*Triad Spatial Model*". In this analytical model, he distinguishes three types of space; the conceived space, the perceived space and the lived space (Zhang, 2006). The conceived space is the way a space is designed and the rules that are applicable to that space. Symbols, such as the organization's logo, are also important for the conceived space (Spicer and Taylor, 2004). According to Claringbould (2014) this involves the things that are present in the space, things that can be seen and what can be observed in the space. This could be the way the sports field

is described and/or designed in the CSO's policies. The CSO's are the ones that decide how this space is designed, what it looks like and which rules apply to that space.

The second space, the perceived space, is the way an actual space is viewed and observed by its users, and the expectation they have of that space. If the conceived space is considered to be the ideal space, then the perceived space is the actual space and the way it is valued (Zhang, 2006). In the SfD sector this could be what beneficiaries and executors of the organizations think of the field, what happens on the field, and how they think they should use it. This is the way they make sense of the spaces that are used in their program.

The third type is the lived space; this type of space describes the way the users live in the space. It describes the human experience (Watkins, 2005) of its users; the actions they undertake in this space, their imaginations, feelings and actual experiences the users of a space have in the space. The presence of people in a space also determines how it is lived, because the spaces represent the bodies that are present in that space, and power relations between these people can be expressed (Claringbould, 2014). In SfD this is what activities take place at the space, how these activities take place, who are present when these activities take place, and how the activities are being experienced by the participants.

This model does encounter some critique, because critics state that the three types of spaces have many similarities and not enough distinction. However, since our experiences (lived space) always take place in spaces that are designed (conceived space), and what we think (perceived space) may not correspond with what we actually do, Zhang (2006, p221) claims that *“the lived space embodies both conceived and perceived spaces, without being reducible to either”* (Zhang, 2006, p.221), because our experiences are based on the way a space is designed and constructed and the way we make sense of that space. However, despite of the critiques this model encounters, it is used in this research, as a theoretical framework, to further examine the different types of spaces there are, and how the different actors that are involved in the SfD program design, perceive and live in these spaces.

3.2.2 Sensemaking

As described above, the perceived space is the way that people value and make sense of the space. In order to understand what sensemaking means, it is important to first establish that the way they make sense of these spaces is a social process, depending on the experiences and social interactions the users have (Vygotsky, 1962). In other words, they are socially constructed. Social constructivism is a movement in the social sciences that claims that

everyone constructs information differently, and that these differences come from the various ways individuals “*acquire, select, interpret and organize that information*” (Adams, 2006, p. 245). The individual is actively participating in conceiving and shaping the information, through permanent interaction with the world (Stetsenko and Arieviditch, 1997).

However, according to Vygotsky (1962), the way they construct this information is not individual, but the result of social interaction. Through this social interaction, individuals interpret and understand information and knowledge. And this social interaction plays a decisive role according to Stetsenko and Arieviditch (1997) in the understanding and interpretation of information and knowledge. Therefore information and knowledge cannot be separated from the social environment it is formed in, but it can be seen as a process of active construction (Woolfolk, 1993). And thus, as Adams (2006, p.246) explains: “*‘truth’ or ‘reality’ will be constructions on which most people of a social group agree.*”

Now that is established that sensemaking is a social process, a closer look into sensemaking can be taken. Sensemaking is about “*structuring the unknown*” (Waterman, 1990, p.41). People always experience stimuli, and they try to make sense out of it by placing these stimuli in some kind of, already existing, framework. They have developed these frameworks through previous experiences and social interactions. When people place these stimuli into these frames of mind, they are enabled to “*comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate, and predict*” (Starbuck and Milliken, 1988, p.51). Weick (1995) argues that different people experience those stimuli in a different manner, and also place them differently in those frameworks, people’s sensemaking differs from each other.

As discussed before, sensemaking is a social process, where the person’s environment and surrounding influences the way a person makes sense of the different stimuli (Weick, 1995). Besides that, another property of sensemaking is that it is retrospective, which means that people can only make sense of something, after it is experiencing it. And furthermore, sensemaking is ongoing (Weick, 1995). This means that it never starts, and never stops; people are always experiencing things and make sense of these experiences.

Sensemaking was also chosen as a theoretical framework for this research, because the goals for this research is to gain insights in the way the participating youth and the CSO’s make sense of the notion of safe spaces in their SfD program.

3.3 Summary Literature Review and Theoretical Frameworks

The literature review discussed three topics; Sport for Development, Positive Youth Development and Safe Spaces. Sport for Development is a small sector within the development sector that focuses on the use of sports as a tool for development. The sector has grown rapidly over the past decade, because of the increased recognition of the societal meaning of sports and due to the ‘aid paradigm shift’ in the development sector (Van Eekeren, et al., 2013). New insights in the concept of development led to this shift, in which more emphasis is laid on social development; this opened doors for SfD organizations. The aims of the SfD sector is to improve the lives of the youth using sport and contribute to their development, and sport has the potential to reach essential development goals for youth, according to Côté and Fraser-Thomas (2007), as long as the programs are offered in an appropriate surrounding. This does not only refer to a physical space, but also to the social-emotional spaces (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). These goals that are prioritized in the SfD sector, along with the rapid growth of the SfD sector, has led to some challenges. One of these challenges is about the safety of the programs that are offered. Many organizations have made a ‘leap of faith’ assumption. This assumptions claims that because the aims of the programs are noble, the programs are safe (Women Win, 2016). But since there is little research conducted on safe spaces in the development sector, and there are little policies regarding the safety of youth, this will result in the potential risk of the involved youth (Women Win, 2016). Therefore there is a need in the SfD sector to further research safe spaces in SfD programs.

To further research safe spaces, two theoretical frameworks are used; the Triad Spatial Model and sensemaking. The first framework will be used to research the psychical aspect of the spaces that the SfD programs take place in, but it will also be used to research how these spaces are valued and the way users live in the designed spaces. When it comes to the way these spaces are valued, sensemaking also gets involved. This is the way that the different stimuli, experiences and interactions that the users of the space have when they are in the spaces, are placed in existing frameworks to understand and make sense of these stimuli.

In the next chapter, the methods that were used in this research, to gain insights in the way that the participating youth and the people that work for the CSO’s make sense of the notion of safe spaces, are presented.

4. Methods

4.1 Research Type

When it comes to doing research, the type of research that is chosen to work with is determinative for the way the research is conducted. Deetz (1996) has described four different approaches for research (see Figure 1). He distinguishes four types of studies, that are determined by two dimensions. Firstly, local/emergent and elite/a priori differ from each other in the way that concepts for research emerge. Elite/A Priori is about the development of theoretical knowledge and *'knowing about'* (Deetz, 1996, p. 196). Local/Emergent research emphasizes is more about the development of practical knowledge and *'knowing how'* (Deetz, 1996, p. 196). The second dimensions distinguishes between dissensus and consensus. According to Deetz (1996), consensus is about presentation of unity and the continuation of a dominant discourse, while dissensus is about the presentation of differences and interrupting a dominant discourse. This research is using a local/emergent and consensus approach, and thus interpretive research, because this allows to research sensemaking.

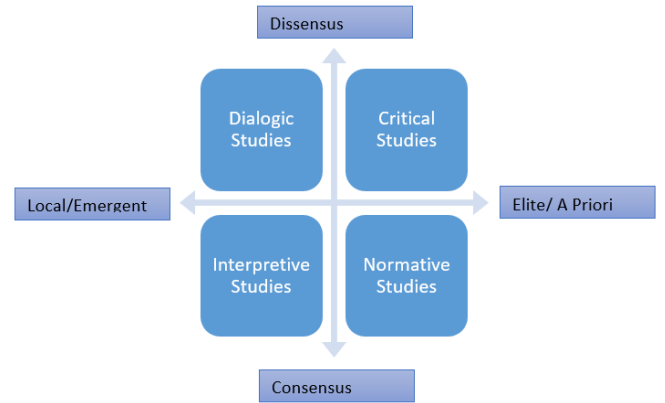


FIGURE 1: DIMENSIONS OF RESEARCH, ADAPTED FROM DEETZ (1996)

Interpretivism is about developing an understanding of human behavior (Edwards and Skinner, 2009) and aims to explain and understand social life, using an inductive approach (Sarantakos, 1998). This means that the acquired data and observations can lead to finding patterns, that can lead to broader statements; a bottom-up approach. This type of research requires the use of qualitative methods of research and data collection, since these methods enable the researchers to explore how the respondents make sense of their lives, their experiences, and their responses to those experiences, (Edwards and Skinner, 2009)

4.2 Research Methods

For this research qualitative methods were used for the collection of data. The use of qualitative methods was chosen since it is required by this type of research, but also because this research aims to gain insights in sensemaking on safe spaces, and using qualitative research methods gives the respondents the opportunity to share their experiences and feelings, and tell their stories. The method that was chosen were interviews, because this method of data

collection provides the respondents with opportunities to describe and define the way they make sense of the notion of safe spaces in the SfD programs. The different ways of data collection are described below.

4.2.1 Interviews through Skype

Interviews were conducted for this research, using a semi-structured approach. This means that the researcher had a topic list with initial topics, and that these topics were discussed during the interview (Edwards and Skinner, 2009). Semi-structured interviews were used to assure that the same topics were discussed with the different respondents, so that the outcomes could be compared to each other, but this also gave the respondents the opportunity to talk about subjects they wanted to discuss. The topics lists that were used, can be found in appendix II and III. The topics were based on elements on safe spaces found in the literature, and knowledge that was gathered during the explorative visit to the Gambia. Besides that, the responses to these initial topics, and experiences that the respondents shared, has led to other subjects that were further discussed during that interview, and were also taken into consideration during other interviews.

The interviews were conducted through Skype, because the researcher was not able to visit the Community Sports Organizations (CSO's) in Kenya herself, due to lack of funds and time. Skype is an online application that provides video chat and voice calls, and that allows users to have video conference calls (Skype, 2016). Although the researcher and respondent were not in the same room, meeting face-to-face, the use of Skype had several benefits. The use of Skype still allowed the researcher to discuss the topic with the respondent, and thus collecting data, and the fact that the researcher and respondent were not in the same room, could have led to creating a distance between them, and maybe not understanding non-verbal communication. However, research by Hanna (2012) shows that respondents that were interviewed through Skype, felt rather comfortable because they were in their own personal environment, and since the researcher was not present in their setting, the pressure to answer a certain way was taken away (Hanna, 2012). During this research, where difficult and abstract topics were discussed, the use of Skype could have contributed to more open answers from the respondents, and thus providing more insights.

The interviews were both conducted with youth participating at the programs of the organization, as with decision makers at these organizations. Decision makers are people that work for the organization, either voluntarily or with a paid position, that are involved in either

designing the programs, for example the program's coordinator, or carry out the programs, for example as a coach or trainer. The people working at the organizations were approached directly, and the youth were approached through the organization's coordinator. It was essential that the organization has a computer with internet connection that could be used by both the people working for the organization, as the youth that was interviewed. A disadvantage of approaching the youth through the program's coordinators was that the organization decided which youngsters were interviewed, and therefore influencing the data. However, this way of approaching was the only way possible, since the youth could not be approached directly.

4.3 Respondents Interviews

The respondents for this research came from two CSO's in Kenya. The first organization is the Trans-Nzoia Youth Sports Association (TYSA), and the second organization is Amani Kibera. These two organizations were used as case studies, and all respondents are connected to one of those organizations.

Kenya was chosen as country of research because of two reasons. Firstly, the International Sports Alliance (ISA) has been active in Kenya for numerous years now, which has led to a big SfD network and a variety of SfD programs. Secondly, the collaboration between ISA and the Kenyan organizations has been stable, with mutual interest in the topic of safe spaces. Furthermore, these two organizations, TYSA and Amani Kibera, were chosen because they differ in ownership of the field; TYSA has its own field and Amani Kibera does not, and uses the municipal's field.

4.3.1 TYSA

TYSA is an organization from Kitale in Eastern rural Kenya, that provides young people with a chance to excel. They are committed to working with children and youth who are marginalized and vulnerable (TYSA, 2016). Children and youth come to play football at TYSA, and are also enabled to access education and are being mentored into becoming community leaders. TYSA started in 2001 with only three youngsters attending the program, and three employees, and has now grown into an organization with fifteen employees, over 70.000 beneficiaries in over seven counties, and their own field. Their programs aim at empowering youth to participate in various policy, governance, and development processes; enabling the youth with education and teaching them life skills; and protecting youth so they are safe and not abused.

4.3.2 Amani Kibera

Amani Kibera, the other organization, is from Kibera, the largest slum in Nairobi. The slum hosts a population of more than one million people, who live in absolute poverty. The organization was started in 2007 when several peace campaigns inside the slum were initiated, to demonstrate the importance of peaceful co-existence of the people living there. The organization still aims to improve the social and economic values of the slum, and try to achieve this by organizing sports, workshops and training for children and youth in the Kibera slum (Amani Kibera, 2016). The organization now employs eleven people.

4.3.3 Interviews

In total, eleven interviews were conducted; six with youth from the organizations and five with staff from the organization. The youth that was interviewed were aged 18 to 21. This age group was chosen because these youth have enough knowledge of the English language, and it was also important that they were able to talk about safety and share their experiences with that subject. From each organization three youngsters were interviewed, leading to the six interviews as described above. 50% of the youth respondents were male and 50% was female.

The people working for the organizations were aged 29 to 45 years old. Three interviews were conducted with staff from TYSA and two interviews with staff from Amani Kibera. The director/CEO from both organizations were interviewed, as well as coaches from each organization. 40% of the respondents were female, 60% were male.

Initially more interviews were planned to reach saturation, but due to unforeseen circumstances only eleven interviews were conducted. The contact person from TYSA felt sick with malaria, and was not able to be interviewed or arrange more interviews. Besides that, the slum that Amani Kibera is located in is currently a 'no-go zone' due to ongoing violence caused by the upcoming elections. However, a wide range of data was collected during the interviews that were conducted.

4.4 Analysis

Before starting the interview, the respondent was asked if he or she approved with the interview being recorded. Afterwards the recordings were analyzed by first transcribing the acquired data verbatim, and then coding the data, using open codes, axial codes and finally selective codes (Edwards and Skinner, 2009). Between the different moments of data collection,

the already conducted interviews were transcribed and analyzed to improve the topic list for the next interviews, and topics were added or removed.

4.5 Anonymity and Approach Respondents

The organizations were approached through the program officer and country coordinator Kenya at the International Sports Alliance. Once the organizations had agreed to participating in the research, the researcher and the organization chose the respondents.

The research could only be conducted when all participants agreed with the interviews being recorded. The researcher was the only one who heard the recordings of the interviews and the interviews were transcribed anonymously. The names of the respondents were not published and the recordings were deleted after transcription. After the data analysis was completed, and the report is being written, all names that were used for the respondents, are fictitious.

4.6 Validity and Reliability

To ensure the validity of the research, which is the way the concepts that are being researched are made into operational measures (Emory and Cooper, 1991), three things were taken into account. Firstly, it was important to have questions that explore the subject from different angles. This was conducted by talking about the different elements of safe spaces, that were found in the literature, but also by talking with the different people that are involved in the realization of safe spaces. Secondly, not only positive experiences with safe spaces were discussed, but the respondents were also asked to talk about negative experiences, and to talk about feeling unsafe. This was in order to discuss the inbuilt negative case analysis (Edwards and Skinner, 2009). And thirdly, by adjusting the topic list before every interview, based on the responses that were obtained, the validity of the content was established (Edwards and Skinner, 2009).

The reliability of the research refers to how consistently the technique explores the concepts it is supposed to, and enables other researchers to repeat the research and finding similar outcomes (Emory and Cooper, 1991). This research aimed at achieving as much reliability as possible by structuring the interview process and by structuring the data analysis process (Edwards and Skinner, 2009). The interview process was structured by having the same set-up for every interview and by using a topic list with all the respondents, to ensure that the same topics were discussed. The data analysis process was structured by analysis all the data the same way, using open, axial and selective codes to structure the data. Finally, the reliability

of the research will be increased by sharing and comparing the findings of the researcher with the respondents after the research is completed (Edwards and Skinner, 2009).

5. Results & Analysis

In the following chapter the results of the interviews will be discussed and analyzed. In section 5.1 the results of the interviews will be presented, sorted by theme. In section 5.2 the results will be analyzed using the literature and theories that were described in chapter 3.

5.1 Results Interviews

Firstly, the results from the interviews with the youth will be presented, sorted by theme and with quotes from the obtained data. Secondly, the results from the interviews with the decision makers/staff from the organizations will be discussed, also sorted by theme and with quotes of the acquired data.

5.1.1 Results Interviews Youth

The most important themes that emerged from the data, after analyzing the data, are: safety, the organization, teammates, the coach, spectators, and the field. Firstly, the theme safety will be discussed, because this topic shows the way the youth makes sense of safe spaces, and it also shows the importance of the subject for the youth. The other themes will be discussed afterwards, because these are themes that contribute or undermine the feeling of safety the youth have when they are participating in the SfD programs.

Safety

All the youngsters that were interviewed, said that safety is very important to them, because when they feel safe, they can better handle difficult situations and circumstances. They also state that they feel safe when you and everyone around you feel fine.

Furthermore, the youth describes a safe space as a space where they feel free to express themselves, without being criticized. It is a place where they can move freely, without the fear that anything will happen to them or that they will get hurt. There are no judgements and no pressure to perform. Finally, it is a place where they feel respected and confident. One respondent summed it up in her statement:

“A safe space is a space where I feel completely safe. Where I am confident to do what I want to do. Where I can be myself. It’s also a place where I am not afraid that bad things will happen to me, or where I will get hurt.”

The youth also claim that feeling safe feels like normal. One of the respondents expressed himself in the following way:

“I never really think about it. It is important to me when I don’t feel safe, then I start to wonder why I don’t feel safe. But I feel like feeling safe is normal. So it’s like asking me if being normal is important to me. Yes it is.”

They only realize a place is not safe and only think about safety, when they do not feel safe. As a result of that, the youth said that they will not come back if they do not feel safe. However, they state that they feel safe at the organizations, because the organizations help them to improve their lives and they help with issues.

However, ways to improve their safety were mentioned. For example, a better field, more control of the spectators, and more life skill trainings.

Organization

The organizations where these SfD programs take place, TYSA and Amani Kibera, are providing the spaces for the youth to play sports. The course of action at these organizations contributes to the feeling of safety of the participating youth. These organizations provide life skills trainings for the youth, where they can learn and develop skills that will help them in their regular lives. The reason the youngsters come to the organization they explain, is because it gives them something to do and avoid bad company. The youth enjoys being at the organization because it is a place where they can meet new people and create relations with others. One respondent stated: *“Amani Kibera is a good organization, it really gives girls something to do during holidays and we also have trainings at this organization.”*

As presented above, the organizations provide the youth with life skills trainings. During these trainings the youth learn and develop skills they can apply in their daily life. There are no spectators present during those trainings. As a result of that, the youth feel they can discuss topics more openly, express themselves more and feel safe: *“Sometimes we need to discuss things ourselves, so there is no need for them to be there. You can tell your issues when they are not there, so they cannot have an opinion about it.”*

Boys and girls are mixed at the life skills trainings that are provided by the organization, because this allows the participating youngsters to interact with different people and learn from each other: *“It’s good because you will find experience from both sides, maybe there is some help from the girls side, and maybe the girls need some help from the boys, so it’s good.”* Therefore mixing the boys and girls is considered to lead to a better mutual understanding.

When the youth comes to the organization they feel at home, feel supported and agree that the organization is open to everyone and everyone can be themselves. Furthermore, most of the adolescents said that the organizations have an open door policy and are open to complaints. One of them said the following about that: *“Yes, I think it is a very open organization. They have an open door policy. Whenever there is something, or you have an issue, you can always go talk to someone.”*

Yet, the youngsters that were interviewed are unaware about whether there are policies present at the organizations regarding their safeguarding.

Teammates

“I really like my team, I have a lot of friends in the team and I love playing sports with them.” This is a statement of one of the respondents about her teammates. The teammates contribute to the feeling of safety of the participating youth because of the relationship and interaction they have amongst each other. All the respondents agreed that their teammates are close friends, and sometimes are even considered to be like family. The teammates have fun together and feel like they can discuss everything with each other. They also learn from each other. One respondent said that getting feedback from her teammates made her felt more part of the team: *“I felt bad because I wasn’t a good player, I felt like I was not contributing to the team. It actually made me feel good when they helped me. It made me feel part of the team.”*

However, they sometimes have disagreements or small issues, but the youth will always try to solve these by talking to each other or by asking the coach or other staff members to help. Furthermore, the youngsters also correct each other when they are misbehaving. One of the respondents said that this shows you are invested and take the team seriously: *“It shows that you are invested. I take it seriously, I want to play football and I want to learn and it is important to me, so being open shows that. And I hope that by being open, other people will also be open with me, so we can all learn.”* This behavior resulted in the fact that there is little to no bullying, but if it does happen, the adolescents in the program will try to solve it. Finally, the youth also expressed that they feel safe around their teammates. They feel this way because of the way they interact and respect each other.

Coach

Another theme that emerged from the data and contributes to the extent to which the youth feels safe, is the coach and the relationship with the coach. One respondent expressed that she feels very comfortable around the coach: *“I feel comfortable, he understands us. He*

understands our problems and helps us.” According to the youth, the coach is someone they feel safe around. He/she can learn the youth plenty of things about sports, but can also teach life skills. The coach is considered to be very understanding and also motivates them, by clapping or giving encouragements: *“I am not afraid to make mistakes. The coach always says: if you try hard, than you’re doing it well. He always tries to make us feel good, because he says that we learn more when we feel good.”* The coach is also considered to be a role model, and will talk to the youth about issues. When they have an issue, the coach will sit down with them and talk to them and will also help to solve disagreements.

However, the coach sometimes punishes the youngsters, and have them do press-ups or run laps. The youngsters agree that they sometimes deserve punishments, but they still think that the punishments are negative and can lead to less enjoyment, or even lead to the youth feeling unsafe and being absent: *“It will affect the way we talk to each other and how we look at the coach. I think that when he punishes us, that I will not like going to trainings anymore.”*

Finally, when the coach gives corrections, he/she will talk about it and makes sure that the involved adolescent learn from the mistake he or she made. One respondent expressed that *“the coach normally corrects us in the best way. For example, if there is a mistake that involves a single person, she will just talk with that person in a very respectful way.”* However, on the other hand, the coach can also use the mistake as an example and will tell the youngster how to improve it in front of everyone.

Spectators

The results about the spectators show a clear division. On the one hand the youth feels that the spectators motivate them when they are playing. This results in the youngsters feeling special and cheerful, and enjoying themselves at the sports place: *“they make you feel cheerful and somewhat special, for example when you find yourself being cheered on, it makes you feel more comfortable and it makes you now play better. That’s confidence.”*

However, on the other hand, the youth expressed that the spectators can be very critical, and come to games or tournaments with bad intentions. This makes them feel insecure, and sometimes even unsafe, when they are playing sports. One respondents stated that he: *“just wants to play football and enjoy myself. And when I see that there are spectators there, I always start to feel bad, because I know they will watch and judge me.”* Sometimes, the spectators even use abusive language which makes the youngsters feel scared. The adolescents claim that they have to overcome that fear in order to play well: *“We were scared, but I got used to it, they’re there, and you have to overcome it. It’s normal to be afraid, but you have to overcome that*

fear.” When the spectators behave that way, the youth consider it to be distracting and discouraging, and believe that the coach should talk to the spectators and tell them to behave, which they sometimes do.

At trainings, there are little spectators. The youth said they feel that they can try and learn new things without being judged by the spectators at practice, and feel more safe: *“during practice we train skills, new skills. And when you learn new skills, it’s hard to do. So it’s better when they are not there, so I can practice without people watching and judging me.”*

The field

The field is the physical space where the SfD programs take place and the way the field looks, contributes to the feeling of physical safety of the participating youngsters. *“The field looks like a normal sports field. It has two goals, but there is no fence around the field so we often lose the ball.”* This is a description of the field at TYSA, but adolescents at both organizations agree that the conditions of the field they play on are bad. There is no grass on the field, just soil, and often stones, glass and rubbish can be found on the field. Sometimes, there are even tracks of cattle on the fields, because the fields are open and cannot be closed off, so cows and sheep can walk on the field as well.

Rain also makes it hard to play, because the fields get muddy. These things lead to players getting injured and hurt. In order to make sure it is safe for the players to play on the field, they have to clean the field before every practice or match; they have to remove stones and rubbish: *“Before we play we pick up rocks and make sure there is no rubbish on the field. I really don’t like doing that, but I have to because otherwise me or my friends can get hurt.”*

Finally, the youth state that the way to the field is safe, one respondent said that she goes to the field by herself and that *“it is safe and I feel comfortable when I go to the field.”*

5.1.2 Results Interviews Organizations

The most important themes that emerged from the data are: safety, the organization, youth, coaching, policies, the field, spectators and ISA. Again, the theme safety will be discussed first, because this topic shows the way the organizations makes sense of safe spaces, and how they work on creating a safe space for their beneficiaries. The other themes will be discussed afterwards, because this are themes that contribute to the feeling of safety at the organizations, or show the way the organizations are dealing with safety for their beneficiaries at their organization.

Safety

The people working at the organizations state that a safe spaces is a relaxed space where you can express your feelings and emotions. It is a place where you feel welcome and do not fear that things will happen to you, both socially and physically. At a safe space, you feel comfortable, respected and at home. It is a place where you can explore your talents.

The organizations claim that they are a safe space, because people can be themselves at the organizations and express themselves. They also think that safety is important because it gives the youth the feeling they belong somewhere and are being listened to. If a place is not experienced as safe, the youngsters will stop coming there, and that will lead to the organizations not being able to influence them: *“If we want to change the lives of these children, they have to be at the organization. If they don’t feel safe, they don’t come and we cannot change their lives.”* Safety is also considered to be important because it can change people’s perceptions. A coach at Amani Kibera stated the following about that: *“It can change the perceptions of young people. We get to understand like that there’s somewhere we can go, and that they are listened to and also explore my potential.”*

However, they do agree that it is difficult to create a space where everyone feels safe, because people experience situations and spaces differently. The following quote expresses that statement: *“Well, not everyone experiences places the same way, not everyone needs the same support or needs the same relationship. So it’s hard to make rules or come up with a space, design a place, where everyone feels at home.”*

Finally, the organizations agree that there should be more community involvement and cohesion when it comes to the youth’s safety. This because the CSO’s are not the only place where the youth spend time during the day. More cohesion in the community can lead to the adolescents feeling more safe at all the places they stay: *“This is a problem, everyone has become so individualistic, so children are very vulnerable. Because the community is not cohesive, is not discussing with the rest of the community members.”*

Youth

The beneficiaries of the organizations are the youth, and the organizations work hard to make the organization a safe space for those youngsters. The staff members at the organizations agree that the youth and the relationship they have amongst each other can contribute to the feeling of safety these youngsters experience. The participants that are involved in the programs are both boys and girls. They mix these groups because the staff at the organization feels that boys and girls can learn from each other: *“it’s important to have these relationships, to*

understand that the boys and girls need each other at different points in time .. So they can learn, and maybe borrow ideas from each other.”

The youth are also very close to each other, but do sometimes have disagreements:

“They are teens, yeah they fight. But we try to teach them that it is okay to disagree with someone as long as you have respect for people. We teach them that you can have a different opinion than your teammate, but it’s about the way you talk about it; do you only yell at the other person or do you have arguments and discuss it.”

The staff at the organizations explained that they try to solve these issues to make sure everyone feels safe, and to let the youngsters learn from each other and the different perspectives that they have. They also correct each other, and that is why there is not a lot of bullying, and the youth feels safe; they understand that everyone is different and that people have different personalities.

The people who work at the organizations want their beneficiaries to improve and develop. They also want to see enjoyment when the adolescents are playing sports, and want them to become leaders and role models in their community. One of the staff members expressed that: *“I can see boys and girls really stepping up and helping others and growing to become leaders, because they know they are role models and want others to be like them.”*

Coaching

“I try to be as positive as possible. You know, by being positive I try to teach them to be positive as well. I always try to give positive feedback to the girls when I’m coaching them. When I’m teaching them something, a new skills, I tell them it’s okay to not being able to understand it the first time.”

This quote is a good representation of the data about coaching because it shows the positive attitude the coaches at both organizations have to make sure the participants feel safe. At the same time, it shows their focus on development instead of just performing well. Furthermore, the people at the organizations who coaches the youth say they have a good relationship with them. They said that it is important to relate to the youngsters if you want to work with them. The coaches are positive, want to be a role model for them, and enjoy teaching the youth things.

If they see behavior they do not want to see, they will not sent the youth away, because they cannot learn anything when they are not present. Instead, they sit down with them and talk to them in order to solve issues that they might have.

One part of being a positive coach is the fact that they do not punish the youth. They do, however, give corrections, in the form of press-up for example. The coaches say that this is a form of ‘extra exercise’ and will also use the adolescents misbehavior as an example for other participants to show them how not to behave. One coach expressed that:

“When I see behavior I don’t like, we call them away from the other people, we tell them. But if it’s something they’ve done amongst the kids, we tell them, and we tell them in the group, so they know their behavior should not be the same, make the same mistake.”

The field

As stated above, the field is the physical space where the SfD programs take place and contributes to the feeling of physical safety of the participating youngsters. The organizations make the rules that apply to this place, and is also involved in designing the field. One of the organizations, TYSA uses its own field, but also uses the school’s field. There are changing rooms available at their own field. Amani Kibera does not have its own field and uses the school’s field as well and also plays on the municipality’s field. The fields do not have changing rooms nearby, but the youth sometimes change clothes in the school: *“But most of the time, we have to find some safe space where they can dress and change. And we leave one of them with the bags, to take care of that.”*

All the fields do not have much grass and become muddy when it rains. Furthermore, the fields are full of rubbish, cow dumps and even bicycle tracks. Because of the state of the field, the youngsters often get injured. The people at the organizations try to avoid that as much as possible and increasing the safety of the youth, by having rules about cleaning the field, and training people in first aid. Besides that, the youth needs to wear the proper attire and shoes in order to play on this field. However, not everyone has the right shoes to play in, but the organizations do not send those participants away. A staff member quoted this about the shoes: *“It’s not safe, but you see the passion is driving the kids. You cannot tell them: oh sit down, you cannot play because you don’t have shoes. But they have that passion. They come to us: oh I want to play, I don’t have the shoes but I’m really interested and want to play. Returning this kid, will sometimes, I think drive out the passion if you don’t allow this kid to play.”*

Spectators

One of the things the organizations have to deal with when they are providing the programs are the spectators that come and watch. The organizations know that there are a lot of spectators during games and tournaments, and few spectators during practices. They said that

the spectators get very involved with the game when they are watching, and that this affects the feeling of safety of the participants. According to the staff members, the spectators can be very critical and this makes the youth feel judged and pressured.

In order to control that, the organizations sometimes sent spectators that are misbehaving away. But they also feel that there is a need for more rules concerning the spectators, to increase the feeling of safety of the participants, and also do not allow spectators to be present at all activities. One of the staff members, and a football coach at TYSA, explained: *“You know, we work as an organization to help the children develop and it would be bad if they can’t do that because of the way the spectators behave. So I think as an organization, we should have those rules.”* At Amani Kibera, the spectators get linked up with players, in order to solve this matter; they can only cheer for them and cannot show up to activities without a direct connection to a player:

“If anyone wants to get involved, they are shown the correct team to do it, to link up with. So nobody just comes in and says: okay not it’s my turn, I want to speak about this and this. No, it’s important they know the space is for the kids.”

At TYSA, the players are responsible for the spectators. They have to make sure they behave, and are allowed to send spectators away:

“The spectators and also the players themselves, they were under a code of conduct. And at one time, we had to stop a match, when one spectator was rooting. So we stopped the match and he was asked to leave the pitch by his own players.”

Organization

The organizations are constantly working on developing their course of action, and also their policies, to make sure they can help the youngsters develop themselves. According to the decision makers at the organizations, the organizations are helping youth from disadvantaged backgrounds and they use sport as a tool to educate youth and to teach them life skills. One of the staff members at TYSA stated the following: *“And by getting them, I call this ‘addicted’ to sport, they love the sport and keep coming back. And when they come back, we can teach them these skills they can use in the rest of their lives.”*

Furthermore, the organizations state that they are open to complaints. They feel that being open to complaints encourages the commitment from their beneficiaries. It makes them feel that they are taken seriously, and that their concerns on safety are taken into consideration. The organizations are open to everyone, participants can always talk to someone, also about their safety, and the organizations actively ask for feedback:

“We want to develop as an organization and we are working really hard to do so. But sometimes we don’t really know that what we are doing is the right way. That what we are doing is appreciated by the children. So we always like it when they talk to us and try to help us as an organization.”

Policies

When it comes to policies regarding the safeguarding of the youth, there is a division in the results. On the one hand, some of the people who work at the organizations do not know if there are policies regarding the safeguarding of the children. On the other hand, some of the staff is well aware that these policies are present and are constantly developing them. The organizations are also trying to involve the participants in the development of these policies more, and are interested in involving professionals and parents, because they could give even more directions.

The reasons they started developing the policies is because the organizations feel that these policies make things clear and more safe. They provide the organizations with rules about how the staff can handle the participants, and for example provides rules for spectators.

The organizations started with the development of these policies after trainings from ISA. The organizations felt the need for institutionalization of their policies. A decision maker at one of the organizations explained:

“We developed them, because we felt the need to institutionalize, to make institutional policy guidelines. It’s not about an individual waking up and deciding: this is what I want to do, and there are no backups, no policy backups about that. So for us as an organization, we felt the need to have institutionalized.”

ISA

The International Sports Alliance (ISA), and the way ISA collaborates with the community organizations, also influences the way the organizations work on the safeguarding of their beneficiaries. This collaboration between ISA and the organizations in Kenya is experienced as being positive. ISA gives trainings to the organizations and helps the organizations improve. Furthermore they also fund projects for the organizations.

ISA does not have a decisive role in the policy making, but does provide examples of policies that organizations try to match with their own vision and material. One of the staff members, who is also a decision maker at the organization, said the following about that: *“We decide what we work on. And now we’re in the partnership with ISA where we discuss exactly*

what we are able to work on, but we decide from here what we think is workable here.” Furthermore they said: *“We tend to look at what ISA is providing. And then we try to match it with the material we have.”*

5.2 Analysis Results

In this chapter the results that were presented, will be analyzed and interpreted using the theoretical frameworks and literature that were described in chapter 3. First, sensemaking on safe spaces from both the youth and the organizations will be analyzed. Secondly the triad spatial model will be used to further analyze how the spaces in the SfD programs are conceived, perceived and lived.

5.2.1 Analysis Sensemaking

Youth’s Sensemaking

Ultimately, the goals for these SfD programs is the positive development of the youth. As described by Roth, Brooks-Gunn, Murray and Foster (1998), youth can experience this positive development through organized activities, and sport is the most popular organized activity in which youth can engage (Larson and Verma, 1999). This also emerged from the results of this research. The adolescents that are involved in the SfD program say they learn new skills at the trainings, including the life skills lessons. Here they interact with different people and learn from each other and have discussions with each other. They can apply the skills that they learn in these lessons in their daily lives.

When it comes to safe spaces and the way the youth make sense of that, it is important to describe how sensemaking can be understood. As described in the theoretical framework, sensemaking is about *“structuring the unknown”* (Waterman, 1990, p.41). People always experience stimuli, and they try to make sense out of it by placing these stimuli in some kind of, already existing, framework. They have developed these frameworks through previous experiences and interactions. When people place these stimuli into these frames of mind, they are enabled to *“comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate, and predict”* (Starbuck and Milliken, 1988, p.51).

This research shows that it is difficult to make sense of safe spaces; the youngsters that were interviewed, found it hard to describe a safe space. This could be due to the fact that the stimuli they receive regarding safe spaces, cannot be put in a framework, because they do not have frameworks about safe spaces yet. However, the youth do claim that it is important to feel

safe and have a safe space to go to. They also expressed that if they do not feel safe at a place, they will leave and not come back. Another remarkable statement made by the youth is the fact that they consider a place a safe space when not only you, but also everyone around you feels safe at that space. This shows that the social aspect of safe spaces plays an important role in the sensemaking about it.

Furthermore, a striking result that emerged from this research is the statement that the adolescents think that safety is normal. They only think about safety when they do not feel safe, but when they feel safe, it remains unnoticed. This shows two things. On the one hand shows it the difficulty of the subject and the way to make sense of it. On the other hand it shows that there is a need for attention and policies regarding the safety of youth in SfD programs. The goal should be that the youth feels safe at these programs, and that their safety is something that can be taken for granted, and they do not have to think about whether they feel safe or not.

As described in chapter three, sensemaking is a social interactive process, and the movement of social constructivism can help to make the social interactive aspect of sensemaking clear. This movement claims that everyone constructs information in a different way, based on the way they select, interpret and organize the information they acquire (Adams, 2006). However, the way they construct this information is not just individual, but the result of social interactions, according to Vygotsky (1962). The youngsters that were interviewed for this research said that there is a lot of interaction amongst them; the youth interacts with each other when they play sports together, they also interact with the coaches during their trainings, and all the involved respondents interact with each other at the organizations they are involved in. As supported by Stetsenko and Arieviditch (1997), these social interactions have a decisive role in the understanding and interpretation of information and knowledge. Therefore, when it comes to safe spaces, and the way the different involved actors make sense of it, these social interactions play a decisive role. The adolescents expressed that they talk about everything with each other, and solve issues they have together, and this contributes to their feeling of safety when they are at the SfD program, because these interactions are important for the way they make sense of their safety. The same goes for the interactions with the coaches; the youth feel safe and understood around the coach, and this also plays a role in the way they make sense of safe spaces.

Organization's Sensemaking

The outcomes of this research show that both organizations consider their organization to be a safe space, because everyone can be themselves at the organizations and express themselves. Furthermore, in the way they make sense of safe spaces, the people that work for the organizations suggest that the safety of a space is important, because it gives the participants a feeling they belong somewhere and are listened to. But most important, the staff members at organizations agree that when a space is safe, people want to stay there, and if they do not feel safe, they will not come back.

According to Weick (1995), one property of sensemaking is the fact that different people experience things in a different manner, and thus people's sensemaking differs from each other. This is also evident in this research; all the respondents makes sense on safe space in a different way, and that is why it is difficult to come up with a place where everyone feels safe, a concern that was expressed by the people working for the organizations, according to the staff members at the organizations. People experience places differently, and what is considered to be safe for one person, could be experienced as unsafe for others. This finding, together with the importance that is attributed to safe spaces by the people working for the organizations, leads to the result that the attention for safe spaces that is needed according to the literature, is supported by outcomes of this research.

5.2.2 Analysis Triad Spatial Model

This model makes a distinction between three types of space; the conceived space, the perceived space and the lived space (Zhang, 2006). Despite the critiques this model has encountered about the distinctions it describes, it is still used in the research, because it can help to understand the complexity of a space in the way it is conceived and designed, and the way the users value and experience that space. This will also influence the way the different actors experience the space and the safety of a space.

The first space, the conceived space is the way a space is designed and the rules and policies that are applicable to that space. This is often done by organizations or decision makers at those organizations. This is also the case for the spaces used for the SfD programs at the CSO's. The CSO's are creating conditions for a safe space. It is the way the sports field is described in the organization's policies and rules, in order to help youth from disadvantaged backgrounds by using sport as a tool to educate youth, and give the youngsters something to do. But the conceived spaces also describes the way a space is designed, so for example the fact

that TYSA build steps next to the field so that spectators can watch. Another example of the way a space is conceived is the fact that there are no dressing rooms present at the field that Amani Kibera uses for their programs.

But according to the United Nations (1995), the youth that is involved in the program should not only be involved in the participation in the program, but also in the designing of the program, because this way they can influence their future. This type of involvement is getting more attention at both TYSA and Amani Kibera. They agree that since the programs are designed for these adolescents, it is important to have them involved in the development of that program, because they know best what they want, what they like and what will work best for them. However, some of the youngsters that were interviewed expressed that they did not know these policies even exist. This shows that the knowledge of the presence of these policies can be increased among the participants of the programs.

Another interesting point about the way that spaces are conceived, is the fact that ISA can also play an important role in the policy making from the organizations. TYSA and Amani Kibera expressed that they attend trainings from ISA and afterwards realize that there are issues they need to work on. So even though it is not necessarily ISA's goal to influence the policies, but to help the organizations with the development of their organizational capacity, they are in fact doing it. The subjects ISA chooses to discuss at the trainings, are the ones that the organizations will work on, and the content that is used during the trainings, regularly gets a place in the organization's policies, and thus in the way the spaces used for the program are conceived.

When it comes to safe spaces, the physical space and the way it is conceived is also important. A space is physically safe when there are no hazardous objects on the field; the way to and from the organization is safe; there is a first aid kit available and people who can practice first aid and the participants have adequate gear and shoes (Women Win, 2016). The results from this research show that the spaces used for the SfD programs at both TYSA and Amani Kibera are not always physically safe. Both organizations expressed that there are in fact hazardous objects on the field, and this leads to the participants suffering from injuries. Another aspect that decreases the safety of the field is the fact that there is no policies about treating injuries, and there are not always first aid, or people trained in first aid, available at the fields. So when the youngsters do suffer from injuries, caused by the field, these injuries cannot always be treated properly. The lack of physical safety of the fields can be explained by the fact that the fields are not owned by the organization, or are open and cannot be closed off by fences.

This leads to other people using the field and not abiding the rules that are set up by the organizations, and conceiving the sports field the same way as the organizations do.

Lastly, when it comes to the conception of spaces and the way they are designed, and policies are developed, the results show that there is an overall need for more policies regarding the safeguarding of the youngsters. These policies will present clear rules and regulations, leading to a better understanding and knowledge of what behavior is acceptable at the organizations, and thus a feeling of safety for the involved youth. These policies will provide guidelines for everyone that is involved, and will also make it easier to react to misconduct. Finally, it is important to constantly evaluate and adjust these policies, by both the organizations as the participants, in order to ensure the safety of the youth (Women Win, 2016).

The second space, the way the space is perceived by the users, shows the way a space is viewed and observed by its users. This is not the way it is described and designed, but the actual space and the way it is valued (Zhang, 2006). It shows whether the conditions that are created by the organizations, are being observed as being safe; the spaces and the emotions users have in those spaces, are decisive for the feeling of safety in a space. An example about the perceived space that arose from this research concerns the shoes the participants need. According to the way the spaces are conceived and designed, participants need to wear shoes when they are playing because this will protect their feet against stones and other hazardous objects on the field. However, in the way the space is perceived, wearing shoes is not perceived as that important to the coaches, because they think that having the participants there, without the proper attire, is more important than just having players present that have the proper attire. Besides that, the youth also perceive being present at the program as more important, than having the proper equipment and attire.

When another look at the goals of these programs, the positive development of youth, is being taken, it shows that one of the conditions for the positive development of youth is that the programs are delivered in an appropriate surrounding. This does not only refer to the physical, and conceived space, but also refers to the people within that surrounding and the relationships and ties they form (Bronfenbrenner, 1999). This is why teammates and the interaction with these teammates also play an important role in the way the space is perceived. The interactions the adolescents have amongst each other, can improve their sense of safety and has the potential to lead to an improved psychosocial development, and can contribute to skills as leadership, self-control and cooperation (Côté and Fraser-Thomas, 2007). The youngsters that were interviewed explained that they have good relationships with each other, and

sometimes even feel as if they are family. This results in the fact that they feel safe amongst each other in the spaces used for the program. They can discuss everything, give each other feedback and learn from each other.

This research also shows that for the way a space is perceived, and the feeling of safety in that space, the relationship with the coach is important. A good relationship that encourages respectful interaction between a coach and a child will improve the psychosocial safety and thus leading to more development (Vazou, et al., 2006). The youth that was interviewed stated that they like the coaches they have. They feel understood by the coaches and feel safe around him/her in the spaces that are used for the programs. An important aspect in this is the fact that the coach knows it is essential to have a good relationship with the participants if you want them to develop. The coaches want to see enjoyment and that is why they are positive in their approach. They will however use corrections if they see behavior they do not like. The coaches state that they correct the players because it let the players know that not all behavior is acceptable, but on the other hand know that the corrections will lead to less enjoyment. What is striking about this subject is the fact that the coaches explain that they do not use punishments, and that the “extra exercises”, as they call them, are strictly corrections and will help in the improvement of the sports skills of the youth.

One other aspect that is interesting to discuss are the spectators. On the one hand, they can motivate and support the youth, making them feel special and appreciated. But on the other hand, the program’s participants and the staff at the organizations claim that these spectators can be very critical. They use abusive language and discourage and criticize the youth when they are playing sports. This type of behavior affects how safe the youngsters feel, and results in them not enjoying the sports activities anymore. When we look at the definition of a safe space by the Glsen Sports Project (2016), one of the factors that lead to a safe space is whether people are treated with respect, without name-calling or harassment, and where everyone can enjoy the activities. The behavior of the spectators as described above therefore does not contribute to the perception of safety of the youngsters. This is also why the staff members at the organizations have indicated that there is a need for more rules and policies regarding the spectators and spectator control, because the way the spectators are perceived, is not sufficiently described in the existing policies, which has led to some feelings of unsafety.

However, when it comes to the way the youth perceive the spaces, they all stated that they like the organization and the SfD program that is offered there. That is the main reason they come to the organizations. They like the way the programs are organized and constructed,

and this is why they feel supported at the organizations, and they feel at home at the spaces that are provided by the organizations.

When it comes to safe spaces and the way they are perceived, both the physical spaces as the social-emotional space are important (Women Win, 2016). There are several factors that contribute to a social-emotional safe space. First of all, all the respondents claim that the participants and the relationship they have amongst each other, contribute to their safety. The youth feels they can openly express themselves, without the fear of being judged by their teammates. Furthermore, the relationship the youngsters have with the coaches also contributes to their feeling of safety. This is also supported by literature, Women Win (2016) states that a space is safe when the coaches are specifically trained on working with youth in sport, and the participants feels trusted and understood by the coaches. This is the case at both Amani Kibera, as TYSA. The youth feels safe around the coaches and feels they can discuss everything with them, and that they will help them with all their issues. The coaches also claim that it is important to have a good relationship with the adolescents, so they can learn new things and develop themselves, and perceive the programs as safe. Brady (2005) claims that this type of support from adequate adults is an important factor for of a safe space.

The third space, the lived space describes the way the spaces are actually used (Zhang, 2006). This describes the actual experiences users of the space have, based on the way it is conceived and perceived. When we take a look at the steps that TYSA build especially for the spectators, this research shows that these steps are often used by spectators and that these spectators are almost often present. However, the youth that were interviewed, expressed that they wish these spectators would not always be there, because of the way they influence the training or game. The youngsters state that they experience the presence of these spectators are being distracting and discouraging, and this makes them feel less safe.

So even though for the biggest part the youth perceive the spaces as safe, the way they actually live in that space does not always match the way the spaces are conceived by the organizations. This shows the need for all involved actors to regularly discuss the interpretation of the spaces, so that the way the spaces are conceived, perceived and lived match each other more, resulting in the program's participants feeling more safe. The importance of the involvement of the beneficiaries when the way the spaces are conceived, perceived and lived are discussed, is supported the fact that social interactions are important for constructing information (Stetsenko and Arieivitch, 1997). Increasingly, the participants are involved in the development of the policies regarding their safety. Because the policies are about the youth, the

organizations agree that it is important to include their opinions and visions in the development. The interactions resulting from the involvement of the youth in the development of these policies, lead to policies that are more in line with the way the youth make sense of safe spaces, as well as the way the organizations do.

6. Conclusion, Recommendations & Discussion

6.1 Conclusion

In this chapter the research questions that were composed at the beginning of the research will be answered and discussed, using the data that was acquired in this research and analyzing of that data. The research questions that were composed at the start of this research were:

How do Community Sports Organizations and participating youth make sense of the notion of safe spaces in relation to the Sport-for-Development project they are involved in?

This question was researched using the following sub-questions. These sub-questions will be leading in answering the main research questions.

- 1 What are safe spaces and elements of safe spaces as described in literature on the Western context ?
- 2 How do youth make sense of safe spaces, and what does this mean for their involvement and participation?
- 3 How do community sports organizations make sense of safe spaces, and how is that carried out in practice?
- 4 Which implications does this have for the International Sports Alliance's policy regarding safe spaces?

As described in the literature, a safe space is a place that is safe not only physically, but also emotional (Women Win, 2016). It is a place that that is easily accessible at a location that is known by the potential participants, but it is not a space where unwanted authority figures intervene. And finally: *“the space should not put the adolescents at any risk of physical or emotional threat or harm, and must offer some degree of privacy and confidentiality”* (Brady, 2005, p. 40). Furthermore it is a place where people can develop new skills, increase relationships with other and thus their social networks, experience freedom of expression and movement, discover new educational opportunities and receive support from adequate adults (Brady, 2005). In a safe space, youth feel free to openly express themselves in a confidential environment, without fear of judgement or intimidation (Women Win, 2016).

The youth that was interviewed for this research stated that a safe space is a space where they are free to express themselves without being criticized, where they can move freely without fear that anything will happen to them. It is a space without judgements and they cannot get

hurt there. They are respected at the space, feel confident and do not feel pressure to perform. In their sensemaking on safe spaces, the youngsters also stated that feeling safe feels like normal, and they only think about their safety when they realize they do not feel safe. This also results in the statement that they will not come back to a space, or the organization, if they do not feel safe there.

The adolescents that were interviewed also claim that the organizations they go to for their SfD programs are perceived as safe, because they feel they can learn at these organizations, and they offer support if you have issues. However, there are three things that would lead to the youth feeling even more safe at the organization. First of all, better field conditions would make the youth feel more safe, because a better field would decrease the chances of injuries and getting hurt. Secondly, more spectator control would make them feel more safe. They state that they would like to see more rules for spectators at games and tournaments, and also would like to have trainings and lessons without any spectators at all. So, they expressed that they would like to see that spectators and spectator control would get more attention in the way the space is conceived by the organizations, and this will lead to them perceiving the space more safe. Thirdly, the coaches expressed that they use ‘extra exercise’ as forms of correction for the participants, but the youth have expressed that they do not like these ‘extra exercises’, and that they lead to less enjoyment. When the behavior of the coach and the corrections he/she can apply are included in the organization’s policies, this will lead to more clarity about what behavior is accepted and does not cross the line. This could eventually lead to more enjoyment for the youth when they are participating in the SfD programs.

The staff that works at the CSO’s makes sense of safe spaces in the following way. They state that a safe space is a space where people feel relaxed, can express themselves, show their feelings and emotions, feel welcome, do not fear and feel uncomfortable, feel at home and where people can explore their talents. The staff states that on the one hand they think their organization is perceived a safe space, because people can express themselves. On the other hand they are not a safe space because it is hard to conceive a space where everyone feels safe, because everyone has different experiences. So when the organizations are designing a space, or come up with rules and policies for a space, they have to take all the different ways a space is perceived and lived into consideration. This makes it hard for the CSO’s to conceive a space where everyone feels safe. The staff members at the organizations also expressed that safety is very important to them because it can give the participants the feeling they belong somewhere and are listened to. If the youth feels safe at a place, they want to stay there.

The way they make sense of these safe spaces is carried out in practice by constantly developing policies regarding safeguarding and safe spaces. The organizations try to involve the youth more in the development of these policies, because they are the people that the policies are about, and they are the people that are using the spaces that were designed by the organizations. Besides that, the organizations claim to be open to complaints and concerns from their beneficiaries, because the organizations do not always know if what they do is good and is perceived and experienced as pleasant by the participants. The organizations undertake these actions because they believe that more involvement and input from the beneficiaries will make the programs more safe.

However, the outcomes also show the need for further development of policies regarding the safeguarding of youth. Because the youth states that feeling safe should be normal, the organizations that support the youth should be enabled to facilitate that feeling. Having clear, well thought through and up to date policies, will help these organizations to facilitate the youth. The International Sports Alliance (ISA) is seen as an expert in the area of Sfd by these CSO's, and they will turn to ISA for help if they need that. So it is important for ISA to have trainings on safe spaces and the safeguarding of youth, so they can help and support the CSO's if they ask ISA to.

Furthermore, ISA should be aware of the fact that what they learn these CSO's about safe space often ends up in the CSO's policies and practices. Even though the CSO's take their own experiences, values and vision into consideration when they develop the policies, the topics and information that ISA presents at trainings or meetings, does provide some input for the content of these policies. Therefore ISA should continue to research and develop their knowledge and expertise on safe spaces, in order to continue to support the local CSO's with their questions and issues regarding this topic. Finally, the developed knowledge and expertise of ISA on the subject of safe spaces could also help other Sfd organizations with issues and concerns they have regarding that topic. This type of support will ultimately be of interest for the overall development sector.

6.2 Recommendations & Discussion

During and after completing this research, some recommendations for further research emerged, but it also produced some valuable information. Since this type of data collection is experienced as being difficult, it is rarely used. But the research method that was chosen made it hard to research sensemaking and the different ways that spaces are conceived, perceived and

lived, because the spaces could not be visited and observed first hand. All the obtained data about these spaces come from what people say about it. A recommendation for further research about sensemaking on safe spaces would be to use fieldwork and participatory observations. Furthermore, the way spaces are conceived, perceived and lived, as described by Zhang (2006) on the Triad Spatial Model, can be researched and identified better when participatory observations or fieldwork are made possible as well.

Secondly, there has been numerous delays because of the methods that were chosen for data collection. The use of Skype did have some downsides. One downside that occurred during the conduction of the interviews was the background noises that were present. Often, the respondents were not able to sit in a quiet room, and as a result the respondents were not understood well, and some responses were not recorded. This, together with the fact that the respondents were not always proficient in the English language, made it hard to interview the respondents. It would be recommended for further research to specifically ask the respondents to sit in a quiet room when the interviews are conducted. Another downside of using Skype as a tool in the collection of data is that it may have led to socially acceptable responses. The researcher was not in the same room as the respondents and could not observe them well while they were interviewed. The researcher is aware that the distance that was created by using Skype as a tool, could have led to giving more socially acceptable responses.

Another challenge was the planning of these interviews. The planning had to be clear to all the respondents, and a computer with internet connection had to be available at the time of conducting the interview. Unfortunately, it took a longer than expected to schedule the interviews, which has led to a lot of delay of the research. Different interviews did not happen because of the fact that the respondents did not have internet or electricity. Other times the interviews were cancelled because the respondents did not show up on Skype.

All these things made the data collection difficult, and this has resulted in only eleven moments of data collection, while beforehand the goal was to have at least fourteen moments of data collection. The smaller number of interviews that were conducted may have led to less information and less data. For further research, the recommendation would be to address more organizations, to have a bigger group of possible respondents that can be approached. Having more possible respondents can also lead to more alternatives when the same amount of delays are encountered. Furthermore, the recommendation is to be more specific in the planning of the interviews and to emphasize the importance of these interviews.

Another recommendation for further research is to use the 'draw and tell' method. This method lets people draw something and have them talk about their drawing afterwards. It could

be helpful to have the youth draw a safe space before discussing it. This drawing could be a starting point for the interview and ensures that the youth thought about the subject before the start of the interview.

Besides those recommendations, there is also the recommendation to execute this research in other countries besides Kenya. Right now, it is difficult to use the outcomes of this research for other countries. The results could be country specific and by executing this research in other countries as well, more information and data can be collected, leading to a better understanding of the subject. Besides that, more research could be executed on people of different age groups, and separately on boys and girls, because this can lead to more insights on how these groups make sense of safe spaces. These understandings can also help the SfD organizations and support the local CSO's

Furthermore it could also be interesting to execute this research at other places than the SfD organization. One of the respondents talked about the need for more community cohesion; youth does not only spend time at the SfD organization, but also goes to school or hangs out in the community. It could be interesting to research the way they make sense of the notion of safe spaces at those places as well. The insights that will be gained during these research can help the CSO's and the communities to increase their cohesion and thus better supporting the youth

Finally, a point of concern is the fact that for this research only the participating youth was interviewed. The youth that does not go to these organizations, and that is maybe making sense on safe spaces in a different way, are not being heard in this research. These youth are interesting to interview because the youth that was interviewed has indicated that if they did not feel safe at the organization, they would not come back. The youth that is not participating in the program could provide a better insight on what it is like to not feel safe at the organization. However, these youth are very hard to find and if they would want to be interviewed, a different form of data collection would be necessary, where the researcher can visit different communities in the development countries, so he/she can talk to these youngsters that are living in the community, but are not participating in the SfD programs.

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8. Appendixes

Appendix I: Questions Football Players the Gambia

- What do you like about playing football?
- Do you like your teammates? Can you tell me more about your teammates?
- Do you trust your teammates? Can you tell me more about that?
- Can you give feedback to your teammates? Is it easy to do?
- Do you listen to the feedback your teammates are giving you? What do you do with that feedback?
- How do you feel when you get feedback from your teammates?
- Do you talk about other things besides football? Can you give examples?

- Do you like your coach? Why? Can you tell me more about that?
- Do you trust your coach? Why? Can you tell me more about your relationship?
- Do you like getting feedback from your coach? Why?
- How do you feel when you get feedback from your coach?
- Do you and your coach talk about other things besides football? Can you give examples?

- Are there spectators when you play?
- Do you like having spectators? Can you tell me more about that?
- How does it make you feel when there are spectators?
- Do your parents watch you play? And how does that make you feel?
- Are there moments when you wish there weren't any spectators? Why?

- Do you feel safe playing football here? Why?
- What makes you feel safe?
- What does safety mean to you?
- Is safety important to you? Why?
- According to you, what is a safe space?
- What could be done to make the field safer?
- What happens when you don't feel safe?

Appendix II: Topic List Interviews Youth SfD Program

- Introduction
 - *Can you tell me something about yourself?*
 - Name
 - Age
 - Family
 - Sports
 - Education
- Sport for Development Program
 - *Can you tell me something about the sports program you are involved in?*
 - How long involved?
 - How often present?
 - What do you like about the program?
 - What do you learn at the program?
 - Registration?
- Teammates
 - *Can you tell me something about your teammates?*
 - *Examples!*
 - Feedback (to each other)
 - Relationship
 - Bullying/disagreements
- Coach
 - *Can you tell me something about your coach?*
 - *What do you talk about?*
 - Feedback
 - Corrections/punishments
 - Relationship
- Organization
 - *Can you tell me something about the organization where you play sports?*
 - Open environment
 - Complaints, concerns, questions

- Spectators
 - *Are there spectators when you play sports? Do you like that?*
 - Parents
 - Boys/girls
 - Close off field (playing without spectators)
- Field
 - *Can you describe the field you play on for me?*
 - No hazardous objects, no traffic
 - No street violence
 - Transportations to and from the field
 - First aid kit available
 - Injuries occur
- Safety
 - *What is a safe space?*
 - *Is the organization a safe space?*
 - *Is safety important to you?*
 - *Do you feel safe at the field?*
 - Synonyms: out of danger, okay, sheltered, unhurt
 - Comfortable, nice, pleasant
- *Would you like to add something yourself?*

Appendix III: Topic List Interviews Organizations SfD Programs

- Introduction
 - *Can you tell me something about yourself?*
 - Name
 - Age
 - Family
 - Sports
 - Education
 - Position at organization
- Sport for Development Program
 - *Why did you get involved in the program?*
 - How long involved? How did you get involved?
 - How often present?
 - What do you like about the program?
 - What do you learn at the program?
- Participating youth
 - *Can you tell me something about the youth involved?*
 - Feedback (among each other)
 - Relationship (among each other)
 - Bullying
 - Group specificities (gender, age, religion, culture, ability)
- Coaching
 - *How do you coach the youth?*
 - Feedback
 - Corrections/punishments
 - Relationship with youth
 - Fair play
- Organization
 - *Can you tell me something about the organization you work for?*
 - Open environment
 - Policies regarding safe spaces
 - Importance safe spaces
 - Complaints, concerns

- Culturally appropriate attire
- Registration & contact information
- Spectators
 - *Are there spectators at the field?*
- Parents
- Boys/girls
- Close off field (no spectators)
- Field
 - *Can you describe what the field looks like?*
 - No hazardous objects, traffic, street violence
 - Transportation to and from field
 - First aid kit
 - Adequate gear
- Safety
 - *What is a safe space, according to you?*
 - *Is the organization you work at a safe space?*
 - *Is safety important to you?*
 - *Does the youth feel safe at the field?*
 - Synonyms: out of danger, okay, sheltered, unhurt
 - Comfortable, nice, pleasant
- ISA
 - *Can you tell me something about the way you work together with ISA?*
 - Cooperation
 - Determinative in policy making?
 - Donor/sponsor relationship?
- *Would you like to add something yourself?*

Appendix IV: Results Explorative Visit the Gambia

The Academy

The academy, located in Bijilo, the Gambia, consist of one gated pitch, with two different surfaces; half of the field consists of artificial turf, and the other half consists of natural grass. The academy has three teams, based on age; the first team is for boys age 9-12, the second team is for boys age 13-15, and the third team is for boys age 16-18. In total there are 65 boys, and no girls, playing at the academy. The fee to participate is 100 Dalasi (€2,25) per month, but most players do not actually pay, because they are from poor families, who do not have the money.

Interview with the coach

The coach, a 47 year old male, who is also the owner of the academy, is a licensed coach. He stated that he uses ‘conditional learning’ as a method to create safety at the football pitch. This means that rules are in place for all players, for example playing together and not being selfish, that promote the safety of all players. He also believes that coaches must have a lot of knowledge on different subjects to ensure safety; this involves communication skills, first aid, anatomy, sports psychology and football. Because he has this knowledge, the players trust him, and he claims that trust is very important

Since he is also the owner of the academy, he created policies to keep players safe and set rule on how to treat them. These policies include the ‘conditional learning’ strategy. Other aspects are the absence of beating and insulting the players. He discusses these policies and rules with the other coaches, so that they are aware of these policies, and carry them out in practice. The idea behind these policies is to train the boys properly; the coach wants to raise their ethical standards, their professional attitude and their confidence.

The coach also claims that the only uses verbal and visual forms of corrections, because he considers himself to be a role model; the players look up to him. When players do not perform well, he first tells them what they need to do different. If this does not work, he will show the players how to do it. However, the researcher observed that the players are physically punished. For example, one player had to run laps for two hours, and another players had to do squats for two hours. When the researcher asked the coach about that, he stated that these forms of punishment are relevant to the sport of football, and thus contributing to the development of the player.

Interview with the players

The five players that were interviewed had an age ranging from 13 to 17 years old, and where all coming from Bijilo and different villages in the area around city. What they all had in common was there immense enthusiasm and love for football. The main reason they go to the academy is to improve their football skills, but they also want to have fun. They all agree that their teammates are nice, and are they consider themselves to be friends. Some of them go to school together, and they like to talk about football together and cheer each other on. It is also acceptable to give each other feedback, because this will help the players to get better.

Spectators are also experienced positively. The players consider it nice when people, and especially parents cheer you on, and this makes the players work harder, and run faster. They do not experience much pressure to perform from these spectators, but experience support and feel proud.

The one thing that came up in all the interviews with the players is the relationship they have with the coach. They all like the coach very much, because he has a lot of knowledge about football and helps the players to improve. They feel they can trust the coach, because he is honest and friendly. He is always willing to explain you something, and you can come up to him to ask him a question. The boys feel safe around him because he is a good coach and does not beat the players.

The most notable outcome of the interviews is the fact that all the players had a hard time to describe safety. When asked, they all said that they feel safe at the football academy, but were not able to explain why they felt safe. When the researcher asked what would happen if they would not feel safe at the academy, the players again answered that they did not know. These outcomes lead to two discussion points; 1) Perhaps, the respondents for these interviews had no interest in the interviews, and did not want to fully participate. And perhaps they find it difficult to express themselves, especially to a researcher who is somewhat older, white, Western, and female, On the other hand, maybe they had a hard time to express themselves in English, since they only speak this language at school and not in other context. 2) The concept of safety is difficult to understand and to define. Perhaps the respondents did not fully understand what safety is, and therefore had a hard time talking about it. And on the other hand, perhaps safety is not something they have thought about, find relevant or means a lot to the players.

Appendix V: Codes Transcriptions

Results Youth

Topic	Sub topics	Theories and Literature
Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting • Provides life skills training • Gives something to do → avoid bad company • Create relations with other, meet new people • Open to complaints; open door policy • Provides training kits for youth • Youth feels at home • Can express yourself at the organization • Don't know if there are policies for the safety of youth • Open to everyone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development • Triad Spatial Model • Social Constructivism • Safe Spaces
Teammates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are friends, are like family • Having fun together • Learn from each other; give feedback • Talk about everything, including problems • Have small issues • Correct each other when they are misbehaving; shows that you're invested and take it seriously • Feel safe • No bullying • Disagreements: sit down to solve it, talk about it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development • Social Constructivism • Safe Spaces
Coach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learns youth a lot: both life skills and sports • Have talks about issues • Sits with you one on one • Does not tolerate bullying • Understanding • Gives feedback → motivates → clapping/encouragements • Punishments: press-ups, run laps 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development • Social Constructivism • Safe Spaces

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knows that punishments are negative and lead to less enjoyment and not coming • Youth agrees that they sometimes deserve punishments • Corrections: talk & learn from mistakes, shows how to improve • Corrections in front of everyone • Role model • Helps to solve disagreements • Youth feels safe around coach 	
Spectators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motivates • Make you feel cheerful & special • Criticizing → feel insecure • Use abusive language → get scared → have to overcome that fear • Discouraging and distracting • Come with bad intentions • Lot of spectators at games and tournaments • Little spectators during practice: can try and learn new things without being judged • Coaches talk to spectators: to behave 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triad Spatial Model • Safe Spaces
Life skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No spectators • Discuss things for yourself → more expression • Feel safe • Apply skills in daily life • Girls & boys mixed: can learn from each other • Focus on entrepreneurship • Interact with different people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development

Field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bad conditions: no grass • Stones on the field • Rubbish on the field • Cattle of the field • Players have to clean the field • Rain makes it hard to play → injuries • Safe to go to the field • Changing rooms next to the field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe spaces • Triad Spatial Model
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Important • Helps with difficult situations/circumstances • More life skills: more safe • When everyone around you and you feel fine, it's safe • Safe spaces: free to express yourself, without being criticized, move freely, without fear that anything will happen to you, no judgements, not getting hurt, respect, confident, no pressure to perform • Feeling safe feels like normal; only realizing it's not safe when youth feels not safe • Will not come back if they don't feel safe • Organisation is safe because you can learn there & they help with issues • Better field would make youth feel more safe • Spectator control would make the youth feel more safe 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe spaces • Sensemaking • Social Constructivism

Results Staff Organizations

Topic	Sub topics	Theories and Literature
Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helps youth from disadvantaged backgrounds • Open organization; can talk to everyone • Open to complaints; encourage commitment • Uses sport as a tool to educate youth; teaching life skills • Actively asks for feedback 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development • Social Constructivism • Safe Spaces
Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys/girls mixed; learn from each other • Help youth improve • Want to see enjoyment • Become leaders/ role models • Are close to each other • Have disagreements: solve them • Learns from each other: new perspectives • Correct each other • Not a lot of bullying; understand different personalities • Help to improve the organization • Teach them to clean the field 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development • Safe Spaces • Social Constructivism
Coaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have good relationship with them; relate to them if you work with youth • Be positive • Enjoy teaching youth things • Sit youth down, teach them how to behave • Don't sent them away; they will not learn anything • No punishments, do give corrections: press-ups ("extra exercise") • Use misbehaving as an example for other youth 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Youth Development • Social Constructivism • Safe Space

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Want to be a role model for the youth 	
Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doesn't know if there are policies • Are constant developing the policies → involve youth • Interested to involve professionals; giving directions • Started developing after training from ISA • Makes things clear • Rules about how the staff can handle the youth • Rules for spectators • Involve parents • Need for institutionalization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe spaces • Triad Spatial Model
Field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use field from school/municipality • Not much grass, muddy • Field is open: rubbish, cow dumps, bicycle tracks • Youth gets injured on field; try to prevent that (first aid) • Rules about cleaning the field • Not everyone has proper attire (shoes), but are still allowed to play to maintain passion and attendance • No dressing rooms (Amani Kibera) • Dressing rooms (TYSA) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triad Spatial Model • Safe Spaces
Spectators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lot of spectators at games, little during training • Very involved • Get critical; youth feels judged and pressured, discouragements • Sometimes they are sent away • Should be more rules for spectators → sometimes no spectators allowed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triad Spatial Model • Safe Spaces

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No spectators during life skills lessons • Spectators get linked up with player; only cheer for them • Players are responsible for spectators 	
ISA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gives trainings • Helps organization improve • Funds projects • Not a decisive role in policy making • Provides examples of policies and tries to match with own material 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sport for Development
Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe space: relaxed, express yourself (feelings, emotions), feel welcome, don't fear (socially & physically), don't feel uncomfortable, respect, feel at home, explore talents • Organization is safe space; people can express and be themselves • Hard to make a space where everyone feels safe: different experiences • Importance: give youth the feeling they belong somewhere and are listened to; change perceptions • Importance; safety makes people want to stay somewhere → if they don't feel safe, they will not come back • Community involvement/cohesion; what happens to youth after they leave organization? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safe spaces • Sensemaking • Social Constructivism