

Contribution of Community Sport to the Integration of Immigrants

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Abstract

Sport enjoys widespread popularity as a powerful tool for social change, especially for the integration of immigrants. This widespread assumption has led to substantial investment in the production and promotion of sport at the community level. However, concerns remain around the social impact of sport participation, especially in the area of integration of immigrants. Although previous studies have attempted to provide empirical evidence on the social impact of sport, there still remains a shortage of scientific evidence underpinning the process of social change through sport, especially in the area of integration of immigrants. This has prompted many scholars to call for studies to address this shortfall. Thus, the main aim of this study is to understand the contribution of community sport to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand. In particular, it investigates the role of sport as a vehicle of integration and acquisition of social capital.

The study utilises a qualitative research approach for the ethnographic exploration of the efficacy of sport as a vehicle for the integration of immigrants and acquisition of social capital. The lived experiences of seven immigrants were gathered through multiple unstructured in-depth interviews over a twelve-month period. Creative Analytical Practice (CAP) was adopted to share the stories of the lived experiences of the immigrants in this study. The seven stories shared within this thesis provide nuanced insights into the role of sport, social capital, and immigrant integration in New Zealand. They illuminate the role sport played in the journey of the immigrants in New Zealand. Further, through the stories shared, the role of sport in immigrants' acquisition of social capital is clearly explicated.

The findings indicate that first contact with sport was crucial to the acquisition of social capital and the integration of immigrants through sport. It is argued that immigrants must first and foremost access sport before proceeding to utilising it as a vehicle of integration and acquisition of social capital. It was found that

school plays a major role in offering young (school-aged) immigrants access to sport while adult (older) immigrants relied on media to gain knowledge about sporting opportunities in their new community. Also, the findings reveal that while young (school-aged) immigrants accessed sport without the intention of acquiring social capital, adult (older) immigrants on the other hand, accessed sport with the intention of acquiring social capital.

Further, the findings reveal that immigrants were able to acquire social capital through their participation in sport. It was found that immigrants were able to establish networks and relationships with the host community through their sport participation. One way they were able to develop these relationships was through their participation in post-game social activities. It is revealed that during post-game social rituals, the possibility of developing bonding and bridging capital increases.

Similarly, findings shed light on the attitude of the host community and the implication on the integration of immigrants. A warm attitude as experienced by most of the immigrants in the study would facilitate the acquisition of social capital and subsequent integration. In contrast, a cold attitude would impact on the sense of belonging of the immigrant and hinder integration. Perhaps one of the most important role sport plays in the process of integration of immigrants is creating a sense of belonging. In addition, the findings shed light on how sport helped immigrants to develop language skills, secure employment, learn about the New Zealand (Kiwi) culture and develop a sense of belonging.

Overall, through the adoption of Creative Analytical Practice (CAP), this study was able to share the lived experiences of immigrants and the role of sport in the process of their integration into New Zealand. The study clearly shows that sport can contribute to the generation of social capital and integration of immigrants. Thus, this thesis contributes to the body of knowledge by providing further empirical evidence on sport as a vehicle for social change. The development and introduction of the social capital - integration model is another major contribution of this study. It is expected that the model could be used by future studies on sport and integration of immigrants.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that the thesis submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no materials previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

27/02/2020

Richard OparaAjiee

Dedication

To the memory of my father Gabriel Opara Ajiee – the Greatest. Without you, I would have never embarked on this journey.

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“We must find time to stop and thank the people who make a difference in our lives.”

- John F. Kennedy

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

New Zealand attracts immigrants from varying national and socio-cultural backgrounds. The issue of the settlement and post-arrival experiences of immigrants are important considering the contribution immigrants make to the economic development of the country (Butcher et al., 2006). Historically, New Zealand operated a source country policy where only few countries were targeted and relied on for labour migration (Friesen, 2015). However, the Immigration Act 1987 heralded significant change. Immigrants were targeted and accepted based on their skills rather than their country of origin. This policy resulted in an increase in both the size and diversity of the immigrant population (Friesen, 2015). New Zealand is a diverse country (Minson, 2013), attracting immigrants from varying national and socio-cultural backgrounds. Per capita, New Zealand has one of the highest immigration rates in the world (Spoonley & Taiapa, 2009). The 2013 census shows an increase in both size and diversity in the immigrant population when compared to the 2006 census. Within the space of these 7 years, the Chinese population increased to 171,000 people, the Indian population increased to 155,000, the Samoan population doubled to 144,000 and the Filipino population also increased to 400,000 (Statistics New Zealand (SNZ), 2013).

The increased size and diversity of New Zealand's immigrant population is most pronounced in Auckland. Auckland led other regions with a net gain of 16,000 international immigrants (SNZ, 2014). Auckland is the epicenter for New Zealand immigration (Spoonley & Taiapa, 2009). Spoonley (2013) described Auckland as 'super diverse'. This is especially manifest in Manukau/SouthAuckland where 40% of residents were born overseas compared with 22% for wider New Zealand (SNZ, 2013). This diversity was depicted in the analysis of the immigrant population development between 1996 and 2013 (SNZ, 2013). The analysis shows that Asian immigrants represent 36% of all migrant groups in Auckland but only constitute 22% of the immigrant population in other regions of New Zealand (SNZ, 2013). This is consistent with Friesen's (2015) assertion that Asia took over other countries as the major source of immigration to New Zealand, although immigrants from the United Kingdom and Pacific Island remain prominent. The distribution of permanent and long-term (PLT) immigrants and their country of origin or last residence from 1996 to 2013 is shown in Figure 2.1.

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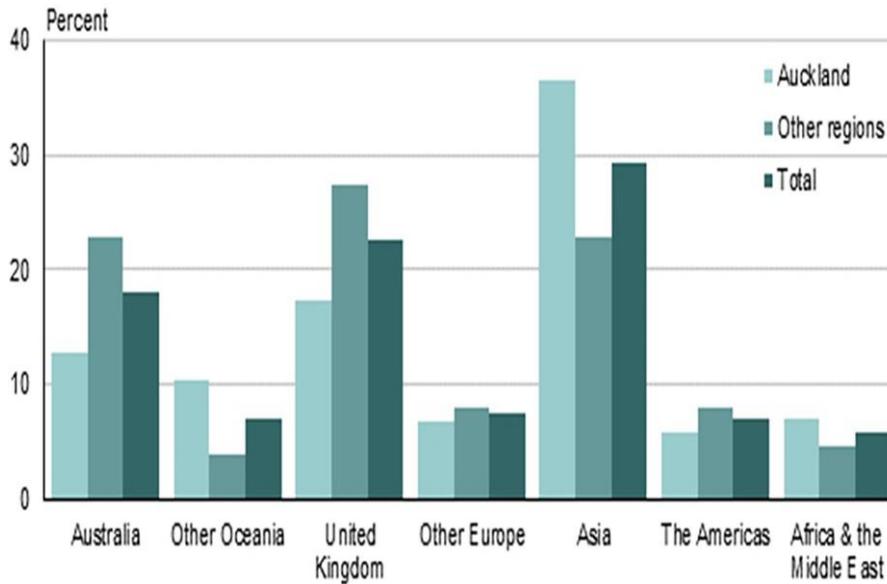


Figure 2.1. Distribution of permanent and long-term arrivals by country/region permanent residence, year ended June 1996 - 2013. Retrieved from Statistics New Zealand. Copyright 2013 by Crown copyright. Reprinted with permission.

New Zealand immigration policy still puts the priority on attracting skilled immigrants to meet the labour needs of the country and to further develop the economy (MBIE 2014). The issue of settlement and post-arrival experiences of immigrants are important given their contribution to the economic development of their local community (Butcher et al., 2006). The increasing immigrant population and ethnic diversity is drawing attention to the need for social cohesion, though economic issues still remain dominant in most immigrant discourses (Hodgson & Poot, 2011). This is supported by Buonfino et al.'s (2007) view that increase diversity due to sustained migration creates a challenge for both the community and the immigrants. It is imperative then to generate discussions and examine ways of integrating immigrants in the community considering the important role of immigrants in the society and the adverse effect of social exclusion not only on immigrants but also the community at large.

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Sport can play a vital role in facilitating social inclusion (Nicholson & Hoyer, 2007). However, there is relatively little or limited empirical evidence on the impact of sport on the social integration of immigrants. According to Butcher et al. (2006), an attempt to find empirical literature on sport-related programs of immigrants and ethnic minorities yielded little result. Chalip (2006), also noted the paucity of research on how sport management academics can study the broader social implications of engagement in sport.

There are sport for development (SFD) studies which provide empirical evidence on the social impact of sport (Kay, 2009; Schulenkorf, 2010, 2012; Skinner et al., 2008; Stidder & Haasner, 2007; Sugden, 2006). SFD is described as “the use of sport to exert a positive influence on public health, the socialisation of children, youths, and adults, the social inclusion of the disadvantaged, the economic development of regions and states, and on fostering intercultural exchange and conflict resolution” (Lyras & Peachey, 2011, p. 311). SFD implies the deliberate design of sport programmes to improve individuals (or their community). This study focuses on immigrants who have accessed or participated in mainstream (i.e. regular) sport clubs or teams that have no SFD intentions. Thus, this study is not specifically SFD research because the participants did not avail themselves to a SFD program designed to improve or facilitate the integration of immigrants. However, it is acknowledged that the participant outcomes or benefits are more or less identical to those that we would expect from a purpose-built SFD program. If the study needs categorisation, then perhaps it should be viewed as a sport for social change study. This study takes an integrative approach to research, applying methods and theories from social psychology, sport sociology, and management. It critically analyses the role of sport in the lives of immigrants in New Zealand. Through the adoption of Creative Analytical Practice (CAP), this study provides a platform for immigrants to share their lived experiences. By so doing, it contributes to the on-going effort to bridge the gap between theory and practice (Lyras, 2005). It seeks to provide an easy to understand insight into the contribution of sport in the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants. Further, this study contributes to the ongoing effort of filling the gap of limited scientific evidence and developing a theoretical framework for the study of sport for integration and

acquisition of social capital (sport for social change).

1.2. Migration

Migration refers to the movement of people from one place to another. Migration is essentially the movement of individuals across one country to another or inside a particular nation (Merali, 2008). The movement could be voluntary (e.g., a skilled worker migrating for career advancement) or forced (e.g., refugees or asylum seekers). Migration can also be for the purpose of relocating to reunite with family or temporarily for study (International Organization of Migration (IOM), 2015). At the beginning of the twenty-first century migration is a major global concern (Dauvergne, 2003). Migration is not, however, a twenty-first century phenomenon. The story of migration is essentially the story of mankind. To properly contextualise migration is to view it from the very beginning of human existence. Many scholars have propounded several theories over the years as regards the origin of humans and history of human migration but the most enduring theory backed by scientific and anthropological evidence is the “Out of Africa” theory (Grabianowski, 2007).

The “Out of Africa” theory suggests that *Homo sapiens* metamorphosed and advanced in Africa first and foremost (Grabianowski, 2007). Scientists were able to provide evidence to this theory by analysing and matching the Mitochondrial DNA (MTDNA) of a woman who lived in Africa several thousand years ago to that of individuals alive today. It was therefore concluded that, though she might not have been the only woman living then, she is the ancestral mother of every person in the world today (Gugliotta, 2008). Based on archaeological evidence, some scientists believe that the first Africans migrated east to Asia (between 60,000 and 130,000 years ago) and Australia (45,000 years ago), before heading north into Europe (40,000 years ago) and finally west to the Americas (15,000 years ago) (Gugliotta, 2008). What motivated humans to first leave Africa remains unknown, but some Anthropologists have pointed to fundamental factors such as food, climate, and conflict as the primary reasons that might have influenced or forced humans to migrate and seek other places (Gugliotta, 2008).

1.2.1. Factors Influencing Migration

1.2.1.1. World System Theory

According to the World System Theory, modern day migration is the result of capitalist imperialistic tendencies. A world system was termed by Wallerstein (1974) as 'world economy', a global world joined together through the market rather than politics, a world economy in which two or more regions are dependent on each other (core and periphery). These two regions are geographically and culturally different, one focusing on capital-intensive production and one on labour intensive production (Goldfrank, 2000). Bale and Maguire (1994), who focused on sport labour migration, were of the opinion that the world system perspective could produce useful insights into the underlying causes of migration. However, Maguire and Pearton (2000) opined that although economic factors are vital to understanding the patterns of migration, they are not the only factor involved. Other factors, such as political, geographical, social, and cultural ones, could also influence migration. This view was put into consideration in the Push-Pull Theory and other factors that might influence migration were suggested.

1.2.1.2. Push-Pull Theory

Push-Pull Theory, according to Castles and Miller (1998), is a modern expansion of neoclassical economic theory. The theory, unlike the neoclassical economic world system theory, recognises factors other than economic factors as capable of influencing migration. The Push-Pull Theory, as described by Castles and Miller (1998), is a combination of 'pull' factors (demand for labour, higher wage, better socio-political opportunities) and 'push' factors (poverty, low socio-economic opportunities, political oppression) that drive an individual's decisions to migrate. The push factors exist in the sending countries and are often negative. The pull factors, in contrast, exist within the receiving country, and tend to promise better opportunities, which motivates the immigrant to migrate.

1.2.1.3. Globalisation

Another factor with profound effect on migration is globalization. Globalization has impacted on every aspect of society in the world from the political to economic and cultural to social (Levin Institute, 2015). Globalization is a process of socio-political, economic and cultural changes which result in enhanced relationships and inter-connection between countries (Kerry, 2002). It has altered the traditional composition of the nation state economically, socially, and politically (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010). International boundaries have been reduced and territories have become obscured and this has resulted in a greater flow and migration of people and products. According to Appadurai (2004), the dissolution of boundaries results in an increased inflow of labour immigrants, which tends to be accompanied by political controversies. Furthermore, the increased ease of migration has also increased the competition among states to acquire the most skilled immigrants in the face of increased mobility (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment (MBIE), 2014). The impact of migration can also be seen in changes in population and ethnic diversity of receiving states (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010).

Some scholars have taken a more critical view, arguing that the increase in movement across the globe has further widened the inequality between the strong global North and the weak global South (Koser, 2010). Monnington (2001), viewed globalization as a form of cultural imperialism, where the receivers of these universal culture are drawn into a new work force and consumer of its market product. Similarly, several scholars have described globalization as a process whereby a global product is consumed across the globe (Crang, 1998; Friedman, 1994; Waters, 1995).

1.3. Rationale for the Study

Sport can promote social inclusion and facilitate settlement of minorities in the community (Department for Culture & Sport, 2001). The lack of scientific evidence underpinning the process of social change through sport reflects a gap between practice and theory (Lyras, 2005). This research responds to the many calls for

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further research (Amara et al., 2004; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Spaaij, 2013), investigating the contribution of sport to immigrant integration within the local community. Despite significant public and private sector investment in the production and promotion of sport within the community (Morakinyo & Oworu 2006, Nicholson & Hoye 2007) there is limited empirical evidence of its contribution to the social integration of immigrants (Butcher et al., 2006).

There is a widespread assumption that sport is a powerful tool for integration (Agergaard, 2018; Department for Culture & Sport, 2001; Football Task Force (Force), 1999). The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (IWG) (2008) recommends that governments utilise sport as a vehicle for the integration of immigrants, minorities, and people at risk in the society. Sport is a catalyst for social integration because it can bring together people from different ethno-racial and social-economic background (European Union Agency for Fundamental Human Rights (FRA), 2010). It can play a vital role and act as a conduit for the integration of immigrants into the society (FRA, 2010). For example, refugee communities often look to sport as a medium of integration and escape from the challenges around them (Amara et al., 2004). Further, sport is generally viewed as a catalyst for societal cohesion (Warner & Dixon, 2001) because it has the potential to bring people from different sections of the community together (Hall, 2007). In particular, sport offers opportunities for youths to meet, socialise, and develop their self-esteem (Kolt et al., 2006). Also, it provides a platform to interact with other youths from the host community.

There is widespread advocacy for the power of sport for societal good. Unfortunately, the foundations for this argument are best described as intuitive and anecdotal. Over the years, there have been concerns about the scant empirical evidence supporting the belief that sport has a positive impact on society, especially in the area of integration (Henry et al., 2005; Long & Sanderson, 2001). Concerned by the lack of empirical evidence on the impact of sport on social change, Coalter (2001) emphasized the crucial need to embark on studies in this area. Since then other scholars have drawn attention to this gap and called for urgent studies to address this shortfall (Amara et al., 2004; Coalter, 2010). However, despite the argument that there is increasing evidence on sport for social change, there still remains a paucity of knowledge about the process of sport for change (Bullough et

al., 2015).

1.4. Research Questions and Objectives

The primary aim of the study is to understand the contribution of community sports to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand. This is achieved by looking at it through the eyes of the immigrants. The overarching research question is: what is the efficacy of sport as a vehicle of integration of immigrants?

To delve deeper into the subject matter and find answers to the research question, the following three research questions were developed:

1. How do young (school aged immigrants) and older (adult) immigrants access sport?
2. What is the role of sport in the acquisition of social capital by immigrants?
3. How does sport facilitate the integration of immigrants?

The research questions were deliberately constructed sequentially. It is presumed that immigrants would have to first and foremost access sport before proceeding to utilise it for the acquisition of social capital and subsequently for integration. This sequential relationship is shown in Figure 1.1.



Figure 1.1. Research Question Sequence

In view of the aim of the study and the research questions. The specific objectives of this study are:

1. Find out how young (school aged) immigrants and older (adult) immigrants access sport upon their arrival in New Zealand;
2. Delve deep into the role of sport in the acquisition of social capital by

immigrants;

3. Understand how sport facilitates the integration of immigrants; and
4. Provide a platform for immigrants to share their stories.

1.5. Positionality

Knowing the position of a researcher in an ethnographic research facilitates the readability and understanding of the research (Day, 2012; Harding, 1987). However, the subject of positionality has continuously attracted divergent viewpoints among researchers, reflecting various schools of thoughts (Corlett & Mavin, 2018). For example, questions are often asked about whether it is appropriate for a researcher to represent the experiences of a research participant from a different social spectrum (Corlett & Mavin, 2018). Poststructuralist researchers argue that rather than view researchers' positions in terms of social class, it should be contextualised and analysed in a specific ethnographic context and the specific relationship between the researcher and the research participant (Choi, 2006). Most ethnographic researchers, however, still approach the subject of positionality from an identity and social class perspective. As stated by Marcus (1998), it is very easy for researchers to "get stuck in a sterile form of identity politics, in which it is reduced to a formulaic incantation at the beginning of ethnographic papers in which one boldly 'comes clean' and pronounces a positioned identity" (p. 401). Thus, positionality could be viewed as conditional, relational, and situational (Butler, 1992; Clough, 1993). Alcoff (1995) cautioned that positionality "should not be conceived as one-dimensional or static but as multiple and with varying degrees of mobility" (p. 106).

Reflecting Alcoff's (1995) sentiments of multiplicity and mobility, the position of the researcher in this study reflects fluidity (Eppley, 2006). At various points throughout the research, the researcher was an insider and outsider, with the researcher moving between these positions depending on the circumstances. According to Eppley (2006), positionality should be considered as fluid and totally dependent on the research circumstances (Eppley, 2006). As an immigrant who used sport as part of his own migration experience, the researcher naturally

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identified with the broader research context of immigrant and sport. It is acknowledged that this insider position provided the researcher with privilege, but more positively, enabled the researcher to develop rapport with the research participants (immigrants). It is likely that participants saw the researcher as ‘one of them’, hence they were comfortable to share their story and experiences. More generally, the researcher was able to employ this insider position to solicit and understand experiences or cultural information from the participants.

Then there is also the outsider perspective. The immigrant background of a researcher does not automatically lead to a better understanding of the participants’ experiences. The immigrant population in New Zealand is a very diverse group. For example, the ethnic grouping of immigrants in New Zealand comprises Europeans, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and people from the Middle East/Latin America/Africa (MELAA) (Spoonley, 2013; SNZ, 2014). These ethnic groups are all very different in terms of culture and experience. It is common for some people to group all immigrants together (Agergaard, 2018). It is also common to associate or perceive Africans and perhaps some ethnic minorities as immigrants or sometimes refugees. It is easily overlooked that the British or Germans are also immigrants. Further, in some cases even within a particular ethnic group or country, one cannot claim to be an insider. For example, the story of ‘Nigerian Bolt’ that is shared in this thesis focuses on an immigrant from Nigeria. Those unfamiliar with Nigeria may assume that all Nigerians are united by a clearly defined culture. However, a closer look reveals that there are there are two hundred and fifty different nationalities with distinct culture and language in the country. In some places in Nigeria, entirely different languages and cultures are found from one city to the other. Thus, in such context, it would be erroneous for anyone to generalize and claim an insider status simply based on their country of origin (i.e., Nigeria). As noted by De-Andrade (2000), being an insider is not a birth right. A person needs to be socialised in a certain culture for a long period of time to become an insider. In order to be able to fully understand a participants’ stories, the research conducted background research on the culture of each potential participant before the first meeting of the ethnographic process.

As mentioned earlier, the insider position helped the researcher to understand and process certain information, but ultimately the researcher saw himself as an

outsider. As noted by Eppley (2006), the very act of research requires some level of outsidership. The outsider position also influenced the choice of language or writing style of this thesis. Taking the position of an outsider helped the researcher to tell the immigrants' story. Thus, the stories are written in the third person to highlight that these are the stories of the participants, not of the researcher. It is important for researchers to continuously evaluate their shifting and precarious positionality and the impact it has on the writing or presentation of their research (Eppley, 2006). From an outsider position, the researcher was able to engage with the story like a 'director in a play'. He was able to walk beside the participants through their journey in New Zealand. The positionality of the researcher enabled the researcher to bring the stories to life, as the researcher was able to separate himself from the story and share the story of the immigrants, which is the priority of the research.

1.6. Delimitations

There are two delimiting factors in this study. First, this study opted not to approach the phenomenon under study from a policy perspective. Instead, the study was designed to focus solely on the immigrants, and to provide a platform for immigrants to share their stories. The rationale for this delimitation was the concern that a policy perspective might take the focus away from the immigrants and their experiences. Therefore, policies and policy makers were not covered in this study. It is believed that the findings of this study, however, could serve as a platform for future studies that could focus on the perspectives of the host community, policy makers and policies. Thus, the suggestions that emerged from the stories of the immigrants and the discussion of their experience were only intended to serve as the basis for potential discussions by stakeholders, policy makers, and future research.

The second delimitation concerns the number of participants involved in this study. This study made use of a small number of participants. The small number of participants enabled the researcher to immerse himself into the study and engage with the participants on a more personal level. It provided the opportunity to discuss the lived experiences of the participants in detail across multiple conversations. The small number of participants also enabled the researcher to

gather in-depth qualitative information that would have not been possible with a larger number of participants. It is important to note that this study was not conceived or designed in terms of number or size of participants, but in terms of the quality of the stories (information) that the researcher is able to share. The study did not start by targeting a particular number of participants; rather, the focus was to find immigrants who are willing to share their stories. Thus, the small number of participants was not seen as an issue. The focus was on the collection of rich, in-depth, qualitative data.

1.7. Thesis Outline

This thesis comprises six chapters. Chapter 2 provides a review of the theoretical and empirical literature underpinning this study. The three distinct but interconnected concepts (migration, integration, and social capital) that form the tripod of this study are reviewed and discussed in this chapter. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of this study and introduces the concept of Creative Analytical practice (CAP). It also focuses on the research methods employed to gather rich qualitative data from the participants. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study. This chapter presents the lived experiences of the participants in the form of seven non-fictional vignettes. The stories capture the role of sport in the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants in this study. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the findings. The discussion is based on the themes that emerged from the seven stories shared in chapter 4. The discussion also highlights some implications and recommendations of the findings. The final chapter 6 presents a conclusion, highlights the contribution of the study, indicates some limitations, and makes suggestions for further research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1, this study is prompted by the call for research on the efficacy of sport as a vehicle for social change. Thus, the aim of this study is to understand the contribution of community sport to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand. This chapter provides a review of the theoretical and empirical literature underpinning this study. It starts with an overview and discussion on typologies of migration with a brief discussion on sport and migration. This is followed by the presentation of the concept of integration, which is the primary focus of this study. The elements of integration and role of sport in the development of these elements are also highlighted. Finally, the literature review shifts to the theoretical framework of this study: social capital theory. The review presents an overview of the social capital theories of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2000). This is followed by an empirical review on sport and social capital.

2.1.1. Typologies of Migration

In line with the factors influencing migration, policy makers, scholars, and governments have developed various typologies of migration (e.g., voluntary, forced, permanent, or temporal) (Agergaard, 2018; Berry et al., 1997). Immigration New Zealand (INZ) (2015) and MBIE (2014) broadly categorise migration into temporary migration, which is based on the type of visa policy such as visitor, work or student, and permanent migration, which comprises of skilled/business, family, and international/humanitarian. However, of interest to this study is a synthesis of these sub-categories to produce a more succinct category which consists of skilled worker, student, family and refugee/asylum seeker. This category will form the basis of subsequent analysis and discussions in the study. Also Koser et al. (2007) provided a category of migration comprising of voluntary or forced migration due to political or economic reasons. An example of these two categories are skilled workers and refugees. He further provided a third category comprising of legal and irregular. An example of this category could be skilled workers and family members, while the irregular could be asylum seekers that have migrated to a country without adequate documentation.

Maguire (1999) also developed a category of migration that is comprised of pioneers, settlers, returnees, mercenaries, and nomadic cosmopolitans. Going by Maguire's (1999) description of the various typologies, the pioneers could be likened to the first and second generation immigrants to New Zealand who have continued to draw more immigrants to the country. Settlers could be substituted by skilled worker immigrants who have not only migrated to New Zealand to work but have settled in the country. Tourists and short-term workers are examples of the nomadic cosmopolitans and mercenaries. Thus, in relation to Maguire's (1999) typology, the settlers will constitute the main focus of this study.

Magee and Sugden (2002) expanded on Maguire's typology and proposed categories of migration that included mercenary, settler, and nomadic cosmopolitan, but they added another dimension to the categories to include ambitionist, exile, and expelled. They described the ambitionist as a person who is motivated to migrate as a result of the desire for self-development and success. The exile and expelled categories were described as those who have moved out of their country either willingly or forcefully to escape conflict or disaster. International students no doubt fit into the category of the ambitionist, and refugees and asylum seekers are examples of the exile and expelled. Therefore, a combination of the two typologies of Maguire (1999) and Magee and Sugden (2002) with reference to the focus of the study would bring about a set of categories that includes settlers, ambitionists, exile, and expelled. Skilled workers and international students, in other words settlers and ambitionists, have a very prominent impact on the New Zealand economy (MBIE, 2014). Settlers or skilled workers particularly make up a large number of the immigrant population in New Zealand and their contribution to the socio-economic posterity of New Zealand cannot be over emphasized.

2.1.2. Sports and Migration

Considering the popularity of sport both as a universal cultural phenomenon and an activity that many, including immigrants, engage in, it is no surprise that sport and migration have been the focus of academic research (Chang, 2014; Chang & Jackson, 2015; Lanfranchi, 1994; Magee & Sugden, 2002; Maguire, 1999, 2004; Maguire & Pearton, 2000). Majority of the studies have focused on sport labour migration,

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especially in relation to elite sport (Bale, 2004; Darby, 2007; Falcous & Maguire, 2005; Lanfranchi & Taylor, 2001). However, in New Zealand the studies of Chang (2014) and Chang and Jackson (2015) took a different approach and focused on transnationalism and identity negotiation by South Korean immigrants living in New Zealand. Over the years, studies focusing on sport at the community level continue to emerge (Brunette, Lariviere, Schinke, Xing, & Pickard, 2011; Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Krouwel, Boonstra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006; Spaaij 2012, 2013; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009; Walseth, 2008). However, given the potential of sport as a tool of settlement and integration for newly arrived immigrants, it is expected that researchers and scholars would pay more attention to sport at the community level, especially as a vehicle for integration. Thus, this study will focus on sport at the community level and immigrants that engage in sport at this level. It will not consider sport labour migration and professional elite sport. It will seek to examine the role of sport as a vehicle of integration and social capital, especially considering the significant contribution of immigrants to New Zealand's population and economic development.

The assumption that sport could have a significant impact on integration of immigrants could be due to the universality of sport. Maguire (1999) pointed out that sport clearly reflects global homogenization, which makes it a suitable example of cultural globalization. As sport is normally played according to the same rules across the globe, it creates familiarity for any immigrant arriving in a new and strange country. Sport then becomes not only a physical activity but also a psychological activity; a bridge from the former to the new environment and an escape from the pressure of a daunting new life. Stodolska (2000) points to the familiar nature of sport. She submits that despite the changes experienced by immigrants, sport can provide them with a familiar experience. This is consistent with Spoonley and Taiapa's (2009) observation that the high level of immigrant participation in sport such as football (soccer), basketball and table tennis of immigrants' in New Zealand reflects their previous engagement and familiarity with these sport in their home country. Football, for example, is played globally. It is the most popular sport in 269 nations (Kidwell, 2008). Moreover, the simplicity and ease to engage in a sport such as football makes it a convenient sport for all, including immigrants (Fitzgerald, 2013). Thus, the global nature of sport creates a vehicle for integrating immigrants

and minorities (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Walseth & Fasting, 2004).

2.2. Integration

There are so many definitions of integration that its meaning is often vague (Hargreaves, 1995). The concept of integration is complex and sometimes interwoven with other related concepts such as assimilation and acculturation. Consequently, the discussion on integration often attract discourse and analysis on these other concepts.

2.2.1. Assimilation

For many years, governments and academics adopted the concept of assimilation when devising policies for managing how immigrants should be integrated in their new community. In other words, integration was equated with a total assimilation of immigrants into the host community (Gold, 1997). For example, this approach was adopted in the 19th and 20th century, countries like New Zealand, Australia, and Canada (Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, & O'Neill, 2005). Assimilation underlies the concept of the 'melting pot' (Al Haj, 2004; Gold, 1997; Golden, 2002), where immigrants shed themselves of all their cultural patterns and take up those of the host community (Berry et al., 1989; Gold, 1997). Ponts et al. (2001) saw assimilation as a situation where the major issue for immigrants was the full or partial adaptation to the host community by relinquishing their own culture.

Reitz (1980), echoing Gordon's (1964) earlier definition of assimilation, proposed two types of assimilation; cultural and structural assimilation. Reitz (1980) described cultural assimilation as a process through which immigrants' cultural patterns changes by adopting the cultural patterns of the host community, while structural assimilation refers to the process where immigrants establish and belong to social institutions of the host community. Williams and Ortega (1990) also modified Gordon's (1964) seven-dimensional assimilation model to three

dimensions, comprising of acculturation, structural assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation. Acculturation is generally viewed as the initial step towards assimilation (Swaidan et al., 2006). The process starts from immigrants gaining knowledge of the host community culture, followed by the adoption of the host community's culture (Liang, 1994), before proceeding to the abandonment of their own cultural beliefs and values. At this stage, total assimilation has taken place. While acculturation could be easily misconstrued as assimilation, it is in fact a different concept (Gans, 1997), as will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1.1. Acculturation

According to Gans (1997), the difference between assimilation and acculturation is that assimilation involves abandoning immigrant's original culture, while acculturation primarily involves the adoption of aspects of host culture. Acculturation is defined as a "change of cultural patterns to those of the host society" (Gordon 1964, p. 71). It connotes the cultural changes, including attitudes, values, and behaviours, that take place when immigrants come into first-hand contact with the culture of a new community (Berry, 1990; Phinney et al. 2001). According to Padilla (1980), acculturation occurs when there is a continuous first-hand contact between immigrants and their host community, which results in changes in cultural patterns of one of both groups. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) described acculturation as a process where the immigrants acquire the main aspects of the host community culture without jettisoning their own original culture Berry (1997) submitted that acculturation is a very complex process due to the array of cultural exchange involved and the various factors that could impact on the process. This sentiment was shared by Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003), who were of the opinion that acculturation is not a unilateral process because the host community might equally adopt some aspect of the immigrants' culture such as music and food.

Further, Gans (1997) was of the opinion that acculturation is a faster process than assimilation. He argued that immigrants would find host community culture attractive, while factors such as discrimination would hinder immigrants from acquiring the needed permission to fully assimilate. However, both acculturation and assimilation suggest that the culture or aspects of culture of the host community

is superior. Perhaps the rejection of this idea of superiority led to change in thinking and conceptualization of new multicultural concepts such as integration. According to Reitz and Sklar (1997), the growth in the concept of multiculturalism led to the popularity of integration. Since integration remains the central focus of this study, the concept of integration needs to be discussed further.

2.2.1.2. Integration

The concept of integration does not imply that immigrants abandon their original culture (Reitz & Sklar, 1997). Integration essentially involves immigrants' interaction with the host community and taking up some aspects of the host community culture, while still keeping their own original culture (Berry et al., 1989; Berry & Sam, 2013). Audrey (2000) defined integration as an interaction between the host community and new immigrants through which the socialisation into and acquisition of the host community's culture takes place. Esser (2001) described integration at the individual level as a process through which immigrants become part of the larger host community as a result of established connections between the immigrant and host community.

Similarly, Heckmann (2004) defines integration as the process of including immigrants in the essential aspects of the host community. This would include the opportunity for migrants to acquire necessary skills to participate in and access the benefits in the host society. This is supported by Lucassen's (2005) description of integration as a general learning process that provides direction for all the members of the society, both migrants and hosts, to be included in the society.

2.2.1.3. Elements of Integration

According to Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003), there are four dimensions to the integration of immigrants into the host community which they identified as socio-economic, cultural, legal and political, and attitudes of host community towards immigrants. Socio-economic integration is reflected in the ability of the immigrant to participate in the economic life of the host society. Having an employment is crucial

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to immigrants' integration. According to Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003), employment is generally regarded as a major indicator of integration. They were of the opinion that in the United Kingdom (UK) the notion of being integrated means being integrated into the country's social and economic system. It can be argued that failure or problems in gaining employment could adversely affect integration (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Neuwirth, 1987). According to Aycan and Berry (1996), the inability of immigrants to find employment could also adversely affect their mental well-being.

The cultural dimension (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003) reflects the norms, beliefs, rules, laws and views of the host community. The political and legal dimension is the extent the immigrants are allowed to participate in the host country politically; having equal right with members of the host community including the right to vote and legal representation (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). The attitude of the host community towards immigrants can have far reaching impact on the integration process and on the other three dimensions. The attitude of the host community is important in the process of integration as integration cannot take place without interaction between the immigrant and the host community (Heckmann, 2004). According to Spaaij (2012), the host community's acceptance of immigrants in social interactions is key to a successful integration of immigrants. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) argued that immigrants need to feel a sense of welcome in their new community, for them to feel at home in their new environment. Lack of acceptance by the host community could lead to barriers such as discrimination and segregation, which would impede any effort at integration by immigrants (Sardinha, 2009).

Generally, the process of integration requires the receiving or host community and the migrants to interact in order to facilitate socialisation of culture (Audrey, 2000), cordial co-existence (Buonfino et al., 2007), and foster social cohesion due to imbibing the societal values of the community (Brochmann, 2003). In line with this view, Taylor and Toner (2007) argue that integration results in a balanced community that provides opportunities for all the members of the society to function.

Heckmann (2003) also postulated four elements of integration, which he identified as structural integration, cultural integration, social integration, and identification integration. The element of structural integration, which is similar to Entzinger and Biezeveld's (2003) notion of political and legal integration, refers to having the right

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to participate and access basic institutions of the host society including political, legal, and educational (Heckmann, 2003). Cultural integration refers to the process of socialisation in the customs and traditions of the host society, which will enable the immigrant to function appropriately in the host society (Heckmann, 2003). According to Heckmann (2004), cultural integration requires the immigrant to obtain the basic tenets of the host community's culture. However, the process of cultural integration is bilateral as the host society would also have to learn and fashion out new ways of living with the immigrant (Heckmann, 2003). Acquiring the language of the host community by immigrants is regarded as crucial to both the process of integration and for the immigrants' ability to function in the host community (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Remennick, 2004). According to Seat (2000), a lack of host community language can lead to anxiety and adversely impact on the sense of belonging of immigrants.

Identification integration reflects the feelings of attachment and identification with the society (Heckmann, 2003). This feelings of attachment and identification with the host community is what Maslow (1954) refers to as a sense of belonging in his hierarchy of needs. Hagerty et al. (1992) defined sense of belonging as "the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment" (p. 173). According to Spoonley et al. (2005), sense of belonging is a characteristic of a socially cohesive community, which stems from the members of the community feeling they are part of the larger community. Maslow (1954) warned that sense of belonging is a psychological need and failure to fulfill such need could impact on the ability of an individual to move up the hierarchy. Similarly, Hagerty and Patusky (1995) submitted that sense of belonging is linked to mental well-being. Thus, the inability of immigrants to feel a sense of belonging to the host community could impact on the immigrants' resolution to continue living there (Capra & Steindl-Rast, 1991, Phinney et al., 2001).

Finally, social integration reflects the generality of social relationships and networks between members of the society and includes their membership in various social groups (Heckmann, 2003). Social relationships are crucial to integration as they provide a platform for interaction and can promote other forms of integration. This description of social integration was further developed by Elling et al. (2001), who

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proposed three dimensions to explain social integration: structural integration, sociocultural integration, and socio-affective integration. Structural integration connotes the extent to which immigrants participate and function in various activities in the host community. Sociocultural integration connotes the extent to which immigrants are able to accept the individual differences and differences in aspects of culture of the host community. Affective integration refers to the extent to which immigrants develop social relationships and social interactions with the host community. Rubin et al. (2012) emphasized the nature and amount of social relationship between members of a community and migrants as the description of social integration. This is consistent with Rizvi's (2009) argument that, in this era of globalization, it is imperative to develop social relationships in the community across socio-cultural background.

The significance of sustaining socio-cultural relationships cannot be over emphasized due to its implication for societal cohesion, especially with increasing mobility of immigrants. However, the integration of immigrants into the host community is largely dependent on the acceptance of the immigrants by the host community, which is often reflected in the immigrant integration policies, programs, and initiatives (Sardinha, 2009). Nevertheless, Koff (2002) cautions against studies of government policy to understand integration. Instead, researchers should seek to better understand the integration struggles of immigrants. It is important to focus on the immigrant considering the social, psychological, and physiological impact of the process of relocation to another country, especially an unfamiliar country, as well as post-arrival settlement pressure on immigrants (Beiser & Hou, 2006; Mui & Kang, 2006; Olliff et al., 2008).

Since the main objective of integration is creating a multicultural, cohesive, and balanced society (Favell, 2001), it is necessary to look beyond the traditional political policies and search for an effective tool for integration. Thus, it is noteworthy to turn the focus on sport and immigrants participating in sport. After all, sport has often been promoted as a potent tool of social integration because of the generally held notion that the power of sport goes far beyond the reach of traditional government policy and brings people together (Force, 1999). Although, Agergaard (2018) called for a closer examination of this notion that sport can facilitate integration of immigrants.

2.2.2. Sport and Integration

Prior studies have suggested that sport has the capacity to facilitate the integration of immigrants (Elling et al., 2001). This belief is also evident in the following assertion by Niessen et al. (2000):

The role of sport in promoting social integration, in particular of young people, is widely recognised. . . . Sport enhances the understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and it contributes to the fight against prejudices. Finally, sport plays its part to limit social exclusion of immigrants and minority groups. (p. 68)

Thus, it is important for new immigrants who arrive in a new community to first and foremost access and subsequently participate in sport, before they can utilise it for integration (Burrmann, 2017). Funk and James (2001) pointed to school as one of the sport socialising agent. They noted that young (school-aged) individuals can easily be introduced to sport at school. Further, they suggested that school-based socialising agents (e.g., friends, teachers, and coaches) can all facilitate a student's introduction to sport during the school years. Early sport sociology studies also share the view that school is one of the institutions that introduces people to sport (Malumphy, 1970; McPherson, 1976; Sage, 1974; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1976).

Attending a local school has been associated with a range of benefits for young immigrants. The benefits of school that have been highlighted by scholars include improved academic performance (Tomporowski, et al., 2008; Vail, 2006), cognitive development (Hillman et al., 2008), self-esteem, self-confidence, and social development (Bailey 2006). However, it can also be argued that a major benefit of school for young (school-aged) immigrants is the provision of opportunity to access sport.

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Adult (older) immigrants, on the other hand, might not have the opportunity to access sport in school. Thus, they must rely on media advertisements to become aware of the sport opportunities available in their new community. Funk and James (2001) described awareness as the moment an individual first gains knowledge about the existence of a particular sport or team. The media is considered to be one of the major agents of sport awareness for adults (Funk & James, 2001). This is in consonance with early studies that also included media as a sport socialising agent (Kenyon & McPherson, 1973; Malumphy, 1970; McPherson, 1976; Sage, 1974; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1976). This idea was further confirmed by the study of Nadeau et al. (2016). They found that social media such as Facebook was instrumental in creating awareness amongst new participants. However, they found low level of awareness of community sport opportunities among immigrants. They suggested that the result might be due to the publicity methods utilised by the managers of local sport organisations (Nadeau et al. 2016).

One of the major motivations for engaging in sport is for social capital and social networking (Tonts, 2005), which is crucial to integration. Low or lack of publicity of sport opportunities in the community might not necessarily deter adult (immigrants) from seeking out sport. According to the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985, 1987; Ajzen, 1991), the chances of an individual pursuing a particular cause of action is based on the significance of the individual's intention to carry out such behavior. Similarly, Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen, 1980) posits that behavior is influenced by the intention of an individual to carry out a particular behavior. Thus, it can be suggested that, given the significance of the intention to acquire social capital through sport, the adult (older) immigrants would persist with their search for access. Also, it can be claimed that, in view of their intention, the adult (older) immigrants is extrinsically motivated.

According to Bagøien and Halvari (2005), extrinsically motivated behaviors are those behaviors carried out for the purpose of acquiring results that are distinct from the behavior itself. Engaging in any activity for reasons other than the fun derived from that activity is seen as an extrinsic motivation (Gagné, 2010). Deci and Ryan (1985, 1991) suggested three types of extrinsic motivation; external, introjected, and identified regulation. External motivation refers to behavior that is entirely based on external reward (Deci & Ryan, 1991), such as acquiring social capital through sport.

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With introjection, the external reward or punishment becomes irrelevant. Behaviors are carried out based on internal pressure, such as shame or guilt. Thus, such behavior is not considered to be self-determined. Identification regulation motivation, on the other hand, includes behaviors that are motivated the value placed on such behavior. It becomes part of the person and the behavior is carried out willingly without any external reward or punishment. For example, immigrants continuing participating in sport even after acquiring social capital (Deci & Ryan 1991).

With regard to young (school-aged) immigrants, they can be said to be intrinsically motivated. Young (school-aged) immigrants, like most children, tend to start playing sport for the fun of it. According to Wold and Kannas (1993), fun is seen as the major motivation for children to engage in sport. Deci (1975) described intrinsic motivation as engaging in an activity solely for the fun and enjoyment that an individual gains from the activity. Similarly, Gagné (2010) defined intrinsic motivation as engaging in an activity just for the fun of engaging in such activity. Further, it was noted that people who are intrinsically motivated persist with their action without any inducement and in the presence of external constraints (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Thus, it can be assumed that young (school-aged) immigrants would persist with their sport participation even in the face of difficulties. Generally, in the discussion on intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation is viewed as somewhat inferior to intrinsic motivation (Gagné, 2010). However, extrinsic motives are as essential as intrinsic motives in the realm of sport (Gagné, 2010). This applies especially to adult immigrants because their extrinsic intention motivates them to seek out sport and initiates the 'first contact' with sport. This first contact is crucial to the process of integration through sport. Coakley (2009) was of the opinion that sport could help immigrants in the process of integration into the host community.

One of the ways sport seems to help immigrants in the process of integration is by increasing their feelings of attachment and belonging to the host community (Elling et al., 2001; Ennis, 1999). Tonts (2005) suggested that sport can contribute to the creation of sense of belonging. Walseth's (2006) study on young Muslim women with immigrant background in Norway confirmed that sport could help immigrants create a sense of belonging. She found that participants developed feelings of belonging to the host community through their participation in sport. Similarly, the study of

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Makarova and Herzog (2014) found that immigrants developed a stronger sense of belonging through their interactions and sport participation with the host community.

Another way sport could help immigrants in the process of integration is through cultural integration. According to (Burrmann et al., 2017), the nature of sport provides opportunities for immigrants to acquire cultural integration. This view is confirmed in the study by Rosenberg, Fejgin and Talmor (2003). They found that sport helped immigrant students gain knowledge about the host community's culture. Beri (2004) also concluded that sport played a role in helping immigrants learn about the culture of their new host community. This was in consonance with Walseth's (2008) study, which reported that sport contributed to helping immigrants learn about the culture of their teammates. Similarly, Brunette et al. (2011) also indicated that sport played a role in helping Chinese student immigrants in Canada become familiar with some parts of Canadian culture.

One aspect of culture that is seen as a crucial element and indicator of integration is language (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). According to Ito et al. (2011), sport helped the participants in their study develop the language skills of the host society. Similarly, Doherty and Taylor (2007) found that sport participation contributed to the English language skill development of immigrant students. This is in consonance with Brunette et al.'s (2011) study conducted in Canada. They reported that the Chinese students in their study utilised sport to develop their English language skills.

Employment is another crucial element and major indicator of integration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). Massey's (1987) study of Mexican immigrants in the United States of America (USA) found that sport events helped immigrants to receive information about possible job opportunities they could pursue. The role of sport in helping immigrants acquire employment information was also reported by Menjívar (2000). She indicated that immigrants in her study gained useful information about possible employment opportunities through their sport participation.

Finally, attitude of the host community is another element of integration considered as crucial to the process of integration (Heckmann, 2004; Sardinha, 2009; Spaaij, 2012), participants in Walseth's (2008) study reported that they received an unwelcoming reception from the host community. They reported that they were not

seen as part of the team when they first joined their club.

Overall, to understand the role of sports in the integration of immigrants, it is important to analyze the social capital generated by immigrants through their participation in sports. It is argued that social capital is central to integration as it is seen as a major catalyst for integration. Thus, social capital theory will be employed as a theoretical framework for this study.

2.3. Social Capital Theory

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001) define social capital as “networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among person” (p. 41). This view of social capital can be traced to one of the earliest definitions of the concept by Hanifan (1916). She described social capital in her writing as those significant resources and values shared in social relationships among individuals and communities. Furthermore, she highlighted the impact of reciprocity of a positive social interaction on both individuals and community.

The importance of social capital for community relations and cohesion was further underlined by Badcock’s (2014) description of social capital as the glue that binds communities together. According to Dekker and Uslaner (2001), social capital is essentially about the interaction between individuals. It connotes the long held notion that “it’s not what you know but who you know” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 3). Although the term became popular more recently (Lazega & Pattison, 2001; Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Putnam 1995), it has a long history and has continued to attract scholars, government agencies, and policy-makers due to its potential to understand social relations and community engagement (OECD, 2001). However, despite this wide acceptance and attraction of the concept of social capital, it still remains vague due to the diverse uses and application of the concept (Perks, 2007).

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) refer to social capital as “the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively” (p. 3). This definition resonates with Statistics New Zealand’s (2002) definition of social capital as “relationships among actors

(individuals, groups, and/or organisations) that create a capacity to act for mutual benefits or a common purpose” (p. 3). Social capital theory has enjoyed a long history of attention and discourse among scholars (Field, 2003; Putnam, 2000; Spies-Butcher, 2006). However, Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam are considered as the modern proponents of social capital and much of the discourse on social capital are centered on their theories (Carroll & Stanfield, 2003; Lang & Hornburg, 1998). The social capital theories of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2000) provide the theoretical framework for this study.

2.3.1. Bourdieu - Social Capital Theory

Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) was a French sociologist whose primary interest was the dynamics of power in society. Bourdieu's work was largely influenced by renowned sociologists such as Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Émile Durkheim (Crossman, 2020). Bourdieu's contributions to sociological theory included examinations of the connection between education and culture and research into the intersections of taste, class, and education (Crossman, 2020). He is famous for introducing such terms as 'symbolic violence', 'cultural capital', and 'habitus' (Crossman, 2020). His book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984) is one of the most referenced sociology texts. Bourdieu paid attention to the sociology of culture as he was concerned about how it is replicated and transformed as well as how it links to social stratification, status, power, and the replication of power.

Bourdieu was born in a small French town and his family was from the lower class but he went on to study philosophy in Paris at the prestigious École Normale Supérieure (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). Upon graduation, he taught philosophy for a while before being conscripted and serving in the French army in Algeria (Crossman, 2020). During Bourdieu's time in Algeria, while the Algerian war continued, he embarked on an ethnographic study (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). He studied the conflict via the Kabyle people, and the results of this study were published in Bourdieu's first book, *Sociologie de L'Algerie* (The Sociology of Algeria). Bourdieu later returned to Paris and in 1964 became the Director of Studies at the École des

Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and established the Center for European Sociology (Crossman, 2020).

Bourdieu was instrumental in the establishment of the interdisciplinary journal *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). Via this journal, Bourdieu tried to denationalise social science, to remove the barriers placed by presumptions of academic and ordinary judgement (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). He also tried to break away from the conventional forms of academic enquiry and transmission of knowledge by blending analysis, raw data, field notes, photography, and other non-conventional pieces aimed at pushing the limits of academic discourse (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). One of Bourdieu's seminal contributions was the exploration of the relationship between different forms of capital, including economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Claridge, 2015a).

Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualisation of social capital was based on the premise that capital is not only economic and that social relationships are not merely self-interested and need to encompass "capital and profit in all their forms" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). Bourdieu's conceptualisation was based on theories of social reproduction and symbolic power. Structural restrictions and unequal access to institutional resources by individuals based on social stratification are defining features in Bourdieu's concept (Claridge, 2015a).

Bourdieu (1986) identified three basic forms of capital - economic, cultural, and social. Each capital is convertible to other forms of capital under certain conditions and they are utilised and sometimes contested by agents in social fields to gain advantage and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). While it could be argued that the various forms of capital are different, they are, however, inter-connected and convertible.

Economic capital reflects the sum of an individual's revenue or financial capability. It can be readily and directly converted to money and could be institutionalised in forms of property right (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, an individual that owns a property (economic capital) can sell it and convert it to money. Economic capital could easily be transferred and can be passed from one generation to the next through family inheritance. Cultural capital can be converted to economic capital and could be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986).

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Bourdieu (1986) further identified three forms of cultural capital - embodied state, objectified state, and institutionalised state. The embodied state of cultural capital refers to the process of acquisition, inculcation, and assimilation of intellectuality or development of human capital. It reflects the long and tedious process of socialisation or education which can only be undertaken by an individual and cannot be delegated. Simply put, the embodied or incorporated cultural capital refers to the development of competences through both formal and informal education process that requires long term investment in time and hard work, and as such it is not transferable (Bourdieu, 1986). Objectified state of cultural capital, on the other hand, exists in tangible objects, such as paintings, books, monuments, or instruments, and are therefore transferable in their physical state. This state of cultural capital can be used either materially as a pre-condition of economic capital or symbolically as a pre-condition of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The institutionalised state of cultural capital, on the other hand, refers to academic qualifications that are awarded by a designated institution. The awards of qualifications by institutions enable agents in the social field to compare the quality of certificates, which can transfer this cultural capital into economic value and subsequently gain an economic advantage (Bourdieu, 1986).

Finally, Bourdieu's (1986) definition of social capital proved central for the context of this study. He defined social capital as:

the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships or mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).

Thus, according to Bourdieu (1986), social capital is made up of social connections which can be converted to economic capital and could be institutionalised via a nobility title. Therefore, the creation and sustenance of social capital is determined by the efforts and mutual exchange of invitation by agents (Bonnewitz, 2005). In addition, Bourdieu (1986) argued that privileged groups would strive to guard their

social capital in order to continue enjoying the monopoly of such privileges and could maintain such privileges through intergenerational transfer of social capital. Bourdieu proposed that the amount of an individual's social capital is determined by the number of the people in his social network and consequently by the quantity of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) that each individual in the network possess (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital provides access to resources such as information and knowledge which might not be initially available to agents (Gretzinger et al., 2010).

Sports played a prominent role in Bourdieu's (1986) social capital analysis. He used golf clubs to analyze and highlight how agents in the social field generate and utilise social capital through membership in sports clubs. He gave an example of how members of golf clubs take advantage of the social connections available in such clubs to enhance their opportunities. Furthermore, he pointed out that the exclusivity of such golf clubs enables members to enjoy privileges that might not be accessible to other members of the community (Field 2003, Wynne 1998).

Bourdieu's work has come under criticism despite his contribution to the propagation of the concept of social capital. Several commentators have criticised Bourdieu's theory for various reasons (Alexander, 1996; Schuller, 2001; Swartz, 1997; Wall et al., 1998). Bourdieu's theory was described as egocentric (Wall et al., 1998), reductionist (Alexander, 1996), elitist (Schuller et al., 2000) and difficult to collate (Schuller, 2001). Similarly, Swartz (1997) criticised Bourdieu for leaning towards the impression that human interaction is guided by profit seeking and self-aggrandisement. Finally, Bourdieu's theorization of social capital is seen by some scholars as instrumental due to his view of social capital as a means to an end (economic capital) (e.g. Coalter, 2007). Despite the criticism of this theory, Bourdieu's (1986) social capital theory is considered an important framework and theoretical lens for this research.

2.3.2. Coleman - Social Capital Theory

James Coleman (1926 – 1995) was an American sociologist who was primarily interested in the sociology of education and public policy (Claridge, 2015b). Coleman

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was largely influenced by the work of Paul Lazarsfeld and his creative problem solving approaches, an influence that led Coleman to pioneering mathematical sociology. Robert Merton and Seymour Lipset were other people that influenced Coleman (Coleman, 1990). He credited the former for theoretical inspiration and pursuing sociology and the latter for educating him on how to integrate macrosocial questions and quantitative methods (Coleman, 1990). Coleman's work had a great influence on government education policy in the United States.

Coleman was born in Indiana where he commenced his study but later moved to an Ivy League university, University of Columbia, where he also worked as a research associate for the Bureau of Applied Social Research (Marsden, 2005). He later became a professor of social relations at Johns Hopkins University (Marsden, 2005), then a director at the National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago. Coleman is well known for his major works *Introduction to Mathematical Sociology* (1964), *Mathematics of Collective Action* (1973), and the work that could be viewed as his most salient contribution to sociology, his seminal work *Foundations of Social Theory* (1990), which is an examination of the formation and behaviour of communities.

Coleman, just like Bourdieu, was interested in various forms of capital and their relationship, such as human, physical, and social capitals (Coleman, 1988). The idea of Coleman's conceptualisation of social capital was to adopt the economists' rational action theory for the analysis of social systems without jettisoning social organisation itself in the process (Claridge, 2015b). Thus, Coleman linked sociology and the social actions of agents in the social field with the rational theory of economists (Claridge, 2015b). Coleman combined the functionalist perspective that social action is determined by social structure with the rational perspective that actions are independent and motivated by self-interest (Coleman, 1988). Thus, Coleman's concept represents a middle ground between the functionalist and rational schools of thought (Claridge, 2015b). This combination of economics and sociology could easily be seen in Coleman's work and could be said to be the most interesting part of his concept.

Coleman (1988), influenced by economics and rational perspective (Jackman & Miller, 1998; Li et al., 2003; Schuller et al., 2000) approached social capital from

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functionalist and rational standpoints. For Coleman, the goal of social capital is not the acquisition of economic capital but rather the development of human capital. Coleman, like Bourdieu (1986), utilised small groups for his study and emphasized the importance of social capital embedded in the family (Portes, 2000). He found that family, parents and significant others play a major role in the education of children. He concluded that the availability of social capital contributes to the human capital of a child, which is salient in the child's intellectual development (Coleman, 1988). Coleman (1988) defined social capital as:

not a single entity but it consists of variety of different entities having two characteristics in common; they all consist of some aspects of social structures and they facilitate certain actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure that produces outcomes that would not be otherwise be possible. (p. 98)

The difference between Bourdieu's (1986) and Coleman's (1988) theory becomes obvious when the fundamental function of social capital as proposed by both theorists are compared. The primary function of social capital for Bourdieu is to acquire economic capital, while for Coleman it is for the acquisition of human capital. Bourdieu's social capital focused on elites while Coleman broadened the view to include social interactions of non-elite groups (Schuller et al., 2000). Similarly, Coleman's social capital is seen as a switch from Bourdieu's much criticised egocentric approach to more sociocentric. This constitutes a significant move away from individualistic focused outcomes to more elaborate outcomes that reflect and affect groups, organisations, or societies (Adam & Ron, 2003; Cusack, 1999; McClenaghan, 2000).

Coleman's (1988) theory, just like Bourdieu's (1986) before him, was criticised by some commentators. Portes (2000) thought that Coleman's theory was fuzzy and ill-defined, considering that the transition from individual-level relationships (as seen in Bourdieu) to community based relationships and the structural requirements for such a transition were not accounted for. Also, it was argued by some scholars that actors in the social field have varying reasons for engaging in social relationship that cannot be explained by the rational approach Coleman adopted for his theory (Portes, 1998; Quibria, 2003). Coleman's proposition has further been criticised for

the lack of differentiation between available resources and actor's ability to acquire such resources (Portes, 1998; Quibria, 2003). The function of social capital from Coleman's perspective is aimed at the development of human capital, which is facilitated by social relationships embedded in social structure. This view, notwithstanding the criticism, is crucial to the current study as it provides insight into the important role sports play in the lives of immigrants, especially for young refugees and asylum seekers in the absence of immediate family, as a medium to acquire social capital and consequently develop their human capital.

2.3.3. Putnam - Social Capital Theory

Robert Putnam (born 1941) is an American political scientist. He developed the influential two-level game theory that suggests that international agreements can only be successfully negotiated if they also result in domestic benefits (Putnam, 1988). He is well known for his most famous work *Bowling Alone*. In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam submitted that the United States has experienced a major collapse in civic, social, associational, and political life with profound negative consequences (Parry, 2015)

Putnam was born in New York and later earned his doctorate degree at Yale University. He taught at University of Michigan before moving to Harvard University as the Peter and Isabel Malkin Professor of Public Policy (Munro, 2020). Putnam's ventured into the field of social capital with *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1993), a comparative study of regional governments in Italy which argued that the horizontal bond that make up social capital significantly determines the success of democracies (Putnam, 1993). Putnam writes that the greater civic involvement and economic success witnessed in Northern Italy is due to its history of community, guilds, clubs, and choral societies. In contrast, less social capital is responsible for the low economic and democratic prosperity recorded in the rural society of Southern Italy (Putnam, 1993).

Putnam followed up his cardinal work with *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital*, which was published in the *Journal of Democracy* in 1995. Five years later, in 2000, he published *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American*

Community. Clearly his most famous book, an expansion to his original argument and seminal contribution to sociology. Putnam's most notable observation was that many traditional civic and social clubs and associations – represented by the example of bowling leagues – had experienced a huge decline in membership while the number of people bowling had increased substantially (Putnam, 2000).

Arguably, the most significant impact on the concept of social capital today was made by Putnam (1993, 2000). Bexley et al. (2007) argued that Putnam is responsible for the popularity of social capital in the post-modern era. Putnam took an entirely different approach to social capital in comparison to Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988). He adopted a more functionalist approach (Blackshaw & Long, 2005) and his approach is often viewed as a benchmark due its popularity both in academia and policy (Ponthieux, 2004). Putnam was concerned with the dwindling social capital in society as a result of the deterioration of social relations and civic engagement. Following his previous study, Putnam (2000) further expanded his work on social capital based on his observation of the continuous erosion of social relations and community engagement in the American society. To buttress his opinion, Putman (2000) adopted sports as a medium of analysis of the decline of social capital in American society.

In “Bowling Alone”, Putnam (2000) clearly depicted this phenomenon as he described how organised bowling leagues are in decline due to lack of participation. The game usually requires participants from different social networks to form teams and then come together to play, but unfortunately people would now rather pursue their own activities alone and as a result organised bowling was becoming extinct. He pointed to the decrease in team sports participation in general and the increase in individual sports as an example of how the society was moving away from community based to an individualised society, which resulted in the reduction of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Based on his study, Putnam (2000) identified two elements of social capital, the bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital can be described as exclusive and responsible for group cohesion, while bridging social capital can be described as inclusive and facilitates the expansion of a group or network.

Putnam (2000) described bonding capital as an intra-group phenomenon that

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usually exist within groups made up of people are similar with regard to factors such as race, ethnicity, religion, values, and interest. It denotes the close interconnection between people or social groups that share the same attributes, such as those shared among family, friends, or teammates (Baum & Ziersch, 2003; Nichols et al., 2013). Field (2003) noted that bonding social capital holds people from similar sociological background together. It creates a sense of belonging and is crucial to the feeling of mental wellness among members of a social group (Terrion, 2006). Putnam (2000) further pointed out that bonding social capital arises when there is consensus on common objectives pursued by individuals in a social relationship or group. He proposed that such social relationship could lead to exclusivity and homogeneity that could have negative consequences which he referred to as the “dark side” of social capital. Thus, the exclusive bond could lead to actions that could be viewed as negative by the general society (Putnam, 2000). For example, the bond that exists between some football ultra (hooligan) groups that prompt them to engage in actions that are viewed by the general society as antisocial. Thus, bonding social capital could reinforce exclusivity and homogeneity in a group, which could lead to negativity such as prejudice and discrimination.

Conversely, bridging capital produces a more beneficial and positive outcome as it encourages the expansion of social networks with the capacity to embrace people from diverse backgrounds and social classes (Putnam, 2000). According to Narayan and Cassidy (2001), bridging capital encourages heterogeneity which facilitates interaction and exchange between individuals and groups from different social spectrums of the society. The inclusive nature of bridging capital provides opportunity for diverse groups to connect, and the reciprocity that can develop between such diverse networks would have a positive impact on the community (Putnam, 2000). Such manifestations of bridging capital could be described as the ‘opening up of new social relations’ (Seippel, 2006, p. 171). As posited by Putnam (2000), ‘bonding is good for “getting by,” but bridging is crucial for “getting ahead”’ (p. 23). In addition to bonding and bridging social capital, Woolcock et al. (2001) suggested a third dimension of social capital which he referred to as linking capital. He submitted that the linking capital is concerned with vertical relationships in contrast to the horizontal relationships of bonding and bridging capital. The linking capital provides connections to networks and opportunities outside an individual’s

immediate or accessible networks (Coalter, 2007). Thus, while bonding functions to enhance cohesion in a group (for example, an immigrant football club) and bridging capital functions to expand the group (attracting non-members outside of the club), the linking capital, on the other hand, focuses on connecting the group to institutions and the larger society.

Despite Putnam's contribution to social capital and the overwhelming interest his theory has generated among policy makers and scholars alike, he did not escape criticism. For instance, Englebert (2001) pointed out that Putnam's theory was vague and lacking clarity. Similarly, lack of clear indication and direction for measurement was also seen as a major flaw of Putnam's theorisation (Dasgupta, 2000; Ponthieux, 2004). Blackshaw and Long (2005) considered the reliance on a quantitative approach and idealist view to be a major problem as the theory in their view does not provide any real solutions to social problems. The criticism notwithstanding, Putnam's (2000) notion of social capital has continued to occupy a prominent position in policy development, especially in relation to sports (Fields 2003). The attraction of Putnam's social capital theory for policy makers and governments have been attributed to its focus on the role of voluntary organisations in the society (Coalter, 2007). Sport academics and practitioners, on the other hand, heavily draw on Putnam (2000) due to the significance of sports in Putnam's study, which gives further justification and underlines the power of sport as a tool of integration (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

2.3.4. Sport and Social Capital

In the midst of the shortcomings pointed out by critics and commentators, social capital has continued to generate attention among researchers, policy makers, administrators, and stakeholders, especially in the area of sports for social development. According to Nicholson and Hoye (2008), the social capital concept cannot be ignored in the face of its increasing popularity among academics and policy makers. Sports has been largely acknowledged by many as a major source of social capital albeit without much empirical evidence (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008). Long and Sanderson (2001) noted that social capital was often cited as one of the

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major benefits of engaging in sports. According to Coalter (2007), sports continues to be regarded as a public policy issue based on the general assumption that sports is a source of social capital for individuals and their communities.

Pooley et al.'s (2005) investigation of life experiences in urban and rural communities suggested that being a member and participating in a community sports club could increase the social capital of that community. Cairnduff (2001) believed that sports is a major source of social capital as it has the capacity to enhance the bond in the community, thereby increasing the capacity of the community to become resistant to negative impacts. The bond in the community could increase through trust developed as a result of social relationships and social interaction orchestrated by sports. It was observed that interactions between friends and social networks in the community could increase the social cohesion in that community (Middleton et al., 2005).

Sports could also contribute to the development of bonding social capital among individuals and within a group. For example, Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) found that participants in their study were able to develop bonding social capital through sports. They reported that, contrary to the general view, their participants developed bonding social capital in addition to bridging social capital as a result of participating in mainstream (mixed) clubs. However, Walseth (2008) reported that immigrants developed bonding social capital through their sports participation but along immigration status and geographical location dimension. Perhaps bonding with those that share the same immigration status in addition to other sociological dimensions such as ethnicity could explain the reason behind ethnic based sports participation or teams. For example, in a study conducted among Asian immigrants in the USA by Lee et al. (2011), Asian immigrants preferred to play sports with people from their ethnic group. This type of arrangement was frowned upon in Krouwel et al.'s (2006) study. It was suggested that an ethnic based team or league would negatively impact integration. Tonts (2005) also suggested that the homogeneity in such teams or clubs could lead to a strong bond, which could make such teams hostile to teams, groups or people outside their team.

Sports have also been found to be a vehicle for the acquisition of bridging social capital. Walseth (2008) found that bridging social capital can be created through

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sports. The study suggested that for bridging social capital to help in the creation of close social relationships, immigrants must spend more time with their host teammates. This is consistent with the findings of Spaaij's (2012) research on Somali immigrants' participation in Australian sports. The study also indicated that immigrants were able to create bridging social capital through their participation in sports.

According to Vermeulen and Verweel (2009), both bonding and bridging social capital could be created through social interactions in post-game social activities. These post-game special social interactions and activities engaged in by team members in sports teams could be described as interaction rituals (Collins, 2014). Collins (2014) identified fundamental elements of interaction rituals as: presence of two or more individuals, limited to members only, shared interest on the main objective and shared mood among members. Perhaps an additional element that is central in most interaction rituals is alcohol or drinking (Dietler, 2006). Veeck, Lancendorfer and Atkin's (2018) study on social drinking found evidence of bonding social capital from the report of participants. Similarly, Ng Fat et al. (2017) linked social capital to the consumption of alcohol rather than non-consumption. In view of the role of alcohol or drinking in social rituals, Veeck et al. (2018) suggested that alcohol may be a surreptitious instrument that can be employed to strengthen the bond between groups and induce contagious emotions. However, it is important to note that excessive consumption of alcohol could be counterproductive, only moderate consumption could produce the desired result (Rowland et al., 2015). Moderate consumption of alcohol could facilitate healthy social interaction among sports club or team members, which is key to the establishment of social relationships.

According to Chalip (2006), sports provides an avenue where individuals can create new social relationships or strengthen existing social relationships. This is supported by Tonts (2005), who insisted that there is evidence that sports can be used to generate social capital. He pointed to the role of sports as a medium of social relations and community engagement in most Australian communities. Furthermore, he submitted that the nature of sports that require people coming together to engage in an activity is an indication of the potential of sports to create social capital. Similarly, Seippel (2002) suggested that the nature of sports provides

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an opportunity for the creation of social networks. The importance of sports as an avenue for social capital was also highlighted by Harris (1998), who suggested that sports has the ability to establish and sustain new friendships that cut across social barriers. He proposed that such social relationships are not limited to active participants alone but inclusive of passive participants, such as parents, coaches, and spectators.

Rosenberg et al. (2003) reported that sports played a role in helping the participants in their study establish friendships with host community students. This is consistent with Vermeulen and Verweel's (2009) study on the role of sports in the production of social capital. They found that participants were able to establish relationships through their sports participation. In addition, they reported that sports participation was majorly responsible for the creation of social networks by participants (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009). The ability of sports in helping individuals establish and sustain friendships was also highlighted in the study by Brunette et al. (2011), who reported that sports was a tool employed by Chinese students living in Canada to create friendships with the host community students. However, the ability of sports in helping immigrants establish friendship sometimes depends on peer acceptance.

Sports competence has been found by several studies to be important in facilitating peer acceptance among a group (Coie et al., 1990, Evans & Roberts, 1987, Smith, 2007, Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006, Weiss & Duncan, 1992). Smith (2007) suggested that the general perception among their young participants was that sports competence would facilitate acceptance and friendship. Further, he submitted that at school sports competence is rated as a more effective way of acquiring acceptance than other activities in school. Similarly, Evans and Roberts (1987) found that there is a significant relationship between athletic competence and peer acceptance. In conclusion, it can be argued that sports plays a major role in the generation of social capital but it is important to note that the role sports plays still remains contested (Nicholson & Hoye, 2008).

While the claims about the relationship between sports and social capital have been pervasive, empirical evidence have remained scant (Coalter, 2007, Harvey, L'évesque, & Donnelly, 2007, Middleton et al., 2005, Pringle, 2001) and largely

anecdotal (Coalter, Allison, Taylor, et al., 2000). However, attempts have been made by some researchers to provide empirical evidence on the link between sports and social capital (Atherley, 2006; Coalter, 2007; Tonts, 2005) but scientific evidence still remains inadequate. This is also true with regard to the context of New Zealand as only few studies have touched on the subject to date (Pringle, 2001, SNZ, 2002). Therefore, in view of the limited empirical evidence in general and with regard to New Zealand specifically, this study provides insights into the relationship between sports and social capital in the process of integration. More specifically, based on detailed qualitative data, the study presents a critical analysis of the role of sports in the acquisition of social capital by immigrants in New Zealand.

2.4. Summary

Three distinct but interconnected concepts that form the tripod of this study were reviewed and discussed in this chapter. An overview of migration was presented including history and factors that influence migration. It was observed that migration, though prevalent in modernity, actually dates back to the very beginning of human existence. Also, it seems that the same factors that motivated humans to migrate from their original home in Africa are still the same factors that influence migration today. Trends in New Zealand migration were discussed. New Zealand is considered as one of the most diverse nations in the world due to the impact of migration on her population. This is especially evident in Auckland, which has been described as super-diverse. Following migration, the concept of integration was presented. The discussion of integration attracted an overview of the concepts of assimilation and acculturation. The overview helped to highlight the differences in the related but distinct concepts. In comparison to the mono-culturalism tendencies of assimilation and acculturation, integration encourages multiculturalism. Further, elements of integration that were addressed include attitude of the host community, language, employment, cultural socialisation, and sense of belonging. These elements were found to be crucial to the process of integration and were also seen as the reflection of integration.

The social capital theories of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2000)

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were then discussed. It was concluded that social capital is central to the integration process. Therefore, the combination of these three perspectives on social capital forms the theoretical framework of this study. They are employed as a theoretical lens to view the role sports plays in the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants in this study. The next chapter presents the underpinning methodology of this study. It introduces the concept of Creative Analytical Practice (CAP), narrative enquiry and thematic narrative analysis (TNA). The chapter also focuses on the research methods employed to gather rich qualitative data from immigrants, who are the main focus of this study.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Markula and Silk (2011) define a research paradigm as:

an overarching set of beliefs that provide parameters – how researchers understand reality and the nature of truth, how they understand what is knowledge, how they act and the role they undertake, how they understand participants and how they disseminate knowledge – of a given research project. (p. 25).

Gibson (2016) supports this definition, adding that “debates regarding the nature, purpose, place and influence of paradigms are a key component of critical reflective literature on mixed methods research” (p. 384). She proposes that a paradigm is something that captures “our basic beliefs and fundamental assumptions about the nature of the world, as well as the relationship between the world, ourselves, and other subjects, objects, beings, processes, events, and happening” (p. 384). According to Gibson (2016), paradigms can also capture the shared beliefs of a research community, offering “disciplinary matrices based on a relative consensus among a group of researchers about which questions, both in form and content, are pressing, meaningful, and answerable” (p. 384). They are not “simply the stuff of abstract philosophical musings; they provide guidelines, systems, and frameworks for conducting research either through philosophical engagement with our underlying assumptions or through socialisation into a research community” (p. 384).

Lincoln (2010) proposes that qualitative researchers are interpretivists, postmodernists, poststructuralists, phenomenological, feminist, and critical. She adds that they “choose lenses that are broader, racial, ethnic, hybrid, queer, differently abled, indigenous, margin, center, other” and that “its adherents, and theorists have come from multiple disciplines”, acquiring “richness and elaboration that has both added to our confusion and at the same time, been broad and pliant enough to encompass a variety of claimants” (p. 8). This chapter identifies the overlapping and socially constructed paradigms that underpin everything found within this thesis. Moreover, it charts how a phenomenologist was able to align poststructuralism from a relativist ontology, social constructionist/interpretivist

epistemology with an (post)qualitative ethnographical methodology. It introduces the concepts of narrative inquiry, creative analytical practice (CAP) and thematic narrative analysis (TNA). Furthermore, the chapter provides a bridge from the existing knowledge presented within the literature review to the research methods adopted to generate new knowledge from autobiographical stories co-constructed with a small number of immigrants. Having done so, the chapter outlines how the rich qualitative data was collected from the participants. Figure 4.1. below illustrates the relationships between the different concepts that make up the methodology of this thesis.

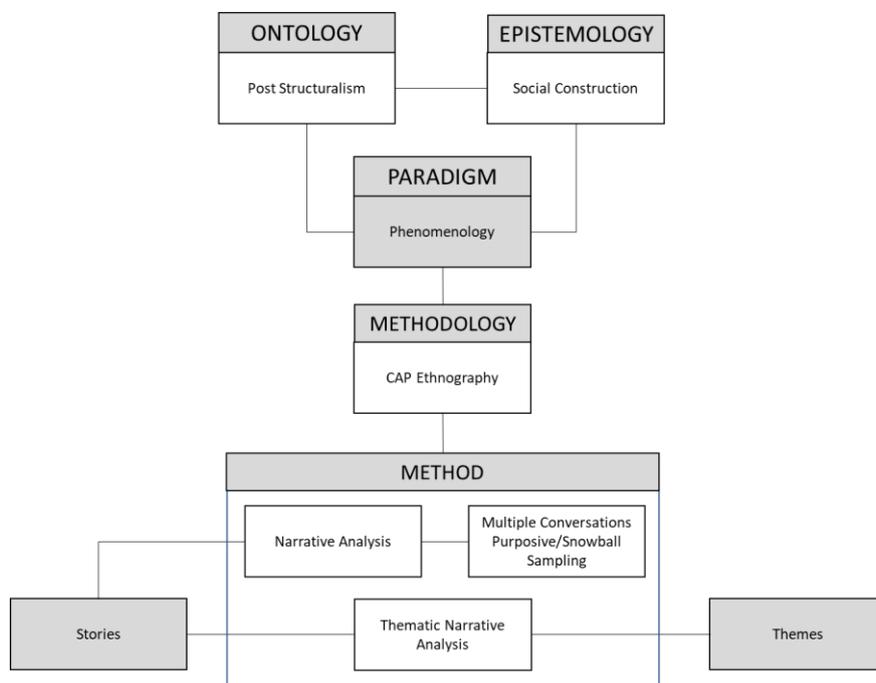


Figure 4.1. Methodology and methods

3.2. Ontology: Poststructuralism from a Relativist’s Perspective

There is no single ontology that is the basis for understanding all human activity, no view of what there is independent of interpreters (Palecek & Risjord, 2012, p. 18).

According to Palecek and Risjord (2012), ontologies are “the product of human

interpretive interactions with one another and with their environments” (p. 18). As every social encounter represents a unique moment in time and space, there can be no overarching ontology. Gura (1992) viewed relativism as being an essential element within the definition of both ontological and epistemological presuppositions of the constructionist paradigm. Although relativism is one of the oldest philosophical paradigms (Gura, 1992; Hales, 2011; Sankey, 1997), being labeled a relativist is, according to Palecek and Risjord (2012), still more likely “to be levelled as an accusation than adopted as a positive description” (p. 10). Sankey (1997) stresses the need for a researcher to qualify their relativist position, noting the existence of multiple doctrines. Giere (2006) argues that Friedrich Nietzsche’s perspectivism paradox is actually a more appropriate term to capture the complex, often contested, notions of rationality and relationality.

Advocates of perspectivism propose that every view is only one view, applied to itself. According to Anderson (1998), “Nietzsche’s arguments for perspectivism depend on “internal reasons”, which have force not only in their own perspective, but also within the standards of alternative perspectives” (p. 1). Reginster (200,) describes it as “the view that any claim to knowledge is bound by the perspective formed by the contingent interests of the knower” (p. 217). Like Giere (2006), Reginster (2001) acknowledges the close association with relativism, noting how nearly all pre-existing interpretations can be placed within one of two categories:

On the one hand, this relativity to perspective is thought to underwrite a generalised skepticism: we are irretrievably locked up in a perspective which may distort our appreciation of reality. On the other hand, perspectivism is interpreted as anti-essentialism: there is no independent reality the apprehension of which our perspective might distort; accordingly, our judgments are less a matter of correspondence to objective reality than expressions of subjective attitudes. (p. 217).

Poststructuralists study the relationships that connect power to discourse and typically seek to document the ways in which language materially affect the relation of the theorist to his or her research (Poster, 1989). They also embrace more creative, occasionally unorthodox, ways of gathering, writing, and disseminating meaningful

data (Marecek, 2003). They utilise the interconnections that exist between material and immaterial factors, allowing them the freedom to move back and forth between disciplines, (re)moving the parameters created by those in positions of power and influence (Gelot & Welz, 2018; Wright, 2017). The aim is to create meaningful change through the generation of new understanding and appreciation of the way that power operates within our ever-changing social-constructed world (Markula & Silk, 2011; Thorpe & Olive, 2016).

Although it is not a new way of looking at the world, the poststructuralist paradigm remains largely misunderstood, particularly by those operating outside the humanities and social sciences (Coffey, 1999; Poster, 1989; Wright, 2017). French philosophers Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and/or Jean Baudrillard are widely credited as being the founding fathers of poststructuralism (Poster, 1989). Both individually and collectively, they challenged and questioned the legitimacy of scholarly discourse claiming to offer direct expressions of ‘a universal truth’ or to have captured ‘a historical reality’ (Der Derian, 1988; Poster, 1989). Poster (1989) offers the following assessment of how poststructuralists view the terms theory and theorist.

Theory is, for the poststructuralists, an epistemological attempt at conceptual clarification which spills over into a metaphysical gesture to regulate the terms of reality. The theoretical concept, they worry, places too much faith in the theorist’s ability to make determinations, to fix identities, identities whose effect is political. The theorist is the arbiter who decides whose sense of what is going on will count as valid. . . . (p. 6)

Nabers (2015) proposed that it is only through meaning-making that objects become real or knowable. Gelot and Welz (2018) argue that a key strength of poststructuralist thought lies in its “ability to reveal and ‘denaturalise’ power’s many usage and to open up space for the marginalised voices and forms of subjugated knowledge” (p. 2336). Poststructuralism views power as something that can both create and constrain, produce and yet also limit (Gelot & Welz, 2018). Rather than succumb to the more dominant realist worldview, poststructuralists seek to showcase the “reality of human struggles to make life go on” (Ashley, 1996, p. 224). They accept that “there are no universal truths to be discovered, and that all knowledge is grounded in

human society, situated, partial, local, temporal and historically specific” (Coffey, 1999, p. 11). This study has been constructed from a relativist’s perspective of poststructuralism. The author’s poststructuralist-inspired epistemology is covered in the following section.

3.3. Epistemology: Social Constructionism from an Interpretivist’s Perspective

The social constructionism paradigm proposes that one’s knowledge of the world is subjectively created and consumed through multiple social interactions and personal relationships that cannot be observed by (or ‘found’ through) the objective lens of an outsider (Burr, 1995). Social constructionists are primarily concerned with the identification and exploration of ways in which social reality is constructed and consumed within a particular culture or context (Burr, 1995). Researchers in this field typically seek to establish the wider implications for human experience in the hope that that can influence or initiate a change in existing social practice (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999). A social constructionist-interpretivist approach is an attractive option for those seeking to help others make sense of the multiple, malleable and mind-dependent realities encountered and experienced on a daily basis (Papathomas, 2016).

Interpretivists, according to Gibson (2016), see reality as being “fluid, multiple and dependent on the meanings given to objects and events” (p. 385). Advocates of the interpretivism paradigm concede that our knowledge of what is real will only ever be based on our interpretation of how that socially constructed reality has been consumed and made meaningful (Gibson, 2016). Interpretivists are happy to accept that the physical and social world outside of their own body and mind is full of a myriad of competing, complementing, and conflicting realities. They see knowledge as being something that is co-constructed by researchers and participants, arguing that the researcher cannot separate themselves from the researched (Giddens, 1987). Gibson (2016) concludes that:

Interpretivist research is about interpretations, which Giddens

(1987) famously referred to as the double hermeneutic, where participant meaning-making becomes data for the researcher who engages in further meaning-making, which (may) in turn alter the meaning-making of the participant: thus both participants and researchers actively and dynamically produce and interpret knowledge of, and for, each other. Usually, such research is very careful not to position itself as providing the truth, or even approximations of the truth. (p. 386)

This thesis applies the principles of social constructionism from an interpretivist's perspective. The methodological philosophies and principles are discussed in the following section.

3.4. Methodology: Qualitative Inquiry from a phenomenological perspective

Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) stress the importance of displaying integrity and credibility through the provision of a clear account - a trail of evidence - of what steps were taken as well as an explanation of how and why these steps were chosen. The aim is not to generalise, but to uncover an interpretation that is considered reasonable, plausible and useful by others. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) refer to qualitative research as a complex interdisciplinary field of inquiry in its own right, incorporating interconnected interpretive concepts that privileges no single methodological practice over another. They refer to the (post)qualitative researcher as someone who observes things, themselves included, within their natural and familiar settings, "attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denizen & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). According to Smith and Sparkes (2016), "qualitative research is a craft skill that to master takes time, practice and intellectual engagement" (p. 1).

Qualitative research has been described as an interpretive approach that seeks a deeper examination and understanding of a social phenomenon in its natural setting (Flick, 2009). Moreover, a qualitative research approach is concerned with examining social phenomena in the social context it exists and with providing

interpretations based on the meanings given to them by the social actors (participants) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Given that human behaviour is subjective and has the tendency to change depending on the context, it is important to capture the experiences of social actors in their natural settings. According to Nicholson and Hoye (2008), it is appropriate to use a qualitative approach to study such social phenomena because it allows for a more in-depth examination of the contribution of sport to social integration and the acquisition of social capital. Engaging the participants in discussion would provide opportunity to delve deep into their experiences and enable the researcher to understand the stories that are usually hidden in quantitative data.

Berg (2001) suggested that answers to research problems are appropriately provided in qualitative research through the examination of social actors and their social field. He was of the opinion that researchers could provide a comprehensive analysis of various social issues, actions, and meaning ascribed to them by social actors (participants) through qualitative data. In qualitative research, an emphasis is placed on quality and not quantity, on the richness of data gathered and not on the numbers or amount of data (Dabbs, 1982). Nkwi, Nyamongo and Ryan (2001) opined that “qualitative research involves any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values” (p. 1). In qualitative research, data is usually gathered in qualitative research in the form of words (Neuman, 2006), but also as texts, images, and sounds (Bernard & Ryan, 1998), as opposed to numerical values as in the case of quantitative research. Furthermore, data in qualitative research is usually generated through small sample sizes which gives room for in-depth and thorough analyses of the social phenomena under study (Kumar, 2011). In sum, a qualitative approach allows for interaction between the researcher and the participants which enable them to jointly develop the outcome of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Thus, qualitative research enables participants to claim ownership of the study as the outcome would reflect the voices of the social actors and fulfill the objective of the researcher of providing a platform for the participants to tell their stories.

Blackshaw and Long (2005) were of the opinion that a qualitative research approach could better discern and facilitate better understanding of how sport contributes to the acquisition of social capital compared to the use of a quantitative method for such study. The qualitative research approach utilised for this study involved the

employment of multiple in-depth one-on-one interviews. Krane (2016) noted how the past few decades has seen a steady increase in the use of qualitative research in sport, which in turn has led to a rise in new and innovative approaches to the data collection and analysis process. Krane (2016) concludes that:

Much of what we see in the published literature presents a summary of the predominant themes that emerge from interview and/or observational data. When we read finished products of qualitative research, often we are presented with a neat story or a concise series of quotes supporting themes identified by the researcher. The report depicts consistent findings that paint a clear picture of the experiences of the people being observed and/or interviewed. . . . such an approach to presenting findings washes away the complexity and contradictions that may appear in the data. Life is messy and so too are our data. Perhaps we could embrace this messiness and build it into our analysis? . . . Perhaps the challenge is acknowledging the evolving nature of qualitative analysis and writing it into our processes? (pp. 472-473)

According to Fullagar (2017), (post)qualitative inquiry draws its methodological inspiration from critical post-humanist debates concerned with how 'matter' is thought and constituted through entanglements of human and non-human bodies, affects, objects and practices. (Post) qualitative researchers are able to draw upon a variety of past lived experiences and empirical materials in order to help them better understand and interpret the 'meanings' attached to phenomena, including case study, personal experience, life-story, and life-history interviews, participant observations, artefacts, cultural texts, and productions (Smith & Sparkes, 2016). They question the existence of an objective conception of reality and are happy to work alongside a small number of participants (a lack of representativeness is not an issue). They are less concerned with reliability, preferring to explore a particular, possibly unique, phenomenon or experience in great detail instead (Willig, 2001).

Although it is not uncommon for post-qualitative studies to share the lived experiences of the researcher, the majority offer a platform for people to hear the voices of those who find themselves living on the margins and/or silenced by society

(Atkinson, 2002; Chase, 2011). Lincoln and Guba (1985) also stress the importance of embracing and establishing the notion of “trustworthiness”, positioning it as the overarching criterion upon which the value of qualitative research should be judged. They proposed that trustworthiness encompasses the following four main ideas. First, the data must be valuable and creditable. Next, it must be deemed applicable, as opposed to generalisable. Third, it must be consistent with what is already known. Finally, there needs to be an element of neutrality about the data. It must be deemed to have been extracted from a reliable source.

When discussing the importance of establishing trustworthiness and believability, Moules (2002) added to Hirschmann’s (1986) argument that phenomenologists engaging in (post)qualitative research need to be judged by a different set of criteria that assess the transferability, dependability, and confirmability of their work, concluding that a good interpretation has to transport the audience to a place that they are able to recognise, if not a place that they have previously visited. In sum, (post)qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people, including those who observe and assess the common values, actions, and social interactions of others (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

3.4.1. Phenomenology

Phenomenologists explore the world “as it is experienced by human beings within particular contexts and at particular times, rather than in abstract statements about the nature of the world in general” (Willig, 2001, p. 51). Phenomenology is therefore the study of phenomena, which has been defined as “things as they present themselves to, and are perceived in consciousness” (Allen-Collinson, 2016 , p.11). The Greeks called this ‘phainomenon’, defined as “something that is placed in the light, made apparent, shown” (Allen-Collinson, 2016, p.11). Phenomenology therefore offers a valid means of exploring perceptions of past experiences (Dowling, 2007; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010) and of people’s personal attachment to places (Manzo,

2003). O'Connor and Hallam (2000) suggested that phenomenology is concerned with knowledge that is non-propositional (i.e. its objective is to capture the way in which the world presents itself to the individual in an immediate (unmediated) sense, including vague feelings, pleasures, tastes, hunches, moods, and ideas on the margin of consciousness).

Van Manen (1990) acknowledged the different philosophical mindsets of the founders of phenomenology, noting the multiple orientations and options that exist as a consequence. He describes it as a “profoundly reflective enquiry into human meaning” (p. 1), concluding that a good phenomenological description not only recollects and validates the lived experiences of others, but is also collected and validated by the lived experience of the researcher. He reminds the reader that the experiences being collected are always a recollection of a past event, as opposed to an experience of the event itself (Van Manen, 1990). Furthermore, he addresses the concerns of those who may question the practical value and academic validity of employing a phenomenological approach by stressing the importance of both establishing and articulating a credible understanding with regards to the methodological rigour that underpins the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data (van Manen, 1990).

The most commonly adopted forms of phenomenology all involve dialogue, description, debate, reflection, and revision (Dowling, 2007; Gummesson, 2003; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010; Van Manen, 2011). Allen-Collinson (2016) describes it as a particular tradition and not at all synonymous with qualitative research or research into concrete, individual, or subjective experiences. She adds that “to qualify as phenomenological, a study must go far beyond providing a description, however detailed and well-grounded, of the subjective experience of phenomena; this would constitute phenomenism and not phenomenology”(p. 14). Phenomenology is not, in her opinion:

concerned with recounting the immediate, subjective experiences of a particular person(s) as lived in everyday life, but rather about fundamentally problematising that ‘everydayness’, ‘standing aside’ from the everyday flow of subjective experiences and taken-for-granted ways of thinking and being. This requires the disciplined

suspending or bracketing of the 'natural attitude' to look anew at, and reflect upon the phenomenon, to identify its structure or core essence, the thing without which it would cease to be the phenomenon under study. (Allen-Collinson, 2016, p. 14).

A hermeneutic approach is not the only direction from which phenomenologists can study human perceptions and the subjectivity of the lived experience. Others include transcendental/descriptive, existential, empirical, and experimental (Allen-Collinson, 2016; Dowling, 2007; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010; van Manen, 1990). According to Willig (2001), "each strand makes different assumptions about issues, such as role of language and interpretation, the nature of being and human action" (p. 67). Edmund Husserl's interest in the perceptions of his research subjects is widely credited as having got the ball rolling in terms of modern 20th century phenomenological thinking. The mathematician is said to have introduced the notion of 'bracketing', which encouraged his fellow scientist to first identify and then try to separate their existing knowledge and past experiences from their work (Dowling, 2007). Martin Heidegger, a theologian, argued, however, that separating one's 'pre-understanding' was impossible and, as a result, claimed that neither researchers nor their subjects could ever be truly objective or completely removed from their investigations (Dowling, 2007; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010).

Dowling (2007) positions Heidegger as an interpretivist and Husserl as a realist with an interest in personal descriptions of past events. Her exploration into the early development of phenomenology also acknowledges the significant contributions provided by German constructionist Hans-Georg Gadamer, French post-positivist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Algerian-born French deconstructionist/poststructuralist Jacques Derrida, and, more recently, Dutch reductionist Max Van Manen (Dowling, 2007). Empirical and existential phenomenology has proven particularly insightful to sport researchers employing an empirical phenomenological approach to look at embodiment (Allen-Collinson, 2016). In sum, phenomenologists do not make claims about the world itself, but draw conclusions that focus on how the world presents itself to people as they engage with it in particular contexts and with particular intentions (Willig, 2001). In other words, they seek to provide, as opposed to prove, the perceived impact and importance of past lived experiences.

Phenomenologists connect body (the physiological), consciousness (the psychological), and world (the sociological and anthropological), believing them to be inter-related and mutually influential in shaping subjectivities and the lived experience (Allen-Collinson, 2011). They offer detailed descriptions of the what and how, without the attempts to explain the why (Willig, 2001). Willig (2001) presents three distinct phases within the pursuit of phenomenological understanding. First, the researcher must try to suspend all existing presuppositions, assumptions, judgements, and interpretations, allowing them to become fully aware of what is being presented before their eyes at that moment in time (Willig, 2001). Next, the researcher must reduce and reproduce everything encountered in its totality (i.e. everything seen, heard, felt). This reduction allows the researcher to capture the constituents of the experience (Willig, 2001). The final stage, referred to as an imaginative variation, incorporates the researcher's attempts to both access and assess the unique structural components of the phenomenon (Willig, 2001). Questions still remain, however, as to whether the conscious removal of one's subjectivity (the epoche) is indeed possible, or - as Heidegger proposed - merely an ideology that can never truly eventuate (Gummesson, 2003).

Schwandt (2001) is one of many who has questioned the assertion that the academic representation of an observed social setting is genuine, accurate, true, and completely valid. He proposed that, for the "postmodern ethnographer", there is "no such thing as a 'real' account of the way of life of others" (pp. 11–12). More recently, when discussing the need for phenomenologists to suspend, bracket, or stand aside from their normal attitudes, Ravn (2016) also emphasised Merleau-Ponty's view that, if possible, the epoche would represent a never ending process. Willig (2001) notes the importance of differentiating between "phenomenological contemplation" and "phenomenological analysis", with the former being focused on an object or event observed/encountered by the researcher and the latter being based upon a research participant's socially constructed description of a lived experience. Phenomenological contemplation requires introspection, whereas the phenomenological analysis requires the researcher to get inside someone else's experience (Willig, 2007).

When addressing potential limitations, Allen-Collinson (2016) noted how empirical phenomenology can be strengthened through the incorporation of humanistic insights gathered from other social scientific disciplines and subject areas, including

sociology and social-psychology. Critics of sociologically situated empirical phenomenology have tended to focus on the lack of generalisability and universality of the findings constructed and/or a lack of familiarity with the phenomenon or phenomena under investigation (Allen-Collinson, 2009, 2011). Another criticism identified by Allen-Collinson (2016) is the adoption of ‘highly abstract language’, which loses the ‘feel’, richness, vitality, textures, evocativeness, and grounded “bodyfulness; of the lived experience” (p. 19). To overcome the limitations, Allen-Collinson (2016) replaced the three most commonly cited phases of phenomenology with a model that has four cornerstones, each of which provide a guiding structure for interpretivists ‘doing’ empirical phenomenology. The four cornerstones are presented in Table 3.1. below.

Table 3.1

Allen-Collinson’s (2016) four cornerstones of phenomenology

Cornerstone	Allen-Collinson’s Summary
Description	there can be no pure description without some degree (at least) of interpretation. . . our social-structural and cultural location, gender, age, and so on, influence how we compile descriptions, and indeed what we even ‘see’ as being available for description (Allen-Collinson, 2016, p. 15).
Intentionality	“. . . a thing must present itself to us as something recognizable within our schema of the world, in order for it to be perceived and recognized. . . Intentionality helps explain why different people perceive and experience the same thing in radically different ways (p.16).
Epoche bracketing and eidetic reduction	Although full epoche is deemed an impossibility by empirical phenomenologists, the importance of acknowledging and bracketing one’s ‘natural attitude’, presuppositions and everyday assumptions cannot be ignored. . . Eidetic reduction is employed once bracketing has occurred, allowing the researcher to extract the core meaning of a phenomenon at a

	particular moment in time and space. (p.16)
Essences	the thing without which the thing in question would cease to be the thing it is seen/believed to be. Empirical phenomenologists seek ‘typical’ structures as opposed to ‘essential’ or ‘universal’ things (p.16).

Furthermore, her most recent review of the strengths and weaknesses of employing a phenomenological research within the study of sport and exercise shares the six stages first formulated by Giorgi (1985). These are presented in Table 3.2. below.

Table 3.2

The six stages of ‘doing’ Phenomenological research

1	The collection of concrete, ‘naïve’ descriptions of the phenomenon from participants
2	The researcher’s adoption of the phenomenological attitude and engagement with the epoche.
3	An impressionistic reading of each transcript/description to gain a feel for the whole
4	An in-depth re-reading of the description to identify ‘meaning units’.
5	Identifying and making explicit the significance of each meaning unit.
6	The production of a general description of the structure(s) of the experience.

Having provided an overview of phenomenology from both a philosophical and methodological viewpoint, the rest of this section will explore the analysis of phenomenological data. More specifically, it looks at the similarities and difference between employing empirical phenomenology

within the analysis of qualitative data and the employment of qualitative data in phenomenological analysis (Table 3.3). Both of the choices documented below start with the extraction of rich detailed descriptions, typically through the use of formal and informal interviews (Ravn, 2016). Van Manen (1990) argued for the construction of a ‘full interpretative descriptions’, whilst Giorgi (1997) stressed the importance of generating ‘pure descriptions’ that capture the individual’s lived experience and emotions as faithfully as possible. Giorgi’s (2008) observation that there is no clear division between a descriptive and an idiographic analysis of qualitative data was later challenged by Finlay (2009), who introduced the idea of a continuum that simultaneously separates and synthesises the different variants of phenomenological analysis

Table 3.3

Two choices, three phases

	Phenomenology in the analysis of qualitative data	Qualitative research in phenomenological analysis
1	Generating rich descriptions of lived experiences.	Generating rich descriptions of lived experience.
2	Performing an explorative analysis of data and transforming descriptions into meanings contained in the expression.	Performing an explorative analysis of data while actively engaging in recent phenomenological discussions.
3	Relating the identified “meaning” to themes of relevance within the scientific domain of the researcher	Using the analysis of data as “factual variation” in the further analysis of phenomenological descriptions

3.4.2. Ethnography

According to Boyle (1994), the fundamental principle of ethnography is that the behaviour of a social actor cannot be interpreted in isolation of the context. Thus, ethnography offers an inroad into capturing human interactions and actions in the specific social context it occurred (Atkinson, 2016). Traditionally, ethnography was associated with anthropology but it has evolved from the traditional practice of visiting remote settings and observing behaviours with the intension of ascribing meaning to such behaviours (Wilcox, 1980). As noted by Wolcott (1999), ethnography has long moved on from the traditional anthropological stance and does not necessarily reflect the past practice or the ideal. Researchers have adopted different approaches and modifications of ethnography to suit their purpose, although the core tenet of ethnography still remains the same, which is to provide robust, in-depth, and comprehensive insights into the lived experiences and interactions of social actors in the social setting it occurs (Atkinson, 2016; Reeves et al., 2008). It endeavours to provide a more comprehensible form of meaning ascribed to social experiences by converting them into text (Tedlock, 2000). The term originates from the Greek words for people 'ethnos' and writing 'graph' (Atkinson, 2016).

Unlike the realist ethnographers of the past, the poststructuralist ethnographic qualitative researcher rejects the notion of distance between the researcher and the participants (Denzin, 2003). Rather, the closeness to participants is encouraged and acknowledged. According to Atkinson (2016), "ethnographies, in any manifestation, thrive or fizzle out depending on the researcher's ability to gain access to the setting or culture of their choice" (p. 55). The advantage of such relationship is that it would enable the researcher access to information that might not ordinarily be possible to access, especially with regard to sensitive information. The rapport between the researcher and participants can facilitate the use of casual conversations, which in turn allows the researcher to probe deeper into issues and motivate the participant to divulge important information (Reeves et al., 2008). Inductive ethnographic analysis essentially revolves around the use of field data to generate, explore, probe, and extend the empirical applicability and understanding (as opposed to explanation) of particular ideas or concepts (in this case, social capital and inclusion through sport).

Ethnographic-inspired qualitative methods were adopted for this study, influenced by the interpretive nature of the study and the complexity of the social phenomena of sport and migration. For Lincoln and Guba (1985), the number of participants is not important in a qualitative study but the researcher should include enough participants to reach data saturation. This is a situation where no further information is generated. Morse (1995) agreed that saturation rather than sample size is salient in qualitative research. However, she also observed that the challenge is in knowing the number of samples required to reach data saturation. According to Patton (1990), all sampling techniques associated with qualitative research could be generally categorised as purposeful. He suggested that qualitative research usually makes use of small samples purposefully selected.

3.4.2.1 Sampling and Selection of Participants

The important factors to consider when deciding on sample size is the purpose of the study, what the researcher set out to investigate, and the acceptability of the data gathered. A purposive sampling method was utilised to select participants for this study (Patton, 2002). This is in consonance with Bryan's (2006) view that qualitative researchers adopting interviews are most likely to utilise a purposive sampling technique to select participants for their study. Purposive sampling, as the name implies, is used to select subjects for a study based on a pre-conceived objective and only participants relevant to the study are selected (Patton, 1990). Therefore, researchers use their discretion to systematically select subjects based on the respondent's knowledge of the social phenomena or social experiences as regards the phenomena that is being researched (Kumar, 2011). In the same light, Morse (1991) also suggested that respondents should be selected based on their relevancy to the research. Wolcott (1994) pointed out the risk of losing the depth of study in qualitative research when much attention is paid on the size of the sample at the detriment of the richness of data. He cautioned that increasing sample size would remove a more rigorous examination of the sample.

According to Oliver (2006), the ability of a researcher to actively select the respondents, which involves deciding who is most suitable and most likely to provide in-depth data, is one of the advantages of purposive sampling. Conversely, this could

also be seen as a disadvantage because it creates the impression that purposive sampling is biased and subjective (Bryman, 2004). Thus, to mitigate against bias, it is imperative to set out a clear criteria of selecting samples for a study. Patton (2002) pointed out that, regardless the type of purposive sampling adopted by a researcher, it is important to select the respondents based on pre-established criteria relevant to the subject matter. Depending on the specific study, categories such as age, gender, ethnicity, race, ideology and role in an organisation (Sandelowski et al., 1992) could be used to select respondents.

Robinson (2014) acknowledges the importance of established coherence, transparency, impact, and trustworthiness within the data collection phase of a qualitative research study, proposing a four-point approach to sampling. This approach involves the establishment of specific inclusion/exclusion criteria and allowing for the creation of a 'sample universe'. The size of this universe is decided based the researcher's practical concerns and epistemological considerations, as is the development of a suitable sampling strategy (Robinson, 2014). It is important that all the available sampling options are considered prior to the recruitment of participants. These include: cell, convenience, purposive, quota, random, single-case, snowball, and stratified (Robinson, 2014). Finally, the recruitment process and participant consent procedures need to be established. This is referred to by Robinson (2014) as 'sample sourcing'. In addition to purposive sampling, snowball sampling was also adopted to select participants for this research. Snowball sampling involves referral from one participant who establishes contact with another possible participant (Kumar, 2011).

All those involved in this study were given information sheets prior to the provision of a detailed consent form. The seven immigrants whose stories are shared in the following chapter were all part of a larger group of potential participants, all of whom were pre-interviewed. To qualify for the pre-interview, all of the participants had to be immigrants aged 20 or over, live in Auckland and be actively involved in sport at a local community level. Anyone who had migrated to New Zealand for the sole purpose of engaging in professional sport was immediately excluded. The category of migration was also considered when selecting participants, as was the year they migrated and the age they were when they migrated. The researcher was looking to capture and share the stories of recent and non-recent immigrants who had first

entered New Zealand as a child, as a student, as a skilled migrant, as a refugee or as the result of family migration.

The researcher decided not to go into the field and specifically target a certain number of male and female participants, removing gender as one of the potential criteria for participation. The immigrant's ethnicity was also removed as one of the criteria for selection, as the researcher was reluctant of miss out on sharing an immigrant's story because he had already recruited one or two participants of the same ethnicity. Another potential selection criterium that was considered and later removed from the equation was the type of sport being played by the participant. The researcher did not enter the field purposefully looking for immigrants who played football or cricket.

In order to identify and initiate that all important first contact with potential participants, the researcher became actively involved in the local community. As noted above, all of the immigrants invited to participate in this study were aged 20 years and over at the time of first contact. Considering the personal, potentially sensitive, nature of the study, it was agreed prior to the request for ethical approval that the study would not be targeting anyone deemed to be a legal minor, including those considered to be in their youth (the transitional period between childhood and adulthood). In New Zealand a person is considered a child or a minor until the age of 18.

When deciding upon a minimum age, the researcher was mindful of the need to build a genuine relationship, if not friendship, with the participant. This is important given that participation in the study required multiple meetings over a twelve-month period. These meetings inevitably occurred in different locations, including places where the participant felt most at ease, comfortable, and safe enough to open up and share their unique oral histories. The interviews were carried out at different locations, including the immigrants' homes, sports fields, offices, cafés, and university campuses. Furthermore, the researcher was also conscious and considerate of the fact that the interview process could well generate some bad/unpleasant memories and trigger an emotional reaction from the participants. Finally, it was deemed imperative to recruit participants who would be able to adequately articulate the positive and/or negative role that sport had played in terms

of their integration into New Zealand society. With all this in mind, the minimum age was set at twenty rather than eighteen. There was no maximum age set, but the researcher began the recruitment process with an expectation that he was unlikely to engage with too many senior citizens during his twelve months in the field.

In terms of place of residence, the initial decision to limit the search to immigrants located in the South of New Zealand’s largest urban centre, the City of Auckland, was made following interest and investment from Counties Manukau Sport, the Regional Sports Trusts for that area. South Auckland has the youngest and most ethnically diverse resident population in New Zealand. It is also one of the fastest growing regions in the country. However, after consultations with Counties Manukau Sport, it was agreed that it is better to open the search to include immigrants residing within the Auckland region as a whole. This would increase the possibility of recruiting participants and enable a wider representation of participants.

After the participants with the most memorable and meaningful stories were identified, they were asked if they were willing to commit to the research for the period of twelve months. The researcher employed a multiple interview approach, using an ethnographic lens to engage the participants in a range of unstructured interviews over a twelve-month period. The multiple interview approach of the study provided opportunity for the researcher to clarify issues raised in previous discussions with the participant at any stage of the interview. Table 3.4 below provides background information on the participants, including their nationality, visa status and age at arrival, year of arrival, and the sports they engaged in in New Zealand.

Table 3.4

Participant Profile

Name	Nationality	Arrival Status	Sport	Arrival Age	Arrival Year
Adrian	Chinese	Student	Football	15	2010
Anna	Indian	Student	Football	21	2013
Jack	Somali	Refugee	Rugby	4	1999
Ali	Afghan	Family reunification	Cricket	11	2002
Ryan	Nigerian	Skilled worker	Football	9	2000
			Athletics		

Tom	Brazilian	Holiday visa	Football Table tennis	29	2009
Franz	German	Skilled worker	Football Table tennis	36	1983

3.4.3. In-depth Interview with Multiple Conversation

To be able to achieve the objective of penetrating the world of the participants, it is salient to create rapport (Watson, 2000) and to engage in multiple conversations with the respondents (Riessman, 2008a), rather than a one-sided, one-off, interrogation. Camic et al. (2003) suggested that “conducting multiple interviews over an extended time period not only builds up a very rich biographical context for analytical interpretation and creates a relationship of trust that encourages greater self-disclosure” (p. 9). According to Zikmund (2003), in-depth interviews provide opportunity for a two-way conversation between the respondent and the researcher. This is aptly reflected in Baxter and Babbie’s (2003) description of in-depth interview as an interaction between the respondent and the researcher, where the researcher acts as a guide and allows the respondent to copiously discuss the subject matter without the restraint of structured close-ended questions.

The flexibility attached to engaging in multiple conversation over a long period of time enabled the researcher to continuously review the process and make improvements on areas of enquiry when necessary (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The ability to discuss without restraint resulted in the divulgence of rich quality qualitative data (Gillham, 2001). It also provided opportunities for the researcher to probe deeper into the lived experiences and social worlds of the participant (Zikmund, 2003). The regular face-to-face, one-on-one meetings also allowed the researcher the opportunity to identify various forms of non-verbal communication, including body language and facial expressions. This helped the researcher interpret the meanings attached to the memories being shared. Most importantly, the multiple conversation approach provided the researcher and the participant with the chance to revisit and clarify statements made during a previous meeting.

3.4.4. Ethnographic Process with Multiple Conversation

This study was designed to capture the voices, meaning-making process, and experiences of immigrants. Thus, unlike a typical ethnography that focuses mainly on observation, discourse was at the forefront. Consequently, multiple conversations featured prominently in the ethnographic process. The multiple conversations took place in a variety of locations across Auckland, such as cafes, university campus, sport fields, sport halls, work offices, and the homes of the participants. The researcher met and interacted with the participants multiple times in these various locations over a 12-month period

Because the ethnographic process lasted over 12 months, it was important to establish a sustainable relationship between the researcher and the participants from the outset. Thus, developing a rapport from the beginning was crucial to the success of the process. In view of this, the first meeting with the participants was dedicated to establishing rapport. The first conversation was usually an introduction session where the researcher would adopt an informal approach. The researcher would supply some information about himself to provide opportunity for the participant to get to know him and build trust. In these sessions, ample opportunity was provided for participants to chat freely and generally about their interests and background. Topics usually covered included discussions around their sporting interest and background. Also, general information on their cultural background, country of origin, and some peculiarities of their culture including some general misunderstandings and misconceptions of the culture by the host community.

During this first meeting, the researcher deliberately avoided specific questions or topics related to the research subject matter. The main research related question in this session was asking participants to choose a pseudonym. Thus, the highlight of the first session was choosing a fictitious name for the participant. Thus, all the fictitious names of participants featured in the stories shared in the next chapter were chosen by the participants themselves. The researcher always tried to leave the first meeting with some questions, derived from the information supplied by the participants on their background and interests. These questions then formed the basis of the conversation between the researcher and the participant in their next meeting.

The researcher then delved deeper into the research phenomenon at subsequent meetings. The researcher met each participant multiple times and engaged them in in-depth conversations, on as many as seven occasions. As mentioned earlier, the multiple conversations approach allowed for the continuous re-visiting and clarification of issues, meaning that the same issue or moment was often revisited several times. The multiple conversations approach also provided opportunity for the researcher to meet those people who had been described as the ‘support actors’ in each story, which contributed to the creative dimension of CAP/story telling. Where necessary, ethical consent was also obtained from these support actors.

In addition to multiple conversations, the study also employed observation. However, the observation used in this study was not consistent with traditional ethnography. The observation employed in this study could be best described as passive observation. This is a situation where the researcher observes the participants in their natural setting but does not participate in the activity they are engaged in or interact with them or the activity to a large extent. The focus of the observation during the ethnographic process in this study was to watch the participants perform different actions and engage in different activities in their natural state. Participants were observed playing their sport during matches or practice sessions and interacting with their friends like the support actors mentioned earlier or interacting with their families. In addition, the environment and scenes where these actions or activities took place were also important observations carried out during the process. These observations provided crucial information and ingredients that helped the researcher to provide comprehensive contexts to the stories. These salient observations and information were all documented in detail in field notes.

Field notes were employed extensively throughout the ethnographic process. The field notes helped the researcher keep a record of the characteristics of both the participants and the support actors. Also, specific observations such as emotions, mannerisms, and body language were captured in detail in the field notes, as well as information about the environment, such as both specific and general features of interview location. The field notes aided the creation and production of scenes, scenarios, and dialogues. The field notes also served as reference both during the ethnographic process and during narrative development.

3.4.5. Narrative Inquiry

The field of narrative research is diverse, dynamic, and expanding, and there is no shortage of definitions as to what a narrative is (or is not) (Papathomas, 2016). Bruner (1990) argued that a narrative is an essential structure in human meaning-making, perhaps innate, that plays an important role in social negotiation and identity formation. A narrative is a discourse form which can express the diachronic perspective of human actions. It retains their temporal dimension by exhibiting them as occurring before, at the same time, or after other actions or events (Polkinghorne, 1997). Wright and Blair (2016) conceptualise a narrative as “the ordering and connecting of particular subjects, events, actions, and experiences in a causally or temporally meaningful sequence or whole” (p. 219). They propose that narrative research captures the complexity of the human experience in a manner that represents the ‘messiness of lives’ and define narrative construction as “an active and engaged process that requires the negotiation of cultural tools and social conventions” (p. 220).

For the sake of this study, the researcher has adopted the well-cited definition of Smith and Sparkes (2009). In their minds, a narrative is:

“taken to mean a complex genre that routinely contains a point and character along with a plot connecting events that unfold sequentially over time and in space to provide an overarching explanation or consequence. It is a constructed form of template which people rely on to tell stories.” (Smith & Sparkes, 2009, p. 2).

A narrative account is deemed to be an appropriate form of expression to display research as practice. The production occurs over time and has a beginning, middle, and end, which are the essential elements of a story (Wright, 2017). In other words, a narrative represents the overarching thematic structure of a story (Papathomas, 2016).

The study of narratives is essentially the study of how human’s construct and consume the world (Bruner, 1990). “Narrative is everywhere” (Richardson, 2000, p.

168), and the sharing of lived experiences are widely regarded as being the most effective means of reporting human action (Ricoeur et al., 1984). Narrative inquirers dismiss the existence of an 'objective truth', preferring to focus their time and attention on the creation and consumption of truthful and trustworthy personal experiences (Papathomas, 2016). They seek and celebrate the subjectivity of the storyteller. Harari (2014) argued that a human's ability to communicate knowledge and understanding through narratives has been central to both the survival and success of our species. Papathomas (2016) refers to it as "the cardinal approach to making sense of our worlds" (p. 39).

Over the past two decades, narrative inquiry has established itself as an effective means of generating, interpreting, evaluating, and constructing personal memories, drawing on a variety of existing and established philosophical, methodological, and analytical traditions in the process (Papathomas, 2016). According to Papathomas (2016), it "typically falls within an interpretivist paradigm characterised by ontological relativism and epistemological social constructionism" (p. 37). Gergen and Gergen (1986) argued that narrative accounting (or storytelling) allows events to be structured in a manner and direction that demonstrate a sense of movement through time. Polkinghorne (1997) agreed, adding that narratives turn "a mere succession of actions and events into a coherent whole" (p. 13). The call to investigate narratives was, according to Papathomas (2016):

"born out of a fervent dissatisfaction with the capacity for positivist science to address issues that were personally, socially and culturally complex; human issues. . . the positivist emphasis on control and prediction was so dismissive of context, subjectivity and meaning that it ceased to be of any relevance to what happened in people's worlds (p. 39).

Narrative inquiry is a case-by-case based methodology that builds upon the personal stories of individuals, groups, communities, organisations, and nations (Mishler, 1995; Murray, 1997; Riessman, 2008a). Ricœur (1991) proposed that narratives provide the map that allow us to safely navigate our way through the sea of time. In keeping with the same theme, Murray (2003) concluded that we all swim in a sea of socially constructed stories that seep into our self-consciousness and provide the

fabric of our self and social identities. In sum, narratives help us shape and make sense of personal experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). We create narratives that not only help to define who we see in the mirror, but also how we want to be seen by others at a particular moment in time. Furthermore, they offer opportunities for the negotiation of meaning (Riessman, 2008a).

Narratives not only contain characters who act, interact, and move the plot forward towards the end, they also reveal character (Gergen & Gergen, 1986; McAdams, 2001; Papathomas, 2016; Polkinghorne, 1997; Ricoeur, 1992). McAdams (1985) concludes that:

“an individual’s story has the power to tie together past, present and future in his or her life. It is a story that he is able to provide unity and purpose. . . individual identities may be classified in the manner of stories. Identity stability is longitudinal consistency in the life story. Identity transformation – identity crisis, identity change – is story revision. . . . identity is a life story”. (p. 19)

Gergen and Gergen (1986) identified three ways to structure a personal narrative: progressive, regressive, and stability. Progressive stories typically document how something good was able to come from something bad, whilst regressive stories document the opposite (Gergen & Gergen, 1986). Employment is the term given to the process of combining multiple memories into a single narrative. It can appear as a single thread, but more often consists of numerous threads or subplots, all of which require weaving together into a complex and multi-layered account of a past lived experience (Polkinghorne, 1997).

Narrative accounts are by their very nature fluid, rather than fixed (Murray, 2003). Polkinghorne (1997) refers to the “gestalt like quality” of a structured narrative, which diverts the focus away from a series of “individual research events” and towards “the unfolding of the whole project”(p. 13). Polkinghorne (1997) proposes that the structure through which people “understand and describe the relationship among the events and choices of their lives” (p. 13) can be referred to as ‘the plot’. The plot provides the narrator with the opportunity to transform past events into a story, removing the limitations connected to the time elapsed between its source (the beginning) and its inevitable conclusion (the end). The creation and composition of a

cohesive plotline also provides some much-needed selection criteria, with anything deemed irrelevant or off topic being cut or excluded from the final narrative. Plots link the temporal boundaries, be it minutes, hours, weeks, decades, or centuries, to a particular outcome (the point of the story). It establishes a clear beginning and an even clearer end (Polkinghorne 1997).

Atkinson (2002) refers to the healing nature of sharing stories as a form of narrative therapy. Narrative research plots the particular, as opposed to the general, showcasing the inherent complexities that accompany individuality rather than summarising the broader patterns that exist within a community (Bruner, 1990; Riessman, 2008a). Narrative research is centred on the exploration of how personal experiences and memories shared by those who live them are constructed (Chase, 2011). More recently, Wright and Blair (2016) noted that the “particularity of narratives means that they cannot be reduced to general theories. . . meaning is localised in the specificity of the narrative” (p. 227). They added, however, that narratives can generate connections and be relatable.

3.4.4.1 Narrative Analysis

The emergence of unconventional forms of exhibiting ethnographical data has led to equally unconventional forms of evaluating their relevance and academic rigour (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parry & Johnson, 2007; Richardson, 2000; Schwandt, 2001). According to Riessman (2008b), narrative analysis refers to a family of methods that focus on performed social actions and perceived realities located in personal stories. Murray (2003) argued that, when situated within the realms of psychology, narrative analysis provides a framework for not only understanding but also challenging the nature of ourselves and of our place within the world. He stated that narrative psychology is:

concerned with the structure, content, and function of the stories that we tell each other and ourselves in social interaction. It accepts that we live in a storied world and that we interpret the actions of others and ourselves through the stories we exchange” (p. 95).

Murray (2003) concluded that narrative analysis offers “a dynamic approach to understanding human identity and the process of making sense of our ever-changing world” (p. 110). Frank (2010) supported this conclusion, adding that narrative analysis can generate a more comprehensive understanding of the relational and cultural fabric of human lives in and across time.

Bochner (2014) suggested that the analysis of personal stories can provide raw and candid insight into the emotional meanings attached to our memories of past lived experiences. Smith (2016) distinguished between the different approaches taken by the storyanalyst and the storyteller. Neither approach is said to be better than the other, and Smith provided a number of examples where both methods have been adopted by qualitative researchers, hoping to establish a deeper, multi-layered understanding of a particular topic (see, for example, Carless, 2014; Griffin & Phoenix, 2014; Sparkes & Smith, 2011). Smith (2016) cites that narrative analysis can “help us understand human conduct in ways that respect both agency and structure”, having already noted how people are not only “capable of shaping reality through storytelling”, but also “shaped by narratives that circulate within culture”(p. 262). He concludes that, when operating as a storyteller, an academic can produce outcomes that are more accessible to a wider, non-academic, audience (Smith, 2016).

As the name implies, a storyanalyst analyses the content of a narrative prior to producing an analytical factual account of a past ‘lived’ experience. The research focuses on the narrative’s content, producing an abstract account in the form of a realist story as an output. The findings are extracted from an analysis process that is thematic, structural, personal, rhetorical, interactional, dialogical, visual, and/or sensorial (Smith, 2016). King (2016) referred to the realist tale, in which the author/researcher removes themselves from the scene, as being the most frequently used means of communicating the consequences of conducting qualitative research. Realist narratives are typically built around a selection of carefully edited quotations extracted from the transcripts of interviews (King, 2016). The strength of the narrative is judged by the extent to which it is deemed to be an accurate and authentic representation of the interviewee’s account of a past event experience or their personal perspective towards a particular subject matter (King, 2016; Van Manen, 2011).

The aim of a storyteller is essentially to source, sample, and share individual stories, establishing a deeper understanding in the process. The narrative inquirer also aims to encourage themselves, their participants, and their target audience to “think beyond the surface of the text” (Riessman 2008a, p. 13). The narrator, from the very outset of the study, accepts and acknowledges the existence of “multiple interpretations and perspectives” and recognises “the influence of their own positioning in the findings they construct” (Wright & Blair, 2016, p. 228). Smith (2016) presented a number of creative analytical practices (CAP) that enable a storyteller to distinguish themselves from a storyanalyst, including autoethnography, creative non-fiction, messy texts, ethnodrama, ethnotheatre, poetic representation, and musical performance. He also drew upon the work of a number of scholars to offer a practical guide for storytellers interested in crafting a piece of CAP.

The storyteller offers an alternative means of analysing the meanings located within a narrative, preferring to let the researcher’s story be the first and focal point of the analysis process (Smith, 2016). Rather than produce an abstract interpretation, a storyteller views their storied narrative as being both analytical and theoretical in its own right (Smith, 2016). Connelly and Clandinin (1990) were one of the earliest advocates and adopters of the storytelling approach to narrative analysis, suggesting that “the two narratives of participant and researcher become, in part, a shared narrative construction and reconstruction through the inquiry” (p. 5). In sum, storytellers attempt to replace, if not remove, their authority through the creation of more trustworthy, dialogic, and polyvocal texts (Parry & Johnson, 2007; Richardson, 2000; Wright, 2019). The following section will provide a more detailed overview of Creative Analytical Practice, with a particular focus on the strengths and limitations of employing creative non-fiction.

3.4.5. Creative Analytical Practice (CAP)

The more frequently CAP ethnographies are published, presented, performed, or installed, the more legitimate they become. . . CAP ethnographies may indeed be the most valid and desirable representation, for they invite people in and open spaces for thinking about the social that elude us now. (Richardson, 1999, p. 661).

According to Richardson (2000), Creative Analytical Practice (CAP) can elevate the complex political and ideological agendas hidden in our writing to the forefront of our minds. CAP storytellers align themselves and their outputs with both realist and new materialist ontologies, social constructionist/subjectivist epistemologies, and critical 'post-' theories (Berbary, 2015; Berbary & Johnson, 2012; Wright, 2019). As a result, the production of CAP ethnography has proven an attractive option to relativists who accept that there are multiple approaches to knowing and being, and that, as a consequence, no individual method, theory, discourse, genre, or tradition can ever be presented as being the best way of capturing the lived experience (Richardson & St Pierre, 2005; Wright, 2017).

CAP ethnographies foreground the researcher's subjectivities and presence, and require new relationships to be formed between the observer and the observed (Parry & Johnson, 2007). When discussing the creative presentation of (post)qualitative data, Berbary (2015) suggested that CAP ethnographers can benefit from more unstructured guides used for more narrative-style semi-structured interviews. She also noted the possibilities attached to moving from specific stories to broader concepts, focusing on the combination of existing themes or ideas and the creation of poly-voiced, dialogic, juxtaposed narratives, composites, or visual forms. She concluded that CAP can be applied to narratives that elicit thick, rich, contextualised stories, but suggests that it is "almost impossible to move in the opposite direction from broad information to in-depth stories" (p. 37).

By challenging the notions of validity, reliability, objectivity, and authority, advocates of CAP have arguably advanced the social sciences from a crisis of representation into a crisis of legitimation (Berbary, 2015; Wright, 2019). Richardson and St Pierre (2005) proposed that, while storytellers may have more freedom in terms of how they present their narratives, they still face a number of different constraints around the subject of authorship, authority, truth, validity, and reliability. According to Lincoln and Guba (2005), the producers of CAP narratives:

"seek to break the binary between science and literature, to portray the contradiction and truth of human experience, to break the rules in the service of showing, even partially, how real human beings cope with both the eternal verities of human existence and the daily

irritations and tragedies of living that existence” (p. 11).

CAP narratives can take many forms, from a letter, a journal or diary entry, a list, a biography, a memoir, a tribute, or an obituary (Clayton & Coates, 2019). They are stories grounded in testimonials of experienced truth (Wright, 2017). Clayton and Coates (2019) conclude that having an ethnographic research design is not essential, but can be advantageous, allowing the storyteller the opportunity to fully immerse themselves in the ‘reality’ that is observed. When considering the academic rigour and reliability of the content found within a creative nonfictional narrative, the emphasis needs to be on the ‘believability’ and ‘trustworthiness’ of the narrative, rather than its ‘applicability’, ‘generalisability’ or the ‘objectivity’ of the narrator (Berbary, 2015; Parry & Johnson, 2007; Wright, 2019).

In sum, CAP enables scholars to represent research in a manner that is more understandable and accessible to a non-academic community (Wright, 2019), which increases the odds of instigating and initiating knowledge transfer (Smith, 2016). CAP is regarded as a game changer within the field of leisure studies (Parry & Johnson, 2007) and is slowly becoming more evident within the realms of sport management (see, for example, Wright, 2017, 2019). Parry and Johnson (2007) offered a detailed introduction to the depth, complexity, and philosophical underpinnings of CAP, claiming it to be well suited for leisure-based scholarship that “seeks to contextualise lived experiences and address the complexity of life” (p. 122). They concluded that the adoption of CAP requires the presentation of four critical questions: for whom do I speak, to whom do I speak, with what voice do I speak, and with what purpose do I speak? (Parry & Johnson, 2007; Wright, 2019). The narratives presented in this thesis are hybrid stories that have been carefully shaped and creatively edited into what Riessman (2002) referred to as a metastory. Multi-vocal narratives are a combination of episodic and life-course narratives (Murray, 2003). A life-course interview is typically less focused than an episodic interview, which seeks a detailed narrative accounts about a particular lived experience. The interviewer is there merely to encourage expansion, as opposed to direct or draw conclusions.

The first step in Smith’s (2016) guide to doing CAP-inspired narrative analysis is listed as ‘epistemological and ontological awareness’. Under this heading, he advised

the author or narrator to be fully aware and attentive of influence of their own philosophy towards knowledge-creation. He also suggested that the researcher consider how the stories told and the characters presented within the stories are “inseparable from the narratives that circulate in culture and the social world” (p. 268). The second step is termed ‘ethical awareness’ and starts with a warning that the production of CAP can result in many dilemmas, including issues of consent, anonymity and vulnerability (Smith, 2016). The guide directs people towards the work of Ellis (2004) and Sparkes and Smith (2014), both of which acknowledge the importance of being well versed when it comes to the different ethical positions available to CAP ethnographers and narrative storytellers.

The third step is termed ‘the purpose’ and documents the need to not only have an important point, but to also ensure that this point is clearly communicated to the readers of the story (Smith, 2016). The fourth step, ‘analysis’, suggests that the evocative storyteller should consider conducting a thematic narrative analysis, allowing them to interpret the qualitative data before they begin to assemble their version of the story (Smith, 2016). Smith stressed the importance of crafting a story from “thick and rich analysis” (p. 268). Rather than looking for explicit themes, patterns, and trends, however, the storyteller should seek to enhance their understanding of what was and what was not said by the characters that will feature in their narrative, allowing them to create a more complete picture for their audience. Things to look for include evidence of tension, contradiction, and connection (Smith, 2016).

The fifth step is entitled ‘theory’. It is within the fifth step of Smith’s (2016) guide that the storyteller is advised to consider the theories they are aiming to show and the way in which they would like these theories to be shown. Frank (2010) noted the difficulty in trying to anticipate how a reader will consume and interpret theories placed within a story created (written/told) by someone else, suggesting that such matters are out of the storyteller’s direct control. The inclusion of theory, however, is deemed to be a necessity. Smith (2016) noted how some researchers place the theory into the narrative, whilst others produce a standalone “a theoretical autopsy” (p. 269).

‘Scribble, gestate and start to write formally’ is the name given to step six of Smith’s (2016) guide. This step captures how the process of constructing a story can be hard,

messy, and time consuming. Smith (2016) highlighted that the drafts and notes sketched during this stage are unlikely to ever be seen or judged, and that the purpose of the story can also be revised and revisited during the editing stage “as new meanings are discovered in the process of writing” (p. 269). Step seven instructs the storyteller to ‘seek truthfulness’, not “the truth” and “to demonstrate how true to an experience a narrative can be” (p. 269). The narrator is also challenged to evoke an emotional reaction from the reader. It is called ‘Verisimilitude’.

The ten steps presented in Table 3.5 below focus specifically on the construction of an evocative piece of autoethnography or creative non-fiction (refer to chapter 4), offering instructions, and providing questions for the storyteller to answer within the narrative. Smith’s (2016) guide is “not a prescription” (p. 270), but certainly offers clear direction in a somewhat formulaic manner, something he later suggested has been missing from the qualitative methodology-focused literature. Within his conclusion, Smith (2016) acknowledged those who have argued that following a prescriptive procedure can result in movement of thought and imagination being stifled (see, for example, Frank, 2010) and directs the reader towards Chamberlain’s (2011) ‘codification of method’. Finally, Smith (2016) repeated his early observation that “a storyteller is not superior to a storyanalyst (or vice versa)” (p. 270) and offered a reminder that, “when based on informed choices, it is fine to operate as one or the other” and that “both standpoints may be drawn on for certain purposes over the course of a specific project” (p. 270). As discussed in the following chapter, this thesis offers insight into the world of seven migrants through the adoption of both a CAP storytelling and a thematic storyanalyst approach, the latter of which will be covered in more detail within the following section.

Table 3.5

10 steps to creating your story

	Title	Description
1	Think with your body	“Draw on your senses, listen to the many voices you’ve heard in your heart and head, feel these stories pulsating through your body, and tell them as if they were your own whilst respecting the fact you can never truly know the other” (p. 269).
2	Select and develop characters	“Consider who the characters will be and become, how many people are needed to tell the story, how will they drive the story along, what stories will each tell, and how will they interact with each other. Make characters complex, not simply all good or all bad. Consider intersectionality; that is, the intersection of identities grounded in gender, ethnicity, religion, disability and ability” (p. 269).
3	Show rather than tell	“Showing is about delivering a rich, vivid description that aims to create images and conjure up emotions within a reader. Telling catalogues actions and emotional life concisely” (p. 269)
4	Use dialogue	“show what has happened, the point of the story, emotions, and so on, through conversations where appropriate”. (p. 269)
5	Embodiment	“Evoke a sense of the character’s body in motion and being still. Show bodies being emotionally expressive (or not) and enacting on, within and against stories. Let the characters act out the story in relation to other people and reveal things about themselves to others through these interactions” (p. 269)
6	Write evocatively	“As well as showing through dialogue, use different senses (e.g. smell, sound, taste) to evocate emotions, create suspension, and engage the readers viscerally as well as cognitively. It can also be useful to use flashback, metaphor, and dramatic evocation”.

7	Develop a plot'	"A plot can't always contain tension, as everyday life is not like that, but a story needs some dramatic tension. It needs to connect points across time, be cohesive, and have a consequence(s). A story needs a beginning, middle and "end" (not the final word), but not always told in that order." (p. 270)
8	Scene Setting	"Think about the contexts, including where (e.g. places) and when (e.g. morning breakfast) to locate people and their conversations (including internal dialogues with phantom others). Ask yourself about the back and front stages people behave in, as well as how many scenes readers are willing to move in and out of" (p. 270).
9	Selectivity	"Don't try to pack it all in. Select what needs to be told. . . to meet a certain purpose, and to communicate an important point for a particular audience" (p. 270)
10	take a break and polish	"leave your story alone for a while. Come back to it after a break and work through the story. Revise your work – editing, revising, editing more, and revising again – over a period of time until you're satisfied it has met various criteria you and others might judge it by, like insightfulness, coherence, and evocation. . . Make every word count. Don't make the story too long" (p. 270)

3.4.6. Creating the Narratives (Story Writing Phase)

One aim of a narrator is to evoke emotion in the reader (i.e. verisimilitude) (Smith, 2016). The researcher adopted and adapted Smith's (2016) guide (as shown in table 3.5) to produce the stories. The process of the story telling (i.e. writing) started from the onset of data transcription itself. It was after the transcription that the actual steps of telling/writing the stories started. The first step as stated by Smith (2016) is feeling the story with your senses (i.e. think with your body). To do this, the researcher had to read and reread the transcript several times. Also, the researcher

merged the information from the transcript with the information gathered in the field notes. As a result, the researcher became so familiar with the contents (i.e. information) to the point that the story began to evolve. Then the researcher started visualising the story, at this point the researcher was able to see the story play out from the beginning to the end in the researcher's mind.

The next step, helped by the visual representation of the story in the researcher's mind, was to identify the various characters in the story and create them (i.e. bring them to life), and add specificities (i.e. peculiar characteristics) such as gender, ethnicity, or roles. Then relationships and links to the main characters were added.

After this, the researcher engaged in 'mapping' (Smith, 2016), a combination of developing a plot and scene. The difference to Smith's (2016) step was that the researcher literally drew a representation of particular key scenes/plots, matching them with specific key information from the transcripts. This stage also included selectivity (Smith, 2016), which is a process that requires a detailed consideration of the order of events and when to include or add what information in the story. Developing such a plan and paying attention to small details is also useful for creating suspense and raising interest that draws readers into the story and motivates them to continue. To create an evocative story, it is important to have connections between the beginning and end of each story.

After completing the stage of selectivity, the researcher followed all remaining writing stages as suggested by Smith (2016). This included creating dialogues and breathing life into the characters by adding emotions and using suspense and flashbacks to engage the reader. These little pieces are very important in the quest of creating an evocative story that will meaningfully engage the reader and enhance relatability and believability. Finally, as suggested by Smith (2016), it is necessary to take a break and polish. The researcher usually disengaged from the story for some time and then returned with a renewed vigour and perspective. Details that were overlooked previously became obvious and the researcher was then be able to deal with them. The next task in the writing process was to edit, re-edit, and complete the story. The real final stage, however, was taking the story back to the participants to read. The reactions were often moments to savour. The participants were allowed to add, remove, or offer further information they believed should be included in the story.

3.4.7. Thematic (Narrative) Analysis

Thematic analysis is one of the most popular and widely used methods in qualitative research (Guest et al., 2012; Riessman, 2008a; Smith, 2016). According to Boyatzis (1998), it is a suitable analysis technique for a qualitative study that attempts to probe into a social phenomenon and offer interpretation. Braun and Clarke (2006) define it as a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting pattern (themes) within data. Through the detailed description and identification of themes within data, the researcher can easily access the relevant ideas and makes the process of interpretation less cumbersome. Guest et al. (2012) opined that thematic analysis is the most useful method to pick out the intricate meanings embedded in text data. This is very helpful as data gathered from interview are often transcribed and thereby turned into text. It helps bring to light hidden ideas and views that were not obvious during the interview process (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Thematic analysis transcends computing of words but provides a detailed description of themes within a data set (Guest et al., 2012). The detailed description of themes facilitates easier identification of the salient ideas within the data (Blacker, 2009). In addition, it provides a better perspective and scope of the subject matter (Marks & Yardley, 2004). The advantage of thematic analysis cannot be over emphasised: it is very flexible, can summarise the key features of a large body of data, and may also generate unanticipated insight into the subject matter (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) listed the phases of thematic analysis as: familiarisation with the data gathered, generation of initial codes, search and review of themes, definition and naming themes, and finally production of the report.

As noted within the previous section, thematic narrative analysis (TNA) is just one of the many ways in which storytellers and storyanalysts can access and assess the meanings found within a personal narrative. TNA is said to be different from a more traditional form of thematic analysis in that the sole focus is the identification of patterns and relationships evident within a story (Smith, 2016). Smith (2016) drew upon the earlier work of Riessman (2008a), plus his own personal experiences, to offer a useful 'how to' guide for those considering the adoption of TNA. He noted how the guide should be viewed as cyclical and iterative as opposed to linear and fixed, suggesting that the researcher might find themselves moving back and forward or

jumping between the strategies offered.

The first step of Smith's (2016) guide to TNA is to write. He justified this being the starting point by referring to the observations of Richardson (2000) and Sparkes (2002), both of whom suggested that narrative analysis can occur during the process of writing. He warned against the relegation of writing to "something done at the end of the project" (p. 264), noting the importance of starting the writing, editing and revision process early. The second step is to transcribe the data, preferably verbatim and as soon as possible after it has been collected (Smith, 2016). He proposed that "transcribing is an analytical process" and "not just an exercise" (p. 264). Data organisation is the third step. The fourth step is termed "narrative indwelling", which Smith referred to as being similar to the process of familiarisation and immersion found within traditional thematic analysis. In sum, it involves reading the transcripts, listening to any audio recordings and/or watching any visual recordings multiple times. The identification of narrative themes and thematic relationships is the fifth stage. A narrative theme is defined as "a pattern that runs through a story or set of stories" (p. 264).

Smith (2016) offered a couple of questions that can help with the process of narrative theme identification, these being "what is the common theme(s) or thread(s) in each story?" and "what occurs repeatedly within the whole story?" He also provided a series of practical tips such as highlighting key sentences in different colours, underlining key phrases, circling keywords, and writing comments within the margins that summarise the manifest (apparent) and latent (underlying) meanings evident with the data. He warned against the over usage of coding, citing how "this can fragment the story rather than keeping it intact" (p. 264). The sixth step in Smith's (2016) guide to conducting TNA is listed as 'describe and interpret'. Having named the themes identified in the previous stage, Smith recommended that the researcher uses his/her notes and the data captured in the transcripts themselves to describe each theme in detail. He noted the importance of interpreting the theme(s) of the story (i.e. what the story is about), including any relationships evident between the themes identified (Smith, 2016).

Smith (2016) stipulated that the analysis undertaken in stage six of the TNA process needs to be thematic and descriptive, but also focused on the narrative. He suggested

that the descriptions and interpretations are “enriched by insights from theory and/or other research” (p. 264). The final stage of Smith’s (2016) guide to TNA covers the representation of results and the production of a realist tale that “communicates the themes of the stories in an engaging and insightful manner” (p. 264). Smith noted how the creation of a realist tale that successfully captures the key content of people’s stories cannot be rushed and is likely to involve the drafting of “multiple iterations”. He concludes, however, by noting that narrative researchers should need to be mindful of the fact that stories can change over time and that the ending of a narrative analysis as represented in a realist tale is only ever a provisional outcome and never the end or the last/final word (Smith, 2016).

3.4.8. Thematic Narrative Analysis (Interpretive Phase)

TNA is said to be different from a more traditional form of thematic analysis in that the sole focus is on the identification of patterns and relationships evident within a story (Smith, 2017).

During the interpretive phase, the researcher followed Smith’s (2017) guide to TNA. Thus, the starting point of the analysis was writing. Key concepts and words started to emerge during the process of writing the story, and these concepts and words were noted down.

The second and third steps of Smith’s (2017) guide were already completed during the analysis of the data prior to crafting the story. However, to ensure nothing significant was missed, the researcher went back to the transcript for a second time to refamiliarize himself with the data (similar to traditional thematic analysis). This led to the identification of themes and thematic relationships. The researcher looked out for patterns both within as well as across stories. The questions that guided the identification of the themes were “what is the common theme(s) or thread(s) in each story?” and “what occurs repeatedly within and across all the stories?” The researcher also compared the identified themes to the earlier key words or patterns that emerged during the initial analysis of the transcript. At this stage, the researcher used processes that were similar to a coding system commonly used in traditional thematic analysis. The researcher used different colours to highlight different sentences and phrases (then grouped them together when necessary), while underlining the key words (a mapping to link/check relationship was also conducted

at this point). Then the researcher added comments for each key phrase or sentence that summarised the meaning; both the apparent and underlying meaning (at this point, the name or title of that particular theme would usually emerge).

The next step was to then describe and interpret. For the description, the researcher consulted the transcripts and notes. This was to offer a harmonious description and interpretation of the themes. The final stage was then to present the themes (interpretation) in an engaging and insightful way.

3.4.9. Cultural Receptiveness

Cultural competence connotes an individual or researcher having the ability to successfully operate within a cultural context, including in the context of cultural beliefs, attributes, values, behaviours, and needs of a particular community or group (Cross, Bazron, Dennis, & Isaacs, 1989; Office of Minority Health, 2001). Cultural competence is a dynamic process that consists of five main conceptual components: cultural knowledge, cultural awareness, cultural desire, cultural encounters and cultural skills (Campinha-Bacote, 2002). According to Suh et al. (2009), it is important to consider cultural knowledge and cultural awareness before proceeding to the field for data gathering from participants.

Cultural knowledge refers to knowledge of interconnected networks of learned behavioural patterns that represent the attributes of a particular group or community, including their view of the world, how they act and communicate, as well as their networks of beliefs, values, and feelings (Aarnodt, 1989; Barnouw, 1985). Cultural knowledge could also include beliefs, values, and practices related to family, social networks, language, gender roles, spirituality, religion, relationships, relationship of individuals to the community, ethnic or racial identification, music, and literature (Bauwens & Anderson, 1992; Bello & Adams, 1976; Leininger, 1985; Tripp-Reimer et al., 1991). Therefore, being aware of the research participants' cultural background is central to understanding how they fit into their social world (Suh et al., 2009). Another crucial component of cultural competence that is essential in the pre-field phase is cultural awareness (Sawyer et al., 1995). Cultural awareness is based on a good knowledge of the culture and connotes the capacity of a researcher to understand how to best approach and gather rich and quality data from participants during the research process (Sawyer et. al., 1995). Cultural awareness

could be seen as a general level of cultural sensitivity (Cowles, 1988). It also indicates an awareness of the fundamental differences between research participants and between different cultures within a particular group or community (Henderson et al., 1992; Lipson & Meleis, 1989; Lynam & Anderson, 1986; Porter & Villarruel, 1993). There are differences in language, values, religion, and beliefs within the larger immigrant group, even though they are often grouped together as one large group. Thus, being culturally sensitive helps the researcher to recognize individual or subgroup differences and to avoid making generalisation which can lead to stereotyping (Sawyer et. al., 1995). Thus, a sound understanding of these fundamental cultural differences is critical to successfully carry out a research involving immigrants or ethnic minorities (Suh et al., 2009).

Cultural knowledge and awareness are crucial components of cultural competence that a researcher working within the cultural field or the immigrant space should possess to be able to carry out research in this area. Suh et al. (2009), suggests that researchers should be educated to acquire cultural knowledge and awareness prior to entering the field to ensure successful data gathering. To ensure cultural competence when researching people that are classified as people from a different culture, ethnic group or minority, the common practice in some cases is to engage the service of someone from that particular culture or someone that is seen as an insider to assist during the research or data gathering process. For example, the service of an elder in the community or an intermediary within a particular community (Yancey et al., 2005). In some cases, the researchers engage the service of a research assistant from that particular culture or community with the believe that the assistant understands the culture and language better and therefore the research would be more culturally competent (Calamaro, 2008; Suh et al., 2009). However, Suh et al. (2009) cautioned against this practice. They noted that having a research assistant from the same culture might not be enough to ensure cultural competence, as the assistant might be equally prejudicial to the culture like people from other cultures (Suh et al., 2009; Temple, 2002).

In view of the importance of cultural knowledge and awareness, the researcher was prompted to conduct background research on the culture of each participant before commencing the data gathering process. This background research ensured that despite the insider position of the researcher, the researcher had knowledge of the

various cultural differences including practice, values, and beliefs of the immigrants. Generally, it enhanced the cultural competence of the research process. However, to further ensure the cultural competence of the research, the researcher did not engage any intermediary but instead took a cultural receptiveness approach. This means that the researcher was open to learning and receiving cultural information directly from the participants.

Cultural receptiveness embodies cultural desire and cultural encounter, two salient components of cultural competence (Campinha-Bacote, 2002), especially in the context of this research. Cultural desire reflects the determination of the researcher to ensure that the data gathering process is a thoroughly culturally competent process (Campinha-Bacote, 2002). Cultural desire could be described as the researcher's positive acceptance of cultural differences with sensitivity towards cultural diversity and a receptive attitude (Jones et al., 1998; Peragallo, 1999). Thus, cultural receptiveness reflects the desire of the researcher to accept all cultural information presented by the participants without prejudice or judgement. This desire was underlined by openness and flexibility, with the ability to adapt to different situations while maintaining an unwavering acceptance and respect to cultural differences (Boi, 2000; Herrick & Brown, 1998). Thus, the researcher approached this research with an open mind, with the readiness to be shocked, and receive new information no matter how strange or bizarre. The ability, openness, and flexibility, which are salient characteristics of cultural receptiveness, are essential when researching culture (Suh, 2004) or, as was the case in this research, engaging in a cross-cultural research. The level of cultural receptiveness impacts cultural encounters. Cultural encounters encompass both the process that motivates the researcher to directly engage in cross-cultural interactions with the immigrants and the interactions themselves (Campinha-Bacote, 2002). In this study, cultural encounters provided the researcher with the opportunity to directly gather first-hand information from the participants. The encounters with the immigrants provided an authentic experience of the cultures of the participants. Some of the cultural lessons and information gathered from the encounter cannot be gathered from books or through an intermediary. The encounter helped the researcher to capture and reproduce these experiences and information in the stories. Therefore, cultural receptiveness as underlined by openness, flexibility, and the ability to adapt to

different situations with sensitivity as opposed to relying only on cultural knowledge and awareness was seen as a more valuable approach for this research as it is in line with the research aim of capturing and sharing the lived experiences of the immigrants.

3.5. Ethical Approval

Ethical approval was required and requested for this study. It was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEK) on 22nd March 2016 with reference number 16/45 (see Appendix A). The key ethical issues that were addressed within the application included vulnerability, cultural differences and invasion of privacy. The researcher ensured the participants were well aware that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the research at any time. Utmost care was taken to respect cultural differences and protect the privacy of participants. Prior to the beginning of every interview, the researcher endeavoured to carry out a background research on the peculiarity of the culture of that particular participant. This enabled the researcher to avoid making any cultural mistakes or break taboos that might jeopardise the participants' safety or comfort. Pseudonyms chosen by the participants were used through-out the interview process, including in the transcripts, drafts, and final stories of participants. In addition, the names of friends, colleagues, teammates, teams, schools, and employers were also replaced by pseudonyms. A researcher safety protocol was developed and adhered to by the researcher throughout the course of the study.

3.6. Summary

This chapter presented the overlapping socially constructed paradigms that underpin this study. It provided an overview of poststructuralism from a relativist's perspective and social constructionism from an interpretivist's perspective. Social constructionists are primarily concerned with the identification and exploration of ways in which social reality is constructed and consumed within a particular culture or context (Burr, 1995). Equally, the interpretivists see the world as subjective. They

argue that our knowledge of what is real will only ever be based on our interpretation of how that socially constructed reality has been consumed and made meaningful (Gibson, 2016). These perspectives informed the design and approach of this research. The chapter also touched on ethnography which is the approach adopted by this study. Further, it provided an overview on the methods employed to gather data from the participants, including the sampling, selection, and interview method. The in-depth multiple interview (multiple conversations) approach adopted provided opportunity for the researcher to clarify issues raised in previous discussions with the participant at any stage of the interview. The concepts of creative analytical practice (CAP), narrative enquiry, and thematic narrative analysis (TNA) were also introduced. The chapter concluded by presenting the ethical considerations followed to ensure that the safety and privacy of participants were protected at all times.

The next chapter presents the findings of the research. The stories of the lived experiences of participants are shared. The chapter provides insight into the role sport played in the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants.

4. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter outlined CAP, emphasising the utility of narrative and storytelling in the research process. This chapter presents the findings of the research. The stories of the lived experiences of individual immigrants were employed to shed light on sport, social capital, and immigrant integration. The seven stories that were collected are: The Gateway, Love and Football, The Pursuit of Refuge, Sport without Language, The Nigerian Bolt, The Samba Ping Pong, The Frank Franz. These stories provide nuanced insights into the role of sport, social capital, and immigrant integration in New Zealand.

4.2. The Gateway

“Ni hao!” Adrian shouted, welcoming the players as he walked towards the pitch, a pitch with only Asians on it. He had arrived at the field earlier than usual, allowing him more time to set everything as he wanted it. Arriving early had also enabled him to chat with some first-time attendees, some of whom were recent arrivals to New Zealand. Adrian felt it was important for him to meet and talk to them before the game. He knew the importance of making a good first impression. He was not a believer or advocate for the establishment of Asian leagues or Chinese only teams but saw them as a legitimate gateway into multicultural clubs and federation football. Part of Adrian’s job as the Ethnic Engagement Officer of the Madden Football Federation was to develop and promote organised programmes and leagues. He was also responsible for increasing the number of players and teams.

“Hello Adrian!” said Cheng, one of the leaders of the Asian teams present that evening. Cheng was also a respected member of the local Asian community. As promised, he had arrived with some new players. “Meet Jake, James, Charles and Peter”, Cheng added, as Adrian approached. “Hello Cheng!” Adrian responded in Mandarin. “Hey! Welcome!! Nice to meet you”, Adrian said to them merrily, shaking their hands.

The population of Asians in New Zealand at the 2013 census was 471,708, which is about 11.8 percent of the total population of New Zealand. The population recorded an increase from 9.2 percent, that is 265,974 people, from the previous census in 2006. In Auckland, the population was estimated to be 307,233, making up 23.1

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percent of Auckland's population. The Chinese are the largest sub-group of the Asian ethnic group, with an estimated population of 118,230 people, which accounts for 9 percent of Auckland's population.

One of the new players, Peter, was fifteen years old. He had arrived from Hong Kong the previous week. Adrian had been looking forward to meeting him, having received a call from Cheng a few days earlier. Adrian asked Peter how he was finding his experience so far. Peter smiled shyly and told Adrian that it has been great. Peter reminded Adrian of himself. Adrian, like Peter, was originally from Hong Kong. He was also fifteen when he first arrived New Zealand. Adrian remembered it like it was only yesterday. He watched Peter as he excitedly started changing into his playing gear.

In Hong Kong, kids were not really exposed to sports. The focus was on education. Adrian would seize any opportunity to run around, kick or throw ball around with his friends. He started playing volleyball at primary school. He enjoyed the experience so much so that he joined the team. He would wait behind after school to play with his friends. Any chance to play was welcomed. Fortunately for Adrian, volleyball was a very popular sport in his school. It was fueled by the interest of Mr. Lee, the school's physical education (PE) teacher. Mr. Lee was a volleyball player, he focused on volleyball and encouraged students like Adrian to take up the sport. Volleyball was popular in Hong Kong, but largely as a casual/social activity. Football (soccer), basketball, and table tennis were the biggest sports in terms of mass participation and public interest. Few people took Volleyball serious enough to want to form or join a team. In Adrian's school, they had one male PE teacher and one female PE teacher, whose job it was to teach as opposed to manage or coach a school team. Given his interest in the sport, Mr. Lee agreed to manage and coach the School's volleyball team. He channeled all the available resources for sport in the school to volleyball. He also got some alumni to come back and help out with the teams, especially the A grade senior teams. Mr. Lee really looked after the players. He took their development seriously and ensured they trained twice a week on the school's outdoor court. Adrian's passion and interest in volleyball grew. His skills also improved.

Adrian, like most kids, also enjoyed kicking a football around at the nearby

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playground after school or on the weekend. One day, he and his friends decided that they were probably good enough to join the school's team. Luckily for them, the interest in football at his school was lower than elsewhere in Hong Kong and Adrian, along with his friends, were accepted into the school team. The football team was quite casual and not as successful or as well organised as the school's volleyball team. Although they had a teacher who acted as the manager, he was not really enthusiastic about his role or the sport. The team was essentially managed by the students themselves. The school contracted a coach who was supposedly qualified and looked like he knew what he was doing. In hindsight, however, Adrian realised the coach was not as good as he claimed.

During games, the coach's instruction were always "roll the ball to the top, get it to the striker, then, you go for it". The training was the same. The team trained once a month at a nearby artificial turf football pitch. The team had to travel thirty minutes to reach it. The coach would just ask them to kick and chase. Most times, they ended up doing what they usually did when playing with each other on the playground. Since those running the team were not particularly enthusiastic about it, there was no opportunity to train more often or somewhere closer. Hiring the turf came at a cost, as did travelling to the field. However, the once-a-month training was very precious to Adrian. He would not miss it for anything in the world. He was eager to try to improve his skills and always counted down the days till the next training day.

Despite their lack of kit, Adrian's team entered a regional school competition that was divided into grades depending on age and ability. The A and B grades comprised of the senior students, while the C grade was for the juniors. These grades were further divided into groups based on the competency of a particular team. Adrian's team played in the C3 grade, which was the lowest/weakest available. They did not care about the grading and were all excited at the prospect of getting to play different schools. Adrian and his teammates talked nonstop about how they would play and what they would do on the field. On game days, the coach would shout out his usual instructions. "Play the ball long to the striker, then the striker should chase the ball". The coach's strategy worked. Wearing their bibs, they were able to reach the quarter final of the competition.

Motivated by their achievements, Adrian continued playing and thinking about

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football at every opportunity. He remained equally committed to the school's Volleyball team, which resulted in his parents questioning his priorities and attitude towards his studies. Adrian's parents noticed the change and were concerned that he was not taking his education as seriously as he should. They warned him that he needed to change. Around the same time, Adrian was made captain of the football team. He couldn't stop now.

In 2009, having failed to get their son to put his studies ahead of his sporting commitments, Adrian's parents decided to send him to live with one of his aunts in New Zealand. They believed that Adrian would focus on his studies if he was away from his friends (and his football team). Adrian disagreed and vehemently rejected the idea of being moved to another country. His parent insisted that the decision was already made and that he had no choice but to accept it. He did not agree. He argued and argued, but his parents stood firm and refused to reconsider.

After accepting his fate, Adrian informed his parents that he would do as they wanted but that he would not live with his aunt. He wanted his independence and thought that living with his aunt would restrict this desire. He proposed living on his own and, somewhat reluctantly, his parents agreed. The move to Auckland, New Zealand, happened in July of 2010. Adrian's parents made all the necessary travel arrangements and secured a homestay for him to live in. To make the journey less stressful, they decided to accompany him to New Zealand. As soon as they arrived, Adrian was enrolled in a new school.

Adrian was very anxious on his first day at school. He dreaded the whole idea of a new school and a new culture. The first three weeks went by very fast, helped by the fact that his parents were still around. He attended school every day, while they went on sightseeing expeditions. They spent time together during the weekends and Adrian's anxiety gradually began to disappear. But this was short-lived. The reality of Adrian's situation hit him as soon as his parents boarded the plane back to Hong Kong. Suddenly, he was all alone in a foreign country. Worse still, he would be by himself until he finished high school. Adrian wondered how he would be able to cope. Three years without his parents and his friends was a very long time.

The situation was quite upsetting for Adrian. Growing up, he never thought that he would ever be in this position. Back in Hong Kong, Adrian considered himself as

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quite a popular person. He never had to worry about having friends. He always had friends around him. He was only alone when he wanted to be by himself. At school, he always had people to talk to, to walk with, and with whom he could eat his lunch. Since Adrian had arrived halfway through the school year, his father had told him not to worry too much about academics for the remaining half year. Before leaving Auckland, he advised Adrian to use the next six months to explore his new environment, to have fun, and to make friends. With this advice firmly in mind, Adrian went to school with a spring in his step. He was determined to make the best of the situation. The news that he and all the other students would be placed into sport houses that day offered some hope. It appeared like the perfect opportunity for him to make some friends.

In class, Adrian was immediately classified by the local students as another nerdy Asian (small eyes, glasses, and 'Good in mathematics'). Unfortunately, the other Asian students, of which there were many, did not view Adrian as being one of them. Adrian's relaxed approach to his studies was not aligned with their mentality. Adrian was not about to suddenly become an academic just to fit in with the stereotype placed upon him by the New Zealanders of European heritage who dominated his classes and sport house. He had never been a nerd in Hong Kong, and that wasn't going to change. He had also been instructed to have fun and make friends. He wanted to make friends. He was not going to bury himself in books or live in front of a computer. Adrian was not like them. He was an active person. He wanted to move.

To compound his problems, the family with whom Adrian was staying did not appear to care about him or his welfare. They were supposed to look after him and help him learn the culture. They were supposed to help him make his transition and settlement into New Zealand easier. Unfortunately, that was not the case. They only seemed to care about the revenue that they were generating through Adrian. Adrian moved to a new homestay, hoping for a better outcome. However, after only few weeks, the new place was just as bad. Adrian's aunts were the only ray of hope he had during these trying times. They were always around the corner. They were always there to support him. They looked after him and tried their best to make his experience more pleasant. They took him out every weekend for dinner. They took him sight-seeing. No matter how frustrating the week was, Adrian could always look forward to a nice meal and fun times during the weekend. He had a place with them

and, on hearing about the issues with his second homestay, they pleaded with him to come and live with them. He did just that.

Over time, Adrian's anxiety turned to frustration. Despite his best efforts, he struggled to find someone he could call his friend. When some of the students started playing pranks on him, Adrian's frustration turned into rage. The pranks were not funny – they were offensive. The pranks were not too dissimilar to what he would have done with his friends back in Hong Kong, but Adrian felt racially vilified all the same. It wasn't long before the pranks became bullying. Some of the students would make comments about his eyes. They would ask him how many times he eats rice and they would all laugh at him. They would always find something for them to laugh about and something to say that would make him feel bad. The bigger boys started picking on him. They would bump into him or tread on his heels as he walked around the school. "What are you gonna do?", would be the typical response, should Adrian dare look at them. On one particular occasion, a group of boys poured water on him.

As the boys circled around him, Adrian somehow resisted the temptation to punch one of the bullies. Instead, he sought the counsel of Nathan, one of the Hong Kong students that had been in the school longer than him. Nathan suggested reporting the students to the school authorities, but Adrian felt it would make him look weak and only escalate the situation. Adrian decided to continue riding the rough waves at school and breathed a great sigh of relief when he realised the term was over. During that time, Adrian spend more and more time with Nathan and the other Asian students from Hong Kong, China and Korea.

The Christmas holidays could not have come any sooner for Adrian. He had been counting down the days till he could go back to his beloved Hong Kong and to his family and friends. During the break Adrian was able to temporarily forget about everything that was happening in New Zealand. He didn't want to think about the past six month or what lay ahead of him. He was still in this joyous mood when he returned to New Zealand. Adrian tried to convince himself that things would be different this time. He hoped that the new international students would become the new target of the bullies' attention. Upon his return, he decided to discuss the issue with some of his new Asian friends. But the bullying hadn't stopped and something had to change. He couldn't survive a whole year of this torture. He could not

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continue his school experience living in fear or without any enjoyment.

The other Asians informed Adrian they were in the same boat. They discussed at length the various strategies that could change the perception of the much larger non-Asian student cohort. Some appeared resigned to their fate. Many turned to their studies as an escape, while others found solace by constantly texting or talking on the phone with friends and family back home. Some tried to be extra nice, just to fit in. Adrian was more upset than ever before. He thought to himself there must be something he can do. And that's when the penny finally dropped. "Why not sport?!"

Adrian saw himself as quite a sporty person. Sport had always been an outlet for Adrian (a way for him to relieve any stress). Sports had always been his 'go to', no matter what or how he is feeling. Sport made him happy. Sport would be his golden ticket to acceptance. He knew that he was in not the Asian 'nerd' that the bullies were portraying him to be. Adrian decided that he would use sport to showcase and truly introduce himself to his classmates and to the rest of the school, especially those who thought that they were better than him.

Adrian was convinced that he had finally found the solution to his problem and thought it was wise to share his strategy with his Asian friends. Adrian's plan received a mixed reaction, especially from those from Hong Kong. Although some thought that it could work, they were still not willing to join him. Others had already decided they were going back to Hong Kong so didn't see the point of trying to fit in or make new friends. But Adrian was adamant. He was going to use sports as a vehicle to connect and integrate into the school and the mainstream community. He just didn't know how or where to start.

As luck would have it, Adrian was informed that his Physical Education (PE) class would be having a Beep Test the very next day. Adrian eyes sparkled with excitement. "This is it!" he thought to himself. The Beep Test calculates an athlete's aerobic capacity. It involves running back and forth, from one point to another over a distance of about 20 meters. The beep signifies the start of each run and the athletes are required to complete the distance before the next beep sounds. As the test continues, the intervals between each successive beep decreases, pushing the participants to increase their pace during the course of the test. Adrian was determined to outshine every other student. The next day Adrian arrived fully

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focused and prepared for the test.

Adrian's body was screaming at him to stop as, one after the other, students started dropping out of the test. But Adrian kept pushing. This was "make or break", he kept telling himself as he looked up and realised that his efforts were being noticed. It was working! Adrian kept going as the intervals got shorter and shorter. He kept going till there wasn't anything left in his lungs and his legs would take him no further. He fell to the ground, unable to move. As he lay on the ground, desperately trying to catch his breath, he could hear the other students talking about him. They couldn't believe what they had just seen. Adrian had made it into the final three. "Oh Damn! What?! How did he do it?!" he heard as he tried to find the strength to stand up. Wiping the sweat from his eyes, he could see the look of amazement, astonishment and confusion on their faces.

Spurred on by the positive reaction to his Beep Test success, Adrian found the confidence to approach a group playing football during a lunch break. He decided to start with the sport that he was most familiar with, allowing him to show that he could do more than just run. All he wanted to do was to play football, like he had in Hong Kong. He did not have to talk to them, he just wanted to play with them. At the end of the game, they all shook hands and the boys invited Adrian to join them again the next day. Adrian was very happy with the invitation and told them that he would surely join them again. Adrian joined them the next day as agreed. And again the next day and the next. It became a regular routine. He just played and played. It happened so naturally that Adrian did not even realise it at first. Not only was he finally enjoying himself at school, but he finally had some friends. Once he started with the lunchtime football, Adrian played football whenever the opportunity surfaced in the school. He also started playing volleyball.

Adrian's strategy appeared to be working. Not only had the pranks and bullying stopped, but people were now complementing him on his volleyball skills. Accompanying such comments were invitations. The whole process was quite organic. He did not have to go out of his way anymore. Other students would ask for his name and wanted to talk to him. He had people wanting to be his friend. No one walked up to him, asked what his name was or wanted to talk to him during his first six months at the school. Now people genuinely wanted to know him, and Adrian

started to explore the possibility of representing his school.

In 2011, a year after his first arrived, Adrian's football friends urged him to join the school team. He needed no persuasion and this move worked out really well for Adrian, allowing him to further increase his network. Adrian was already familiar with students in his own house but joining the football team allowed him to meet students from others. He started hanging out with some of the boys after school. He was invited to their homes. Other times, they would come to visit him at his aunt's house. He even got invited to sleep overs (where very little sleep was ever had). Adrian always appreciated the offers and the opportunity to learn the Kiwi way of life.

The more time Adrian spent with his new friends, the more he appreciated New Zealand. Sometimes they would go out to explore the city. Finally, Adrian felt as though he was living the life that his father envisaged. Within the blink of an eye, he had gone from being a loner with no one to talk to, to having a whole football field full of friends, including those playing for the other team. Adrian's English language skills were also getting better with every conversation. Before that Beep Test, he lacked the confidence to try and converse in English. When Adrian started playing football, however, he discovered that no one really cared where he was from or whether his English was any good. What really mattered to them was whether the person could play (or not). And that worked for Adrian (he knew that he could play).

As Adrian's social life started to improve, he was made aware of the rumors and murmuring that had started making the rounds among the Asian students with whom he no longer spent much time. Some were unhappy with the way they had been dumped or discarded. Adrian was accused of becoming one of 'them'. He was accused of trying to be "a Kiwi" and of acting "more Kiwi than the Kiwis". Occasionally, they would tease Adrian when they saw him chatting with some of his Kiwi friends. One would walk past him and say "hello Kiwi" in Mandarin, whilst another would then add "perhaps he does not understand Mandarin anymore". Adrian suggested that they could always follow his lead, but eventually decided to leave them to their own way. After all, he could not force them into doing what worked for him. Instead being upset, Adrian took their teasing as a compliment. He knew that most of his Asian friends wished to be in his shoes. Unlike them, he no

longer walked around the school in apprehension of what might be around the corner.

Adrian's first taste of rugby started when he began to stay back after school with some of his Hong Kong friends and few other international students. At first, they would get a rugby ball and pass it around. Having mastered that, they found the confidence to start playing a variation of rugby where the tackling of opponents his replaced by a touch. Touch rugby is popular among children due to the absent of tackling (the touches are expected to be made with minimal force). Adrian had always enjoyed watching rugby on television, but never really got involved with it before that point. He found it a lot more interesting than he ever thought that he would and started learning the rules. He searched the internet and started to watch more and more games on television. As his interest grew, Adrian sought the opportunity to play and, having already had success with football and volleyball, he joined one of the school's many rugby teams.

Playing rugby soon contributed to Adrian's ever-growing list of friends. His stock of respect and trust also rose especially among his European-Kiwi classmates and school mates. This had always been his primary objective and motivation of engaging in sports. Adrian joined the school's under sixteen rugby team. There was no trial required, but he had to commit to playing the whole season, which he was more than willingly to do. Adrian mistakenly put up his hand when one of the coaches asked if anyone wanted to be a forward. He mistook a forward for a centre. A centre plays in the middle of the back line but a forward plays in the scrum. The forwards are typically the bigger and stronger players responsible for making the big tackles and winning the ball. The backs are the ones who run with the ball and score the points that win matches. Adrian liked the idea of playing as a centre and becoming the new Sonny Bill Williams (SBW). SBW was part of the New Zealand team, better known as the All Blacks, that won the Rugby Union World Cup in 2011 and 2015. SBW was arguably one of the best players in the world.

The All Blacks are somewhat synonymous to New Zealand and rugby soon became more than just a sport for Adrian. It became a conduit for Adrian to understand more about local customs. Playing it for his school allowed him to delve deeper into the New Zealand culture. The haka, for example, certainly piqued Adrian's curiosity. He

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went from being in total awe of the All Black's pre-match haka to fully understanding its significance and meaning to the players who perform it. He learned that the haka was not only an ancient ceremonial war dance traditionally used on the battlefield, but also a way of laying down a challenge. The haka is performed on special occasions. It involves a loud chant accompanied by foot-stamping, tongue protrusions and the rhythmic slapping of the body. Adrian's curiosity led him to discover other New Zealand teams, including the Tall Blacks (basketball), Black Caps (cricket), and Black Sticks (hockey). Over time, Adrian's mind was filled with so much knowledge about the culture and customs of New Zealand that he felt truly settled in the country.

In his final year at high school, whilst all of his Asian friends were 100% focused on getting the grades needed to secure their admission into university, Adrian was selected to play for the school's touch rugby team and the under 85kg 15-a-side Rugby team. He went through several trials this time and was extremely proud of his achievements. He was the only Asian in the team. After given it plenty of thought, Adrian came to the conclusion that he wanted to study sport at university. He knew it would be very difficult for him to sell this idea to his parents in Hong Kong, but his mind was well and truly made up. Sport was the only way forward for him. "But how was he going to break the news to his parents?" he thought to himself, as yet another week passed without him mentioning it on the phone. He knew that they would want (expect) him to study medicine, or business, or law (just like his Asian friends). He knew that they would immediately reject the idea and try to persuade him to change his mind.

Adrian counts himself lucky to have such a supportive family. He knew it would be a bitter pill for them to swallow and, as expected, having finally found the courage to make the call, his parents to start reeling out all the mainstream courses that he should take if he wanted to be successful in life. After a prolonged discussion, however, Adrian stayed firm. Their arguments only strengthened his decision. His mind was made up. He was going to study sport with or without their blessing. In 2013, Adrian's mother flew to New Zealand with an encyclopedia of notes. She had printed out everything that she had found about New Zealand's sport-related degrees, including the rankings of the universities that offered them. If she was unable to change his mind, then the least she could do was to ensure that Adrian had

all the information needed to make the right choice.

Armed with all the information, Adrian embraced the challenge and took his high school studies more seriously than he had ever done before. His hard work ensured that he earned the entry level credits needed to secure a place at New Zealand's best university for sports-based education. Better still, upon his enrolment, he was also able to combine the sport degree with a business degree, making his parents happy as a result. Whilst he knew it would increase his workload and add a fourth year to his undergraduate studies, Adrian thought it was a worthy compromise (considering how much his parents had already compromised).

Adrian immediately registered at the university gym and started training. While there were some football clubs advertised around the university campus, Adrian never explored these options. Such an idea was entirely alien to him. Adrian had only played sport in school. But the university was a different story altogether. Adrian never knew what they were about or how to go about playing in such clubs. Completing two degrees made it difficult to commit to anything else. He had to travel between two campuses and take a lot more classes than those only studying the one degree. Unlike school, there was no particular set time or periods where Adrian could meet his existing friends or, indeed, make any new friends. There was no break time for him to play football, volleyball or rugby. Adrian really missed his high school PE classes, the lunchtime football and the after school social games. He didn't like how his fellow sport and business students would only come onto campus for their lectures and tutorials.

“BALL! . . . BALL! . . . ADRIAN, THE BALL!”, the players called out from the pitch.

Upon hearing his name being shouted by the group, Adrian broke out of his reverie and jogged across the field to get the ball. He picked it up and dropkicked it high towards the pitch. The players controlled it expertly and play resumed. Adrian smiled at the way the player controlled the ball and glanced across the pitch at both teams playing. There were good players in both teams. “These players would surely make any club stronger”, he thought to himself.

Having been with the Madden Football Federation for a couple of years, Adrian understood why it was important for the ethnic teams or groups to become part of a

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mainstream club. That said, he also understood the reasons why they were not playing. He knew where they were coming from. After all, he was a product of the same system. He knew that those coming in from Asia were not used to all the rules and regulations that were operational in New Zealand. They just wanted to play football. Adrian saw his role as being the much-needed bridge between the Federation and the ethnic communities in the region. His strong opinions on this subject were not only influenced by his personal experiences but also the findings of a project he completed during his final year at University.

While Adrian did not play football at university, he remained as passionate about it as he was when he was actively playing. Thus, he would often passionately engage in conversation with his sport lecturers, one of whom was an immigrant from England who loved Football more than anyone he had ever met before. Such conversations helped Adrian to live what he missed from playing. He always looked out for news about football to equip himself with fresh information to discuss whenever they met. In 2017, Adrian was encouraged to apply for an internship at the Madden Football Federation. His lecturer personally recommended him for the role, knowing how much Adrian loved the sport. Adrian was very excited and eager to start.

Adrian's main task was around competition assessment. There was a lot of administrative work attached to the task, which was not very exciting or as diverse as Adrian had hoped. Despite his disappointment, Adrian carried out his task diligently, and his commitment to the job soon paid dividends when his manager asked him to investigate how to better engage the ethnic community groups in the region. After the first phase of the investigation, Adrian decided to pursue it further as his final year research project. He decided to shift the focus towards how the Federation could better engage with different ethnic groups in the region. He thought it was better to take a more holistic approach and focus on the theory of cultural intelligence. He determined that, apart from all other cultural barriers or language barriers, the main problem was that his fellow Asian immigrants did not understand the system. Adrian's study backed up his initial hypothesis that the current system was too prescriptive. Based on his findings, Adrian showed the benefits of allowing immigrants to play together without having to first register with a club. He concluded that, it was better to have them setting up their own clubs or teams than not play at all. Adrian's research stressed the importance of integration, but in the meantime, he

would rather have a Chinese, Korean, Japanese, or Taiwanese team within the region, rather than them not playing.

As Adrian continued his internship, he was offered the opportunity to be involved with the university's football club. Dr. Bridge, the same lecturer who had helped him secure the internship and was subsequently supervising his research project, approached Adrian and asked him if he would be interested in managing the university's men's reserve football team. Dr. Bridge had established and player-managed the team for three seasons but, having accepted a role on the board of the federation that ran the competition, was now looking for a student to take over. Adrian jumped at the opportunity, having previously lost any hope of getting involved with university sport. Adrian soon found out that the team needed more than a manager. Dr. Bridge had been more than the player-manager of the team, he had also coached them.

Adrian had no clue how to coach and things were rough at the beginning, both for Adrian and his players. The players did not know what Adrian was talking about (and neither did Adrian). It reminded him of his coach back when he was young in Hong Kong. He would tell them to just go out and play football for ninety minutes. Sometimes he would give the boys the exact same instructions: "Just try and get the ball up to the opposition's box". The team soon dropped into the relegation zone at the bottom of the league table and, with each passing game, the morale of the team dropped even further. Adrian was more determined to find a solution. He started searching for someone to help coach the team, allowing him to focus on managing the team. He explored his network in the Federation and found Leon, a referee who had also done some coaching. Leon agreed to come in and take over the coaching. His arrival was well received by the team and the results started to improve.

Adrian also drew on his network in the Federation to secure some space for the team to have additional training days. At the end of the season, his time and effort had paid off. From being at the bottom of the league, they ended up finishing third. The university's sport department duly recognised Adrian's achievement and he was given an award at the end of the season. Better still, Adrian also gained a number of new friends as the team had become quite a close-knit group. By the end of the season, the boys had decided to stay together and continue playing together as a

team. Subsequently, they all moved from the university team to start another team that was eventually affiliated to a mainstream club. This move provided Adrian with an opportunity to continue his active participation in football. In addition, upon graduation from the university, Adrian was offered a part-time coordinator role for the university's football teams.

“Adrian!... Hey Adrian!” Dan shouted, trying to get a reaction.

Adrian did not respond. Once again, he was too engrossed in his thoughts. Dan raised his voice and greeted him again. This time Dan's calls jolted Adrian out of his thoughts.

“Ni Hao.”, Adrian responded to Dan's greeting.

In addition to being the Ethnic Engagement Officer for the regional Football Federation, Adrian also works as the Active Asian Volunteer Coordinator for the Madden Regional Sport Trust. Dan was one of the volunteers who had kindly agreed to help him that evening. He had informed Adrian earlier in the day that he would be late and Adrian had forgotten all about it.

At the end of Adrian's internship with the Football Federation, Adrian was invited into the office of the CEO. Upon arriving at the office, he saw the Active Asian Manager of the Madden Regional Sport Trust. The CEO explained that both organisations had been exploring the idea of creating a joint role across both organisations. The idea was for someone to work as the Ethnic Engagement Officer for the Federation and as the Active Asian Volunteer Coordinator for the Trust. The role was a direct consequence of Adrian's research project and both organisations were keen to employ him to deliver his recommendations. Adrian did not hesitate for a second. He immediately accepted the offer. He was overwhelmed. He could not believe his luck. What a wonderful opportunity for him to use his personal experience and newfound knowledge to help other people.

“What do you need me to do?” Dan asked, nudging Adrian on his side.

Adrian looked down at his watch and then up at the field. The game was over already. He turned to Dan and instructed him to get all the equipment together. He needed to go and chat with the new players. As Dan walked away towards the pitch, Adrian

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called out to him to ensure the boys put all the small goalposts away properly. Adrian started walking towards the pitch to meet the new players. Cheng met him halfway with the new players and informed Adrian that he would go and wait in his car. Adrian took the players to a corner of the field, away from all the noise being generated by those getting changed.

“Hope you enjoyed the game?” Adrian asked them in Mandarin.

They all responded affirmatively and smiled at Adrian, giving him an all-went-well thumbs up. Adrian was glad they enjoyed themselves; after all, first impression matters most. Smiling, Adrian told them it was very important for them to go out there and make new friends. He looked at them, resting his gaze on Peter. He told them that he knew it might not be easy, but that they had to find a way, and the best way he knew was through sport. Adrian shared his belief that sport was the biggest tool there is when trying to get to know a new community or any unfamiliar group. To buttress his point, Adrian pointed to his own personal experience. He told them that sport was the most influential factor in shaping his life in New Zealand.

He concluded; “I mean, in the earliest years, if it wasn’t for sports, I don’t know how it would turn out for me. If it wasn’t for sports, I wouldn’t have wanted to study in university. If it wasn’t for sports, I wonder what I will be doing right now. Literally, ’til today, this moment, everything that I’m doing right now has to do with sports including why I’m talking to all of you right now. I’ve actually learned a lot of things through sport, whether it is actively participating in it, whether it is as a facilitator as I am today. A lot of things, a lot of life lessons, if you may.”

“Can I ask you a question?” Peter cut in.

“For sure. You can ask me anything”, Adrian replied.

“Do you feel at home here now?... I mean do you feel like you are a part of this country now?”, Peter inquired.

“100%! New Zealand is my home away from home. There’s no question about that, you know, I love this place to bits. At the moment, every day I’m trying to fight for my residency. I’m moving inches and inches towards that goal. I actually love this place. I think I do. Despite the frustrations of the early days, never did I think that

coming to New Zealand was a bad choice. Even though I didn't enjoy it at the start. I love this place, wouldn't trade it for any other place.", Adrian continued, "as I said, if it wasn't for sports, I wouldn't be doing half the stuff that I am doing right now. To be fair, everything that I'm doing or have done in the last eight and a half years to come up with my sense of belonging or to justify my sense of belonging and thinking that New Zealand is home away from home, definitely. I mean sport has a direct influence on my feelings towards New Zealand right now. Never did I think that sport would ever be so important in my life, and somehow it turns out to be."

Peter smiled at Adrian's answer. Adrian joined him. He could see his words of wisdom were appreciated and being stored away for future use. He strongly believed the strategy was working. He had already seen teams like the Yellow Marine Football Club (YMFC) go from playing casually to becoming affiliated to a club. The YMFC team was comprised entirely of expatriate South Americans. These immigrants had initially ground-hopped for about five years before they found an established local club that fully accepted them and offered them a place to play. Since then, they have become an integral part of that club. Similarly, Adrian had followed the same strategy to pull through three ethnic teams. Like YMFC, these teams were playing unorganised and unaffiliated by themselves. Thanks to Adrian, however, they were now fully affiliated to one of the clubs in the region.

Adrian looked across the field and smiled. In Adrian's view, football should be something that everyone enjoys together. In an ideal world, there would not be any separate leagues or any teams for a particular ethnic group. But, if managed correctly, these ethnic leagues or teams are also the ticket to accessing other mainstream football clubs. He wanted to educate those who looked at the ethnic teams or the leagues and only saw teams who are separating themselves. That was his ultimate goal. Education.

4.3. Love and Football

"Hey girls!" Anna said as she entered the room.

“Hey Anna!”, her teammates chorused in response.

Anna sat down on the bench and started to go through the usual pre-game routine. As per usual, she had arrived at the Takahe Football Club and headed straight to the changing room. Once in the door, she had quickly scanned the notice board to ascertain the room allocated to the home team. Anna played for the Takahe University Football Club on Auckland’s North Shore. The team was born out of a partnership between her university and the local Takahe Football Club. Wearing her playing jersey and shorts to the game, she just needed to put on her football boots. Before this, however, she needed to strap her legs, especially her ankle. The strapping made her feel less vulnerable since Anna had a history of ankle injuries.

Outside, it was another bright and sunny Sunday morning in Auckland, New Zealand. It wasn’t hot. It was the perfect day for a game of soccer (football). Anna was usually one of the first to arrive. On this occasion, she entered the room to find girls already changing. More arrived as Anna applied her strapping. They chatted amongst themselves, leaving Anna to it. The conversations covered a wide range of topics, from what had happened during the week, to what had happened so far that weekend. Sometimes Anna would look up, having heard a giggle from one of the girls. She would simply nod in affirmation to a query directed at her or absentmindedly smile in response to a comment or joke that she did not really hear properly.

Anna was unusually quiet that morning, choosing to not participate as much as she would normally do. She looked around the room, noting that most of her teammates were all relatively recent additions to the team. There was only one other girl that had been in the team as long as Anna, but she had not yet arrived. Anna sighed as she bent her head down again to put her socks on. The team was certainly more close-knit compared to Anna’s first season. She was feeling quite nostalgic. Perhaps it was because it was her last game before her trip to Mexico. She was going to miss the final three games of the season.

Thinking of Mexico made Anna smile. Her eyes twinkled with excitement. She was going to attend the wedding of her best friend Carla. Not just as a guest, but as a bridesmaid. “Who could have thought the little shy girl from India would one day be going all the way to Mexico as a result of a friend she had met playing football in New

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Zealand”, Anna asked herself as she slipped her feet into her boots. “It still felt like a dream”, she thought to herself as she reminisced about the day that she left her family and the big Indian city that had been her home since birth. It may have been February 2013 (almost four years ago), but Anna remembered it like it was only yesterday.

The dominant sport in Anna’s primary school was hockey. Growing up, however, Anna only participated in athletics. She viewed hockey as being a dangerous sport and her interest in football was restricted to an occasional kick with her cousins. Sometimes they would play some small-sided games in the limited spaces available around their house. She always enjoyed it but had little opportunity to play properly until she attended high school. It was then that Anna’s friend mentioned that the newly established school football team were inviting girls to trial. Anna was excited to hear the news. She set about gathering some more information and decided she would attend. She knew she was far from being competent at the game but was determined to give it a go.

The trial went quickly and, by her own admission, she played poorly. She trialed as a defender but did not have a clue what to do. She was just chasing the ball and trying to kick it as hard and far as she could. She would later reflect on the fact that, given the limited number of triallists, it was not so surprising that she was selected. At the end of the trial, the school team had eleven players and four substitutes. Anna was one of the substitutes. She was elated to be a part of the team. With time and determination, Anna was confident that she would find a position in the starting eleven. She proudly broke the news to her mother when she got home.

Anna’s mother was happy. She encouraged her to keep trying and predicted that she would eventually become one of the team’s top players. The story was different with her father. He was furious. He vehemently opposed the idea of her playing football. Not necessarily because he thought girls should not play football, but more because it would distract Anna from her studies. He told Anna sport cannot help her to find job or “get ahead” in life. He believed that only education could provide her with a better future. His opinion was generally shared by most parents living in India at that time. Most young people, especially girls, were encouraged to focus on their academic studies and, ideally, to pursue mainstream courses such as medicine, engineering, or

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commerce. Anna's father rejected the idea of his daughter playing football for the school. He wanted her to quit.

Despite her father's opposition, Anna remained steadfast. She embraced her newfound sport and her team. She attended every training. Her skills and understanding of the game soon started to improve. Just as she was starting to feel more comfortable in her position in defense, however, she was asked by the coach to be the team's goalkeeper. Anna reluctantly accepted the invitation, believing it would affect her ongoing development. But she was also willing to put the needs of the team ahead of her own. She didn't mind where she played, as long as she remained part of the team. Anna was only goalkeeper for a few weeks.

Anna's father remained unhappy. Some of Anna's relatives and family friends also shared his opinion. Some questioned the suitability of football for a young woman. They would pass comments such as "Oh, really?... you're playing football? Oh my gosh, you are a girl." On one occasion, Anna's aunt told Anna that she was not a boy and that she should stop playing football. "I am sorry to disappoint you", Anna responded. She had no intention of quitting. Instead of weighing Anna down, these comments only fueled her desire.

Alongside some of his friends, Anna's high school coach started a football club. The friends were mainly the sponsors of the club. Automatically, the girls who were playing for the school team also started playing for this new club. Though the club competition was small (only six teams), the girls – Anna included – were able to improve considerably. The Year Ten team was registered into the school sports competition but, due to an error from the person that registered the team, they were registered into the under-19 age group, as opposed to the under-16 category. Despite the age difference, Anna's team managed to reach the final.

Year Ten happens to be a critical year in the Indian schooling system. It is the year students choose a pathway for their studies. It is the year where students sit an important exam which essentially determines their pathway through junior college. The science pathway had the highest percentage requirement, followed by commerce and the arts. Anna wanted to study commerce, but she was just below the cut-off. As expected, it seemed Anna's performance in her board exam had justified her father's objections. He quickly blamed it on football and used the opportunity to remind her

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once again the need for her to focus only on her academics. But to Anna's joy, football became her saviour. She was subsequently offered a place in the commerce pathway via the sport quota. Her only obligation was to play any sport that she was asked to play in junior college.

When Anna arrived at junior college, she was asked to join the college football team. She could have not asked for a better option. However, there was a lot of competition to get into the team this time. Despite an increase in the number of players and the quality of players, Anna was selected for the college team. The college team played in the same school competition her team participated in by accident. Anna was not fazed by the challenge. After playing in the college team for a while, she was approached by her coach to come and play for his club. Anna, however, did not accept the request. She stayed loyal to her old club and continued playing for them as well as for the college team.

Anna's college also decided that they wanted to establish a hockey team. While most of the girls wanted to play football, there were only about five who wanted to play hockey. Despite this, the college's sports director asked, or better instructed Anna and some of the other sport-quota students to join the school's hockey team. Anna had no choice. All the girls from the football team were now in the hockey team and the two teams also shared the same coach. As much as Anna dreaded hockey, she attended training sessions and started playing some games. The training was different from the football training even though it was the same coach. The drills in hockey were quite different and Anna found it challenging. However, with more training and some games, Anna started adjusting to the new sport and eventually started liking the sport.

Anna's fear of hockey soon passed. So much so that she even chided herself for being scared in the first place. Anna was also required to start playing volleyball as part of her sport quota requirement. Unlike the hockey situation, however, Anna never complained. Unlike hockey, she enjoyed volleyball and welcomed the opportunity to participate. But, as it turned out, Anna's fear of hockey was justified. Hockey was dangerous. In Year 13. She was unable to prevent a ball from hitting her stick and deflecting up into her face. It hit her right under her left eye. Her eye swelled instantly (she could barely see out of it). Anna signaled to leave the field, but there

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was no one to replace her. As was often the case, the team were short of players that week. Anna had no choice but to go back to the field and to continue playing, more so out of obligation than enjoyment.

Football was always Anna's main sport. When training clashed with her class, she would pick training with her friends over attending the class (nine times out of ten). Skipping classes was a personal risk. No compensation or mercy was ever given, not even to those representing the school on the sports field. Anna also incurred the wrath of her father whenever he found out. As always, he worried that Anna would fail as a consequence. After the completion of her degree, Anna was initially at a loss as to what to do next. She harboured a strong desire to study abroad, but did not know where or how to go about it. She was then contacted by a college in India which had a program that recruited student athletes, providing them with a tuition scholarship. Anna gladly accepted the offer. She also accepted that the rest of the world could wait a little longer.

All Anna had to do during her postgraduate studies was play football and sit exams. She did not have to attend classes. For the first time in her young adult life, Anna had some spare time on her hands. She decided to join a church group that was engaged in activities such as arts, crafts, and games. Anna, along other members of the group, also engaged in some voluntary activities within the local community. Anna also decided to search for a part-time job. Her friend knew someone looking for an assistant teacher for a short period. The work experience led Anna to conclude that she wanted to work with young children. It also helped her decide that she wanted to leave India and pursue a degree in early childhood education. She immediately started looking at her options.

Anna talked to her aunts in Canada and the United State of America (USA). She also had an uncle in Australia. Anna's father was blissfully unaware of her plans. Anna's mother was aware and generally supportive. Her biggest concerns were that they might not be able to afford the international student fees. Anna understood her mother's perspective but insisted she would carry on searching for the right option. She felt that they could re-visit the issue of funding once she had found a place to go. Fortuitously, while Anna was considering her overseas study option, she was visited by her friend Krish with two of his friends Nixon and Nate. Krish was studying in

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New Zealand. His two friends were both New Zealanders of European heritage (Krish called them Kiwis). Krish and his friends told Anna all about New Zealand. They told her it was an amazing country and, in addition, one of the best places to study. Anna told Krish she would look into it.

After gathering more information, Anna soon came to the conclusion that New Zealand ticked all the boxes. Even though Anna had toyed with the idea of going to US, Canada, or Australia to study, she viewed the fact that she had no relatives living in New Zealand as a definite positive. She never really wanted to go to a place where she had family. If possible, she wanted to move away from family. She didn't want to be sheltered, or pampered, or to be looked after. She wanted some independence (to be able to do things on her own). New Zealand could provide this opportunity. So, Anna immediately swung into action. She applied to every New Zealand University with an early childhood education programme. Initially, Anna was declined by most of the universities that received her application. Her grades were not too flattering (much to her father's annoyance). Eventually, however, she received a conditional offer that she was very happy to accept without any hesitation. It came from one of her preferred choices. She just needed to demonstrate her English language proficiency.

Anna enrolled in the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). IELTS is an international standardised test of English language proficiency for non-English language speakers. New Zealand universities, like most universities in the English-speaking world, require non-native speakers of English to pass an IELTS or similar test. Anna sat for the IELTS and obtained an overall score of 7.5. This was comfortably above the minimum requirement. Her next challenge was to break the news to her father. She needed to show him that sending her to study in New Zealand was a worthy investment. Anna devised a plan. She created a comprehensive document, detailing tuition, accommodation, and living expenses. She also included information on indicative salaries.

Armed with her plan, Anna approached her father, with her mother by her side. Anna broke the news of her intention to travel to New Zealand. Although he was angry, he was also impressed by the strength of Anna's argument and by the fact that she had not only passed the IELTS test, but also secured admission to study early childhood

education in New Zealand. As predicted, he was concerned about the international tuition fees. He was wary of investing such a huge amount of money; money that could go to waste if Anna failed or dropped out. Anna's father's position on the issue was influenced by her previous approach to studying and the grades achieved during her degree. He believed that Anna would not be serious with her studies (and that she would overindulge in sport again). His opinions were also influenced by the many stories that he had heard from parents whose children had gone to Australia and never completed their studies.

Anna assured her father that she would be serious with her studies and that she would succeed. Though he remained skeptical, he reluctantly gave his blessings and Anna started preparing for her New Zealand experience. As the day drew closer, her parents wondered how they would let their little girl travel all the way to the other side of the world by herself. As the first child, it was difficult for them to accept that Anna was not just leaving home, but also leaving the country. They considered the idea of Anna's mother accompanying her, but - much to Anna's relief - it was deemed too expensive. Anna thought it would defeat the whole essence of the trip, which was to go into the world and explore on her own. Her parents were relieved when they learnt Anna might be travelling to Auckland with another girl.

Anna's departure was a very big day for her family. When Anna said her goodbyes, her parents and sister cried. They had been crying since they left home and made their way to the airport. Although she felt bad seeing them so sad, Anna could not bring herself to join them. For her, it was a joyous occasion (she smiled all the way to Auckland). As arranged, Anna stayed with Jahnvi for the first few days. Anna had met Jahnvi via a mutual friend in the church group. They discussed their courses and exchanged information. Jahnvi told Anna that she has some relatives in New Zealand and would be staying with them when she arrived into Auckland. She informed Anna that she was welcome to stay with them for few days, whilst Anna organised her own accommodation. Anna was happy to know that she had this option, even though she had already made arrangement to stay in the university's student hostel.

Eventually, after discussing for a while, they both agreed to travel on the same flight to New Zealand. Anna attended nearly all of the university's orientation programs. At one event, she visited the university's sport stand and registered her interest in

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football. She put down her contact details and was told to keep an eye out for an email and to follow the university sport Facebook page. Anna was really excited by the possibility of resuming football again. She had occasionally thought about the possibility of playing but did not know how to go about it. As promised, she received an email inviting her to play in a mixed seven-a-side football team. Anna immediately confirmed her availability and, four weeks later, she found herself wearing her university's colours playing against another university. Unsure of her abilities, and more specifically her ability to play against males, she was quite nervous. The fixture was not too competitive and, much to Anna's surprise, the boys were willing to pass the ball to the girls. Anna really enjoyed the game but arrived and left the venue by herself. She spoke to a couple of players on her team, but never learnt their names (or anything else about them).

During the weeks that followed, Anna became overly conscious of the fact that she had no female friends in New Zealand. Finding new friends was proving a real challenge. Her roommates were friendly but had different personalities (and priorities). Her classmates were nice but also came across as being snobby and somewhat aloof. The only friend that Anna had at that stage was Krish. As a result, she spent most of her time with him and his kiwi friends, including the one that she had first met in India.

A few months after starting her studies, Anna received another message from the university's sport department. It was an invitation to trial for the women's football team. Anna was very excited. She wondered if she would make the team and was somewhat worried that she might embarrass herself in the process of trying to be selected. She was also worried that her skill level would not match that of the other girls. Unfortunately, on the scheduled day for the trial, Anna arrived at the venue only to be informed that, due to low numbers, there would be no female team that year. She walked away bitterly disappointed.

A year later, Anna was once again invited to trial. Anna was skeptical, following her previous experience, but her yearning to play football had never been stronger. Behind the scenes, the university's director of football had found someone who was willing to manage and coach, and a local football club, the Takahe Football Club, willing to provide the team with a home. "How will I make the team?" Anna thought

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to herself, as she made her way to the trial. She had not played for about a year and was expecting the standard to be much higher than that experienced in India, “Oh my God. . . why am I here?”, she questioned as other girls – none of whom she recognised – started to arrive. Anna was afraid that she would not be accepted as part of the team. She wondered if anyone would want to be friends with the Indian on the team.

Anna worried about how the others would react to her presence. Perhaps it would be the same reaction she got in her class. “Oh my gosh, you speak English” was a common reaction during those earlier days. “How do you speak English?”, was another question posed on several occasions. It was as if nobody expected her to speak English. The most shocking experience Anna encountered during her first year in New Zealand was actually from one of her university lecturers. She earned an A plus in her very first assignment (she smashed it, scoring 20 out of 20). During the process of handing back the assignments, however, the lecturer seemed surprised that she had done so well. “Anna Paul”, the lecturer called, inviting the bearer of that name to come and collect her assignment. Anna did as expected and walked to the front of the class, ready to collect her work. The lecturer looked up and then down again at the paper in her hand. She then looked up at Anna once more. “Are you really Anna Paul?”, she asked a very surprised looking Anna. Anna answered affirmatively. The lecturer then asked for Anna’s real name.

Anna accepts that her name doesn’t sound very Indian. Her name is English. It is a reflection of her family’s Catholic background. Unknown to many, there are lots of Catholics from her part of India and it is not unusual to see people with names such as hers. In keeping with the tradition of having a saint’s name, several people have English names. The lecturer looked at Anna astonished and perhaps still in doubt. “Oh, okay, well done.”, she said, before adding, “you did pretty well for an Indian, English being a second language, kudos to you.”

“Oh, it’s my first language.”, Anna responded, much to the lecturer’s surprise.

“What? Like, how?”, the lecturer blurted out, unable to fully digest what she had just heard.

Anna thought that a lecturer in education should be aware of the fact that English is the official language of India. She sat down feeling embarrassed and irritated. ‘Here I am, about to go through it all again’, she thought to herself as she stood and looked around at the girls getting ready for the trial.

When the trialists introduced themselves, no one paid Anna any special attention. No one asked her any questions about her English or showed any sign of surprise that she spoke English. Basically, no one cared where she came from (or why her name was English). Perhaps, they were all focused on impressing the coach and making the team. Or maybe it was their age? The girls were mostly younger than her classmates and Anna had found that the younger generation were more open. They were also from Auckland, ensuring that they were more likely to have grown up surrounded by cultural diversity. According the 2013 New Zealand Census, when Anna arrived, the population of Indians in New Zealand was the second-largest Asian ethnic group with 155,178 people. 106,326 (nearly 70%) of them lived in Auckland.

Anna made it through both rounds of the selection process. The coach told her she needed to improve on certain areas, especially her positioning and ball holding. He promised to help her as much as possible to improve on her skills. Anna attended training but she felt distanced from most of the girls. Small talk was normal but there was little more than that. Although the team was new, some girls already knew each other from their university classes. There was another Indian girl, Yash, but Anna still felt isolated. Yash got on very well with the other girls, especially with the captain. She had been in New Zealand way longer than Anna and appeared to be used to the Kiwi way of doing things. She was also more outgoing.

Anna felt the other girls did not like her, especially the captain and some of her friends. Sometimes she entertained the thought that this was because she was not good enough (the level was much higher than the level she played in India). The coach demanded that they play with a particular formation and style, all of which was alien to her. In India, all she was told was just to kick the ball and ensure that she

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kicked it as far away as possible. But here, she was expected to hold the ball and pass (even as a defender).

With each training, her confidence took a battering, especially as the captain provided only negative feedback. Fortunately for her, the coach could see what she was going through and encouraged her not to give up. He would talk to her one-on-one after each training. Anna's confidence grew as her skill level improved. Although the captain occasionally yelled at her during the games, the effect was not felt as much as it was during the first couple of weeks. As the season progressed, she felt more settled into the team. She started enjoying playing and was always looking forward to training.

Hollie joined the team about a month into the season. She seemed genuinely interested in Anna and they started talking. It was refreshing for her to have someone to talk to during and after games (someone to discuss the game with and to talk about other things non-game related). Hollie was older than most of the other girls and seemed more mature. Anna found it easy to talk to her. Also, Anna and Hollie had something in common, compared to the other girls, they were both shy. They occasionally did things outside the football such as going to see a movie or going to a café to have coffee together. Anna became more aware and exposed to the Kiwi culture through her conversations and interactions with Hollie and started learning more about New Zealand as a result. About halfway through the season, as Anna and Hollie's friendship continued to grow, the team welcomed another new player into their squad. Her name was Carla. Like Anna, Carla was an international student. She was Mexican. Anna and Carla clicked instantly. After the first day, they would talk all the time. They talked about football and training (a lot). They talked about India and Mexico, about their education and their lives in general.

Carla's impact on the team was immediate. She was without a doubt one of the best players in the league, let alone the team. She could hold the ball, control, and dictate the pace of play. Her passes were accurate, and she scored goals easily. All the girls were in awe and instantly drawn towards her, which positively rubbed off on Anna. Suddenly, as a result of her friendship with Carla, most of the girls started talking to her more. Furthermore, Carla would always cheer and encourage Anna at training and during the games. The encouragement boosted her confidence to a new level,

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which in turn helped her ongoing improvement. Anna and Carla would sometimes be invited to join the other girls for dinner or drinks. Prior to Carla's arrival, Anna hardly ever went out with the other girls (she was not always asked). The general perception was that she was reserved.

Carla knew a group of Mexican guys who wanted to start a mixed seven-a-side team and asked Anna and Hollie to join her in playing for the team. They both agreed (although Hollie later withdrew). Occasionally, Anna would join Carla at some of the parties or dinners organised by the Mexican boys. At the same time, Anna also started taking more responsibilities in the university team. She started by taking responsibility for the food list. One of the league's traditions was that the home team would always provide food after games. In view of this standing tradition, to avoid conflict between the players or a situation where two players would bring same food item, the system of the food list was created.

The noise in the home changing room went up a notch as more and more of Anna's teammates walked through the door. Having put on her boots, she decided to proceed to the pitch to do some kick around with the girls that were already out on the pitch.

"Oh my gosh girl!, I heard you are travelling to Mexico for Carla's wedding! How exciting! I wish I can come on the trip with you! Are you really going?", Yash exclaimed excitedly as she saw Anna by the door. "Oh my gosh! That's so romantic!", Yash responded seconds later, having just been told by Anna that she was definitely going and that they - Anna and her boyfriend - would be stopping over in the USA on the way. Anna started laughing at Yash's reaction and statement.

Anna had always wanted Krish to attend her games. She was always saddened by his lack of interest towards her football. She tried several times to convince him to attend her games but to no avail. Some of the girls brought their boyfriends to games all the time, whilst some even came to their training sessions. Anna had known Krish since she about fourteen years old. It turned out that they had both had a thing for each other since they were teenagers and, with Anna spending so much time with him during the early days of her move to Auckland, they gradually developed romantic feelings for each other. With time, Krish moved in with Anna and they started living together.

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Initially, the arrangement was supposed to be temporary, however, as their relationship grew stronger, it became long-term. Anna longed for the same attention and support that she saw from her teammate's partners, but Krish wasn't interested. In fact, over time, Krish made Anna feel terrible for even mentioning it. He constantly complained that she was spending too much time on football but, at the same time, he spent large periods of time playing video games. The more Krish complained, however, the more Anna sought solace with her football. Anna often wondered why he could not spend some of that time watching her represent her university. She wanted him to see why she loved football.

With the benefit of hindsight, Anna could see that she spent a lot of time with football. She would attend fitness training sessions on a Tuesday, play 7-a-side football on a Wednesday, train on a Thursday, and then play a game on a Sunday. She really enjoyed it, but she also longed to share it with her boyfriend. Having pleaded and bugged him for almost the whole season, Krish eventually came to watch her play in the semi-final of the League Cup. It was a close game that went on to a penalty shootout, which they won. Anna was so proud of herself and was even happier that Krish finally saw her play. Anna's team went on to win the final and claim their very first trophy. They ended up third on the league table that season with one goal difference separating them from the team that finished second.

At the end of the season, Anna did not take a break from football. Alongside Carla and Hollie, she registered into a social seven-a-side football tournament called sub-football. As a result, Anna and Carla spent the whole summer playing together and their bond was further strengthened. At Christmas, Anna travelled back to India for her holidays.

She was very proud to show her parents both her academic achievements and her football winner's medal. Anna's father was pleasantly surprised that she had maintained good grades while still actively playing football. Anna's friends were even more amazed.

When Anna returned from her holidays, she heard that all the players from the previous season would be required to trial again for a spot in the university team. She immediately became apprehensive, having heard that there were some new girls that had shown interest in joining the team. She presumed that they would be good

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(better than her). Anna could not imagine her life in New Zealand if she failed to make the team. She had thoroughly enjoyed her experience and resolved that she would do her best to show the coach that she deserved to be in the team. On the trial day, Anna went through all the physical test and exercises as best as she could. She pushed herself to complete every single task, even when her body wanted to stop. At the end of the session, Anna approached the coach and asked him what he thought of her performance and her chances of making the cut. The coach told her, she had to wait and see.

Anna was stressed throughout the week that followed the trial. Some of the new trialists were really good, especially the two girls that were obviously friends. Their names were Betty and Maya. Both of them had told her at the beginning of the trial that they were not very good players, but she was stunned to see how good they were. Although Betty was not very fit, she was very strong physically and technically really good. At the end of the second pre-season session, the coach told Anna in confidence that she should not worry (she would make the team). He also broke the news to Anna that he already put her name forward as the team manager. Anna was stunned. As happy as she was to hear the news, she still wondered if that translated to actually making it into the team. She gladly accepted the position, but she still wanted to play. The coach later reassured her that there was still a place in the starting XI on every game day, assuming that she was able to show him that she deserved it. The new and improved team started the season by comfortably smashing their opponents 8-0.

Unfortunately, Anna's relationship with Krish had worsened since she had returned from India. It seemed that the more Anna got involved with football, the more the gap widened between them. Krish had a part-time job but it was not in his field of studies, meaning that he could not use it for his visa. He became obviously frustrated and could take out the frustration on Anna. They started fighting on a regular basis, something that Anna found unbearable. She decided to end their relationship and use football to help ease her pain. Anna would always turn to football to ease her mind. Sometimes, she would call the coach to discuss an upcoming game.

Anna embraced the opportunity to take on more responsibilities with both the university team and her seven-a-side team. She volunteered to become the team manager of the seven-a-side team, in addition to managing the university team and

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her social life became all about football. She had no time to think about the break-up. She would go out with her teammates from the university team and they would have lots of fun. She also went out with her friends from the seven-a-side team, something she never used to do when dating Krish. Anna had effectively replaced her boyfriend with football. She hated to admit it (because it made her sound lonely), but Anna actually enjoyed the feeling of freedom. Her relationship with the seemingly standoffish Betty and Maya had improved, although she still wouldn't refer to them as friends. They still maintained a distance from most of the other girls.

It took a spontaneous road trip that Anna, Carla, Betty and Maya embarked on to bring them all close together. Carla had completed her studies and was counting down her days to going back to Mexico. After a particular game, as the girls were chatting in the club room, Betty had the idea of embarking on a road trip to show Carla some places that she was yet to see. She suggested they should go right away and told them that she had all the stuff that they would need in her car, including sleeping bags. They all agreed and set out on the trip. The trip was one of Anna's most memorable experiences and they all became very close friends as a result.

Around the same time as Carla's departure from Auckland, Anna applied for a job as a reliever in an Early Childhood Education Centre. During the interview, the interviewer looked at her curriculum vitae (CV) and was very impressed with her sport engagement. The interviewer told Anna that she was the type of person they were looking for. She said they were looking for someone who would be active and engage with the kids, someone who will get down and do things and not someone who would just sit back. Anna was offered the job instantly and over the next twelve months became a full-fledged team member and a team leader within the organisation. She was amazed that her football career was so instrumental in getting a job. Back in India, a CV filled with sport was far more likely to close doors, not open them.

Anna constantly approached her role and responsibilities at the Early Childhood Education Centre as she did her managerial duties with both of her football teams. Upon reflection, football had certainly helped get her out of her comfort zone. It made her more confident. Being the team manager, for example, required frequent interaction with other people, including those from other teams and players who

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wanted to join the university team. Through football, she met many people and expanded her network. Almost everyone she knew in New Zealand had come as a result of her involvement with her two football teams. If not for football, she might not have met Martin (her boyfriend).

Anna stopped on the porch of the Takahe FC clubhouse. She looked down the hill and across the football pitch. She then gazed across towards Martin. She watched admiringly as he diligently helped the team's goalie get ready for the game. Anna met Martin about a year after she broke up with Krish. They were randomly introduced to each other at a party hosted by Nixon (the same Nixon that Anna had first met in India in 2012 when he visited with Krish). Martin and Nixon happened to work for the same company. Unsurprisingly, Anna mentioned to Martin that she played football during their first ever conversation. Martin revealed that he had not played football since he was about fifteen years old but, by the end of the party, Anna had invited him to come and try out for their seven-a-side team (they were looking for players). Martin assured Anna that he would come and check it out.

As promised, Martin showed up and had a game with Anna's seven-a-side team. Although he wasn't very good, he enjoyed it and asked if he could join the team. Anna happily made all the necessary arrangement and Martin became an official member of the team. Over time, his friendship with Anna blossomed and they started talking more often (before and after games). Then the chatting progressed into some dates, which eventually metamorphosed into a romantic relationship. They were very different people, but their mutual love of football gave Anna and Martin something in common. Unlike Krish, Martin attended every game that Anna played. At first, she was a little worried about what the coach would think. She, like most of the other girls in the team, highly valued his opinion.

The coach welcomed Martin into the team from the outset. Unlike Krish, Martin encouraged her to go to training. Furthermore, Martin did not just attend the games, he actually enjoyed discussing and analysing every game with Anna, providing constructive feedback on her performance. Anna really liked him offering her advice as to what she could/should have done differently. She didn't want him telling her that she was the 'best' when she knew that wasn't true. She liked how Martin would remind her of what the coach had said about how she should play or what she should

do. In return, Anna also used to regularly give Martin feedback on his performances for their seven-a-side game.

Anna stopped daydreaming on the porch and joined those warming up on the pitch below. The coach gave instructions while the girls were doing their stretches. As usual, he spoke to them as a group, then individually. Anna was determined to enjoy her final game of the season. The fact that they scored a goal within the first few minutes certainly helped her relax. She could hear Martin on the sideline urging her to “run with the ball!” (Martin always wants her to run with the ball). She could see him talking with the Coach and, despite being on the other side of the field, knew exactly what he was saying. He’d be saying “I have seen her do it in the seven-a-side” and “I know she can do it”, she thought to herself.

Anna’s final game was going really well. The team had scored another two goals and were in complete control of the game. She was confident that they would get another couple before half time and saw the game as good as won with just over an hour still to play. With this in mind, she decided that the next time the ball came to her she was going to take a risk and please her boyfriend by going for a run up the field. After all, it was her last game of the season, Anna concluded. Finally, after what seemed like a very long time the moment arrived. Anna received the ball and took a touch, ensuring that she had it under control and out from beneath her feet. She carried the ball a few steps and then, as she had done many times already, she passed it to a teammate. Unlike the previous times, however, she didn’t drop back into her position on the right side of the defense.

Anna ran down the right flank, calling for a pass at the same time. Her teammate spotted the run and duly fed the ball back into her path, allowing her the opportunity to take it deep into their opponent’s half of the field. Once outside the penalty box, Anna cut inside and whipped in a cross (something she had heard the coach instruct the team’s wingers on many occasions). Anna’s heart stopped for a second as she watched the team’s left-winger running in to meet her cross. Anna turned towards the bench and saw her coach clapping and giving her a thumbs up. Martin was next to him jumping and screaming “I told you!”. Anna smiled with satisfaction. She then turned and ran towards the other girls, all of whom were celebrating the goal that she had just created for her teammate. As much as she was looking forward to Mexico, she didn’t want this

final game to ever end.

4.4. The Pursuit of Refuge

A Facebook post caught Jack's attention. He sat upright with a serious look on his face, and he read the post again for a second and third time. The post was about a newly established ethnic based football (soccer) league. Its author proclaimed that it was a wonderful idea, capable of increasing the sport participation of immigrants and helping them integrate better into the community. The post encouraged other ethnic minority groups to create their own exclusive ethnic leagues. Jack read the comments posted below. They were largely positive. Some people even provided the suggestion with a 'thumbs up'. He couldn't believe what he was seeing.

Jack had been casually browsing through the internet in a corner of the university's city campus library. After finishing his schoolwork, he usually spent his evenings checking his Facebook and emails. Outside, he could see and hear that the rain was still pouring down. He had no choice but to wait until the sky ran out of water. He didn't fancy getting soaked to the bone on the walk home. Upon reading through the comments attached to this post, however, Jack completely forgot what the weather was doing outside and became so irritated, so infuriated, that he couldn't keep it to himself. He started responding to a particular comment. Midway through, he turned to his friend.

"This is very stupid! Abdul did you see this stupid post?", Jack protested. "Calm down, bro", Abdul said.

Abdul is Jack's best friend. Their relationship is close, almost like brothers. They have known each other since childhood. They met through football. Abdul had seen the post earlier and wondered what the fuss was about. He gave Jack a look indicating that he did not understand why Jack was so upset.

"I would never support that because that's just having a narrow mindset", Jack argued, surprised by Abdul's apparent apathy. "When you're playing the game of football", Jack continued, "you're meant to let everyone play, every ethnicity, because it's the game of football. You can't just close the gap and say, "just this ethnicity in

this league”.

It was not the first time that Abdul had heard this argument, or seen Jack so wound up by the thought of ethnic segregation in sport. Once again, Jack explained to Abdul that having an ethnic based team or league is detrimental to the development of the players, both in terms of their football skills and social skills. Jack opined that, crucially, they would not have the opportunity to interact with people from other ethnicities or the wider society. He believed that this would keep them secluded.

“It’s like saying African players can only play with Africans. Somali players can only play in a Somali team. Like, their knowledge won’t increase”, Jack continued, with no care or concern as to who else might be listening. “Their English wouldn’t get any better because you’re keeping them in a certain section that they’ve already been in for most their life. However, if you say they can play with any other ethnicity, it opens up the doors to friendships. If you’ve got players that are Kiwis, that can help your English. You can adapt to the situation. You could feel like you’re a New Zealander by playing with other players”, Jack added, hardly stopping to catch his breath. “But if you’re just playing with just one ethnicity it feels like it makes no difference if you were in Somalia playing with them or if you’re in New Zealand playing with them. Because you don’t experience anything else”.

Jack is Somali. Abdul is Afghan. They were both refugees. They had both experienced ethnic segregation during their time in New Zealand. Both lived in Weston, a suburb in Auckland largely populated by immigrants and refugees. At Weston, the refugees only played with or against each other, contact with the outside world was very much restricted. There was also limited interaction between the various different ethnic groups living in the area. Programmes were usually structured according to ethnicity. For example, there was indoor football (soccer) for Afghans on a Tuesday, and for Somalis on a Wednesday. Given their experiences, Jack expected Abdul to understand his negative disposition towards ethnic segregation. He wanted to be preaching to the already converted.

Jack was actually born in Kenya. His family, like many before them, fled Somalia during the civil war. The civil war started in 1991 when Siad Barre became President. He came to power through a coup d’état. Barre was viewed as a dictator and his regime was seen as repressive. The Civil War led to the toppling of Barre’s regime.

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During this time, however, more than two million people were estimated to have died and many families fled the country in an attempt to escape the widespread bloodshed and starvation. It was estimated that as many as six million people were displaced. Jack's family fled to neighboring Kenya through the backroads and bushes, avoiding the armed gangs and border securities. They were one of the lucky ones who made it to a refugee camp in Kenya.

In Kenya, Jack's family lived with the daily fear of armed bandits coming into the camp to rob and rape the refugees. However, it was still better than living in Somali and Jack was born in 1995. His family continued to live in Kenya until they were accepted as a part of the New Zealand refugee programme. This was the news they had been praying and hoping for. Their joy knew no bounds and there was excitement around the camp. Jack was about four years old then and could not fully understand the situation. But his parents explained to him that the news meant an opportunity for a new and better life. Jack had full trust in his parents and was excited about the prospect of a better life. Jack began counting down the days to when they would finally leave.

Most Somalis living in New Zealand arrived either directly through the New Zealand Annual Quota Programme or through the Family Reunification Category. The first wave of Somali refugees arrived New Zealand around 1993. In 2001, the New Zealand census data reports that there were about 1,100 Somalis living in Auckland (the population of Somalis in New Zealand was estimated at 1,900). Jack knew nothing about New Zealand but his thoughts were filled with dreams of a new life, as much as his young mind could manage. In 1999, the big day finally arrived. Jack and his family departed Kenya for Auckland, New Zealand.

Upon arriving in New Zealand, Jack and his family were placed into yet another refugee camp. But this 'camp' was luxury compared to the camp that had just left. Jack and his family were later resettled into government funded refugee accommodation outside of the camp. Little changed for Jack. As in Kenya, he was still a boy surrounded by Somalis and other refugees. He only heard or spoke Somali. There was no incentive or opportunity to learn English, despite the clear message from advisors that it was very important for them.

Jack started school about a year after arriving in New Zealand. It was a new challenge

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for him, he finally met people from other ethnicities. Though he had been looking forward to this new adventure, it was not a very pleasant experience. His language skills were not well-developed and he had difficulties communicating with the other children. He retreated into his shell. He was reluctant to interact with others in the classroom out of fear of being labeled stupid. He just sat quietly and listened to the teacher. However, during the lunch break or sports time he was a different person altogether. Especially when it was time to play football.

Jack loved football. He especially loved playing it with all the other kids. He was able to express himself without any fear of failure or embarrassment. He believed those playing football understood each other and that they were all friends. He didn't feel stupid playing football and his confidence grew the more he participated. His English also started improving the more he interacted with other kids. Jack's interest in football increased tenfold once he discovered that he was actually pretty good at it. He was further encouraged by the feedback he got from his teachers and, like many boys his age, he started nursing the ambition of becoming a professional football player. He recalled the affluent lifestyles of soccer players he had seen on television. The stories he heard about how they started from a humble beginning. Jack thought he would fit right into such narrative.

Jack was then enrolled at another primary school. Unlike his first school, most of his classmates were Pacific Islanders and Jack immediately went back into his shell once again. He became defensive and reclusive. He felt they could see his refugee background and that would define the way they relate to him. To make matters worse, football was rarely played in this school. Apparently, much to Jack's dismay, football was not a popular sport among the Pacific Island kids. Jack sullenly continued to attend the school but his dream of becoming a professional football player was over. He found it difficult to socialise and to enjoy his new environment, that is until he was introduced to 'Bullrush'.

Bullrush is a game typically played by a group of children in a sports hall, playground, or on a school field. There is usually one person in the middle and the others stand on one side. Then the teacher or someone calls out a name from the group. The person who is called out is supposed to get past the person in the middle. While the person in the middle is meant to tackle the person trying to get past, like

they do in rugby. If the person in the middle succeeds in catching the person, then they would have to join the person in the middle. Jack thoroughly enjoyed Bullrush and he played it at every opportunity. Subsequently, Bullrush evolved to 'Held'. Held is a modified version of rugby that is often played by school-age children. Held is characterised by holding your opponent, which is different from tackling your opponent. It was through the game of Held that Jack was introduced to rugby.

Jack's rugby career was somewhat problematic. At the start, Jack was scared. Even though he was halfway through his final year, Jack did not want to continue at that school and in 2006, Jack moved to yet another primary school. It was whilst at this third school that he started to take rugby a lot more seriously. He now had the opportunity to participate in a competition. In fact, by the time he got to Weston Intermediate School in 2007, Jack had committed to rugby so much so that he had no other sport in his mind. Football had become a distant memory. The coach at the school further inculcated the sport in him. He encouraged him to attend training and helped him to develop. Jack was usually the smallest player on the field but that did not deter him. Also, the other players usually encouraged him and were constantly giving him tips to improve. The coach even got him into the district trial.

The district trial was usually comprised of the best rugby players from the district. Jack was selected from his school and, having impressed the coaches, was named as one of the players to participate in the Walter Dickson competition (a representative rugby competition for weight restricted intermediate school age teams). Although Jack's team did not do too well in 2007, he was selected to participate in the same competition again the following year – his final year of intermediate school. At the end of the competition, Jack, who was tall and skinny, was not selected to represent the Auckland region.

Jack's mother had asked him to stop playing rugby on several occasions. She believed it was too dangerous and preferred that he continue playing football. On one occasion, Jack had seen his mother's reaction to him getting tackled and spent the next few minutes trying to avoid looking at her. He knew that she was in tears. He never liked her coming to his games after that, and, having failed to be selected for the regional squad, he decided to give his mother her wish and stop playing. It was not an easy decision, but he felt it was a good time as he was about to start another

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new school. In fact, the decision to try and avoid rugby was made impossible by the sheer number of people who wanted him to continue playing. Most of his teammates and friends from intermediate school were attending the same high school and his new classes also included some of his former opponents. All of them knew that he was a good player.

Jack resisted the temptation and decided to turn his attention back to his first love; football (soccer). Given that he knew some of the boys involved, it was easy for him to start and he was soon selected to play for his year group's second team. The second team was coached by the first team coach and used to groom and develop future players for the school's top team. After a particular practice game, Jack was invited to join the first team's training. His confidence was at an all-time high that day and he went home convinced that he was going to make the first 1st XI team in due course. He was the envy of some of the boys from his neighborhood. They were amazed at how well he was getting on with boys from different backgrounds. Jack was involved with football at home and friendly games were occasionally organised for them in the neighborhood, but it was mainly for refugees. Days were usually allocated for different ethnic groups to play or use the indoor football space.

One sour spot for Jack was the way that his teammates turned up to training or games. They all had fancy football boots and clothing, whilst he often had to borrow boots from other players for games. His family could not afford such expensive equipment and needed to spend their money on more pressing necessities. In 2010, during the month of Ramadan, Jack got into conflict with his coach and his participation in the school team came to a sudden end. Ramadan requires Muslims to fast between dawn and sunset for 30 days. It is one of the five pillars of Islam and, therefore, a very important religious practice that every Muslim is expected to observe. Jack had skipped a few training sessions during the fasting period. Other times he would attend but not participate (he would pretend that he had forgotten his gear). This attitude did not sit well with the coach.

Jack arrived at training one evening and his coach addressed him on the issue. He told him it was because he was fasting, but the coach didn't appear to care. He told Jack that he would be kicked out of the team if he didn't train. At the next training, Jack arrived once again without his equipment. He was fasting and was really

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hungry. He did not see how he could play on an empty stomach. The coach approached him and asked him if he brought his equipment. Jack explained the situation once again, but the coach was in no mood to listen. He was fed up. He reminded Jack that he had been warned. He then proceeded to kick Jack out of the team, telling him not to bother coming back again. The coach treated everyone equally. For the coach, it was simple. If a player did not bring his kit or participate in training, then he cannot remain in the team.

Jack was bitterly disappointed. He wondered whether he should have explained things better or even pleaded with him. He also felt, however, given his background that the coach should have been patient with him. He felt the coach should have shown some empathy and cut him some slack. In the end, Jack came to the conclusion that the coach was insensitive. He decided that he would not bother to explain or plead with the coach and that he would not play for that coach again. The next year, Jack was told to play for the second team. He was miffed. He thought it was unjustifiable and reminded the coach that he had been invited him to play for the first team the previous year. The coach explained that he had the required skill to play for the first team but lacked the right attitude. It was a punishment that Jack was not willing to accept. He could not see himself playing for the second team and, rather than doing so, Jack decided to quit altogether.

Jack's parents were relieved when he informed them that he was kicked out of the school team. They believed it would make him focus on his studies more. They believed football was a distraction. Jack had other plans, however, and he was back playing again after only a few days. Although Jack stopped playing competitively, he devoted more time to playing socially in his neighborhood. Jack played more and more games for what was generally known as the refugee team. The team comprised mostly male refugees alongside of a few immigrants from the neighborhood. They mostly participated in ethnic based social competitions around the neighborhood or just casually together.

Jack played in this social refugee team for some time. However, he found he was regressing rather than progressing, both in terms of his football and life. His skill development became stagnant because the team had no official coach, hence they never had a proper training. Also, they had no structure and usually spend most of

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their time arguing (everyone believed that they knew more than the others). Jack also found that he had isolated himself from his other friends. He was no longer using English as much as was when he first arrived at the school. Jack relayed his observation and concerns to Abdul but, at that point, they thought they were better off playing casually with those in which they had more things in common. It also gave them more time to study. Jack certainly felt more comfortable among people he believed they had things in common.

After playing in the refugee team for some time. Jack was invited to join a local football club by a former teammate from the school team. Jack discussed the possibility of joining a mainstream football club with Abdul. They were both reluctant to go, despite thinking that it was a nice idea. After few weeks, Jack received a second invitation from the same person. On this occasion, however, he decided that the time might be right for him to go out of his comfort zone and try something new.

On the day Jack arrived the club he was quite apprehensive. He felt Abdul and himself were the odd ones out, because most people at the club were New Zealand Europeans. Surprisingly, he was made to feel at home straight away. Everyone was welcoming and they treated them with genuine interest. They asked questions and sought to know them better. They were willing to help them with whatever they needed. The coach helped them through the process of applying for the club and being eligible to play. He assisted them in filling out all the necessary forms and how to make payments. He told them what to do and how to manage the fees part if they couldn't afford it. The club administrators and players made the process really easy and all of Jack's reservations and misconceptions soon disappeared.

In no time, Jack established friendships with his teammates and other players in the club. As they continued to play together, the bond between the team grew and their friendship became stronger. They became like family and would spend time together beyond football. When they saw each other on the street, they would talk and enquire about each other's wellbeing. On some occasions, he attended birthday parties of his teammates where they would share their experiences. This usually motivated Jack to go and see or experience the same things or places. It spurred him to take some trips around New Zealand with some of his teammates. Through these trips and

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interaction Jack had the opportunity to experience the New Zealand people and culture firsthand. This helped to broaden his perception and scope about New Zealand.

In the meantime, Jack's football skills greatly improved as well as his communication skills. Occasionally, Jack and his teammates' conversation would drift beyond football to future aspirations. It was on such occasion that Jack actually decided that he would study computer engineering. The coach also encouraged him to pursue further studies. He told him just like football, with hard work he could achieve whatever he set his mind on. Similarly, it was a casual discussion between teammates at training that secured Jack his first real job. Jack had said that he would love to find work in the area of computer engineering and that he needed to get some experience and also make some money to save up for his studies. One of his teammates asked him if he would like to work where he worked. He told Jack that he was actually leaving the firm, but that he would be happy to help Jack talk to his boss (who happen to be the teammate's uncle). Jack could not believe his luck. It was like a dream come true. His teammate took Jack to his uncle and Jack started working part-time. When the time came for Jack to pick a university to further his studies, he chose the place that most of his teammates and friends were already attending. He thought it would be better to go to a university where he already knew quite a few people and his teammates had told him that it was a good choice with plenty of opportunity to play football.

“Bro! Bro!! Jack!!!”, Abdul called out to Jack, having come across another football-related post on his Facebook page.

“What's up bro.”, Jack responded, breaking out of his nostalgic reverie.

“Did you see the post that came up for the futsal registration?”, Abdul enquired.

Abdul now had Jack's full attention. Jack's face lit up with excitement. He had really enjoyed the last edition of the university futsal championships. Abdul had persuaded him to go to the trials. Up to that point, despite the opportunities, he had not participated much in organised sports as a university student. Much to his parents' delight, he had chosen to focus more on his studies. Also, Jack was reluctant to go to the football team trials, having already convinced himself that he wouldn't be good

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enough to make the team. He did not consider himself a futsal player. But, as he and Abdul did almost everything together, he had agreed to go for Abdul's benefit. Abdul was very keen.

Jack was nervous at the first trial, but the coach saw enough to invite him and Abdul back again. At the end of the trials, they were both selected for the team and it was the beginning of an exciting experience for Jack. As they continued training in preparation for the inter-university tournament, the team started bonding together both on and off the court. Jack was pleasantly surprised to learn that quite a few were in the same faculty as him. Some were taking the same papers, whilst others were a year ahead of him. The tournament was in Napier, a small town on the East Coast of New Zealand's North Island. It was Jack's first time to this part of New Zealand, but his highlight of his trip was when all the squad and coaching staff gathered round the table to eat together in the evenings.

For Jack, the most memorable experience of the trip was the last night the team spent together. Having been knocked out of the competition, the team went out for dinner at a local restaurant. Afterwards, the team decided to get some alcohol and take it back to the hostel. From the onset of the tournament they had followed the no alcohol policy introduced by the coach, but, seeing that they were already out of the competition, the coach was happy to let them enjoy their last night with some drinks (he even joined them for a while). Jack was not going to be left out and chose to join in with the drinking games, consuming soft drinks instead of alcohol (in keeping with his religious beliefs).

Jack smiled as he reminisced on the night. Whenever someone breached a rule, the person had to perform for the rest of the group. Jack's performances included a traditional Somali dance complete with chants. The video of his famous dance was recorded and posted onto the team's official Facebook page. He always laughs whenever he stumbles on it. "Who would believe I would actually dance in front of all those people" he thought to himself as he closes his eyes and pictures the scene one more time. Perhaps, it was because at that point they were no longer strangers. They had become friends and brothers. That night was the climax of the bonding of the team. It cemented the relationship they had been cultivating since the first time they got together.

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futsal had become one of Jack's favorite sport. The coach facilitated the opportunity for him and others to trial for the regional futsal team. Jack, Abdul, and some of the others entered a team in one of the local social leagues. They played every week and he always made the effort to chat with the new players, especially when they are immigrants. After the Napier trip, the teammates continued their friendship and were in regular contact with each other. Jack sometimes sought help from those in his faculty. They also came to him when they need help with their studies. It really helped. It also opened up more avenues for him to find assistance. It used to be only him and Abdul studying and working on their assignments together.

If Jack was to meet a new immigrant, he would tell them to embrace sport. He would advise them to play whatever sport they wanted to play. It could be soccer, rugby, or hockey (it didn't matter). Jack would advise them to be brave and seek opportunities to play with anyone that loved that particular sport. This would enable them to acquire a better understanding of the sport and, more importantly, a better understanding of New Zealand. It would give them the opportunity to experience other cultures.

"What are you waiting for bro?... Sign up immediately!", Jack said excitedly as his eyes drifted back to the post about the ethnic based league once again. He shook his head and sighed. Perhaps he stayed too long in the refugee team. Perhaps he should have left his comfort zone sooner? If he hadn't left, then he would have had fewer options. He would have almost certainly retained his negative and narrow mindset about New Zealand and New Zealanders. Jack furrowed his brow as he considered the implications more. If he had never left, he thought, he would probably know only people from Weston. He would not know those who lived in other parts of Auckland. By leaving, he was able to broaden his vision about the people and the country.

"I feel like a Kiwi now", Jack announced proudly to anyone within earshot. "... not because of the amount of years I have lived here", he continued, looking at Abdul. "... or because I am a citizen now. But because sport has made it possible for me to connect with the people and the country... New Zealand feels like home now", he concluded, thinking about all the people the two of them now knew thanks to football. With this thought, he glanced at his computer screen one last time. He shook his head, deleted the half-written response, and signed out of Facebook. Jack

noticed that the rain had stopped as he shut down and packed up his computer. It was time to go home.

4.5. Sport without Language

Cristiano Ronaldo is widely considered to be one of the best footballers the world has ever seen. Since making his debut in 2003, aged eighteen, he has played over 150 senior international fixtures for Portugal, scoring over 100 goals. He has been his country's captain since 2008 and scored over 500 goals in the top professional leagues of England, Spain and Italy (for Manchester United, Real Madrid, and Juventus respectively). The five-time Ballon d'Or (World Footballer of Year) winner is Ali's idol. Ali has had a poster of Ronaldo on his bedroom wall for much of the past decade.

Over the years, having watched him play many, many times, Ali has also tried to model his style of play on that of Ronaldo. The record-breaking Portuguese striker celebrates his goals by jogging towards the edge of the pitch, leaping into the air and spinning one hundred and eighty degrees in the air. On landing, he extends his arms out by his sides and shouts "Si!" ("Yes"). It is a ritual that Ali has happily replicated on several occasions.

"Hey! Look at this guy, what a celebration!", exclaimed one of the spectators. "I did it for my fans" Ali responded, grinning cheerfully.

Ali's Wednesday night seven-a-side football team comprised of MaxArk employees from various departments. MaxArk is one of biggest architecture firms in New Zealand. It has around two hundred and fifty employees and Ali had been one of them since he graduated from university. The size of the firm made it difficult for people to get to know each other beyond their immediate team or project. Ali joined the football team as soon as he started working at the company. He received an email inviting people to play.

MaxArk has an intranet, or what could be described as their own version of Facebook, called the 'Tree' and playing in the team soon made Ali well known throughout in the company. Ali was willing to be part of any sport team looking for

players and also played in the company's netball team.

Although it was promoted as being 'social', Ali found the midweek summer seven-a-side football league to be a very competitive. Every team wanted to win every game. Ali's team was no exception. Ali always looked forward to playing. It was the only time that he got to play as a striker. When MaxArk won the league, Ali's photo was published on 'The Tree' and therefore seen by almost all the staff in the company, including senior management. Ali received a lot of messages from colleagues congratulating him. Ali became used to people stopping him in the hallway to ask him about the game, including people whose name and job role he didn't know. Ali had also been invited to participate in some important projects simply because the lead of that project knew him from football.

Game over. Ali walked towards the bench, wiping the sweat from his face with a towel. He sat down and began to remove his socks and boots. He was joined by his teammate and work colleague Peter, plus two of Peter's friends, one of whom Ali knew from work. Peter started clapping his hands.

"Awesome! Great game!!", Peter declared.

"I was only doing my job", Ali responded, looking up with a smile.

Peter introduced Ali to one of his friends, telling them that Ali is the star of their team. Ali shook her hand, dismissed Peter's comments as insincere flattery, and asserted that her friend Peter was, in fact, the real star. After all, it was Peter who provided the assists for him to score two of the three goals that night. When Ali speaks you would need to listen very carefully to hear any trace of a foreign accent. The confident young man sitting on the bench, exchanging banter and pleasantries with teammates, is very different from the shy and timid little Afghan boy who could not speak a word of English when he first arrived in New Zealand back in 2002.

Ali's parents had paid human smugglers to help them leave Afghanistan. Loaded into a truck with several other people, they escaped to Pakistan via the mountains. For young Ali, that journey took forever. The memories still make him shudder. He was only seven years old at the time. It was an experience that he has subsequently tried to forget. On reaching Pakistan, Ali's family lived in a refugee camp. There was

hardship and shortage everywhere, but at least they were safe.

The international conflict in Afghanistan that started in 2001 was triggered by the terror attack on the United State of America (US) on September 11, 2001. The Global War on Terror, as it was widely portrayed in the Western media, was preceded by over two decades of war in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, supposedly to install stability, following a coup that brought the Khalq and Banner party into power. The invasion by the Soviet Union led to a rebellion by Islamist fighters known as Mujahideen. As a result, Afghanistan went through a national conflict that lasted for ten years. In the end, the Soviets left in 1989, leaving a void that resulted in a civil war as the Mujahideen turned against each other in their quest to control various areas of the country. This conflict was followed by the ousting of the ruling members of Afghan government in 1996 by an Islamic fundamentalist group - Taliban.

With the support of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda group, the Taliban eventually took control of about ninety percent of Afghanistan's territory. Following the September 11 terror attacks, the USA declared war on Afghanistan and sent thousands of troops to eradicate the people of those leaders held accountable. Consequently, the escalated international conflict forced tens of thousands of Afghans to seek refuge in neighboring countries, including Pakistan. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), an estimated 3.7 million Afghans are in exile.

Ali soon adjusted to life inside the Pakistani refugee camp. Like the other kids, he attended the school close to the edge of the camp and regularly ran around the streets with his friends, most of whom were also Afghans. Sometimes they would go to a friend's house in the city to watch television. Ali loved watching football games, especially the European Champions League. Secretly, Ali wanted to be a footballer. Football, however, was not popular in Pakistan. The popular sport was cricket. He and his friends used to play a lot of street cricket, bowling and batting with makeshift equipment. They would get a tennis ball and put tape around it to make a seem. They'd keep playing and playing until it got too dark to continue.

Ali's father's sister had also escaped the war and managed to relocate to New Zealand. After two years, Ali's family was given the opportunity to join her through a family unification programme. On first hearing the news, Ali was very confused.

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Though he had dreamt of one day leaving Pakistan, up to that point his dreams were always about Europe (he knew nothing about New Zealand). New Zealand officially started accepting refugees from Afghanistan in 2001. Between 2001 and 2010, the population of Afghans in New Zealand gradually increased and by 2013 it had reached about 3400. Ali was in a trance-like state throughout the whole journey. They settled in Weston, a suburb in Central Auckland. Many Afghans lived in Weston, Ali's aunt included.

Ali recalls the shock of seeing white people for the very first time. He was eleven years old and totally overwhelmed by his new surroundings, the culture, and cultural differences. He found it tough to adjust. He couldn't speak or understand a word of English, leaving him in a constant state of confusion and helplessness. The only comfort was his immediate family and his fellow refugees (people with whom he shared some similarities).

Ali started intermediate school a few weeks after arriving in Weston. He was extremely anxious and embarrassed about his inability to communicate with those speaking English. On his first day, Ali was asked his name by the boy sitting beside him, to which he could only reply "Sorry, No English". It was a response that he had found himself having to use on numerous occasions. He went home that day and cried all night. He wanted to tell his parents. He didn't want to go back the next day, but he also knew that he had no choice. He was already aware that education was his only way out, especially if he was going to achieve his dreams. Ali could speak some Hindi, but he knew that he needed to learn English.

Ali continued attending school, but he was never comfortable, let alone happy. He feared saying the wrong things, so opted to saying nothing at all. He would only nod or shake his head. Ali would watch the other kids play football during break times. He longed to join them but didn't know how to ask. He was also afraid that they would say no. After school, he would go home and stay indoors. Back in Pakistan, the nighttime was usually a beehive of activity. People would be busy with different transactions and Ali and his friends would run around the street. Ali found it very confusing, and a little sad, that the shops closed around five o'clock. Ali greatly missed his friends from the refugee camp and would spend the night reminiscing about the fun he had with them. On many occasions, he wished his family had never

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moved to New Zealand. He cried a lot during those first few months. He had never felt so alone.

One day, Ali and his family went to visit another Afghan family living in Weston. Ali's parents had met them when they just arrived in New Zealand. On getting to their house, Ali was introduced to a boy of the same age. They watched television together but did not really talk to each other. A few days later, however, Ali saw the same boy at his school. Ali immediately rushed to him and they properly introduced themselves. The boy was called Khalid. When Ali saw the kids playing football during their lunch break he told Khalid that he had always wanted to join in. Khalid took him to the group and told them that his friend wanted to play. Khalid could speak English.

That day marked the beginning of an exciting adventure for Ali and Khalid. They both started playing football every lunch on the main field. Before too long, Ali was able to confidently approach the other kids without Khalid. He would typically mumble some words accompanied by sign language indicating that he wanted to play. The games were not organised and they would use their shoes as the goals. Over time, Ali and Khalid became the best of friends. Better still, as Ali continued playing football, he started making other friends. Much to his delight, he also discovered that he was one of the better players in the group.

Ali decided that he was good enough to join the Five Princes Football Club (FPFC), located nearby in Dove Park. Although Ali's father had reservations and initially refused, he later relented, and Ali quickly established himself as the first-choice striker and the fastest player in his age group. He averaged more than one goal per game and made many new friends as a result, including some Indian friends with whom he could communicate in Hindi. It was the New Zealanders (referred to as Kiwis) that really impacted on him however, as they could only speak English. Feeling a lot more settled and a lot less alone, Ali soon started looking towards the future with greater enthusiasm.

Ali's father, who had tried to shield his family from interacting with what he termed 'strangers in a strange land', was never truly comfortable with Ali playing for FPFC. In fact, despite Ali's obvious connection to the club, he had spent the past two seasons trying to convince him to stop playing. At the conclusion of Ali's third

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season, he was told by his parents that they didn't have the money to keep paying the club's registration fees. In sum, there wouldn't be a fourth season unless he could find another way to fund it. Ali wasn't happy but understood and accepted the situation. He was still too young to get a paid job, so would have to go back to only playing with his friends.

Despite his dad's objections towards Ali playing for FPFC, he still enjoyed playing together with his friends as much as possible. When the football goals were put away for the summer, Ali also used to enjoy going to the park to play with his dad and brother. This also afforded him the opportunity to watch the boys playing cricket. Dove Park was not only the home of FPFC, but also the Rosehill Cricket Club. Ali would imagine different scenarios of how he might be invited over to join a game. When alone in his room, he would practice his bowling and batting actions. He enjoyed reliving his memories of the endless games of street cricket played in Pakistan. He had never played for a club or in any organised form of cricket, however, and could not bring himself to tell his dad about his cricket aspirations. Ali accepted his fate. How could they afford the fees?

One evening, a cricket ball rolled towards the area of Dove Park where Ali was happily playing football with his Dad and brother. Without thinking, Ali picked up the ball and looked over towards where the boys were playing. Everyone on that side of the field was looking at him. It was their ball and they wanted it back as quickly as possible. Ali asked himself if he should throw it or run the ball back. He knew he had 'a good arm', but if he threw it then he wouldn't get to talk to them or be invited to stay. But, then again, if he threw it well enough, so well that the coach would be impressed, then perhaps someone would come over and invite him to join?

The ball came out of his hand perfectly. The coach looked and smiled. Ali smiled back. He knew it was a good throw. His smile widened as he saw the coach approaching. "Could this be it?", Ali thought to himself as he took a moment to try and compose himself and consider his options. He forgot about his father and brother entirely. He was ready to go.

"Do you want to come play?", the coach asked, pointing back in the direction from where he had just come.

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“Yeah okay, of course!”, an excited Ali blurted out without a second’s hesitation.

That evening, Ali played like he had been playing cricket all his life. He impressed himself, his father, his brother, the coach, and the other players. Not only was he invited to join the team, but Ali was asked if he was available to play in their next game. Ali suggested that the coach should go and speak with his father in Hindi (his English was worse than Ali’s). The coach was given the green light, having explained how he would pick up Ali and look after him during the day. Ali could not believe his luck. All his wishes had come true. A cricket pitch is 22 yards in length. Ali’s smile was wider. He couldn’t wait to play.

Ali played his heart out that weekend. He took a few wickets, bowling leg spin, and he also made some runs for his new team, who won the game by a big margin. After the game, the coach and parents of the other players were full of praise. On getting home, the coach told Ali’s parents how well their son had played and the impact he had on the game. Later, Ali narrated the whole game back to his dad. Ali’s father was clearly very happy, but also quick to note how the family would be unable to afford any registration fee or equipment costs. Unlike with the football situation, Ali’s father looked genuinely upset that he was not in a position to make his eldest son happy.

Ali informed the coach as soon as possible. Much to his surprise, the coach told Ali that he would find a solution and that Ali should concentrate on the next game. Later that day, the coach and the parents told Ali that they would sponsor him, covering the cost of his fees and equipment. “You just have to play every Saturday for us”, they said, clearly getting pleasure from seeing the joy that this announcement had brought their newest recruit. Ali ended up playing three seasons for the Rosehill Cricket Club, winning multiple awards along the way, including most valuable player on more than one occasion. He made many new friends within the team, including Kiwis of both Indian and European heritage. At the same time, Ali completed his intermediate school and moved on to high school.

Whilst at high school, Ali’s cricketing abilities continued to improve and impress at a local club level, and it wasn’t too long before he was asked to play for the school team. In a short period of time he was drafted into the 1st XI, where, despite his club commitments, he quickly established himself as a key player. After a season playing for both teams, however, Ali decided he needed to quit the club and focus on playing

only for his school. It was a tough decision, but one that his disappointed club coach respected and ultimately accepted.

Around the same time, Ali also decided to trial for the school's football team. School cricket was only played in the spring and summer, while football was largely played during the autumn and winter months. Ali wanted to be a striker, just as he had been for FPMC. By the end of the session, however, he could see that his friend Khalid was now a better player in his preferred position and much more likely to be selected. Khalid had continued to play football whilst Ali was playing cricket. Ali decided that, if he was going to make the team, the best option would be to switch positions and to trial as a defender. His judgment paid off. He was selected and soon made the position his own.

Ali became quite popular due to his involvement in both the cricket and football teams. When sixteen, however, he quit the cricket team and decided to concentrate solely on football for the final couple of years of school. Ali had also heard that some people were putting together an Afghan (refugee) team. He approached Khalid and discussed the pros and cons of them joining it. They both agreed that it would be fun to play their friends from the neighborhood and arranged to contact the person in charge of the team. His name was Shamudeen.

Shamudeen had acquired some funding from the Weston Refugee Centre. It ensured that the players would not have to pay anything to play. The team was made up of mostly Afghan refugees from the Refugee Centre, plus one or two others from the community. Ali embraced the refugee team and participated in many tournaments. One was an ethnic tournament comprising of different teams representing different countries (England, Somalia, Nigeria, Argentina etc.). Ali's team proudly represented Afghanistan. To ensure they were playing regularly, Shamudeen would also arrange friendly fixtures against non-ethnic teams. It was during such games that Ali was able to make friends with some people from other ethnic groups, especially Kiwis. Overtime, everyone in the team became very close. Ali thoroughly enjoyed playing in the refugee team.

Ali continued playing for both his school 1st XI football team and the refugee team until he completed his high school education. Whilst he often thought about finding another club within which he could further develop his skills, the cost of the

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registration fees remained a barrier that prevented this from happening. Asking his parents to pay for him was not an option. Some clubs required their players to pay over two hundred dollars per season. Having left school, Ali became increasingly conscious that playing for the Afghan team, whilst very comfortable, was also limiting his interaction with Kiwis and immigrants from elsewhere in the world.

During one post-match conversation, Khalid confirmed a rumor going around the refugee team that Ali was, or at least used to be, a very good cricket player. Ali was immediately asked to become their goalkeeper (their logic was that if he could catch a cricket ball, then he could surely catch a football). At first, Ali was reluctant. First, he was a striker who became a defender, and now he was being asked to be the defender who became a goalkeeper. Having given it some thought, however, he decided to give it a go. He knew that the other players were good enough to protect him from having to do too much and, more importantly, that they wouldn't blame him if he made a mistake that ended up costing the team a goal.

Much to his teammate's delight, Ali agreed to become the official keeper of the team. Better still, he was able to keep a clean sheet in his first game (the opposing team failed to score a goal). In fact, Ali became so good at goalkeeping that many of the opposing teams asked him to transfer over and play for them. He also discovered that playing in such a sought-after position came with lots of advantages, especially when the person is playing well. Ali was invited to travel across the Tasman Sea, all expenses paid, to play in a tournament for a Melbourne-based refugee team. The invitation, which came from a friend and was sent through Facebook, also promised Ali a small spending allowance, plus a financial reward should the team win the tournament. Ali hadn't left New Zealand since his arrival almost a decade earlier. Having already accepted the offer, Ali informed his parents about the trip to Australia and was somehow able to convince his nervous/hesitant father that the Afghan team in Melbourne would look after him from minute he arrived to the minute he departed.

Even though it was similar to the Auckland ethnic based tournament, the Melbourne event was at a much bigger scale and more serious. Although they failed to win it, the consensus was that both Ali and the team played well. Within weeks of returning to Auckland, however, Ali was back playing club cricket. "This time the parents really

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can't sponsor you", admitted the man who Ali had first impressed on Dove Park on that warm summer evening several years earlier. He was setting up a new team and wanted Ali to be a part of it. But the registration fee was \$140 and Ali would have to purchase his own equipment this time around. Unlike before, however, this time, Ali had some savings. Unlike before, he was no longer a young teenager solely reliant upon his father's income. Ali was now a young man.

Ali immediately made a mark and after only few games his new teammates were already singing his praises. Unbeknown to Ali, the head coach of the Rosehill club's premier team - a gentleman named Azberaja - had also noticed his arrival (or should that be his return).

"Why don't you come and trial out for the senior team, we will see how you go, maybe we will get you in the team", Azberaja asked Ali after one game.

"Okay. I can do that", Ali responded excitedly, struggling to believe what was happening.

Azberaja handed an overjoyed and equally overwhelmed Ali a starting place after only two trials. Ali knew he was good at cricket, but he never envisaged he could get into the premier team, especially in such a short time. He pledged his commitment to the team and promised his new coach that he was going to do his best. Whilst Ali found the premier grade easier than he had expected, he struggled to find the money needed to pay for the fees and all the other related expenses. After much hesitation, he approached his parents for help. Neither of his parents were in employment, but they agreed to pay half his cricket expenses. Ali was now 18 years old with an offer of a place to study architecture at university. He knew it was time to start paying his own way but wasn't sure how he was going to balance his studies, his cricket, and a job.

Once again, Ali was faced with the real prospect of being forced to quit his beloved cricket team. Unlike before, however, when the decision was essentially forced upon him by his parents, this time it was he who had to make that call. Was he really going to give it all up, having now entertained the thought of playing professionally? Yes, he was! In fact, Ali was on the verge of quitting the team when Azberaja offered him an unexpected but gratefully received lifeline.

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“Why don’t you come and work for the club? Just do a bit of cleaning or something like that”, Azberaja asked, having listened to Ali’s explanation of the situation.

Ali accepted the job offer instantly and started immediately. It was mainly cleaning, but sometimes he was also asked to help out in setting up in preparation for games. It was difficult to juggle work, study, and cicket, but Ali saw the job as an affirmation of his importance to the team. Ali reasoned that, if he was not valuable to the coach, then the coach would not have bothered to offer him a job. Ali quickly became an integral part of the team, rewarding the faith shown in him by the coach and winning the trust of his teammates. During the winter (the off-season), Ali was asked to play indoor cricket with some of this teammates. Ali had never played indoor cricket before but told them that he would come and try it out.

Indoor cricket is usually played inside an indoor sports hall or a warehouse with nets around it. On his first day, Ali was surprised to see so many Kiwis of European heritage. Based on his experiences of the outdoor game, at both club and school level, his initial thought was that it would be dominated by Indians and other immigrants from the subcontinent. To his amazement, however, the team that he had been invited to join only had two Indians. Once again, Ali found it easy to integrate into the team and quickly made friends with his new teammates. Ali believed that playing in a team dominated by Kiwis always worked to his advantage, allowing him the opportunity to use and improve his English language skills.

Indoor cricket was not only during the weekend. It was during the weekdays as well. They played on Tuesday night, Wednesday night and Friday night. Friday night was the main night. It is when the kids, eighteen and under nineteen used to play. After playing there for a while, Ali became quite well known. Not only within his team, but also across the indoor cricket arena. His skills and dedication further endeared him to the people around, even among the officials. One day, Smith, the man that owned the venue and managed the whole indoor cricket activities, asked Ali if he would like to play in an indoor tournament. Ali said he would love to, but that he probably wouldn’t be able to afford to pay the required fees.

“Why don’t you come to work here?”, Smith responded. “I would love to”, Ali said without hesitation.

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Ali's employment at the cricket club had finished at the end of the season, and he had previously enquired about a job at the indoor venue when he first started playing indoor cricket. Ali had asked the person working behind the counter if they were looking for anyone to do anything, including the same cleaning and umpiring roles that Smith was now offering him. He couldn't believe his good fortune. The job was much more convenient than his job at the cricket club because it was mainly during the evenings. There was enough work to meet all of his expenses and to also accumulate some modest savings.

Ali was considered to be one of the best players of his first ever indoor cricket tournament. The following week, he was told that if he was able to achieve the same recognition at his second tournament then he was likely to be rewarded with the opportunity to travel to Christchurch and play against the New Zealand indoor cricket team (at no personal cost). Was this really happening? Was someone really going to sponsor him to go to the South Island for three days? Wow!

Ali's team won the next tournament. It came down to the very last ball, and Ali was the person bowling it. The opposition needed three runs to win. Everyone was looking, Smith included. "No pressure!", they were all screaming, "No pressure Ali. No pressure Ali". Then they would scream, "Come on. Let's do one more." Ali got the guy out. He couldn't have scripted it any better. Ali was not only selected to go to Christchurch, but he also won the best player of the tournament award. Ali was unable to concentrate on anything else, especially his studies.

Everyone thought that Ali would be the first of the eight names called out at the conclusion of that tournament, but Smith had other ideas. In fact, he deliberately kept Ali's name until last. He had grown fond of Ali due to his dedication and commitment to his team, his teammates, and the sport in general. The feeling was mutual. When Ali got home, he proudly showed his parents his award and informed them that he had won a trip to Christchurch. It was an experience Ali will never forget. He stayed there for two nights and trained with some of the best indoor cricket players in New Zealand. He made some new friends and expanded his contacts. He also saw a part of New Zealand he had never seen before. The Nationals for the indoor cricket were often held in Wellington and it also provided opportunity for Ali to see and explore that part of New Zealand.

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As Ali got more involved in indoor cricket, he found himself enjoying it more than the outdoor version. He also started devoting more and more time to it. As his university studies became more demanding, it was the more time-intensive summer version that slipped down the list of priorities. Ali soon went from playing every Saturday to someone who would only help out when they were short of players. Occasionally, Ali meet up with his friends from both the indoor and outdoor teams. They would play pool, have some drinks, engage in some banter, and generally have a lot of fun together. Ali always left those events having learned something new and feeling more connected to his friends.

“Waooh! That was some performance!”, Frank screamed, grabbing Ali by the shoulders at the same time.

“I am just doing my best for the team”, Ali responded, having been shaken back into the present day. He was still sitting on the bench with Peter beside him.

“Humble guy”, Frank responded. “We will have to get coach to stop playing you as a goalie and start playing you as a striker”, he added as he began walking away to join another group of friends.

Ali plays with Frank at the Elton Rovers Football Club (ERFC). In fact, it was Frank that got Ali back to playing eleven-aside football. Ali had continued representing the refugee team whilst playing both indoor and outdoor cricket. It was not very demanding of his time and he found that he could juggle it with all his other commitments. Frank, who was Ali's friend and teammate back in high school, had come across some photos of a game that Ali had posted on his social media account. At the time, he was looking for players to join him at ERFC, a team dominated by New Zealanders of European heritage. Frank invited Ali to attend a training session, hoping that he would be convinced to sign up. Things were a lot different from the last time that Ali played club football. For starters, he could speak the language and no longer felt different from the rest of the team. He was also able to pay his registration fees.

Ali took a moment to think about all his experiences. He turned his head towards the people exiting the pitch, took a sip from his drink bottle, and sighed heavily. The sigh was soon replaced by a smile and a little laugh, however, as he found himself

replaying his most recent Ronaldo-inspired goal-scoring celebration. If not for sport, he would not be here today, Ali thought as he took another look around a field full of footballers. Thanks to sport, he felt completely at home. Sport had provided opportunities for him to interact, to make friends, and improve his English. Sport provided the opportunity to meet new people and also to travel. If not for sport, he would probably still be saying “Sorry, No English”, several times a day like his father.

4.6. Nigerian Bolt

Ryan stood at the starting block and sprinted a few meters before turning around and walking back. He dashed few meters again, increasing his speed as he moved further along the track. He was searching for his rhythm. His strength was his start. He also knew that he needed to control it to avoid a false start. Warm up completed, Ryan stood at the starting block and scanned the arena. There was a good crowd of about two to three hundred people (athletics is not a big spectator sport in New Zealand). Ryan looked up at the stand and saw the families of the other athletes, some of whom were shouting their support during the warm up. Some had homemade signs, whilst others wore branded or matching t-shirts to show their support. As he continued to scan the spectators, his eyes finally fell on his own family, none of whom were actually related to Ryan. They were Ryan’s New Zealand family. There was Riaan, a South African (his coach), Sam, a Zambian (his flatmate) and Gbenga, a Nigerian (his best friend). Ryan often referred to Sam as his official photographer because Sam owned a “proper camera” that wasn’t also a phone and loved to capture Ryan’s sporting successes. Ryan and Gbenga, more commonly known as GB, met playing football. They considered themselves as brothers (and many people thought that they were). It was GB who first introduced Ryan to the sport of athletics.

Ryan’s pre-race routine included waking early, eating a big breakfast and visiting the toilet. The later served two purposes. It made him feel lighter and it provided an opportunity for some mental imagery. In the privacy of the bathroom, he visualised the race that he was about to win. He always saw himself winning. Today was no exception. In his mind he was the fastest athlete at that year’s Porritt Championships. Athletes had come from all over New Zealand, but this was his destiny. Some were already in the call room when Ryan entered. All but two were

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New Zealanders of European heritage. The two athletes were quietly conversing in a corner of the room. Everyone else sat alone, earphones on, listening to music. Ryan smiled as he looked around the room. He could feel the tension. He had been preparing himself all season for this moment.

As per usual, Ryan walked around the entire room. Starting from the person next to the door, he greeted each of the athletes with a smile and a “Hello, bro”. Most nodded to acknowledge that they had seen and heard him. Some grunted some kind of response. Eye contact was avoided. Only the two already talking provided an engaged reaction. They were both of Pacific Island heritage. They spoke of their pre-race nerves and Ryan told them to relax. He was certain that they would run well. They both laughed, before suggesting that running fast was easier for him.

Ryan was intrigued, but not surprised. He enquired why these two athletes were so confident that he was going to win. He already knew why, but he still wanted to hear them say it. It was because Ryan was African and, from what he had seen, the general consensus amongst New Zealand athletes was that all Africans were fast, especially those who chose to do it as a sport. What he hadn’t expected, however, was the subsequent comparison to the fastest man on the planet, eight-time Olympic Gold medal winner and world record holder Usain Bolt. Now, Ryan loved Usain Bolt. But never once considered him as being from Africa. Usain Bolt is Jamaican (he is from Jamaica). “I wish I was half as fast as Usain Bolt”, Ryan responded, smiling as he walked over to an empty space in the room to get changed into his tracksuit.

Ryan was born in Nigeria (estimated population: 180 million people). He spent the early part of his childhood in a city in Nigeria’s southwest. Ryan and his family lived in a part of the city that was mostly populated by the upper-middle class. He attended a private primary school. As a boy, he participated in several sports, but football was always his preference. As a child from an upper middle-class home with educated parents, however, he was expected to put his own education ahead of everything else. Ryan and his siblings were being groomed to become doctors and lawyers, not football players.

In 2000, Ryan’s father was granted a Skilled Migrant Visa by the New Zealand Government and, aged nine, he and his family migrated to New Zealand (estimated population: 4.5 million people). Ryan had never heard of New Zealand. His father

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believed that living in New Zealand would provide better opportunities for all his children. Ryan believed if the family must leave his homeland, then it should be to the USA or a country in Western Europe (somewhere that he knew something about). When the day finally arrived, however, he was excited.

In terms of population, Nigeria is the biggest country on the African continent. It is often described as a country of many nations due to the diverse number of ethnic groups in the country. There are over 250 different ethnic groups in Nigeria, but only three of these are dominant. The Hausas are from northern Nigeria, the Igbos hail from the south-east, and the Yorubas from the south-west. Each has a distinct culture and language. People from the different tribes mostly communicate using English or Pidgin English (a form of broken English). Pidgin English was widely spoken only by uneducated Nigerians, but has incorporated some local languages and street slang over the years and has been adopted by a wider spectrum of Nigerian society at home and abroad. Ryan and GB are both Yorubas, they naturally converse with each other in Yoruba language and occasionally in Pidgin English.

In comparison, the 2013 census revealed that there were 213 ethnic groups living in New Zealand, making it one of the most ethnic diverse countries in the world. The five largest ethnic groups were; New Zealand European, Maori, Chinese, Samoan, and Indian. Ryan's family settled in New Zealand seventh largest city (estimated population: 80,000 people). It is a city surrounded by farms and forests. There were very few Africans. Ryan and his brother were the only Africans in their new school, which resulted in them receiving a lot of attention. Most of the kids wanted to know them (they were curious).

In Nigeria, differences in cultures and beliefs often create tension and sometimes conflict. Sport is one of the few unifying forces. When it come to football, for example, people quickly forget their differences or their ethnic allegiance. All Nigerians support the nation's football team, the 'Super Eagles'. Like most Nigerians, Ryan thoroughly enjoyed playing football. He was not allowed to play at home, but it was never difficult to find a game. Sometimes he would sneak out of the house to go and play with his friends. Ryan would watch the other kids play, amazed at their ability. The games were usually very competitive.

Ryan, by his own admission, he was at best an average player. He was very strong

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physically, but he could not compete with the others in term of skills. Ryan often wondered if this skill difference was a result of his somewhat limited opportunities to play the game or because the other children were naturally gifted. Ryan's situation was similar to many of his private school friends. While most of them loved to play football and dreamt of a career as a professional, they were restricted in the amount of time they could play. Whenever they would play against the public schools, they were usually defeated by a significant margin. Back at Ryan's new school in New Zealand, the teachers quickly realised that he could do almost any sort of sport with ease. So, when it was time for athletics, Ryan was asked to compete. He said yes. He never looked back.

The first time Ryan was invited to participate in a primary school running race, the other kids were only halfway down the track when he reached the finish line. His brother's race had a similar outcome and the word went around the school that the two African kids could really run. The brothers were mini celebrities. Soon they were both representing their school in regional athletics competitions. Meanwhile, Ryan and his brother were also playing for the school football team. Ryan was surprised that he was considered as one for the team's best players. He was also pleasantly surprised that he was rated as being the best in the athletics squad. He liked the feeling and enjoyed his newfound social status. In 2003, Ryan's father announced that they were moving to Auckland, New Zealand's largest city (estimated population: 1.5 million people). Ryan was soon enrolled into a new school and, much to his delight, the youth programme of a local football club; Rangers Football Club (RFC).

RFC was a good team and Ryan soon started developing as player, learning new skills and positioning. He settled in quickly and became one of the club's top players. He also started meeting and making friends in the community. Ryan's involvement in the team also enabled him to travel to different places in Auckland, increasing his knowledge and familiarity of the city as a result. He was also participating in other sports at school, recording the same success as he did prior to the move. He was selected for the athletics team and also competed in a cross-country races.

Ryan's father encouraged his participation, paying the fees and purchasing all the equipment needed. Gone were the days when Ryan was not allowed to play football.

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It was as if his father had an epiphany. He was even allowed to play rugby. Perhaps his father had seen how good his two sons were at sport? Perhaps he realised that sport provided an opportunity for them to meet and interact with other people outside their immediate environment? Ryan never asked but suspects that it was more likely to be the latter of these two scenarios. Whilst Ryan was making friends and feeling increasingly comfortable and settled, his father was struggling to adjust. In 2005, the family was on the move for a third time.

Ryan was fourteen years old when the family landed at London's Heathrow Airport. Unlike New Zealand, The United Kingdom (UK) had a large established Nigerian population, including relatives with whom Ryan and, more importantly, his father could easily interact. Ryan's father found them a place to live in a multicultural part of London. The community was largely comprised of Africans, Jamaicans, Asians, and South Americans. Unlike New Zealand, Sport in the UK is dominated by football. Although Ryan did not join an organised team, he soon found solace in the world of social football. Playing football in London was something akin to how he played football with friends in Nigeria. Football was played in a public park, but it was also intense, competitive, and played at a higher standard than what Ryan had experienced in Auckland.

Once again, Ryan improved his skills by watching the other boys and learning from them. And the physical aspect of his game developed by constantly competing with the older boys. Ryan continued playing socially for a period of five years. In this period, he grew into a young man, both physically and mentally. At school, the efforts of his parents to groom Ryan for a professional life were successful. When Ryan completed high school, he was very happy to pursue university education. Ryan contemplated his options before deciding upon a return to New Zealand. He missed New Zealand and had always harboured the idea of returning if the right opportunity presented itself.

In 2010, Ryan arrived at Auckland International Airport, unsure of which university he was going to attend or what subject he was going to study. He did, however, know how he was going to meet new people. It was through sport that he planned to meet new people and make new friends. He will meet people while doing what he enjoys doing most. It would be using "one stone to kill two birds.", as the popular saying

goes. He also knew where to start. He was going to join the same Nigerian football team that his older brother had played for before they left for London. Ryan thought that Auckland's Nigerian population had increased during his time overseas and the census figures supported his view. The population of Nigerians in New Zealand had increased by 80% between 2001 and 2006. In 2013, there were 294 Nigerians living in New Zealand with more than half living in Auckland.

Ryan's Nigerian housemate introduced him to the Nigerian team. Although there was a new cohort of players, he recognised some of the older ones. Ryan was quickly accepted by the team and able to meet a lot of Nigerians in a short space of time. It was incredibly efficient. It seemed like all the Nigerians were in the same place. He had no need for the contact list provided by his parents. From the football field it moved to the church. Most Nigerians living in Auckland worship at the same church, a new-generation Pentecostal church, the type of which is popular back in Nigeria. Ryan quickly became an integral part of the community. He felt like he had been adopted by Auckland's Nigerian community. It was like he had never left.

Ryan met GB on the first day that he played for the Nigerian team. They were not only the youngest players in the team, but also the fastest. They combined very well during the game, and when they talked afterwards, they realised that they had a lot in common. They soon became best friends, virtually inseparable. It was also through football that Ryan met Danny. Unlike GB, Danny wasn't a teammate. Danny approached Ryan after playing against him. It was to be the beginning of a very beneficial friendship. It was Danny who helped Ryan with his university enrolment and student loan application.

As Ryan's status within (and importance to) the Nigerian team continued to grow, he felt less alone and more and more settled. Ryan found it comforting to interact with his own kind in a foreign country. He knew he could get help if he needed it. In addition, there was also the fun of playing football. Ryan thought it was great to feel some of the excitement that came with playing football back in Nigeria. The team was disorganised, however, and lacked discipline. Arguments were a frequent occurrence, typically involving one person who felt he knew more than the others. Players would argue loudly during games, much to the amusement of the opposing teams. Sometimes an argument would take on an ethnic or tribal dimension. A teammates'

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shortcomings would be linked to their ethnic or tribal background. Ryan smiled as he recalled an incident where the team conceded a goal which was clearly the fault of one of the defenders. The defender saw things differently, however, and blamed one of the attacking players, shouting at him as the other team celebrated. The attacking player then started yelling back at the defender and, instead of breaking it up, the other teammates joined in. The referee tried to control them, but to no avail. The attacker got so angry that he removed his jersey and left the pitch in the middle of what was an important game.

As noted earlier, Nigerians are very passionate about football and this is often accompanied by an inflated view of their own football ability. It was difficult to allocate people to playing positions because everybody wanted to be a striker. This often led to chaos on the pitch. Similarly, it was difficult to get people to play as substitutes or sit out when there were too many players. Consistent with wider Nigerian culture, the older players would expect the younger ones to sit out games or to be substituted during games, even if they were the best on the field. Ryan and GB had often been victims of this approach.

Sometimes the referees also contributed to the chaos that Ryan experienced whilst playing for the Nigerian team in the local Sunday league competition. Some seemed to make up the rules on the spot. Others acted in a manner that was perceived to be unfair and biased towards their opponents. One referee, for example, insisted that Ryan and his teammates were only allowed to speak English on the pitch, ensuring that he could understand what they were saying to each other. Rightly or wrongly, the older Nigerian players would regularly interpret questionable referee decisions as being racially motivated. This mindset created frequent player-referee conflict and red cards were a common occurrence.

Ryan felt that sport should be used to bring people together and didn't approve of leagues that restricted entry based on ethnicity. He viewed them as dangerous places where negativity and disharmony was rife. He enjoyed playing for the Nigerian team because they played in a league that was open to all. He also loved participating in the many multi-cultural football tournaments held in Auckland and relished the chance to meet and compete against those representing the local Brazilian, Somali, Korean, Chinese, Fijian, Afghan, and South American communities. Ryan's

participation in these tournaments increased his social network and, before long, he was accepting offers to play for teams that competed in the local Saturday leagues.

The offer to play for Elton Pearl Football Club (EPFC) came out of the blue at party being hosted by Danny. What made this offer different to the others was that Zack, who made the offer, had never seen Ryan play (and indeed had never met him before). The offer was made on an assumption that he and GB, who was with Ryan at the time, were likely to be good players because of their African heritage. Ryan and GB laughed about it as they walked home after the party. They had agreed to think about it but explained that they were already playing for another Sunday league team. GB was optimistic they could manage both commitments and, after giving it some more thought, they decided they would go and watch EPFC's next fixture, if it didn't clash with their own game.

Elton Pearl was down two-nil when Ryan and GB arrived. It was halftime and, as soon as Zack saw them, they were handed some clean kit and asked to play the second half. Despite having already played a game for their Nigerian team, they quickly got changed and took to the field. Although they didn't know the names of their teammates, Ryan and GB were able to help EPFC record a 4-2 win (GB scored one of the goals). After the game, Ryan and GB were asked if they could continue playing for EPFC for the rest of the season. Ryan and GB agreed to attend the next midweek training session but remained mindful of their commitment and allegiance to their Nigerian team. It was one thing for them to go and play the occasional game for other teams but joining EPFC for the rest of the season would require them to quit the Nigerian team altogether. Ryan and GB felt such an act would be misconstrued as a betrayal.

When Ryan and GB arrived at their first EPFC training session, they were warmly welcomed by everyone, including those who were not present at the game. Ryan and GB were made to feel special, much like he and his brother had been made to feel when they arrived for their first day at school many years earlier. Ryan had already noted that they were the only Africans, and perhaps the only immigrants on the team. The team mostly comprised of white New Zealanders of European heritage. Like the Nigerian team, all the Elton Pearl team members were clearly passionate about football. Unlike the Nigerian team, however, EPFC were very well organised

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and demonstrated a collective desire to not only win but to also help each other (on and off the field). During the session, players were willing to sit out and even be substituted. The interest in his personal life, past and present, and the offers of support he received appeared both genuine and sincere. Ryan was very impressed and had seen enough. He wanted to commit to the team. GB felt the same way.

As Ryan and GB had feared, some of the younger members of the Nigerian team received the news of their departure with disappointment and anger. Others, however, understood and even supported their decision. In no time, Ryan and GB became stars of the EPFC team. They used their pace to a devastating effect. GB finished the year as the highest goal scorer for both the team and the league. The team secured promotion to a higher division and were crowned league champions.

The EPFC team made up a chant for Ryan and GB. After each game, the team would chant GB's name, "GB! GB!! GB!!!". Then they follow that with "Ryan! Ryan!! Ryan!!!" Ryan and GB never had that with the Nigerian team. From the moment they joined EPFC, Ryan and GB were invited to parties and events by their teammates. Their teammates would proudly introduce them to their friends and families and Ryan felt much appreciated. Joining EPFC opened new doors for Ryan and he was able to expand his network of close friends and casual acquaintances. Ryan always felt that there was a limit to the things that the Nigerian immigrant community could do for him. To the Nigerian team, they were just Ryan and GB. After games, the EPFC players would have some beers and sing the classic Neil Diamond hit song 'Sweet Caroline'. It was an important ritual that Ryan thoroughly enjoyed. Everyone was made to feel equal, a part of the family. It brought the team members closer as they would laugh and share stories.

"Ryan, look, that guy is a 'horse'!", GB shouted from the stand in Yoruba language. But Ryan did not respond. "Ryan! Oga!! Oga!!!". GB called out again, even louder.

Ryan turned his head and looked up towards GB. GB then repeated his earlier comments, this time in Pidgin English. Ryan nodded and turned slightly to take a look at the guy. He understood what GB was saying. The guy was probably the main threat to Ryan winning the race. Ryan turned his head back to GB's direction and nodded, to show him he got the message. In Yoruba slang, horse depicts someone that is really good at a particular thing, especially when it comes to sport. Ryan was

also aware that being called a 'horse' typically meant something else in English.

GB had been in the country longer than Ryan and was a long-time participant in athletics. GB had noticed that Ryan was quite fast and strong as soon as he saw him on the football pitch. GB thought Ryan had the right attributes to be a good sprinter. GB approached Ryan after a game and asked him if he would like to take up athletics. Ryan informed GB that he was not interested, that he wanted to just stick with football. But GB did not give up. He kept pressuring Ryan, assuring him that his own coach, a South African named Riaan would help Ryan to develop. Eventually, Ryan gave in and agreed to follow GB to one of his athletics training sessions.

A smile crossed Ryan's face as he recalled that very first day. He looked over at Riaan on the stand and nodded to him in appreciation. Upon meeting Riaan for the first time, Ryan was instructed to go and stand on the starting block. Ryan, wanting to make a good first impression, immediately did what he was asked. That was Ryan's official introduction to senior level athletics in New Zealand. Once seeing him do as instructed, Riaan said "excellent, tomorrow we start training."

Ryan looked at 'the horse' again and thought he looked stressed. Ryan then looked along the line at all the other runners. He wondered why the people in athletics were so different from the footballers he had met in Nigeria, England, and New Zealand. "Why were those in athletics more serious and closed?", he asked himself as he checked his starting block was in the right position. "Is football more open and inclusive because it is a team sport, or because it's the global game?", he questioned, looking up at GB one more time. "Why are athletes intimidated but footballers excited when they see him and GB show up for an event?", and, "Why do so many people think that all Africans are naturally fast and fantastic footballers?". He looked around at all the white faces on the track and in the stands. "If we're so good, why aren't there more Africans here today?", he added, as the official standing immediately to his right asked the runners to take to their starting positions.

Ryan had met a lot of people through athletics, but they have been mostly acquaintances. Most of his close friends were people he met through football. "What if I'd opted for athletics instead of football?", he thought to himself as he heard his name being called out by the announcer. Suddenly, James face flashed up before him. James had recently helped him get a job. James was a Chinese immigrant who

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Ryan had met at one of the ethnic tournaments he played in several years ago. James had approached him after a game, and they struck up a strong friendship as a result. He just couldn't envision the same scenario occurring at an athletics event.

BANG! The sound of the gun jolted Ryan back to reality, but he was slow to leave the block. He was sixth as they approached 50 meters. He passed two athletes in quick succession, then another. He pushed himself with all the strength he could muster and eventually passed the two at the front. He knew that his coach would be disappointed with his start. He knew that his poor reaction meant he had too much ground to make up and that he really should have had won this race with at least ten meters to go. What he didn't know was whether he had passed them before or after the finish line. He certainly hadn't run the race that he had visualised whilst sitting on the toilet that morning.

Ryan stood with his hands on his hips, whilst the other two were sitting down, trying to recover all the oxygen lost during the last 20 seconds of their life. The result was announced after what felt like an age. Ryan was sure that it didn't usually take that long, which implied that it must have been even closer than it felt at full speed. He finished Third. Third?!

As Ryan walked back along the track, shaking his head in disappointment, the other competitors offered comments such as "good job" and "good race" One even patted his back and said "awesome race, bro". Some of the supporters cheered him as he walked past. On hearing these comments, the smile returned to Ryan's face. Despite the serious attitude of his fellow athletes, he still felt as though he belonged to the fellowship. And, by doing so, he also felt as though he truly belonged in New Zealand. He was proud to call it home and, with every season that past, he felt more and more like a piece of the furniture. He was a Kiwi, just like the rest of them. He felt valued and, following his first season at the EPFC, valuable. He felt wanted and more settled than ever before.

"Massive race, bro", came a voice from behind, followed by a tap on Ryan's right shoulder.

"Thank you", Ryan replied, turning around to see one of the competitors that had completely ignored him earlier in the call room. "You did well today, too, bro", he

added, flashing a smile.

The athlete shook Ryan's hand firmly. The guy then asked if Ryan was on Facebook and if he could add him. Ryan said sure. Ryan grinned to himself at the thought of having secured another connection thanks to his sporting success. Or in this case, his sporting failure. "Would he still have asked to connect if I had run the race that I was supposed to? Or if it was an absolute disaster and he came last?", he thought to himself as he headed towards the changing room. "Do I need to come in third more often?", "Or do I just need to blast everyone away every single time?", he pondered. Perhaps his initial strategy of enjoying sport while using the opportunity to meet people and grow his network worked after all. When people see him, they are usually like "Oh, Ryan, he's a really fast guy", or "Ryan a really good football player". That makes him feel a lot more wanted, a lot more settled. It makes him feel like he is no stranger to New Zealand. It makes him feel he belongs in New Zealand and can proudly say New Zealand is his home. Ryan was interrupted out of his thought one more time. This time it was Sam. He wanted a photo before Riaan got hold of him!

4.7. The Samba Ping Pong

"What's up, mate?", Tom asked, having decided to answer his phone. He was at work, sitting at his desk.

"What are you up to?", Kelvin asked. "Same ol' report.", Tom answered.

Kelvin asked Tom if he was keen for a game of table tennis later that evening.

"Sure thing!" Tom said.

"Hope you are prepared for a beating?" Kelvin added.

"Look who is talking. Have you already forgotten how you were crying like a little girl the last time?", Tom responded, laughing down the phone.

"What?!", Kelvin exclaimed.

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“You were crying like a little baby and ran to mama”, Tom repeated, referring to Kelvin’s partner.

“OK! Be ready to put your money where your mouth is”, Kelvin responded. “Come along with your bet”, he added before laughing himself.

Tom expressed concern that Kelvin could miss his mortgage payment for that month. Kelvin burst into another round of laughter. Kelvin knew that Tom was hoping to buy a house soon. They had talked about it often and Kelvin had provided Tom with some sage advice.

“OK, it is a bet then!”, Tom said.

“Sweet!”, Kelvin responded. “I will ask the other boys to also come over”. “The more the merrier!”, Tom replied with another laugh.

Kelvin told Tom he would let Tom get back to his weekly report. Tom told Kelvin he would bring the drinks.

“Don’t worry, the party is on me”, Kelvin said. “Sweet see you then!”, Tom responded.

Tom works for Vitmobile, a multinational telecommunications company. His weekly report was his major task of the day. Kelvin used to work at Vitmobile as a senior project manager. Kelvin was once Tom’ boss, when Tom was a project assistant, or ‘tea boy’, as Tom liked to refer to himself. Tom was amazed that something as simple as table tennis had created such a strong bond. They had become so close that Tom could now refer to Kelvin as a friend, or rather as a best mate. Tom smiled at this thought. Tom understood Kelvin. Like Tom, he also has a great sense of humor.

Tom loved table tennis. His history with the sport dated to his childhood in Brazil. There was a table in the playground close to their building where Tom grew up. As a boy, Tom would play with the other kids from the building. He had an unconventional way of holding the bat. It would usually make the older kids laugh but Tom was never bothered about it. He was determined to become better at playing table tennis, no matter how he held the bat. Tom often played with his father, who would never go easy on him. Perhaps his father believed that Tom would learn faster

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and become tougher that way. The more Tom's father beat him, the better Tom got. There was a table in Tom's grandfather's house as well. Tom would go there to play and most times his grandfather would give him advice. Before long, Tom was beating all the other kids. Although Tom was one of the youngest in the neighborhood, he would routinely defeat the older kids, which brought him much satisfaction. As he grew older, his skills and passion for the sport increased.

Growing up, Tom would also run, go to the gym, and, like everyone else, play football (soccer), the most popular sport in Brazil. There was no escaping football. Tom played all the time. During the week, he would play whenever possible. Every Sunday, he played beach football for two hours. It was intense. It was very competitive. As an adult, Tom played football for his work, in the corporate league. Tom worked for a big information technology company for about five years without any proper holidays. In 2008, Tom decided it was time for a much-deserved break.

It was not easy for Tom to leave his family. Brazilian families are quite protective. His desire to leave Brazil and improve his English finally prevailed, however, and Tom left for New Zealand in 2009. He was not alone. Some unofficial reports estimated the Brazilian population in New Zealand to be about 5,000 people. The 2013 New Zealand census listed the Brazilian ethnic group as consisting of 2,868 people. Between 2006 and 2013, the population of Brazilians in New Zealand had increased by 94.7 percent. Prior to that, between 2001 and 2006, the population had increased by 153.1 percent.

Tom's initial aim was to explore the country, experience the culture, learn and improve his English. Upon arriving, Tom realised that the country was bigger than he thought. Tom observed that there were people from different countries and a mixture of different cultures. Tom was amazed at the different experiences, values, and religions of people from different countries. Tom was blown away because it was totally different from Brazil. Tom thought he never had such an opportunity before because not a lot of people migrate to Brazil. Within a short period after arriving in New Zealand, Tom started to change his plans. Tom told himself, "New Zealand is a nice place, quite safe, good quality of life, there is a prospect here for me". He decided he might do more than just learn English.

Consistent with his initial plan, Tom enrolled in an English language school. From

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what Tom could gather, New Zealand's Information Technology (IT) sector was full of opportunities. The first time Tom visited the English school, he saw a table tennis table. The sight of the table excited him. Even better, students could use the table whenever they wished. The lady at the reception told him where he could get bats and balls to play. Unfortunately, the bats were old and not of good quality. Tom decided to buy his own bat, and the next time he went to the school, he was ready to play.

After his first class, Tom headed straight to the table. Other students, mostly Asian, were playing. Tom said hello to everyone around and asked them if he can have a turn. Tom brought out his bat and spare bat, making it available for anyone to use. He made an instant impression. Some students introduced themselves. He immediately started a conversation with the people around him. Tom was never one to be shy, he was a very social and outgoing person. Whilst waiting for his turn, he used the time to assess the players. He observed that they were good, but he was confident he could beat them. The initial anxiety gradually dissipated with the knowledge that he was probably better than most of them.

In a short time, Tom became very popular among the Asian students. Most were pleasantly surprised to learn that he was a very good table tennis player. They had assumed, like most people that Tom had met since arriving in Auckland, that he would only be good at football. Tom became friends with them, and their friendship grew stronger as they played regularly. Tom used to enjoy beating them. He usually had a good laugh when he saw their frustration at losing to him. They were quite good players and the more Tom beat them, the more his confidence grew. It was always fun for Tom. It always provided a topic for them to chat about. Sometimes, Tom and his friends would go to other places to play. It was always a struggle to find places, however, as it was not a very popular sport.

In addition to table tennis, Tom started asking people to come and play football with him at Queen's Park. Tom had already been to the park to play football with some other Brazilians. As his popularity grew with the Asian students, they joined Tom and the others. Tom's communication skills were greater than his football skills. Tom made it a habit to always learn people's names, even his opponents, believing that knowing the names created a personal touch to the interaction. He became the go-to

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person of the group. Other people in the school approached Tom to join the football team. Soon, Tom was registering the team in seven-aside tournaments and mini tournaments. He made friends from Europe, Middle East, and other South American countries as a result.

Occasionally, Tom's fellow Brazilians would invite him to come and fill in for their team. He also received calls from people that he had played against, inviting him to come and play for them. Although Tom would go and play for the Brazilians, he never made it a habit, having decided prior to his arrival that he would avoid spending too much time with people from his home nation. Tom did not want to live in a Brazil outside Brazil. When challenged by his Brazilian friends, he made it known to them that his main reason for leaving Brazil was to interact with people from different cultures. He was not running away from any family, economic, or personal problem. He just wanted to learn and experience a new culture. Tom always concluded his argument by advising them to go back to Brazil if they only want to be or interact with Brazilians. Tom saw the game of football as an opportunity to meet and interact with other people. It was not only about his teammates. There was the other team, the referees, and perhaps even the spectators. Tom could start up a conversation with one of them and it might lead to other things. For Tom, football was only a catalyst. It was up to the individual to take the relationship to the next level (or not).

After studying English for about four months, Tom decided to take up a part-time job. Tom thought that he had enough money to last a year, but his savings were disappearing faster than he envisaged. He did not want to ask his parents for help. Thus, Tom decided he would get a job as a bartender. Tom told many people that he was getting paid to learn English whilst talking to drunk people amidst loud music, trying to listen to what the customers wanted. It was very effective. After working at the bar for nine months, Tom's English had greatly improved. He could now manage a conversation without adding any Portuguese.

Tom also started playing futsal. He was invited to play in a futsal team by one of his Brazilian friends. He met Steve after playing against him in his very first game. They connected instantly and Tom accepted Steve's invitation to come and play for his team. Steve was English and his team was made up of a mix of ethnicities: European,

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South Americans, and South Africans. Tom's ability to meet people at futsal often started with a compliment. His friendship with Paul, for example, started with Tom telling him that he had played well. Later that night, Tom was surprised to see that Paul had stayed around and watched him play. Paul had watched the game because Tom's team was their next opponent. Tom later told Paul that he was working as a bartender, but he was considering staying in New Zealand if he could find a professional job. Paul told him to consider getting a New Zealand diploma to help him with his work permit.

Tom ended up knowing everyone who played in his futsal league, becoming friends with many of them. There were only eight teams in the league with each team playing on the same night and against each other twice. Having originally played for different teams, Tom, Steve, Paul, and the other boys all ended up playing for the same football team. It was Steve that invited them to play for Rovers Football Club. The team was all English except for a lone South African and Tom. Tom took Paul's advice and enrolled for a course in management. After about seven months of studying, Tom received his diploma and, as Paul had advised, he secured himself a work permit. Tom entered interviews with confidence and a belief that they couldn't turn him down based on his English. The day Tom got a job offer, he celebrated with Steve, Paul, and some of the other boys from the futsal league. It had taken a lot longer than he had expected. It had taken over a year. Everyone was very happy for Tom. He had got a job at the local council. Paul was very proud.

Tom new job provided him with plenty of opportunities to interact with Kiwis. At this point, after three years of living in New Zealand, Tom realised he had not really met many Kiwis. Although he felt at home in Auckland, he was still far from been infused into the local culture. Tom thought he should engage in a more traditional Kiwi sport. Tom didn't want to learn how to play rugby but decided that he would search for a sport that was more Kiwi than football or futsal. It became routine for Tom to search the internet when he was less busy at work. One day, he came across an advertisement that invited people to try dragon boating.

The ad said, "Do you like water? Do you like summer? Come and join us in the dragon boating team". Tom was puzzled. "What the hell is this?", he exclaimed. "Of course, I like water! I like summer!", Tom thought. "I am a Brazilian for Christ's

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sake!”. But “what the hell is dragon boating?”, Tom asked himself. Tom further searched the internet for more information. He found that dragon boating originated from China. It was originally used as part of the religious rite of appeasing the rain gods. It later metamorphosed into a festival of celebrating the life of the great warrior poet Qu Yuan. Qu Yuan had committed suicide as a protest against the political corruption at that time, drowning himself in the river Mi Lo. According to the legend, on hearing the news of Qu Yuan’s sacrifice, local fishermen launched boats in a race to recover his body. That was the beginning of what is now known as dragon boat racing. As a remembrance, the people began to organise Dragon Boating festivals and the fishermen would throw rice into the river as an offering to Qu Yuan (to feed his spirit in the next world). The origins of the splashing of paddles and banging of drums is said to symbolise the fishermen trying to scare off fish and other river creatures from desecrating Qu Yuan’s body. It is now used to help get the paddlers in sync and to help them go faster. The practice of making offerings of Zongzis is still practiced among Chinese communities and at many Dragon Boating events around the world. It has become a crucial part of the Qu Yuan Dragon Boat festival that is celebrated every year on the 5th day of the 5th Moon (month) of the Chinese lunar calendar. Tom loved the history of Dragon Boating and, whilst it didn’t sound overly Kiwi, he concluded that it was an experience he wanted to try.

Tom arrived Lake Pukama ready to join the North Anchor (NA) dragon boating team. Tom noticed that the team predominantly consisted of Kiwis, but there were other ethnicities, too. There were Irish, English, and Scottish people, but he was the only South American. It was like nothing he had ever seen before. The participants sat side-by-side in pairs from the front to the back of the boat. One person in each pair was responsible for paddling on the left side, and the other person paddled on the right. You had a sweeper and a caller. The person at the front of the boat banging the drum was in charge of the tempo and rhythm of the paddlers. This determined how quickly the boat reached the finish line. In total, there were twenty-two people in each boat.

Tom had no idea where to begin. He wondered if he would make the team (if they would accept him). Tom approached them and made his intention known. He was pleasantly surprised with the reception he received. He explained that he had no previous experience and they told him not to worry, that he needed to learn the skills

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and they would help him do that. They told him that after a few weeks he should be up and running. They said they would keep an eye on him and help him out. It was described as a process of constantly improving and not a skill that could be acquire on a one-off basis. They also informed him of their expectations. “. . . give it a go, do a week or two, see if you enjoy it”, he was told by one of the team leaders, who also added, “we are a serious team but it’s social, but that doesn’t mean that we go to lose”.

When talking to some of the others, Tom was told that a lot of people only came for a day or two and that some people enjoyed it because the hour-long training was tough.

Training involved a lot of paddling. “You get sore, you get blisters, you get everything”, Tom was told as he tried to take it all in. “...but again”, the person added, “if the person enjoys it, then the sport is for that person and he becomes part of the team. Then, after the training, the fun or social part begins. The team gather together, have some beer together, share jokes, banter, and generally laugh together”. Tom liked what he was hearing and after the first training, he returned for the next training day. This time he was ready and determined to succeed.

Tom started with the basics. His new teammates explained, reviewed, watched, and gave him tips on what to do and what not to do. The training was twice a week and it was compulsory for everyone to attend. It was very important to get everyone to sharpen their skills and to learn the chant, because there was timing for the calls. At certain times there would be chants that informed them to speed up or to slow down. To put the pressure on, or paddle longer, deeper or harder. Timing was crucial to success in Dragon Boating and Tom worked hard to absorb all the training and improve his skills. His team always took the competitions seriously and worked hard to win. But there was no pressure on Tom because they knew he was new.

Tom participated in many competitions during his first year. He even had the opportunity to visit Wellington for a race. It was one of Tom’s most cherished memories. It was Tom’s first major event since he signed up, and the team returned home with a medal. He was nervous on the journey to the event and then completely blown away by the spectacle he encountered when they arrived. By Tom’s second year, he had become an integral part of the team. He was already helping the newbies

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and showing them the ropes. And his personal medal haul had also increased. The team had participated in the nationals and got a bronze medal. They had also entered in a number of regional competitions and the 2017 World Masters Games.

Apart from working on the boat itself, other aspects of being part of the team also contributed in increasing the bond among the group. Quiz nights were always a fun way to raise money for the club. Members would invite friends and families who were outside the immediate Dragon Boating circle. Competitions also provided opportunity for them to get to know each other better. Travelling to events was always a very important aspect of the team building, which further increased the bond of friendship between them. They would all travel together in the bus and then rent a place where they could all stay. It also provided opportunity for them to get to know each other's families, which further deepened their relationship. Tom's plan to immerse himself in Kiwi culture was working. The families didn't just come to watch. They came with food and drink that was enjoyed together. On one of such occasion, Tom brought his brother. Tom introduced him to everyone, both his teammates and to their families. Having heard that he was visiting from Brazil, everyone was excited to meet him and treated him very nicely.

Tom was very proud of his achievement with the NA dragon boating team. Back in Brazil, Tom would have never envisaged participating in such a sport. He used to be a heavy smoker and, as a young man growing up in Brazil, found that he was able to smoke and still play football. When Tom moved to New Zealand he continued smoking while he played football and futsal. Having found himself feeling guilty when out with his dragon boat team, however, he decided to quit. Tom did not want the team to fail because of him, and he has never touched a cigarette since. At Tom's work, his relationship with some of his co-workers had also changed due to his involvement in the team. Initially, when Tom came across the dragon boating advert, he was not aware that a lot of his colleagues were also involved. His participation in the sport drew him closer to them, and their relationship went from strictly business to personal.

It was around this time that Tom heard about a project assistant opportunity at Vitmobile. He applied and got the job. Vitmobile was very different from the council. It was huge with staff located across many different departments. Thankfully, Tom's

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job required him to work across multiple departments, allowing him to meet lots of new people. Outside of work he continued his participation in dragon boating, futsal and football. One day, Tom was playing a seven-a-side football match with his English mates when he recognised the faces of some Vitmobile colleagues playing on the other side of the pitch. His colleagues were as surprised to see Tom as he was to see them. The Vitmobile guys questioned and teased him, asking “what are you doing here?”, and telling him “you’re playing in the wrong side mate”. They told him the team that they were playing for was a Vitmobile team, something Tom had never known existed. After the game, they all properly introduced themselves and suggested that Tom switched teams. The conversation also became more personal with them asking Tom about his relationship status, childhood, and hobbies.

The next day at work, Tom saw some of the guys, and they chatted about football and their next game. They made some jokes about how they had met the previous day at the pitch. Before that moment, the conversations that Tom was having at work had been limited to only greeting and passing pleasantries. Now they all knew that they had something in common and it wasn’t long before Tom agreed to join the Vitmobile team. Tom even brought his friend Phillip to play for the team whenever they were short of players (something that happened quite often). In fact, Phillip was considered part of their team given how often he had played for them.

Tom was first introduced to Phillip at one of Paul’s birthday parties. Phillip was German and had just arrived in New Zealand. While chatting, Tom found out that he knew the owner of the new startup company that had just employed Phillip. Tom told Phillip he would put in a good word and another friendship was born. Tom didn’t get home till around three in the morning that night, and, when he did, he wasn’t alone. Steve, Paul and Philip were with him, and the friends continued chatting until daybreak. They were talking about family, their girlfriends/partners, and lots of other things. At one point, there was a conversation around visas and securing permanent residency in New Zealand. Tom found his immigration folder and shared his experiences with Phillip and the others. Tom told them that they are welcome to use his documents as templates for their own applications. He believed that they should all help each other and do whatever they could to ensure they all got to stay in New Zealand.

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Tom's phone rang again, and he broke out of his reverie. He couldn't believe it. It was Phillip. He was calling to know if he was available for futsal that evening. His team was short of players.

"Sorry, mate, can't do tonight", Tom responded, informing Philip that he already had a prior engagement that he couldn't cancel.

"Moreover, it's too far away as well. I'm not going to drive all the way there", Tom added.

"Alright then, we see you on Thursday", Phillip said prior to ending the call.

As Tom was putting down his phone, it rang again. "Who is it this time?", Tom wondered as he picked up the phone. It was Bob from the Pukana Special Olympics Table Tennis Club. Tom had decided to take up some voluntary work after a chat he had with one of his mates from Dragon Boating. He had always wanted to help or give back in his own little way to the community, but he did not know how to go about it. His teammate had advised him to just do whatever, no matter how little or little time he had. After the chat, Tom started searching the internet to check for opportunities. Initially, he was thinking of helping the elderly, but then he came across an advertisement asking for table tennis coaches for special needs people. Tom thought it was a perfect match. He signed up immediately.

Tom had been putting off calling Bob since the morning. Tom breathed deeply and informed Bob that he would not be able to make training that evening. He told Bob to extend his regards to everyone and tell them that he was OK and that he would be there the next week. Tom had first met Bob on his first day at the Pukana Special Olympics Table Tennis Club. He embraced his volunteer role and struggled to describe the feeling of joy he got every time he saw the smiles on his players' faces. Tom had become more than a coach; he had become their friend. Tom regularly met their families and they treated him like family. They were always nice to him and always telling him how grateful they were for the work that he did. At the end of the year, there was always a prize giving day and the parents always brought gifts of thanks. Tom strongly believed that he had learned from them and that they had a greater impact on him than he had on them.

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The resilience that these special athletes showed was something that Tom always admired and tried to replicate. His patience and attention to detail had also improved drastically as a result of his volunteering. Tom was aware that the athletes and their families genuinely loved him, and he genuinely cared about them. Whenever Tom was unable to attend training, he would get a call from someone asking if everything was ok. As Tom focused back on the documents on his desk, one of his colleagues popped his head through the door and asked for a bat and ball. Everyone in the building knew Tom was the unofficial custodian of the balls and bats. Tom has his own personal bats and balls that he kept in his drawer.

Tom brought out the bats and ball and handed it over to the person asking for them. The guy invited him to come and join them to play and Tom was seriously tempted. He politely declined, knowing that he had to finish his work early to meet Kelvin. Once again, Tom smiled at the thought. Tom had worked with Kelvin on a project and at some stage mentioned that he liked table tennis. Kelvin's face lit up with excitement. Surprised, Kelvin asked Tom "You like table tennis as well? Oh mate, let's go and play together". From then onwards Kelvin and Tom's relationship changed. They went from work colleagues to friends. The next day Kelvin called Tom to come over to his office. Tom thought it was in connection to the project they were working on, but when he got to Kelvin's office, the conversation was all about table tennis. From there they proceeded to the fifth floor for a game. From that day, playing table tennis at work became part of their routine.

Before long, others joined in to play with them. From playing at the office it evolved to playing at Kelvin's house. They could meet after work and play at Kelvin's house because Kelvin had a table in his garage. Sometimes they played until late at night, just the two of them; other times, Kelvin would invite some of his other friends to play, too. Tom soon became friends with Kelvin's friends. On weekends they would all meet at Kelvin's place, have a few games and then go out for a drink. Sometimes they would stage a mini competition and all chip in a few dollars as prize money. Tom was referring to their last competition when Kelvin had called him earlier that day. Kelvin had doubled the final prize money as a personal bet between him and Tom.

Tom and Kelvin met up regularly, despite Kelvin leaving Vitmobile to join a top

commercial bank. In fact, Kelvin had been trying to convince Tom to join him. He had a table at his new work, but no one to play against. Tom was flattered by the offer but was happy at Vitmobile. Kelvin respected his friend's decision but had also made it clear that there would always be a place waiting for him at the bank. At this thought, Tom smiled once again. "Who would believe table tennis could bring two people from different spectrums together, to the point they have become best friends, like family", he thought to himself as he started to plan the evening ahead. Tom had never really thought about it before.

Tom suddenly realised that sport had played a significant role in the life that he had built for himself since leaving Brazil. The sports of table tennis and futsal had played a crucial role in helping him find his feet whilst the sports of football and dragon boating had played a crucial role in making New Zealand feel more like home. Tom thought about the advice that he would gladly offer any Brazilian or immigrant who arrived in a new country. He would tell them to embrace the power of sport even if they didn't intend to stay long term. He would also advise them to embrace sport with an open mind and to limit the amount of time they spent with people from their home country.

"Woohwee!" Tom exclaimed, having looked up and seen the time. He had better finish his work or he wouldn't have time to go and get the ingredients required to make food for tonight's big rematch with Kelvin. At this thought, Tom turned back his attention to his computer and to the half written weekly report that should have been finished hours earlier.

4.8. Frank Franz

Franz stood by the door of the hall and looked around the hall filled with people playing against each other. He had a serious look on his face and there was sweat slightly dripping from his forehead. He wiped the sweat off his face with the back of his hand, wondering why it was so hot tonight given the hall is usually cool. Franz is in his late 60s and stands about 6 foot 3 inches tall. He is slightly bent over, no doubt due to age, but perhaps also because of all those years bending whilst playing table tennis. He depicts a picture of a retired German soldier rather than a table tennis

coach or player.

Franz suddenly realised why the hall was so hot. The hall was unusually crowded, with four players on four tables playing doubles and only one table with a singles game. A doubles game could have been on that table too if it were not for Nigel using it to teach a young player the fundamentals of the sport. Nigel played in the A-grade competition and was easily the best player in the club. He had become the unofficial assistant coach, especially when it came to the younger players. He was passionate about coaching and enjoyed helping the new players develop their skills. There were also five people sitting and waiting to jump on a table when it became free. Franz didn't include Ray in that number, even though he was sitting with the group waiting.

Ray didn't play much anymore. He was getting too old and preferred to focus on running the club. Every Monday and Tuesday night, Ray ensured that the tables were set and that everything was ready for the people when they arrived. Ray was the de facto head of the Paltamo Table Tennis Club (PTTC). He established the club in the 1970s. A few years ago Ray had some personal problems that took him away from the club for a while.

Franz looked around the hall again. It was quite old and some renovations here and there would certainly have brighten it up. He looked up to the lights. They were okay to play under, but they could also be a bit brighter, he thought to himself. Overall, however, the hall had all of the basic amenities required. It had two toilets at the back, a kitchen, and a room for storing the tables. With an alternative arrangement, Franz calculated that the hall could actually fit another two tables. Franz remembered the first time he walked through the doors of this hall. He had seen an advertisement in a local newspaper, inviting people with an interest in table tennis to join the PTTC.

When Franz saw the advertisement, he was very excited. He had been telling himself that he needed to get involved in sport because that would offer him the opportunity to meet people and make some friends. It would offer him the opportunity to get to know Paltamo better. He needed to get a life outside of his little farm, and here was an opportunity to not just to get involved in the local community but to get back into the sport of table tennis. After procrastinating for a few weeks, he decided it was time to make a move. He dusted off his old bat, packed his bag, put on his old tracksuit, and drove to the PTTC. He was greeted by an old man inside an old building. His name

was Ray.

Franz thought that he must have arrived too early. An hour later, however, it was still just him and Ray. He shook his head sadly. In his mind, he had painted a picture of his old table tennis club at the north side of Auckland. His former club was by no means impressive, especially compared to his old club in Germany, but the PTTC was the least impressive table tennis facility Franz had ever seen. He was disappointed. Franz felt that he should have learnt not to expect too much from clubs or sport organisations in New Zealand.

Franz was very much involved with table tennis and football back in Germany. He both played and coached football and table tennis. His table tennis coaching concentrated mainly on coaching players between the ages of seventeen and eighteen. He coached soccer during the week and played on Sundays while he coached table tennis during the week and for competitions on Saturdays. The inter-club competition was usually on Saturdays and sometimes it was difficult for him to combine his role as the youth coach with playing in the senior grade. The youth team played on Saturday afternoons and the senior team played on Saturday nights. The situation was even more complicated when he had to travel far with the team for games. He elected to sacrifice playing and devote himself to coaching the younger players.

The Germans have a long history in New Zealand, dating back to the nineteenth century. The Germans are one of the largest European ethnic groups in New Zealand. In the 1990s, a few years after Franz relocated to New Zealand, there was a surge of German immigrants to New Zealand. By early 2000s, they were the largest group of immigrants from Europe. In 2001, the population of Germans was estimated at 8,382 people. This increased to 10,761 people in 2006, and in 2013, the German population in New Zealand was estimated to include 12,810 people. Franz was born in the late 1940s. He arrived in New Zealand in 1983.

Franz completed all of his schooling, compulsory army service, and university education in Germany before moving to the Netherlands to work as a consultant. He later returned to work in Germany but had the burning desire to migrate overseas. He started exploring his options and decided he was going to move to either New Zealand or the USA. His initial preference was the USA but, in the early 1980s, acquiring an American visa was very difficult. Franz received his New Zealand visa

whilst he was still waiting for news of his American application. Consequently, he packed his bags and bought a one-way ticket to Auckland, New Zealand.

Franz's plan was to work for a year and use the opportunity to explore the country. This would enable him to make an informed decision on whether New Zealand was the right place for him and his family. He found a place to live in North Auckland and secured a job as a Programme Analyst. His employer helped him to secure an initial three-month work permit. Franz bought a motorbike and spent some time travelling around the North Island with a group of friends that he had met not long after his arrival. He had heard that New Zealand was a beautiful country but riding across it on a motorbike brought it closer to home.

As luck would have it, Franz also found a table tennis club close to his house. He was excited to discover the Northside Club and, with his background in table tennis, found it easy to join. The club was well managed and also had very good players which made it more exciting and worthwhile for Franz. He quickly became an integral part of the club, playing in the inter-club competitions and coaching young players. One of the best players represented New Zealand in the World Championship. While Franz was enjoying himself, he could not help but notice that things were quite different from how it was done back in Germany. Things were much more relaxed.

The smallest table tennis clubs in Germany were much more serious than the biggest clubs in New Zealand. The small clubs playing in lowest grades paid their players and would regularly try to take/poach players from other clubs. They used to offer all sorts of incentives to lure players, including paid employment. Small clubs had sponsors, typically people that owned local businesses that wanted to build good relationships within the community. If a player left a club, especially a good player, then he was treated as an outcast in the community. In New Zealand, however, no one seemed to care if a player left a club. Take John from the Northside table tennis club, for example. No one complained when he left to play for the central Auckland club. On the contrary, the attitude of Franz's clubmates was "Oh yeah, if you like it over there, go over there".

Although Franz was happy in North Auckland, he didn't withdraw from the American visa process until he received his permanent residency, which to his

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surprise came after only a year of living in New Zealand. With each new day during those first twelve months, however, he became more and more convinced that New Zealand was the right country for him and his family. He just needed to go back to Germany to sort his things out before he could relocate permanently with his family. This took Franz a lot longer than he first envisaged. He returned to Germany in 1984. Three years later, in 1987, he travelled back to New Zealand with the intention of never leaving. This time he had his family with him.

Franz worked as a freelance computer analyst programmer upon his return. This gave him and his family the freedom to decide where they wanted to live. After a year and half living in Auckland, he began working for a computer company. Soon after, he bought a property in Paltamo, a remote rural area in South Auckland. For the next three and half years, Franz immersed himself in his work and the maintenance of his new property. The daily commute to and from Auckland ate up much of the day. He spent his evenings, weekends, and holidays creating a comfortable home for him and his family. He had no time for sports or recreation. Franz could not help but feel something was missing.

Franz had been nurturing the idea of getting back into sports and joining a club. He wanted to meet people, to socialise, to integrate, and feel more at home in his new local community. It was in this state of mind that he serendipitously found the aforementioned advertisement in the local newspaper, inviting people to come and join the PTTC. That was in 1992, five years after Franz had moved back to New Zealand.

Franz embraced the PTTC from day one, despite its lack of members. He registered for the interclub competition that was played in various clubs around Auckland's southern outskirts. Back in 1983, he never knew that any of these clubs existed. The lack of PTTC members forced Franz to team up with players from other clubs. Unfortunately, after just his second interclub game, he ruptured his Achilles. This was a big setback. Franz was just starting to feel alive. He was just getting back to the game he loved.

It took Franz a year to recover from his injury, but nothing had changed at the PTTC during this time. It was still a club that consisted of him and Ray, with the occasional casual player dropping by for a social game with a friend. Franz immediately

returned to playing in the South Auckland interclub competition, relying once again on the other clubs to find him a partner. There was also no reason to have club nights at the PTTC with only him and Ray as members. In 1995, Ray was forced to leave Paltamo for a while, leaving Franz in charge of opening the doors and setting up the tables. He would drive to Ray's house, collect the keys from his wife, then go to the hall and set up the tables.

Franz prayed for some people to walk through the door. His prayers were answered the day that Daniel entered the hall (and his life). Daniel was a good player. More importantly, Daniel was a good player who knew lots of people. Over the weeks following his first visit, Daniel would arrive with three or four new players every night. One day, he showed up with Nigel and the fortunes of the PTTC started to change significantly. Suddenly, Franz found himself looking at a critical mass of committed players, enabling regular and structured intra-club competitions. Another advertisement was placed in the local newspaper, and, unlike the one that Franz had seen several years earlier, it resulted in the arrival of even more people, including some younger players who Franz was able to coach. With Nigel's help, they provided coaching to anyone who wanted to improve their skills. A Facebook page was created, and it worked like magic. More people showed up to the next club night and, finally, there was a real buzz around the club. For Franz, it started to feel like a proper table tennis club.

There was a mix of people with different skill levels, ages, and backgrounds. There was a mix of Filipino, Chinese, and European migrants as well as New Zealanders. Despite the growth in members, however, Franz struggled to build any meaningful relationships with these new recruits. He would occasionally see and say hello to members whilst out shopping, but their only other interaction was during the Monday night interclub competition. Although he had now known Ray for over a year, there was no connection beyond their shared love of table tennis. It was the same at the Northside club. He met a few people and made few acquaintances, but nothing like the good friends that he had left back in Germany. On a few occasions, he was invited to go out with them, or to visit their houses, but there was no lasting connection or friendship formed as a result.

Franz attributed his inability to extend these relationships into friendships to the

sports club culture in New Zealand. In Germany, things were more vibrant and intense. His table tennis club would travel to Holland for an annual training camp. On Sundays, for physical conditioning, they would run together in the forest. Teammates attended festivals together and met each other for drinks regularly. They attended each other's birthdays and celebrated other milestones together. Usually the social involvement of a person reduced when they got married, but they still came to the club nights at least once a week. Social involvement was considered to be an important part of local life. And it wasn't just table tennis. It was the same at Franz's soccer club. After a game the players would shower together and then the whole team would socialise for a few hours at the pub. This is a very important part of the game day ritual. The day would not be viewed as complete if this part was skipped. Franz did not have to learn this aspect of German club culture because he was born into it. It was an integral part of the German sporting life. Furthermore, any new player that arrived at the club from another country would have to go through the process of socialisation. For example, on one occasion, a player from Poland joined Franz's club and the other club members had to teach the new player the German way of doing things. The new player absorbed the culture in no time and became an integral part of the team.

"Perhaps it was not only the club culture that hindered him from cultivating relationships beyond sport", Franz thought to himself as he looked around at the people playing on the PTTC tables. "Perhaps I am in the wrong sport", he continued whilst also trying to imagine how things might have been different had he taken up rugby or cricket when he first arrived in New Zealand. Rugby and cricket were widely regarded as the two biggest team sports in New Zealand. Franz mulled over the possibility. When he first arrived, there was not much table tennis outside Auckland. Football was also not as popular as it had become in recent years. "But how could I blame myself?", Franz asked rhetorically. He had no idea or interest in rugby or cricket before he arrived in New Zealand. "No one cares about rugby or cricket in Germany", he thought, comparing the New Zealand obsession with their national rugby team, the All Blacks, with the German obsession with their national football team.

Franz wanted twenty members at the club. He felt that this would increase his chances of meeting people of a similar age with similar interests. "How can you

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successfully build a relationship with only three people in the club?”, he mused as he looked at those waiting patiently for a game. The problem was in the numbers he lamented. With only three members, it was unlikely that there was going to be a person with whom he could have developed a strong relationship. He was 45 years old. Ray was about sixty while Henry was in his early twenties (Henry was one of the first to arrive, joining at a time when it was only Franz and Ray). These age differences do not augur well for common interests and lifestyle. In fact, there was no similar interest between the three of them other than table tennis. Franz broke out of his reverie once more. Henry had a query about his next interclub game. He wanted to know who he is going to pair with because his usual partner was away

Franz subscribed to the principle that the number of members was more important than the quality of their play. His view was that the quality would only improve once the numbers were increased, and that it was not possible to make a champion out of only three members. If a club has hundred members, however, and they all attended regularly, then there is a great probability that he could have made a champion out of one of them.

Franz shook his head sadly, “there were many factors that worked against him”, he thought, reflecting back on his time in Paltamo. He came with his family and he bought a remote property that needed lots of work to be done. In addition, he had a full-time job in an area of high demand, meaning he had no need to build social networks to help him find a job. There was no way for Franz to socialise or integrate through sport. Things would have been much different had he arrived as a younger man; perhaps a younger man without a family. It could have been different if he had chosen another career or not invested so much time in renovating his property.

Despite his experiences, Franz would still advise people to “join a club, be very active and make some friends”. He would encourage them to “. . . invite them to come to your home, go to their home, go out together. Go to the movies together, attend some festivals. . . Get integrated into the team and into the community”. Franz still believes in the potential of sport to create relationships. He visualised himself as a young immigrant table tennis player, above average, who could easily be in the top ranking in New Zealand. Rather than going to his local club, this immigrant goes to the main table tennis stadium in Auckland and starts interacting with all the other players he

sees as he walks through the door for the first time. In no time, this young player has found someone with contacts who may be willing to give him some work or introduce him to someone that would help him. Franz sighed at the scenario that he has created in his mind. This was very possible. The level of table tennis in New Zealand is not very high and, in his view, an average player from Germany could easily become a top player in New Zealand.

Franz didn't consider himself to be good enough. "No one was ever going to sponsor him", Franz thought as he found himself seeing the face of a guy that he had met at the Northside club back in 1983. Unlike Franz, Mike was a top-ranking player with whom he had developed a good relationship. When Mike was travelling to Germany, Franz introduced him to some of his contacts back there. Through these contacts, Mike started playing for a top club and also got into the German Open Championships. In addition, he got a job in a big company and later bought a house. A gentle smile crossed his face as Franz realised sport can work after all.

Franz looked around one more time. If PTTC keeps growing at this rate then it might work for the young migrants that have walked through the door of this old hall. They might get to live the dream that he once had. For this to happen, however, he needed to put in more effort and change the culture of the club. He needed to provide more opportunities for them to talk to each other. His thoughts were interrupted once more as he heard his name. He picked up his bat. It was time for him to show these youngsters how to play. It was time for Franz to play his game.

4.9. Summary

The stories within this chapter elucidate the role of sport as a vehicle of integration and social capital acquisition. The lived experiences of the immigrants illuminate the role sport played in their journey in New Zealand. The story of Ali in 'Sport without Language' shows how sport impacted on Ali's English language development. Similarly, the stories of Jack in 'The Pursuit of Refuge' and Ryan in 'Nigerian Bolt' talk about how sport helped them develop familiarity, attachment, and a sense of belonging. This was also true for Adrian in 'The Gateway' where Adrian explicitly attributes his eventual sense of belonging and employment solely to sport. Through

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the stories shared, the role of sport in creating networks and relationships was clearly explicated. For example, Tom's story, as detailed in 'The Samba Ping Pong', clearly depicts how a Brazilian was able to form a lasting relationship with a Kiwi as a result of table tennis. Perhaps the most captivating is the story of Anna in 'Love and Football'. Football was responsible for creating a strong bond in Anna's love relationship.

Despite all the positive and affirmative accounts of the role of sport in helping immigrants acquire social capital and integrate, the dissenting voice of Franz in 'Frank Franz' cannot be overlooked. His story highlights how age, lack of time, club culture, and competence impacted on the efficacy of sport as a vehicle to generate social capital and integration of immigrants. However, despite of the apparent shortcomings, Franz believed that sport has the potential to help immigrants acquire social capital integrate into the community.

Although the stories shared in this chapter all came to an end at a certain point, the individual stories have not yet ended. They remain works in progress. Thus, the interpretation of the meaning of the life experiences of the immigrants are susceptible to change as a result of future experiences. According to Elliot (2005), narratives can never really end because there is always a chance that future events could impact on the interpretation given to a past event.

Whilst this chapter presented the individual stories of the immigrants, the next chapter presents the discussion of the findings based on themes generated from the seven stories. It will also highlight the implications of the findings and present recommendations for policy makers, sport administrators, clubs, and teams.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

The primary aim of the study is to understand the contribution of community sport to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand. The overarching question asked was “what is the efficacy of sport as a vehicle of integration of immigrants?” To delve deeper into the subject matter and find answers to the research question, the following research questions were developed from the overarching research question:

1. How do young (school-aged immigrants) and older (adult) immigrants access sport?
2. What is the role of sport in the acquisition of social capital by immigrants?
3. How does sport facilitate the integration of immigrants?

To answer the research questions, individual stories of participants were presented in the previous chapter. The discussion presented in this chapter will focus on the themes that emerged in the analysis of all seven stories. The themes are grouped into the three broad categories of access, social capital, and integration. The themes complement the individual stories of the participants presented in the previous chapter and provide a holistic view of the phenomenon under study. They further highlight aspects of the story that might be otherwise lost or hidden. The research questions were deliberately constructed sequentially. The logic here is that immigrants would have to first access sport before utilising it for the acquisition of social capital and subsequent integration.

5.2. Access

5.2.1. Availability

The theme of availability captures the opportunities for school for young (school-aged) immigrants to access sport. School provides the opportunity for children to engage in sport and physical activities, which is fundamental to the physical, cognitive, and socio-psychological development of children (SNZ, 2015). Several

studies have indicated the benefits associated with sport and physical education in schools (Bailey, 2006; Hillman et al., 2008; Tomporowski et al., 2008; Vail, 2006). The benefits identified include improved academic performance (Tomporowski et al., 2008; Vail, 2006), cognitive development (Hillman et al., 2008), self-esteem, self-confidence, and social development (Bailey, 2006). Beyond these benefits, school tends to provide the opportunity for “first contact” with sport. A consistent finding of the current study was that the young (school-aged) immigrants all accessed sport through their school. Their New Zealand sport experiences can all be traced back to a combination of informal participation (during lunch break or free time), physical education (PE) class, and participation in formal (i.e. organised) school sport. For example, in ‘Nigerian Bolt’, Ryan was asked by his teachers to participate in an athletic competition in his new school. Similarly, ‘The Gateway’ provided a vivid account of how a ‘simple beep test’ in a PE lesson marked the beginning Adrian’s journey not only into New Zealand sport but also into New Zealand life as well.

This finding is consistent with early sport sociology studies that place school as one of the institutions through which people are introduced to sport (Kenyon, 1970; Kenyon & McPherson, 1973; Malumphy, 1970; McPherson, 1976; Sage, 1974; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1976). This finding is also supported by Funk and James’s (2001) categorisation of school as a sport socialising agent. School plays a role, both directly and indirectly, in the introduction of sport to school-aged children and youth. School-based socialising agents, for instance friends, teachers, or coaches, can all facilitate a student’s introduction to sport during the school years.

The stories also highlight the many constraints limiting immigrants’ ability to access sport. These constraints include the affordability of associated costs and limited knowledge of the New Zealand club system. It is likely that without sport and physical education in school, many young (school-aged) immigrants, especially those from a refugee background, would find accessing sport somewhere between difficult to impossible. Without sport and physical education in school, young immigrants would be deprived of opportunities to acquire or improve social skills, emotional intelligence, and in some cases language skills. All of these can conspire to limit their opportunities to acquire social capital and integrate with the wider community. This finding supports the call for government, policy makers, school administrators, and regional sport trusts to increase opportunities to access sport and physical education

in schools. For example, SNZ (2015) argues that there is an urgent need to create opportunities for increased access to physical activity, PE, and sport for young, school-aged children including immigrants.

5.2.2. Awareness

According to Funk and James (2001), awareness refers to the moment an individual first gains knowledge about the existence of a particular sport or team. In the context of this study, awareness refers to how adult (older) immigrants first became aware of the sport, sport club, or team they later joined when they initially arrived New Zealand. It refers to the socialising agent that influenced adult (older) immigrants' first contact with sport upon their arrival in New Zealand, their new community. Further, Funk and James (2001) opined that awareness precedes the development of attachment to a sport or team. Thus, for new immigrants to successfully engage in a sport or join a team, they must first and foremost become aware of the sport or team.

The findings indicate that most adult (older) immigrants found a sport team or club through a newspaper or online advertisements. For example, Franz ('Frank Franz') learned about his table tennis club from a newspaper advertisement. Similarly, Tom in 'Samba Ping Pong' discovered his dragon boating club from an online advertisement. The finding supports early studies that included media as a sport socialising agent (Kenyon & McPherson, 1973; Malumphy, 1970; McPherson, 1976; Sage, 1974; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1976). Further, the finding confirms Funk and James's (2001) categorisation of media as an important sport socialising agent for adults. This is also supported by Nadeau et al.'s (2016) study, which found low levels of awareness of community sport opportunities among newcomers. They attributed the result to the publicity methods utilised by the managers of local sport organisations. In addition, Nadeau et al. (2016) also found that social media such as Facebook was instrumental in creating awareness amongst new participants. Similarly, in the present study, Facebook helped immigrants find new teams or clubs, albeit after they already joined a particular team or club. For example, some of the immigrants mentioned that they were contacted by their friends or contacts from their sport network to come and join or play for their team via Facebook.

Although, some immigrants confirmed that most sport teams or clubs have a Facebook page and utilise Facebook for communication, sport organisations should also avail themselves of the opportunity in utilise other social media platforms (e.g., Instagram, Twitter), including those yet to gain prominence. Thus, sport clubs or sport organisations should monitor the emergence of new social media platforms, especially those used by ethnic minorities.

The adult (older) immigrants indicated that they had difficulties accessing information about sport opportunities in their new community. Whilst finding a sport team or club might seem very easy and straight forward for a long-term resident, the process can easily become awkward or problematic for someone new in the community. As best as they can, sport organisations need to view the profile or visibility of their programs from the immigrants' perspective. It is important to review and expand on current promotional methods to be able to reach as many prospective participants as possible, especially new immigrants who might use alternative media platforms to access information.

5.2.3. Intrinsic (Social Capital as By-product)

The findings of this study suggest that the young (school-aged) immigrants did not set out to use sport to network or obtain social capital. They were not looking for any specific benefit at the onset of engaging in sport. They simply started playing sport for the fun of it. Playing sport for the fun of it is an intrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation connotes engaging in an activity solely for the fun and enjoyment that an individual gets from the activity (Deci, 1975). Gagné (2010) defined intrinsic motivation as engaging in an activity just for the fun of engaging in such activity. Fun is seen by children as one of the major reasons of engaging in sport (Wold & Kannas, 1993).

People that are intrinsically motivated persist with their action without any inducement and in the presence of external constraints (Deci & Ryan, 1985). This is also reflected in the stories presented in this study that capture how some young immigrants persisted with their participation in sport despite encountering constraints and barriers. For example, in 'The Pursuit of Refuge', Jack mentioned

how his teammates would arrive at training with fancy boots and clothes while he had to borrow boots from family and friends to play. In 'Sport without Language', Ali also gave various accounts of how lack of money held him back from participating in a team and forced the premature termination of his participation. Despite these constraints in both instances, the immigrants found a way to continue their sport participation.

5.2.4. Intention to Acquire Social Capital

Whereas younger participants acquired social capital as a by-product of their efforts to have fun, the adult narratives indicate an intent to acquire social capital through sport. According to the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985, 1987; Ajzen, 1991), the chances of an individual pursuing a particular cause of action is based on the significance of the individual's intention to carry out such behavior. The findings of this study show that the adult (older) immigrants were aware that they can network, generate social capital, or use sport as a means to acquire other social benefits when they set out to join a team or club. On this basis, their first contact with sport was both intentional and purposeful. Unlike the young (school-aged) immigrants, the primary intention for adult (older) immigrants was not the sport itself or fun derived from the sport but to utilise sport as a means to acquire social capital. The finding is consistent with the Theory of Reasoned Action (Ajzen, 1980) which posits that behavior is influenced by the intention of an individual to carry out a particular behavior. Tonts' (2005) study on community sport in Australia found that social networking and social capital were major motivations for engaging in sport.

An individual consciously joining a sport team or club for the purpose of explicitly pursuing social capital would be considered as having an extrinsic motivation. According to Gagné (2010), engaging in any activity for any purpose other than the fun derived from that activity is seen as an extrinsic motivation. Extrinsically motivated behaviours are those behaviours carried out for the purpose of acquiring results that are distinct from the behavior itself (Bagøien & Halvari, 2005).

Thus, in reference to this finding, the adult (older) immigrants were extrinsically motivated. The intentions of joining or seeking out a sport team or club was

primarily extrinsic. However, it is imperative to note that once they successfully found a team or club, their passion and interest in that particular sport become their driving force. Nevertheless, through the stories of the immigrants, it could be deduced that most of the immigrants achieved the desired goal of acquiring social capital through sport. However, their stories also show that with time, the immigrants' participation in their team or club became more organic and they willingly participated in their team or club without it necessarily depending on their initial intention of joining. Once they started to perceive themselves as part of the team, they were more willing to participate for the sake of the team and in order to not let the team down. Deci and Ryan (1985, 1991) referred to this type of extrinsic motivation behaviour as identification regulation. Finally, several scholars place more value on intrinsic motivation than extrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation is somewhat seen as inferior to intrinsic motivation (Gagné, 2010). However, the findings of this study resonate with Gagné's (2010) assertion that extrinsic motives are as essential as intrinsic motives in the realm of sport.

5.2.5. Sport Competence

Sport competence refers to being highly skilled or good at a sport. Sport competence is often referenced as an important characteristic of acceptance among young people (Coie et al., 1990). One of the themes that emerged from the stories is the belief that immigrants who are good at a sport will be readily accepted into a team. Participants in this study believed that such immigrants would find it easier to establish friendships or relationships with other team members in a team or club. Thus, in 'Nigerian Bolt', Ryan comments that most participants in athletics are not friendly and it was difficult to make friends in the athletics circle. However, on the occasions he did really well, he had conversations with people that had previously ignored him. This directly confirms the findings of Evans and Roberts' (1987), who found that there is a significant relationship between athletic competence and peer acceptance. Also, the finding is consistent with Smith's (2007) suggestion that the general perception among youth is that sport competence would facilitate acceptance and friendship. He suggested that at school, sport competence is rated as a more effective way of acquiring acceptance than any other school activity.

Sport competence was not only a feature of the younger immigrant's stories. Franz was also of the opinion that his competencies were an asset. Even though Franz was the least successful of the participants in terms of acquiring social capital, he believed that a young, highly skilled athlete would be sought after and every club would want to accept such immigrants. He believed that the outcome for such immigrants would be entirely different from his.

Skills in a particular sport can make it easier for immigrants to establish themselves in a team or sport club. Prior studies have also confirmed the importance of sport competence in facilitating peer acceptance among a group (Coie et al., 1990; Evans & Roberts, 1987; Smith, 2007; Ullrich-French & Smith, 2006; Weiss & Duncan, 1992). However, it is imperative to note that competence in a sport should not be seen by immigrants as a prerequisite for such acceptance or the development of relationships in a sport team or club. This can be illustrated by the story of Jack in 'The Pursuit of Refuge'. Jack never had any previous knowledge of rugby until he was introduced to the sport. Therefore, he could not be said to be competent in the sport. Despite this lack of competence, Jack still managed to learn the sport, make friends, and develop relationships among his teammates. Similarly, Tom ('The Samba Ping Pong') had no previous skills in dragon boating. However, his enthusiasm to learn and become competent in the sport made him a key member of his team. Also, he was able to bond with his teammates and acquire social capital through his participation in the sport. Perhaps willingness to learn and open mindedness, underlined by good social skills, are far more important skills for immigrants to possess in order to engage and form relationships with the host community within a sport team or club. This was evident in Tom's story. His good-naturedness and his good social and communications skills were key to his successful participation in teams and establishment of relationships throughout his journey in New Zealand. Having the right attitude could create more opportunities for interaction between immigrants and teammates. This is because the teammates would be drawn to them and would be more willing to teach them, which would open up opportunities for acceptance and for the creation of relationships in the process.

5.2.6. Football (Soccer)

In the original design of this study, efforts were made to acquire immigrant stories from a variety of sports. Despite these efforts, football featured in all of the narratives. All the immigrants in this study had participated in football at some stage of their lives.

From Jack in ‘The Pursuit of Refuge’ to Anna in ‘Love and Football’ and even Franz in ‘Frank Franz’, all participants reported that they have played football at some stage. Thus, Franz shared that he had played and coached football in Germany, even though he was mostly involved with table tennis in New Zealand.

All participants were already engaged or familiar with football from their home country before moving to New Zealand. Thus, the familiarity of the sport often drew them to the sport in their new community (New Zealand) even when they were participating in or looking to experience new sport. The finding of the study is in line with Spoonley and Taiapa’s (2009) observation from their study on migrants’ sport participation in New Zealand. They observed that the high level of migrant participation in sports such as football reflect their previous engagement and familiarity with the sports from their home country. Perhaps one of the reasons for the popularity of football among immigrants is the global nature of the sport. It is the most popular sport in 269 nations worldwide (Kidwell, 2008). Some of these nations include countries where the immigrants in this study originally came from. Perhaps the relative ease of engaging in football is another reason both the young (school-aged) and adult (older) immigrants find it a convenient alternative (Fitzgerald, 2013).

The findings of this study have far reaching implication for local, regional and national football organisations. Thus, the findings suggest that non-governmental organisations (NGOs), charity organisations, regional sport trusts (RSTs), and government organisations that are interested in sport for development programmes for immigrants or refugees should consider adopting football as a vehicle for their programmes.

5.3. Social Capital

5.3.1. Friendship or Relationship

Sport provides an opportunity for individuals to create new or strengthen existing social relationships (Chalip, 2006). The findings of this study show that immigrants were able to establish friendships and relationships through their participation in sport. Further, the stories suggest that the relationships or friendships they formed through sport in most cases extended beyond sport. For example, Jack in 'The Pursuit of Refuge' met his life-long friend Abdul through sport. Similarly, based Ryan's story in 'Nigerian Bolt', he also met most of his friends through sport. Perhaps the most compelling narrative of the role of sport in establishing and enhancing a relationship was the bitter-sweet story of Anna in 'Love and Football.' Anna's account highlights how she lost her love because of football, yet at the same time, football was also her saving grace that saw her through the ensuing heartache. Interestingly, she was able to enhance her next relationship through football. It became the glue that holds her and her new boyfriend together, despite both of them being two totally different people with different interests. This finding is consistent with Harris's (1998) suggestion that sport has the ability to establish and sustain new friendships that cut across social barriers. The immigrants in this study believed that it was easier to make friends through sport than through other avenues. In their stories they expressed the opinion that the mutual interest in a particular sport provides a topic to start up conversation and thereby serves as an ice breaker. Opportunities for social connection created by sport and the shared interest between the people make such encounters less awkward than it would be if the immigrant was meeting the host community member in another situation.

Further, the findings are in consonance with Vermeulen and Verweel's (2009) study on the role of sport in the production of social capital. They found that participants were able to establish relationships through their sport participation. The role of sport in helping immigrants establish friendships was also reported in the study of Rosenberg et al.'s (2003) study on the integration process of immigrant students. The participants in the study, reported that sport played a role in helping them

establish friendships with host community students. Similarly, sport was a tool employed by Chinese students living in Canada to create friendships with the host community students (Brunette et al., 2011). The findings of this and previous studies (Brunette et al., 2011; Chalip, 2006; Harris, 1998; Rosenberg et al., 2003; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009) have consistently shown that sport provides a context for people to meet and interact and can be the basis of relationships or friendships. As posited by Tonts (2005), sport necessitates people coming together to engage in an activity, which is an indication of the potential of sport to create social capital.

Thus, the implication of this finding is that policymakers, sport organisations, and clubs must realise that sport plays such an important role in helping people, and especially immigrants, to establish friendships and relationships. Consequently, a conducive environment for this salient aspect of sport to thrive and occur more frequently must be provided and enhanced. Further, host community team or club members should be encouraged to approach immigrants with open mind and be more willing to receive immigrants with open arms. However, it is imperative for immigrants to note that creating friendships or relationships through sport is not automatic. Thus, the onus is on the immigrants to reach out to the host community in their desire to make friends. An example for the immigrant taking the initiative to foster connection can be seen in the story 'The Samba Ping Pong'. In the story, Tom makes it a point to ask of the names of everyone involved in a match, that way he can address each player by name during the game and usually his relationship with them starts from there. Similarly, it is the responsibility of the immigrants to nurture and maintain such friendships or relationships, because friendships or relationships cannot be based only on the first contact.

5.3.2. Social Network

Social network refers to the role sport played in the creation and expansion of immigrants' social network in their new community (New Zealand). Social network was significant in both Putnam's (2000) and Bourdieu's (1986) descriptions of social capital. Thus, the concept social network is relevant to any conversation about social capital. The findings of this study show that sport played a major role in creating and

expanding the social network of immigrants. Within a short period of joining a sport club or team, the social network of immigrants grew significantly. The narratives suggest that the immigrants' social networks were created predominantly through sport. For example, Ryan in 'Nigerian Bolt' talked about how his social network grew substantially within a short period of him starting to play football in New Zealand. He reported that his social network grew so fast, that he never used the contact list his parents gave him when he left the United Kingdom (UK). Similarly, Jack in 'Pursuit of Refugee', Ali in 'Sport without Language', and Tom in 'The Samba Ping Pong', all recognised sport as key to the creation and expansion of their social network. This finding is consistent with Seippel's (2002) suggestion that the nature of sport provides an opportunity for the creation of social networks. Similarly, the findings provide further support of the Vermeulen and Verweel's (2009) observations in their study on the role of sport in the production of social capital. The participants in their study reported that sport participation was majorly responsible for the creation of their social network.

The findings of this study also echo Harris's (1998) submission that social relationships created through sport are not limited to active participants alone but are include passive participants such as parents, coaches, and spectators. Immigrants were able to expand their social network beyond their immediate teammates. For example, Tom narrated how he met the families of his teammates during dragon boating events and how he became friends with some of the friends and families of a particular teammate. Social network was no doubt at the core of immigrants' social capital. Additionally, the social network created through sport contributed both to the short-term and long-term settlement of immigrants. This is captured in Ryan's story where he comments on how his football-induced social network accelerated his settlement.

An implication of this study is that sport administrators, organisations, and clubs must understand that some people, especially new immigrants, might join a sport club or team in search of opportunities to grow their network through sport and not necessarily to actively participating in sport. As such, sport administrators, organisations, and clubs should continue to ensure that such participants, especially immigrants, also have access to other people in the sport club or organisation beyond the actively playing members or their teammates. Also, opportunities should be

provided for such immigrants who want to use sport clubs or organisations as an in-road into the larger community.

5.3.3. Bonding Capital

Putnam (2000) described bonding capital as an intra-group phenomenon that usually exists within groups made up of people who share certain characteristics such as race, ethnicity, religion, values, and interest. Bonding capital connotes the close interconnection between people or social groups that share the same attributes such as those shared among family, friends, or teammates (Baum & Ziersch, 2003; Nichols et al., 2013). The findings of this study show that bonding capital existed between the immigrants and their teammates. Participants' accounts of how they have established relationships with some of their teammates, in some cases to the point of describing them as family, shows that bonding existed between them. From Ali to Anna, with the exception of Franz, all the stories shared attest to the fact that the immigrants developed bonding capital with their teammates and found friends through their involvement in sport. This finding is consistent with Walseth's (2008) study, which also found that immigrants develop bonding capital through their sport participation. Walseth (2008) further expatiated on the finding and pointed out that the participant in the study bonded with her teammates along shared commonalities of their immigrant status and geographical location. While Walseth (2008) was of the opinion that immigration status and geographical location were major contributors to the bonding capital in her study, the current study found that immigrants bonded with their teammates from the host community (predominantly New Zealanders of European Heritage, i.e. Kiwis) irrespective of their status as immigrants and coming from different part of town. Further, most of the immigrants in the current study indicated a preference for playing in a mainstream team or club rather than in an ethno-centered team. For example, Jack and Ryan both highlight this preference in their respective stories. Similarly, Tom succinctly captures this in his story with his comment "if you want to live in Brazil outside Brazil, it will do you well to go back to Brazil".

Perhaps from the findings of this study, interest and passion shared among teammates (irrespective of their ethnic or socio-economic background) for a particular sport can supersede similarities in ethnic or socio-economic background. Interest and values were highlighted as dimensions of bonding within a social group (Putnam, 2000). Thus, it can be concluded that the likelihood for bonding capital to develop does not rest only on ethnicity. This is supported by Vermeulen and Verweel's (2009) study, which found that participants that participated in mainstream (mixed) clubs were able to develop bonding capital. They found that the participants did not exclusively acquire bridging capital due to their participation in mainstream (mixed) clubs as often claimed. Perhaps bonding capital exists in any group that shares an interests. This shared interest, in turn, is strong enough to influence them to act collectively for the same purpose. As pointed out by Putnam (2000), bonding capital arises when there is consensus on common objectives pursued by individuals in a social relationship or group.

While the majority of immigrants in this study indicating their preference for playing in a mainstream team or club, the story of Adrian in 'The Gateway' represents a dissenting story on this preference. The story captured how Asian immigrants were the exception and preferred to play with each other rather than playing with the host community or in a mainstream team or club. This finding is in consonance with the study of Lee et al. (2011), who found in their study of Asians in the USA that Asian immigrants preferred to play sport with people from their own ethnic group. One of the reasons given for this preference as shared in Adrian's story was that most of the Asian immigrants were not used to the club system in New Zealand. They find the process both confusing and challenging. They were used to playing sports at the corner of their streets or wherever they could find space in their home country. All they wanted was to gather and play together rather than going through the formalities of club sport.

The implication of this is the possibility that, by focusing only on sport participation or increasing the numbers of participants, sport clubs or organisations, directly or indirectly, encourage the creation of ethnic based teams. In other words, sport clubs or organisations run the risk of creating the sense of 'us against them' in ethnic based teams. The homogeneity in such teams or clubs would lead to strong bond, which could make such teams hostile to other teams, groups, or people outside their team

(Krouwel et al., 2006; Tonts, 2005). In spite of this possibility, participating in an ethnic based team could have a positive impact on immigrants such as short-term settlement. As suggested by Terrion (2006), bonding capital creates a sense of belonging, which is crucial to the feeling of mental wellness among members of a social group. This relates to these findings. Ryan, Jack, and Ali all agreed that ethnic based teams helped them to find their feet and thereby contributed to their settlement, feeling of stability, and provided them with a sense of belonging. Conversely, they also argued that playing in an ethno-centered sport team or club or creating an ethnic based team or league, as seen in Adrian's story, could be detrimental to the development of such immigrants. It would not only inhibit their capacity to generate bridging capital or expand their social network but it would also adversely affect their long-term integration. This was echoed by Krouwel et al.'s (2006) study, which suggested that an ethnic based team or league would negatively impact integration.

Therefore, to promote healthy bonding capital, it is imperative for immigrants to be integrated into mainstream teams or clubs. However, Adrian's story highlights that sport clubs and sport organisations in New Zealand such as regional sport organisations, are still grappling with the concept of immigrant integration. As a result, there are no guidelines or frameworks for sport organisations to assist immigrants or immigrant groups to integrate into mainstream clubs or organisations. Perhaps the time has come for sport administrators, sport organisations, sport clubs, and academia to get together and create a sustainable framework that could be utilised by sport clubs or organisations to integrate immigrants into mainstream teams, clubs, or organisations. Further, the burden of sensitising and helping ethnic based teams or groups to understand and maneuver the club system and process in New Zealand should lie with the sport organisations and federations.

5.3.4. Bridging Capital

Putnam (2000) described bridging capital as inclusive that can facilitate the expansion of a group or network. It creates opportunity for individuals to create

relationships with people who are different from them. Narayan and Cassidy (2001) described bridging capital as something that encourages heterogeneity and promotes interaction and exchange between individuals and groups from different social or cultural backgrounds. The findings the current study show that the participants were able to acquire bridging capital through their involvement in sport. It was found that most immigrants, through their teammates, connected with people who were from a different spectrum of the society or had no connection to the team or club they play in. It was also common to see in the stories shared that the immigrants made friends with opponents from other teams and in some cases the participant decided to play for that team instead. One such case is Tom. His story in ‘The Samba Ping Pong’ provides an account of how he met one of his friends after Tom’s team had played against his team in a competition. Similar accounts were also given by the other immigrants that shared their stories. The findings of this study are consistent with that of Walseth (2008), who found that bridging capital could be created through sport. Walseth (2008) further suggested that for bridging capital to help in the creation of close social relationships, immigrants must spend more time with their teammates. This relates to the current study as participants’ accounts indicate that they did not only spend time together with their teammates during sport (games and training), but they are also met outside sport to spend time together. Spending time together outside sport enabled them to meet and establish relationships with other non-immigrants in the network of their teammates, which in turn helped them to further expand their network and bridging capital. The findings of this study are also supported by Spaaij’s (2012) study on Somali immigrants’ participation in Australian sport. The study indicated that the immigrants were able to create bridging capital through their participation in sport.

Whilst bonding capital could create a sense of belonging and contribute to immigrants’ short-term settlement, bridging capital could be said to be essential for long-term integration in the host community. Bridging capital was crucial for the immigrants in this study in that it enabled them to take the next step from settlement to integration. Without bridging capital, it could have been difficult for the immigrants to expand their network and access the necessary assets they required for successful integration. As posited by Putnam (2000), “bonding is good for ‘getting by’, but bridging is crucial for ‘getting ahead’”(p.23). This fact was reflected

in the account given by the immigrants that in some cases, they were able to find jobs through their teammates. For example, Jack in 'The Pursuit of Refuge' explained how he found his first job through a teammate who took him to the teammate's uncle. Both Ryan and Ali also found work through a teammate or club associate. Apart from been able to secure jobs through people they initially had no direct contact with, the immigrants also highlighted other impacts of the bridging capital on their journey in New Zealand. For example, Ali highlighted how participating in sport at work made him popular in the company. As a result of his sporting engagement, his network grew across various departments, and he even received invitation to work on important projects across the departments.

Bridging capital can have a far-reaching implication for the integration of immigrants. Moreover, it can also have an implication on the social currency of the larger community. Thus, sport administrators, sport organisations, and sport clubs should focus more on providing avenues for bridging capital to flourish. One of the ways to achieve would be to promote sport as a way of getting ahead, especially for adults and immigrants. Another way would be to move away from the traditional club format to a more liberal format that allow a wider range of participants to participate, interact, and grow their social network. Such format might mean relaxing the structures around sport participation in New Zealand. That is, giving room to people to participate casually on their own terms. At the moment, even a so-called social participation is structured around competitions and tournaments, which limits the opportunities for the creation of bridging capital especially among immigrants.

5.3.5. Post-match social (drinking) activity

The theme of post-game social activity refers to the social interactions or activities that team members in sport teams or clubs engage in after games. Such social activities usually involve the consumption of alcohol or drinking. This special type of social interaction resembles what Collins (2014) refers to as interaction ritual. According to Collins (2014), the fundamental elements of interaction rituals are: the presence of two or more individuals, limited to members only, shared interest in the

main objective and shared mood among members. Thus, in line with Collins's (2014) elements of interaction ritual, post-game social activities in this study would be considered as a social or interaction ritual. In addition, perhaps consumption of alcohol or drinking can be conceptualized as an additional element of interaction ritual. Alcohol or drinking played an important role in every social ritual (Dietler, 2006) described in this study. The findings of this study show that post-game social activities such as social interaction, drinking, joking, and banter were crucial to the development of bonding within a team. The bonding between a team or between particular people within the team usually started or was enhanced during the post-game social activities or rituals. Ryan narrated how, after a game, their team would get together, have some beers and sing the classic Neil Diamond hit song 'Sweet Caroline'. He highlighted that such post-game activity was an important ritual that brought the team together. In the story 'The Pursuit of Refuge', Jack also gave a vivid account the post-game activities after a particular game that involved playing a drinking game. His account captures how the drinking game as well as all the banter that he and his teammates engaged in cemented their relationship. Despite the fact that Jack himself did not participate in the consumption of alcohol due to his religion, he still participated in the social ritual and described that night as the 'climax of the bonding' in the team. This is consistent with the study of Veeck et al. (2018) on social drinking. They found evidence of bonding capital from the reports of participants. Ng Fat et al. (2017) also linked social capital to the consumption of alcohol rather than non-consumption.

Further, it was found from the current study that during the alcohol infused post-game social ritual, most participants came out of their shells, so to speak. It was at such occasion that the immigrants felt comfortable enough to open and warm up to the other members of the team. Thus, Jack recounted how he performed a traditional Somali dance for his teammates during a drinking game. He confirmed that under normal circumstance he would never dance in the presence of strangers. Perhaps despite the fact that Jack himself did not drink, he was encouraged to perform the dance because others in the gathering were drinking and he felt they were not going to judge him as they urged him on. Also, at that point, to Jack they were no longer strangers due to the newfound bond between them. Similarly, Ryan gave an insight into how everyone in the team felt like a family during their post-game drinking

ritual and how they would share stories without any reservations. This finding is consistent with Veeck et al.'s (2018) suggestion that alcohol may be a surreptitious instrument that can be employed to strengthen the bond between groups and induce contagious emotions.

In addition, post-game social rituals contributed not only to bonding but also to the bridging capital of immigrants. The immigrants reported that it was usually during such post-game rituals that teammates start talking about their lives outside the club, such as their study, work, or family. It was on such occasions that teammates reveal the contacts they have in their network. Sometimes such revelation leads to the teammates from the host community later introducing the immigrants to these contacts. The stories of Tom, Jack, and Ryan all highlight this phenomenon. This confirms that both bonding and bridging capital could be created through social interactions in post-game social activities (Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009).

It was established from the findings of this study that post-game social activities (rituals) contributed in no small measures to the acquisition of both bonding and bridging social capital by the immigrants. Also, alcohol or drinking had a positive connotation in this study. This is because of the central role it played in the post-game social rituals of teams or clubs. Therefore, post-game social activities (rituals) and drinking should be encouraged in sport teams or clubs. However, this should not be misconstrued or misunderstood as an endorsement or call for excessive alcohol consumption. Alcohol must be consumed with caution and moderately to get the desired result and to avoid any negative effect to prevent its consumption from becoming counterproductive (Rowland et al., 2015).

5.4. Integration

5.4.1. Attitude of Host Community

The attitude of the host community is important in the process of integration, as integration involves interaction between the immigrant and the host community (Heckmann, 2004). Integration of immigrants into the host community is largely dependent on the acceptance of the immigrants by the host community (Sardinha,

2009). Attitude of the host community refers to the reception, that is, the level of acceptance or otherwise of immigrants by the host community upon their arrival in a sport team or club. The findings of this study show that the attitude of the host community was welcoming and warm. The immigrants all indicated that the people in the teams they played in were happy to have them and helped them to settle in the team. They also provided a sense of belonging both in relation to the team and to the wider community. From Ali in 'Sport without Language' to Jack in 'The Pursuit of Refuge', all participants reported a warm and welcoming reception by the host community upon joining a sport team or club. Jack described how he and his friend Abdul were made to feel at home when they joined a mainstream club. Jack offered that all their initial anxiety vanished due to the welcoming attitude of the people in the club. In 'Nigerian Bolt', Ryan gave a vivid account of how well the mainstream team he joined with his friend GB treated them. They were so impressed with the reception they received, that they signed up with the team instantly. He further narrated how the team made them feel like superstars and even made up a song for them. The findings of this study confirms the argument by Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) that immigrants need to feel a sense of welcome for them to feel at home in their new environment. The findings of this study stand in contrast to the unwelcoming reception reported by participants in Walseth's (2008) study. They reported that they were not seen as part of the team when they joined their new club.

It is interesting to note that only one of the immigrants in this study reported that he did not receive a warm reception in athletics. Ryan narrated that, unlike in football where the attitude of the host community was warm and welcoming, athletics was different. He indicated that he did not receive a warm treatment from his fellow athletes from the host community, which meant that he has not been able to establish any relationships through athletics. Ryan further narrated that he sometimes went out of his way to connect with the athletes, but all his effort proved futile. Ryan offered a possible explanation for this in his story as he suggested that maybe the athletics circle in New Zealand was so small that people involved in athletics want to keep it closed. The people in this circle feel threatened when they see a new person or immigrant coming in. They feel that the immigrant was coming to take away what belongs to them. Therefore, they must protect it by distancing and closing it to 'outsiders'.

The attitude of members of the host community can have a far-reaching impact on the integration process of immigrants. This impact can affect both immigrants' ability to access sport and on them being able to generate social capital. Without a warm and welcoming reception by the host community, the immigrants would not be able to access sport. In other words, a negative reception during immigrants' salient first contact with sport can lead to them feeling discouraged from pursuing sport, which in turn would prevent them from acquiring social capital and eventually achieving integration. According to Spaaij (2012), the host community's acceptance of immigrants in social interaction is key to a successful integration of immigrants. Furthermore, a cold attitude or lack of acceptance could lead to barriers such as discrimination and segregation, which would impede any effort at integration by immigrants (Sardinha, 2009). Therefore, it is imperative for the host community to approach immigrants without prejudice. They should approach immigrants with openness and with the understanding that immigrants, like all humans, are bound to be different. Thus, everyone should be treated as individuals and not collectively as a group. On the other hand, since integration is a two-way street, it is equally important for the immigrants on their part to have an open mind, learn about the new culture, and abolish any preconceptions or beliefs about the host community. It is by approaching the new culture and community with an open mind that immigrants can successfully learn and establish relationships with the host community through social interaction, which is crucial to their long-term integration.

5.4.2. English Language

Prior studies that have noted the importance of knowledge of the host community language to integration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003; Remennick, 2004). A lack of language proficiency can lead to anxiety and adversely impact on the sense of belonging of immigrants (Seat, 2000). The findings of this study show that sport played a crucial role in the language development of immigrants, especially those that came from a non-English speaking country. The compelling story of Ali in 'Sport without Language' gave credence to the contribution of sport to English language development. Ali's narrative clearly shows how an immigrant acquired and improved his language skill through his sport participation. Another example is Jack

in ‘The Pursuit of Refuge’, who also highlights how sport helped him to develop his English language skill. Tom in ‘The Samba Ping Pong’ also points to sport as a major contributor to his English language development. This finding of the current study is consistent with those of Doherty and Taylor (2007) and Ito et al. (2011), who both found that sport participation contributed to the language skills development of host language among immigrants. Similarly, Brunette et al. (2011), in their study that was conducted in Canada, indicated that sport was utilised by Chinese students to develop their English language skills.

The contribution of sport to the development of English language skills was not limited to those immigrants without initial English language skills. Immigrants with previous knowledge of English before arriving New Zealand also indicated that sport helped them to improve their English language skills. In some cases, their interaction with their host community teammates helped them to improve their accent. This was evident in the stories of Anna in ‘Love and Football’, Ryan in ‘Nigerian Bolt’, and Adrian in ‘The Gateway. Even the story of Ali in ‘Sport without Language’ highlights that Ali spoke with a Kiwi accent due to his prolonged contact with Kiwis through his involvement in sport.

In a way, the findings of this study could be seen as a classic example of Coleman’s (1988) social capital for human capital perspective. In Coleman’s (1988) discussion of social capital, great emphasis was placed on human capital development. The immigrants in this study, through their interaction with their social network (social capital) generated through their sport participation, were able to learn and or improve (education) their English language skills (human capital). All elements of social capital to human capital development were captured. Thus, the immigrants’ development of English through sport reflects human capital development.

The implication of this findings is that sport administrators, sport organisations, and clubs should endeavor to encourage sport participation that would bring both the host community and immigrants together. As mentioned earlier, it is not enough to provide facilities and allow immigrants to play by or with themselves. That would amount to indirectly encouraging immigrants or a particular ethnic group to pursue their sport interest in isolation, thereby unconsciously segregating them and denying them of being able to access the opportunities inherent in having contact with the

host community. Moreover, it also denies them the opportunity to learn and develop their host community language skills. For example, in 'The Pursuit of Refuge', Jack narrated that he lost the opportunity to develop his English language skills when he went back to playing with the refugee team. As a result, his English stunted. Language skills are certainly a crucial requirement for and indicator of integration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). Therefore, concerted effort should be made to continue to provide and sustain the opportunities for social interaction between the host community and immigrants, especially through sport. By so doing, immigrants would continue to have an opportunity to develop their English language skills.

5.4.3. Employment

Employment is generally acknowledged to be an important indicator of integration (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). The theme of employment captures the role sport played in helping the immigrants secure employment. The findings of this study show that immigrants were able to find employment through their participation in sport. It was found that some of the immigrants' friends or teammates introduced or connected them with someone in their own network that offered them employment. In some cases, the immigrants received information about potential job opportunities through their participation in sports. The story of Ryan and Jack both show how they got their very first job through their teammates. In each case, the teammate connected the participant with someone from their own network and the person offered them employment. Similarly, the stories of Ali and Tom show how sport can help immigrants receive information about potential job opportunities and help them get those jobs. This finding of the current study is consistent with that of Massey et al. (1987), who found that sport events helped Mexicans in the USA to receive information about possible job opportunities. Similarly, sport also played a role in helping immigrants in Menjivar's (2000) study acquire crucial employment related information. Further, the findings of this study clearly reflect Bourdieu's (1986) social capital perspective. The primary function of social capital for Bourdieu is to acquire economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) submitted that

social capital is made up of social connections which can be converted to economic capital. Thus, the immigrants in this study, as shown in various stories, were able to get jobs (economic capital) through their social connection (social capital) generated through their sport. Therefore, the immigrants were able to convert their social capital to economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The implication of these findings are far reaching. The assumption of this study is that every immigrant aims to find a greener pasture, regardless of whether their migration is voluntary, forced, permanent, or temporal (Berry et al., 1997). That is, notwithstanding whether the immigrant is a skilled worker, student, family or refugee/asylum seeker, the goal is to find a greener pasture. Being gainfully employed could represent such greener pasture or provide assurance that the immigrant is on course to reach the primary goal. Either being employed in a full-time position to further the immigrant's career, as seen in the story of Tom, or temporal employment to get ahead, as seen in the stories of Ali and Ryan, employment is crucial to the immigrant's welfare and integration. It can be argued that failure or problems in gaining employment could adversely affect integration (Aycan & Berry, 1996; Neuwirth, 1987). As observed by Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003), in the context of the UK, being integrated means being integrated into the country's social and economic system. Apart from integration, the inability of immigrants to find employment could also adversely affect their mental well-being (Aycan & Berry, 1996). Thus, it can be concluded that given the importance of employment to immigrants' welfare and integration, any avenue that would facilitate employment would be gladly welcomed by immigrants. The findings of this study have shown that sport could be one such avenue.

In view of the foregoing, perhaps sport organisations, clubs or teams should incorporate job opportunities into their programmes, both as a way to help the existing immigrants in their organisations, clubs, or teams and also as a way to attract more immigrants into such organisations, clubs, or teams. Additionally, sport organisations, clubs, or teams could take a step further and facilitate the possibility of new immigrants meeting with prospective employers or those host community members who have employment contacts within the organisation, club, or team. Taking this proactive step would not only benefit the immigrants but also the organisation, club, or team itself. This is because the immigrants in such a situation

would be able to meet up with the necessary financial obligations to the organisation, club, or team. As highlighted in the stories shared in this study, many immigrants, and especially those from refugee background, struggle financially. Thus, supporting or increasing the capacity of sport to provide employment for such immigrants would be indirectly supporting the sport organisation, club, or team.

Additionally, it would mean supporting such immigrants to continue their participation in sport while increasing the possibility of the new community becoming a greener pasture for the immigrants.

5.4.4. Cultural socialisation

Audrey (2000) defined integration as an interaction between the host community and new immigrants through which the socialisation and acquisition of the host community's culture takes place. Heckmann (2004) opined that cultural integration requires obtaining the basic tenets of the host community's culture by the immigrants. Cultural socialisation in this study refers to the role of sport in helping immigrants get to know, learn about, and experience the culture of the host community (New Zealand). The findings show that cultural socialisation can occur through sport. Sport provided opportunity for the immigrants to know their new community (New Zealand) better as it provided opportunities for them to travel and visit other cities and localities. Also, through sport, immigrants were able to experience Kiwi culture firsthand and grasp the basic tenets of the Kiwi culture.

All the stories of immigrants shared in this study, from Ali in 'Sport without Language' to Anna in 'Love and Football', attested that sport helped them learn and experience Kiwi culture. Even in the dissenting story of 'Frank Franz' sport played a significant role in helping him experience Kiwi culture. In addition, all the stories narrated how the immigrants became more familiar with New Zealand through the various trips that were involved in participating or playing for a sport club or team. The immigrants indicated that they travelled to various parts of Auckland and New

Zealand for games and as a result, they became more familiar with the country and learnt more about the host community. This finding that sport helped the immigrant students gain knowledge of the host community culture is consistent with previous research (Beri, 2004; Brunette et al., 2011; Rosenberg et al., 2003; Walseth, 2008).

Cultural socialisation is salient to integration. Being familiar with the culture of the host community could facilitate integration. Understanding of the host community culture would also guard against any misunderstandings that could arise due to lack of knowledge of the culture. Thus, it would ease interaction between the immigrant and the host community. Such an ease of interaction is important to immigrants' integration because integration requires interaction between the immigrants and host community (Audrey, 2000; Heckmann, 2004). Therefore, sports clubs or teams need not shy away from showcasing the host community (New Zealand) culture for fear of alienating immigrant athletes. Immigrant athletes might be keen to be exposed to Kiwi culture. In some cases, sport might be the only avenue an immigrant has to experience and learn the culture. In addition, it was found that road trips can play an important role in taking immigrant athletes to otherwise unavailable or unseen spaces. Thus, the value of road trips should not be underestimated. Sport clubs and teams should encourage road trips, especially for the benefit of new immigrant athletes. When necessary, assistance should be offered to such immigrants to enable them take part in club or team road trips.

5.4.5. Sense of belonging

Hagerty et al (1992) defined sense of belonging as “the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment” (p. 173). Sense of belonging in this study refers to the role sport played in providing immigrants with a sense of belonging to their new host community (New Zealand). The findings of this study show that sport played a major role in providing a sense of belonging to the immigrants. Through sport, the immigrants were able to feel at home in New Zealand. This was captured in the various narratives provided by the immigrants in this study. For example, Jack in ‘The Pursuit of Refuge’ shared in his story that, through his participation in sport, he

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was able to expand his contacts. Consequently, it was easy for him to find familiar faces wherever he went. As such the community became less strange and he felt more at ease within the community, which brought a feeling that he was at home and not in a strange land. This sentiment was also echoed by Tom in 'The Samba Ping Pong' and Ryan in 'Nigerian Bolt'. Ryan reported that:

when people see him, they are usually like "Oh, Ryan, he's a really fast guy", or "Ryan a really good football player". That makes him feel a lot more wanted, a lot more settled. It makes him feel like he is no stranger to New Zealand. It makes him feel he belongs in New Zealand and can proudly say New Zealand is his home. (see p. 143 above)

Perhaps, the most vivid attestation of the role of sport in creating a sense of belonging was captured in the story of Adrian in 'The Gateway.' He said ". . . 100%! New Zealand is my home away from home". Adrian further offered an explanation for this opinion. He submitted that:

as I said, if it wasn't for sports, I wouldn't be doing half the stuff that I am doing right now. To be fair, everything that I'm doing or have done in the last eight and a half years to come up with my sense of belonging or to justify my sense of belonging and thinking that New Zealand is home away from home, definitely. I mean sport has a direct influence on my feelings towards New Zealand right now. (see p. 90 above)

The findings of this study are consistent with Tonts' (2005) suggestion that sport contributes to the creation of sense of belonging. The findings also confirm Walseth's (2006) findings from her study on young Muslim women with immigrant background in Norway. She found that the participants developed feeling of belonging to the host community through their participation in sport. In addition, this finding is supported by Makarova and Herzog's (2014) study, who indicated that immigrants developed a stronger sense of belonging through their interaction and sport participation with the host community.

Perhaps one of the most important roles sport plays in the process of integration of

immigrants is creating a sense of belonging. According to Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs, sense of belonging is a psychological need. The lack of fulfillment of such need could impact on the ability of an individual to move up the hierarchy. Similarly, the lack of development of sense of belonging, could impede the integration process of an immigrant. Consequently, it might lead to exclusion, the immigrant relocating to another country, or in some cases returning to home country. As seen in Adrian's story, some of his school mates went back to their home country because they lacked a sense of belonging in their new community. Further, it has been found that sense of belonging is linked to mental well-being (Hagerty & Patusky, 1995). Sense of belonging is a psychological need that is linked to the well-being of immigrants. It is therefore imperative that such a salient need should be met.

The findings of this study have shown that sport can provide immigrants with a sense of belonging to their new community (Ennis, 1999). Therefore, it is important to provide opportunities for immigrants to participate in sport. Concerted efforts should be made by sport organisations, clubs, and teams to remove or alleviate constraints that could impede sport participation of immigrants. Also, it should be impressed upon sport organisations and clubs to provide more access to their facilities. This would encourage more participation by immigrants, especially by those whose sport participation is affected due to a lack of available spaces. Increasing access to participate would mean increasing the chances of more people participating and interacting across ethnic divides. Invariably, it would mean allowing sport to provide a sense of belonging to immigrants and the community at large. According to Mecheril (2003), people cannot develop a sense of belonging through sport without having the capacities and resources to participate.

5.5. Summary

Chapter five presented the discussion of the findings. The discussion presented in this chapter was based on the themes that emerged from the seven stories shared in the previous chapter. The discussion specifically addressed the research questions of this study. The findings indicate that first contact with sport is crucial to the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants through sport. Whilst

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school was found to be a sport socialising agent for young (school-aged) immigrants, media emerged as a sport socialising agent for adults. Sport competence was also found to be a potential facilitator of acceptance into a sport team and a door opener to friendship and relationship. However, it is not a prerequisite for engaging in sport or establishing relationship. Post-game social activity, however, was found to have the potential of facilitating the establishment of relationships and friendships. The impact of such social rituals on bonding and bridging capital was also highlighted. Further, since most post-game social rituals involve the consumption of alcohol, it was advised that individuals should exercise caution when consuming alcohol to avoid negative outcomes.

This chapter also elucidated the role sport played in the process of integration of immigrants. It shed light on the importance of the attitude of the host community and the implications of a cold reception were also mentioned. In addition, the chapter shed light on how sport helped immigrants to develop language skills, secure employment, learn about the culture, and develop a sense of belonging. Perhaps one of the most important roles sport plays in the process of integration of immigrants is creating a sense of belonging. The following chapter will outline the conclusion and contributions of this study. It will highlight some limitations of the study and identify directions for further research.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

This study was driven by an interest in understanding the contribution of community sport to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand. This interest sparked an ethnographic journey, exploring and sharing the lived experiences of immigrants in New Zealand. To logically present the findings of this study, the thesis was divided into five chapters. Chapter one highlighted that much of the advocacy on sport for social change was largely intuitive and anecdotal. The primary aim of the study was to understand the contribution of community sport to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand. Therefore, the objectives were: 1) find out how young (school aged) immigrants and older (adult) immigrants access sports upon their arrival in New Zealand; 2) delve deep into the role of sports in the acquisition of social capital by immigrants; 3) understand how sport facilitates the integration of immigrants; and 4) provide a platform for immigrants to share their stories.

In chapter two, the theoretical and empirical background for this study was discussed. Relevant research literature on migration, integration, and social capital that form the conceptual framework for this study were presented. The review of literature on integration introduced important elements of integration, including the attitude of the host community, language, employment, cultural socialization, and sense of belonging. Finally, the social capital theories of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (2000) were discussed. Social capital was found to be a core component of the integration process.

In chapter three, the researcher's phenomenological-inspired epistemology, ontology, and methodology were introduced and justified. The concepts of creative analytical practice (CAP), narrative inquiry, and thematic narrative analysis (TNA) were also explained. The adoption of an ethnographic approach allowed the researcher to have multiple conversations with participants through in-depth unstructured conversations (i.e. interviews). The utilisation of qualitative methods combined with CAP enabled the researcher to share the seven participants' stories (their lived experiences).

Chapter four presented the findings of the study. Consistent with the fourth research objective, this chapter presented the participants' stories. The seven vignettes presented

in this chapter were: 'The Gateway', 'Love and Football', 'The Pursuit of Refuge', 'Sport without Language', 'Nigerian Bolt', 'The Samba Ping Pong', and 'Frank Franz'.

Chapter five presented the discussion of the findings. The discussion was based on the themes that emerged across the seven stories shared in chapter four. The chapter sought to specifically address the research questions, highlight the implications of the findings, and make recommendations for policymakers, sports administrators, sports clubs, and teams.

Finally, the current chapter six discusses the contributions and limitations of this study and identifies areas for further research.

6.2. Conclusion

This study set out to provide a deep understanding of the contribution of community sport to the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants. In view of the findings of this study, a number of conclusions can be drawn. It was found that for sport to be utilised as a means of social capital acquisition and integration, immigrants must first and foremost access and participate in sport. It was found that young (school-aged) immigrants' first contact with sport was often serendipitous, with school playing a crucial role in providing access. For young (school-aged) immigrants, social capital was a by-product. Their initial motivation to engage in sport was intrinsically driven as the primary aim was just to have fun. On the other hand, adult (older) immigrants' first contact with sport upon arrival in their new community (New Zealand) was intentional. They were extrinsically driven. Aware that they could generate social capital through sport, they sought opportunities to participate in sport. First contact with sport was often crucial to the acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants through sport. Thus, the more first contact opportunities immigrants have, the better chances of creating the desirable outcome of social capital and integration for immigrants.

The study further revealed that immigrants acquired social capital through their participation in sport. Post-game social (drinking) activity was one way for immigrants to develop both bonding and bridging capital. During such activities,

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interaction between the immigrants and host community teammates became more personal. These interactions often created stronger relationships. It was often during these interactions when members of the host community shared their networks with the immigrant. This was key for creating bridging capital for the immigrants.

Social interaction was central to immigrants' acquisition of social capital and integration. For integration to take place, immigrants must have contacts and interaction with the host community. Thus, playing or participating only in an ethnic team can limit the possibility of contact and interaction with the host community. Immigrants' human capital development could be stunted with prolonged participation in only ethnic teams or clubs. It was suggested that ethnic based teams or clubs could contribute to short-term settlement of immigrants but for long-term integration, immigrants need to participate in mainstream teams or clubs. Engagement with mainstream teams or clubs increased chances of contact and interaction with the host community. Similarly, since social interaction was central to immigrants' integration, the attitude of the host community becomes salient in the integration process. A warm and welcoming attitude would encourage a healthy interaction between the immigrants and host community. Subsequently, it would lead to the establishment of relationships between the immigrants and the host community.

Overall, through the adoption of Creative Analytical Practice (CAP), this study was able to share the lived experiences of immigrants and the role of sport in the process of their integration into New Zealand. The study clearly shows that sport can contribute to the generation of social capital and the integration of immigrants. Thus, the study provides further empirical evidence that sport is a vehicle for social change.

6.3. Contributions of the Study

This study makes a number of contributions to the body of knowledge on the role of sport as a vehicle of immigrants' integration and acquisition of social capital.

First, the study provides a deep understanding of the contribution of community sport to the integration of immigrants. This addresses the many calls for further

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research (Amara et al., 2004; Coalter, 2001; Levermore & Beacom, 2009; Spaaij, 2013). The study reveals how the involvement and participation in sport by immigrants impacted positively to the process of their integration into the host community. This included helping them to improve their English language skills and providing a sense of belonging. Sport played a crucial role in helping the immigrants participate in the larger community and feel at home in their new community.

A second significant contribution of this study is the provision of an insight into how immigrants generate social capital through sport. This was achieved through the fusion of three different social capital theories (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Previous studies have opted for one or two of the major social capital theories as a framework for analysis (Leonard & Onyx, 2003; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; Perks, 2007; Walseth, 2008). However, adopting only one or two social capital perspectives prohibits a comprehensive understanding of sport and migration. For example, an immigrant unable to get employment through sport involvement (economic capital; Bourdieu's perspective) does not foreclose the acquisition of social capital. Perhaps such an immigrant was able to develop his English language skills through his involvement in sport (human capital; Coleman's perspective). Therefore, employing three perspectives of social capital enabled the study to provide a more holistic view of how sport facilitates the generation of social capital.

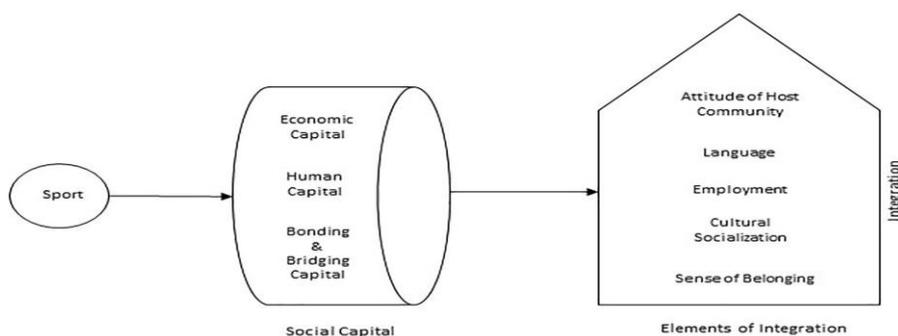
A third contribution of this study is shedding light on how immigrants access sport in their new community. Previous studies have focused on the role of sport in the acquisition of social capital by immigrants (Brunette et al., 2011; Chalip, 2006; Harris, 1998; Rosenberg et al., 2003; Spaaij, 2012; Tonts, 2005; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009; Walseth, 2008). Some studies have equally looked at the settlement or integration of immigrants through sport (Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Krouwel et al., 2006; Smith et al., 2018, Spaaij, 2012, 2013; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). However, there is a dearth of literature on how immigrants access sport upon their arrival. Given that immigrants must first and foremost access sport before subsequently utilising it to create social capital or achieve integration. This study attempted to shed light on this often neglected but salient area of how immigrants access sport in their new community.

A fourth major contribution of this study is the use of CAP. By employing CAP, the

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lived experiences of immigrants were first captured and then shared through creative non-fiction storytelling. CAP enables the representation of research in a manner that is more understandable and accessible to a non-academic community (Wright, 2019), which increases the probability of knowledge transfer (Smith, 2016). By adopting CAP, the findings of this research are extended beyond the immediate academic disciplines of sport sociology, sport management, and sport development. Policy makers, sport practitioners, and non-academics should be able to pick up the stories, read, and gather the necessary information that this study intends to disseminate. Adopting CAP brings the findings closer to stakeholders without the usual accompanying academic jargons evident in conventional academic studies. Thus, the creative non-fiction storytelling approach of CAP helps to reduce the gap between theory and practice (Lyras, 2005).

A final contribution of this study is the introduction of the social capital – integration conceptual model. The model is based on the analogy that in the process of immigrants' integration through sport, sport is the vehicle, while social capital is the road and integration the destination. The initial conceptualisation of the model was based on the combination of the three salient perspectives of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000). In addition to these social capital theories, literature on integration was also added to make up the initial conceptualisation of the

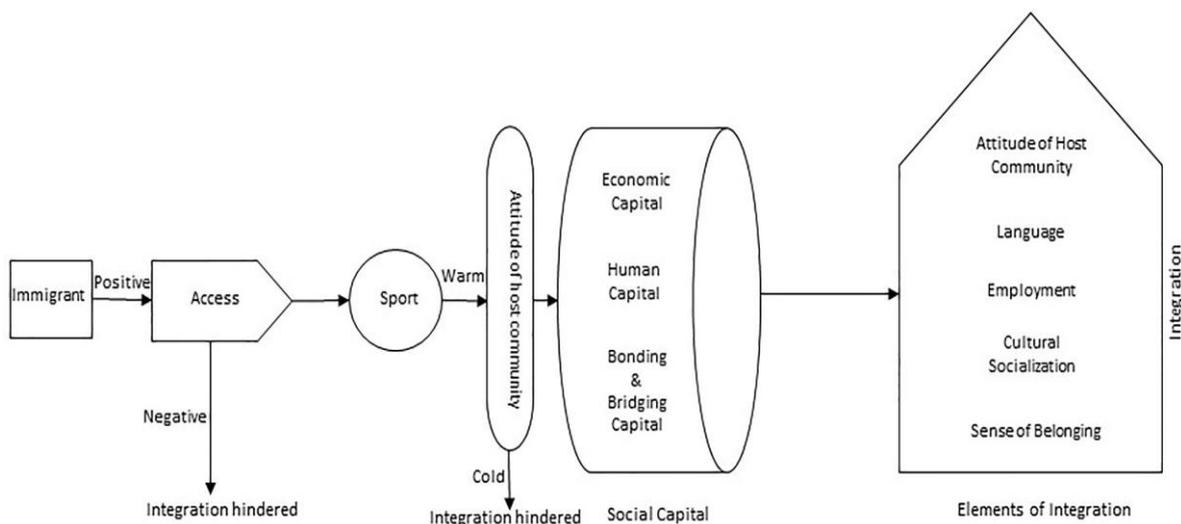


model (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1. Social Capital - Integration Model (Initial conceptualisation)

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However, the final conceptualisation of the social capital–integration model integrated social capital perspectives (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000) literatures on integration and the findings of this study. The addition of the findings of the study to the initial conceptualization enabled the reflection of the crucial aspect of access to sport and attitude of the host community in the process of integration of immigrants. This made the model more robust, covering the different aspects of sport for integration of immigrants. Therefore, it is assumed that the social capital–integration model presented in this thesis (Figure 6.2), offers a comprehensive model that could be adapted for future studies on sport and integration of immigrants or similar studies looking at the role of sport in the



integration of immigrants.

Figure 6.2. Social Capital–Integration Conceptual Model (Final Concept)

The starting point of the Social Capital–Integration model is the arrival of immigrants in the host community (New Zealand). In the initial conceptualisation of the model, the first contact with sport (access) was taken for granted. It was assumed that participation in sport would lead to the acquisition of social capital. This social capital generated through sport participation would then subsequently lead to integration. This initial conceptualisation was largely based on the design of this

study. However, in the final model, the first contact with sport was taken into consideration in view of the findings of the study. Thus, if an immigrant successfully accessed sport, then the immigrant would proceed with their participation. On the contrary, if the immigrant was not able to access sport, then the integration process would be hindered. If those immigrants who successfully accessed sport received a warm and welcoming reception from the host community, then the possibility of them acquiring social capital increases. But if the reception is unwelcoming or cold, then the likelihood of acquiring social capital becomes slim, which could impact on the process of integration. Finally, the successful acquisition of social capital would eventually lead to integration. The integration of immigrants is reflected through the elements of integration.

6.4. Limitations

This study focused on the stories of seven Auckland-based immigrants. It did not offer a similar platform to the host community to share their side of the story. Since integration is a two-way street, hearing the stories of the host community would have added more insight into the study. Thus, while the inspiration for this study was to share the lived experiences on the role sport played in immigrants' journeys in New Zealand, excluding the voices of the host community is a limitation.

Another limitation of this study is that the study focused on immigrants that actively engage in sport. One of the inclusion criteria for the selection of participants was 'active participation in sport'. Thus, the argument could be that this group of immigrants already has a platform to meet people that they share a common interest (sport) with. This increases the possibility of them acquiring social capital (network) through sport and possibly finding an easier route to integrate into the host community. Seeing that this study excluded immigrants that do not actively engage in sport it cannot provide answers to questions such as: would such immigrants find it more difficult to acquire social capital and integrate than those actively engaged in sport and how are they able to integrate in their new community? These questions reflect another limitation of this study. Thus, it would be worthwhile to understand how immigrants that do not actively participate in sport are able to integrate.

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While this study found that sport has the capacity to facilitate immigrants' acquisition of social capital and integration, a dissenting voice in the study suggested that factors such as age, club or team culture, and professional status can hinder the possibility of acquiring social capital and integration through sport. Thus, this study is limited in that it did not explore in-depth such factors that might have limited the chances of acquisition of social capital and integration through sport. Nevertheless, some factors that might inhibit the capacity of sport as a vehicle of acquisition of social capital and integration of immigrants were highlighted.

6.5. Future Research

Future research should seek to broaden and deepen our knowledge into the phenomenon under study. Given the limitation of not providing a platform for the host community, an in-depth qualitative study is recommended to provide insight into the perspectives of the host community. Further, given the importance of the attitude of the host community to the process of integration, it is worthwhile to delve deeper into the perspectives of the host community. It is important to hear from coaches, school administrators, sport administrators, and policymakers to see how their take on the subject matter complements or contradicts the stories of the immigrants.

Another suggestion is to conduct a comparative study between immigrants that actively engage in sport and those that do not. The focus of the study would be to determine the underlining differences or similarities between the process of integration and acquisition of social capital of both groups. The study would seek to answer the questions suggested earlier: Do immigrants that do not participate in sport find it more difficult to acquire social capital and integrate than those who actively engage in sport? The study would seek to find out if participating in sport provides a superior or better vehicle for immigrants to integrate. Such study would not only complement the current study but would provide another dimension to the study of sport as a vehicle of integration of immigrants.

Most immigrants in this study, with the exception of Adrian, indicated a preference for playing in a mainstream sport club or team. The Asian immigrants in Adrian's

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story 'The Gateway' preferred to play in an ethnic based sport club or team. Further, Ryan in 'Nigerian Bolt' and Jack in 'The Pursuit of Refuge' indicated that there were usually conflicts and rancor amongst teammates in ethnic based sport clubs or teams. However, the story was different for Asian immigrants. The story pictured Asian ethnic based sport teams as a more cordial team devoid of conflict. Thus, a participatory ethnographic research comparing the different ethnic groups and their sport clubs or teams is recommended. The focus of the research would be to ascertain the differences in the bonding capital among these groups. More importantly, there is the question of ethnic club's ability to facilitate the acquisition of bridging capital and integration into the host community.

Similarly, immigrants were able to acquire social capital through their sport participation. However, the stories shared showed that it was sometimes difficult to generate social capital through an individual sport such as athletics. Since the current research did not specifically set out to look at the differences in team sport and individual sport. It is recommended that future research should embark on a comparative study between team sport and individual sport. A comparative analysis of both forms of sport would provide further insight into which form is more effective in the acquisition of social capital by immigrants. This would also confirm or dispel some of the assumptions made in the stories about the limitation of individual sport in helping immigrants acquire social capital.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval

AUTEC Secretariat
Auckland University of Technology
D-88, WU406 Level 4 WU Building City Campus
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics



22 March 2016

Richard Wright
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

Dear Richard

Re Ethics Application: **16/45 Contribution of community sports to the integration of migrants.**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 22 March 2019.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 22 March 2019;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 22 March 2019 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,



Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Richard Opara Ajiee richard.ajiee@aut.ac.nz, Geoff Dickson

Ethics Approval

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet



Participant Information Sheet

Interview

Date Information Sheet Produced:

01 February 2016

Project Title

Contribution of Community Sports to the Integration of Immigrants

An Invitation

Hello, my name is Richard Ajjee. I am a PhD student in Sport and Recreation at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). I am inviting you to participate in a research project on the role of sports in the integration of immigrants with a focus on Auckland, New Zealand. This research is majorly for academic purpose and it will enable me to fulfil the requirement for my PhD qualification. The interview process will involve a multiple interview of about 5 - 8 times over a period of 12 months. Please note; this research and all interviews will be conducted in English language and you are expected to have a reasonable understanding of English language to be able to participate. Your participation in this project is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the research on or before 31/01/2017.

What is the purpose of this research?

The main purpose of the research is to understand the contribution of sports to the integration of immigrants in New Zealand.

The research will shed light on the value of sport as a tool of social integration and acquisition of social capital.

This research will allow me to complete a PhD in Sport and Recreation. Findings of the research will be presented at academic and professional conferences. It will also be published in academic and professional journals.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have been invited to participate in this research because you have indicated your interest to participate in the research. You have been recommended by someone (friend, coach, parent, manager, teacher or others) as a person that have migrated to New Zealand from another country and actively participate in sports, belong to a sports club or team. It is believed you are in a very good position to help shed light on the research subject.

What will happen in this research?

You will be asked some questions related to the research topic and will be asked to share your experience, opinion and view of the subject matter. The information gathered will be analysed and used to produce a report on the subject matter.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There is no risk or discomforts associated to this research. However, you may feel uncomfortable to discuss or share some experiences but you are not under any obligation to disclose any information you do not want to disclose. There are no right or wrong answers, so any and every opinion is welcomed.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Your involvement is voluntary and you may withdraw at any stage of the research on or before 31/01/2017. Also, you are not under any obligation to disclose any information.

What are the benefits?

This research provides an opportunity to identify the factors that are mitigating against integration of migrants. It would help to identify how sports can be used to enhance integration of migrants in New Zealand. This research will also enable me to fulfil the requirements for the award of PhD from the School of Sports and Recreation, AUT.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your privacy will be fully protected. To protect your confidentiality, participants in this research will be allocated a pseudonym even in notes and every document related to this research. This will be strictly followed both in the analysis and writing of report. Therefore, no information can be linked or related to you.

Appendices

What are the costs of participating in this research?

There are no monetary costs involved in participating in this research. However, participation in this research will cost you 60 minutes of your time per interview and the maximum number of interview per participant is 5 - 8 over a period of 12 months.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You are requested to consider and respond to this invitation within the next two weeks.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to participate in this research, please return the attached consent form.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You can request a summary of the findings and this will be emailed to you via the contact email you provide. In addition, it is envisaged that summary of the findings will be available at the completion of the research and copies will be accessible at the AUT library.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *Richard Wright, richard.wright@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 7312.*

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEK, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6038.*

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Richard Ajjee, richard.ajjee@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 9673

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Richard Wright, richard.wright@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 7312

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEK Reference number *type the reference number*.

Participant information sheet 2

Appendix 3: Consent Form



Consent Form

Project title: Contribution of Community Sports to the Integration of Immigrants

Project Supervisor: Dr Richard Wright

Researcher: Richard Ajiee

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mmmm yyyy.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes No

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 22nd March 2016 AUTEK Reference number 16/45

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix 4: Participant Recruitment Ad



PARTICIPANTS REQUIRED

- Do you live in South Auckland?
- Are you 20 years of age (or older)?
- Have you moved to New Zealand from another country?
- Do you participate in sporting activities?
- Do you speak English language considerably?

If you answered 'yes' to all of the above, then we would love to hear from you before the end of August 2016!

The Sports Performance Research Institute New Zealand is seeking immigrants willing to share their personal experiences/memories of how playing sport has helped or hindered their integration into New Zealand.

For further information, please contact:

Richard Ajiee

Phone: 921 9999 ext 7312

Email: richard.ajiee@aut.ac.nz

Richard Wright

921 9999 ext 7312

richard.wright@aut.ac.nz



Appendix 5: Indicative Questions and Interview

Indicative Questions Interview

1. Where are you from?
2. How long have you been living in New Zealand (NZ)?
3. Did you participate in sports in your home country?
4. What particular sport (s) do you participate in?
5. How long have you been participating in this sport (s)?
6. How did you start participating in sports here in NZ?
7. Did you experience any difficulty in finding a sports club/team/or get involved in sports here in NZ?
8. Do you experience any difficulty while participating in sports?
9. Is there any difference between sports in your native country and NZ?
10. Has participation in sports helped you in settling down in NZ?
11. How has it helped you?
12. Has your participating in sports helped you to learn more about NZ culture and society?
13. Do you feel more as a part of the NZ society and your community through your participation in sports?
14. Have you been able to access any important information through your participation in sports?
15. Have your participation in sports provided you with any opportunity or helped you to access any opportunity such as job, scholarship or financial gain?
16. Is it easier for you as a migrant to meet and interact with others when participating in sports?
17. Have you made any friend or established a relationship through your participation in sports?
18. Is such friendship or relationship beneficial in any way?
19. Does such friendship or relationship extend beyond sports?
20. How important is such friendship or relationship in helping you to further integrate into the NZ society?

Indicative Questions and Interview

Appendix 6: Researcher Safety Protocol

Researcher Safety Protocol

- The researcher will dress appropriately for all interviews.
- The researcher will carry a mobile phone with adequate battery for all interview.
- The researcher will provide a schedule to his supervisor of the date, time and place of all interviews.
- The researcher will confirm the safe completion of each interview by mobile telephone with his supervisor
- The researcher will endeavour to conduct all interviews in daylight hours or in the early evening.
- The researcher will conduct the majority of interviews in safe, public places. There may be situations where it is unavoidable to conduct interviews in a private home. In these cases the researcher will take the following precautions:
 - The researcher will call his supervisor and a designated relative before the interview to confirm that he is about entering the home of the participants, and after the interview to confirm safe completion.
 - The researcher will provide his supervisor and a designated relative with a protocol to be followed if he fails to call within a specified time.
 - The researcher will take steps to ensure that he is able to leave at any time. This includes only entering 'public' areas of the house where possible (such as kitchens and living rooms), ensuring that the exit route is clearly known.
 - Should anything untoward happen, or the researcher becomes uneasy for any reason, the interview will be terminated immediately and the researcher will leave. The supervisor will be contacted as soon as practically possible.
- The researcher will conduct any interview with a female participant only in a safe, public place. The researcher will ensure he is accompanied by a female colleague for an interview involving a female participant but the colleague will keep appropriate distance to ensure she does not interfere with the interview.
- The researcher undertakes to follow the AUTECH researcher's safety guidelines and ensure high standard of safety and ethics are adhered to in the conduct of the research.

This safety protocol has been agreed and accepted by the supervisor and the researcher.

Supervisor's Signature: _____ Date: 26/11/2015

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: 26/11/2015

Indicative Questions and Interview