



**“They play, we educate”:  
Examining Young Male’s Subjectivities in a Sport for  
Development Football School of Lima, Peru**

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***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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## List of Acronyms

AL	<i>Club Alianza Lima</i> (Alianza Lima Football Club)
ENAHO	<i>Encuesta Nacional de Hogares</i> (Peru's National Survey of Households)
FC	Football Club
INEI	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática</i> (Peru's Institute of Statistics)
MGDs	Millennium Development Goals
MLK	Martin Luther King
MLK FC	Martin Luther King Football Club
MLK FS	Martin Luther King Football School
ODP	<i>Oficina de Desarrollo y Procura de la Compañía de Jesús</i> (Peru's Office for Social Programs of the Jesuit Brotherhood)
SFD	Sport for Development
SIS	<i>Seguro Integral de Salud</i> (Peru's Integral Health Insurance)
U	<i>Club Universitario de Deportes</i> (Universitario de Deportes Football Club)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

\*

To EL, Dad and Mom for allowing me to dream and supporting me during all  
these years, Thank you so much!

I love you deeply.

## Abstract

This paper explores the subjective experiences that benefactors and beneficiaries construct about football in a Sport for Development intervention given during non-school hours for children and young people in a district of Peru. The study discusses how the climate of fear renders Peru a fertile ground for Sport for Development Interventions that seek to offer an alternative to potential at-risk youth. The research juxtaposes the narrative of 'Youth-at-Risk' by raising up the voices of young male beneficiaries. By using the concept of 'strategic' agency, the study describes how the agendas of the beneficiaries on becoming part of the intervention are grounded in the socio-economic forces where they are situated.

## Keywords

Youth-at-Risk, Youth Males, Football/Sports for Development, Strategic Agency

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# Chapter 1

## The What, Why and How on Examining a Sport for Development Intervention

### Introduction

Over the past decade, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has included the practice of sports in their actions to promote peace, health, social inclusion, school attainment and good performance, gender equality, and AIDS and HIV awareness<sup>1</sup>. Since 2001 UNICEF has recognized that sports, in combination with other actions, could be used as a means to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). For example, UNICEF, in 2002, has supported specific sport activities meant to achieve development and peace. In 2003, it has established the guideline of how sport would lead to accomplish the MDGs. In 2005, UNICEF has declared the 'International Year of Sport and Physical Education'. In 2007, it has presented the 'Plan of Action for Sports for Development and Peace that calls for international stakeholders involvement. Lastly in 2013, it has declared April 6 of every year as the 'International Day for Sports for Development and Peace'. In this regard, the Sports for Development (SFD) movement involves all the actions being carried out by international and national organisations to promote the achievement of the MDGs where the practice of sports is used as a tool for development.

A country like Peru is not alien to the SFD movement. Even before the 2000s, campaigns banning drug consumption and promoting 'healthy' lifestyles amongst in young people have used 'participation in sports' as a gateway for life improvement. In the context of Lima Metropolitan, the capital of Peru, sports have also been used for dealing with delinquency as means to stop or prevent violence. Recently, it is used as a tool for social change and development<sup>2</sup>. Within this 'new' discourse, it is said that sports could lead to the integral development of each human beings, specifically those in living 'at-risk'. 'Integral development' is therefore to possess some personal capacities (life-skills) at the personal, physical, social and community level. In addition, it assumes that achieving this 'integral development' could lead to a better performance in the social sphere, meaning having access to more opportunities regardless of the socio-economic structural forces where beneficiaries are located.

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<sup>1</sup>International Olympic Committee (2014) 'Speech on the occasion of UN Event on Sport for Development and Peace'. Accessed 17 September, 2015

<[http://www.olympic.org/Documents/IOC\\_President/Speech\\_UN\\_FORUM\\_MOU.pdf](http://www.olympic.org/Documents/IOC_President/Speech_UN_FORUM_MOU.pdf)>

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the Peru's Institute of Sports has been promoting workshops under the title 'Sports and Games as Tools for Social Transformation'. On the other hand, Terra De Hommes, an NGO that promotes redistributive justice for young people in conflict with the law contemplates the use of sports as a socio-educative means to reinsert them in the society.



It is precisely, between this global and local context where my research took place. At first glance, it is a civil-society intervention that uses football to prevent violence. In a wider context, it is also about improving the lives of children and young people who age 5 to 16 years old in El Agustino, a district of Lima Metropolitan. The program, which is conducted outside of school hours operates under the rationale of using the ‘free-time’ of participants in a way that contributes to their ‘integral development’. This paper will not answer whether this project are successful in their goals or not. This paper will dwell on answering how understandings, dispositions, emotions and attitudes towards football and football practicing have particular meanings for beneficiaries or in some cases, different than the ones given by the intervention. In this sense my research aims to respond:

- How is the dominant narrative of Youth Male at-Risk in El Agustino contested, adopted or adapted by young male participants of the socio-sporting football school Martin Luther King?

In order to get there, I think it is important first to critically examine the following:

- How youth ‘at-risk’ is depicted
- How this depiction allows the use football for ‘life improvement’
- The extent to which young males can challenge, contest or adopt this depiction?

## Research focus

The rationale and focus of my research is on a civil society intervention and not on a local government intervention. This is because in the Peruvian context state interventions have a short-term duration, a result of a particular culture of politics wherein social policies started by the previous administration are reformulated entirely after a new administration starts its term.

In this regard, the purpose of selecting a civil-society program is based on the socio-historical background which brings about the discourse on where the intervention functions and how the intervention (football) is seen as a platform to reach human well-being by preventing pernicious behaviors and/or improving life-skills. The *Escuela socio-deportiva de Futbol Martin Luther King* (or Socio-sporting Football School MLK in English), is one of the programs that the Jesuit parish of El Agustino, in partnership with the Real Madrid Foundation, offered to children and young people from the poorest areas of the district. By doing this, it is assumed that living in such environments increases the probability of youth being at-risk.

I place this project in the now well-known Sport for Development (SFD) discourse; where sports is used and promoted as a means to achieve the MDGs. However, despite the SFD literature, Coalter (2010), Coakley (2011), Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), Kay (2009), Kelly (2013), Kidd and Donnelly (2007), Nicholls et al.(2011) and Reis et al. (2015) have criticized the nuances of the interventions and policies, questioning the extent to which the experi-

ence of sports *per se* leads to a positive outcome, and how much of this positive outcome depends on the managerial and governance process of the interventions at the micro and macro levels. However, critics of the rationale behind SFD intervention programs do not challenge the binary construction of 'Youth-at-Risk', a category that I believe should be unpacked. Such a construction presents young males living in urban poor environments as potential threats to the social order. Meanwhile, disciplining and normalizing their 'disruptive bodies' through sports provides a platform to (re)educate them through the adoption of worthy 'life-skills' that would allow them to interact in the social sphere.

## **Why is it important to investigate this?**

Even though young people are central to developmental projects that aim to improve certain aspects of their lives, it remains problematic that the identification of young people's problems, concerns and ways to improve their lives are constructed and framed from an external, non-youth perspective. These development interventions inform us on how young people are located in social relationships and how they are constructed from an adult-gaze. Furthermore, the way they are framed also shape a particular engagement.

According to Okwany (2015, forthcoming); who discusses the necessity to include a gendered perspective in the conceptualization of youth, and Comaroff & Comaroff (2005); who discuss how youth is constructed in binaries categories through history, it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding about how being young is shaped by gender, class, culture, economic, social, ethnic, religion, geographical locations and agency variables. Doing so allows us to counter the problematic, 'fictitious', 'monolithic', and 'universal' construction of 'youth males living at risk' that conceals the nuances of being young in a context of poverty, reinforcing the negative and stigmatized identity related to them. As Okwany explains:

'youth discourse highlights the double marginality of disenfranchised urban poor male youth who are constructed as dangerous threats to mainstream society and portrayed as having a proclivity to violence'(2015, forthcoming: 11).

Even though the studies about SFD interventions have focused their attention on the related positive outcomes that the sport experience is generating in young males living 'at risk' like as creating social capital and enhancing positive live prospects, less has been said about how they (young men) have or have not contested this characterization. In other words, how the negative characteristics attached *a priori* to the participants is confronted, contested or adopted through their sports experience is rarely problematized. Through my research, I bring into the discussion of 'Youth-at-Risk' discourse the meanings that young people attach to their practices, and the extent to which those are similar or different to the program rationales that are meant to improve their lives. Perhaps, if social policies include their voices and change their framing of 'at-risk', less prejudices could be constructed among young people and their interventions can be carried out in a better way.

## How this research was conducted?

### *Methodological approaches*

The main question presented for my research suggests an understanding of developmental institutions in practice, social constructions on 'Youth Male at Risk', social relations between young males, benefactors and society, and lived experiences of young males in relation to football. Thus, I employed a qualitative methodology. In this sense, in order to examine the extent of how the dominant narrative of 'Youth-at-Risk' is challenged by young males participants of the Socio-sporting Football School MLK, I take a critical discourse policy analysis in combination with ethnography-oriented approach for the whole process of my research.

The rationale of taking a critical discourse policy analysis approach lies on the assumption that the Socio-sporting Football School MLK could be seen as a policy even when it is given by a non-state institutions (a transnational social foundation and a local catholic brotherhood). In this particular case, the socio-sporting school assumed the state's role as duty-bearer responsible for the life-improvement of children and young people from the most economically disadvantaged background, by developing their life-skills. However, as Bacchi suggests policies seeks the common will, the way in which problems and solutions are framed 'mystify power relations and often create individuals responsible for their own 'failures', drawing attention away from the structures that create unequal outcomes' (2000: 46). Therefore, the study of policy as discourse enables the unraveling how language creates and intervenes in the social reality. In my paper, I follow Bacchi's approach 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' (WPR) to understand how representing youth male 'at risk' legitimizes the use of football in El Agustino district.

As Goodwin suggests rather than responding to each of the six questions provided in the WPR approach, I use them as a general guideline for 'exploring the discursive aspects of policy, including how problems are represented and how policy subjects are constituted through problem representations' (2011: 167). Annex 1. contains each of the six questions, the goals to be pursued, and how to respond them in an analytical manner.

In order to explore the discursive aspects of intervention and to by identify how problems and subjects are represented: I take secondary material produced by the stakeholders of the intervention (see *Table 1*) and in-depth conversations with the personnel of the Socio-sporting Football School MLK and *Encuentros El Agustino* (see *Table 2*). Both sources of information are undertaken with the purpose of identifying values, assumptions and perceptions within the intervention. The policy discourse analysis was useful to identify how language is used to produce narratives of Youth Male at Risk. An ethnographic approach was employed to see, the extent of the discourse that takes place in a context-specific situation which involves time, space and social interactions and how these could be challenged by young male participants verbally and non-verbally.

Inspired by the work of Rudnycky<sup>3</sup> (2004) and Huijsmans<sup>4</sup> (2010), I employed an ethnographic oriented approach to observe how the socio-sporting school works everyday to examine: the social interactions between beneficiaries and benefactors; the daily experiences related to football; the extent in which the agendas about the socio-sporting school are similar among their actors. In other words, the decision on taking an ethnographic oriented approach following Hammersley and Atkinson lies in the necessity of understanding ‘what meanings people attach to their actions, how those function and what the resulting consequences’(2007: 3). In simplest terms, it is about contrasting the perceptions and values attached to the football experience for each actor, with how they experience football. To dissect this I employed ethnographic observations and in-depth conversations as main sources of information.

## *Methods*

My research took place in my hometown, Lima, from the second week of July until the third week of August 2015. The primary data was collected through ethnographic observations and informal and formal conversations with people from the intervention and young male participants. The objective of using these was to collect experiences, attitudes, perceptions, observe interactions and get a sense of how the socio-sporting school functions in a ‘normal’ day. In addition, I review secondary data; printed documents by the school, the organizations’ web pages, organization’s videos posted on YouTube, as well as press releases. Table 1 provides a list of documents I examined.

Table 1. Sources for Secondary Data

N	Title*	Type	Author
1	Complementary Material: Sporting Schools	PDF	Real Madrid Foundation
2	Didactic Guide: Sporting Schools		
3	Guide of Exercises: Sporting Schools		
4	General Objectives		
5	Young People of El Agustino at Risk <sup>5</sup>	YouTube	Jesuit Parish
6	Parish Virgin of Nazareth <sup>6</sup>		

<sup>3</sup>The author carried out a qualitative research based on interviews, fieldwork observation, and document analysis in a non-state organisation that prepare Indonesian women to work overseas. These were done to examine how the organization works by describing in detail the mechanisms of training that enable Indonesians migrants perform in the domestic labour market and how this relate to the discourses of economic improvement.

<sup>4</sup>From a mainly qualitative research; interviews, document analysis, and ethnographic observations, Huijsmans examined the processes of migration and non-migration of ethnic Lao children and youth by deconstructing the representation of children, youth in relation to work, migration for work and trafficking (2010: 53).

<sup>5</sup> ODP comunicaciones (2008) ‘Jóvenes en riesgo de El Agustino’ Accessed 19 September 2015 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UILZE24yHr8>>

7	Sport for Development <sup>7</sup>	Blog	GLOCAL Sport & Development
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\* Titles translated from Spanish to English by the Author

Source: Author's Elaboration.

The Real Madrid Foundation's documents target the personnel of the socio-sporting schools specifically the trainers. The information given through these documents comprises the vision, mission and objectives of the schools in general terms. Meanwhile, on the other hand, detailed information about theoretical and practical contents of each session according to target age group and the characteristics of the 'ideal-type' of trainers are provided. However, I would like to note that these four documents are guidelines of all socio-sporting schools and not particularly for the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK of El Agustino. Hence, for the socio-sporting school in El Agustino I have used the information offered in the official web page of the Real Madrid Foundation. Besides these, I have selected two videos posted in YouTube by the *ODP comunicaciones* (an organisation part of the Peru's Jesuit Brotherhood) that provide information about the socio-economic history of El Agustino and the responses of the Jesuit Parish to the 'social-problems' of the district. Finally, a blog-post under the title 'Sport for Development' in *lamula.pe*, a Peruvian digital platform for reporting news of national interest, is used to contextualize the school intervention in El Agustino under the discourse on SFD.

The combination of these sources used was to put into context the intervention, and to understand the rationale and the ethos that mobilize and justified the implementation of the socio-sporting school. Following the WPR approach these documents were used as the 'official' discourse of Football/Sport for Development.

To further understand how the SFD intervention works in the ground and what are the people's accounts with respect to the football experience. I employed in-depth and formal conversations (fifteen), as well as ethnographic observations (nine). The purpose of gathering data from different moments (in the case of the observations) and from different actors (in the case of my interviewees) was, in the same line with Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 183) to explain the different axes of the complex social reality under examination, this in order to strength my interpretations.

In the case of my in-depth and formal conversations, I spoke with nine people working in the school and six young males who are beneficiaries of the program<sup>8</sup>. Table 2. presents general information: pseudonyms of the participants, roles within the school, and age of the young boys. Even though the

<sup>6</sup> ODP comunicaciones (2008) 'Parroquia Virgen de Narazet' Accessed 19 September 2015 < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sHQiVLOm7Cg>>

<sup>7</sup> Glocal ISD (2015) 'Deporte para el Desarrollo: para una cultura de paz' Accessed 19 September 2015 < <https://lamula.pe/2015/09/02/deporte-y-desarrollo/glocal/>>

<sup>8</sup> The criteria for selecting my participants all from the last category of the socio-sporting school was based on how the social imaginary depicts young poor males aged 14 and above as 'essentially' prone to engage with violence acts while they are transitioning into adulthood.

participants did not show any resistance into showing their real identities in this study, I prefer to use pseudonyms for all of them. Names have been changed to protect them in any case the information discussed here (descriptive or analytical), might compromise them and their relationship with the institutions in any form.

Table 2. List of Participants

N	Name*	Age**	Role
1	Antonio	--	<i>Staff of Encuentros El Agustino</i>
2	Carlota	--	
3	Rocío	--	
4	Mirtha	--	
5	Eduardo	--	
6	David	--	<i>Staff of Socio-Sporting Football School MLK</i>
7	Piero	--	
8	Profe	--	
9	José	--	
10	Paolo	15	<i>Beneficiaries of the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK</i>
11	Christian	17	
12	Omar	16	
13	Renzo	15	
14	Daniel	15	
15	Alfonso	14	

\*No Real names of Participants

\*\* No age of the *Staff* is given in order to protect their identities

Source: Author's elaboration

Considering the short amount of time given (6 weeks), and how important it is for me to build a sense of familiarity with my participants. I decided to do almost all the interviews after going through a few formalities and some previous observational visits. Doing so enable us (me and the participants) to be more comfortable during our conversations. This is based on the reflections on ethics of Ferdinand et al. (2007) and Hammersley and Atkinson(2007). According to them, the ultimate goal in doing research is to avoid situations that disturb or put participants in uncomfortable circumstances.

For example, in the case of the socio-sporting school, aside from a brief introduction of my project and a cover letter from my supervisor, they required my *Résumé* and a written plan about my fieldwork. Perhaps those were needed to validate my presence and to prove my 'professional experience', or just were 'mere formalities' for a development institution. In any case, these allowed me to conduct my fieldwork and gave me access to documents and places. It also 'gave' me the access to talk with the actors involved. However, this process of 'building' a sense of familiarity with the young males occurred though my constant presence in all the activities that the school have for and with them during the period of my fieldwork. I went and observed six football trainings and two football matches. I also participated in 1 focus group discussion about *Young Males' Opportunities After Completion Of Secondary School* facilitated by the staff of *Encuentros El Agustino*. When I felt I became a 'familiar' face six visits later, I conducted my 'formal' and in-depth conversations with them. Mean-

while, the majority of the conversations with the football school staff were conducted in the second and third week of my fieldwork.

Overall, the participation in each of the ‘formal’ conversation was voluntary and planned in advance with at least one day of notice. All of them took place in venues selected by the participants and the duration was between 30 until 130 minutes. The majority of them, except for one, were recorded digitally. The participants were free to decide if they want to respond to my questions or not. They also chose when to end the interview. However, I would like to note that because, I was working with young boys aged under 18, considered by the legal system as children, I suggested to have the conversations during the mornings or early afternoon and in open-spaces; at the football fieldwork or in the installations of the Jesuit Organization. I reminded the boys before our conversations that I was not part of the intervention. I also explained the purpose of my research to all my research participants. Inspired from Boyden (2004: 240) who explores the methodological and ethical dilemmas in doing research, I decided to set these procedures in this way to somehow overcome ‘the potential impact [positive or negative] on perceptions and feelings of the research participants [while I conducted my research]’.

### *Positionality*

In line with Bengtsson (2014), Cerwonka (2007) and Rose (1997), I acknowledge that the production of knowledge is a result of an interaction between the researcher (me) and the participants of the research in a given time-space. As such, knowledge is partial, situated, contextual, relational and subjective. In this regard, it should be taken into account that my analysis and reflections on this particular social-reality came from a ‘middle-class’, ‘educated’ female, who has been born and raised in a particular type of urbanity even in the same capital city. In this sense, my understandings are partial and should not be taken as a ‘pure’ objective representation of the reality rather as my own interpretations based on the interactions in my fieldwork.

Therefore, following Abbott (2007: 208) I do acknowledge that the process of knowing requires a ‘context specific understanding of power, morality, ethics and sensitivity’. Furthermore, while this qualitative study examined subjectivities of some young male participants in a football school intervention, the findings do not claim to be statistically generalizable. Instead, the analysis provides a perspective for reflection on youth males in a sports for development interventions.

### *Key analytical concepts*

To problematize the discourse of ‘Youth-at-Risk’, I understand youth and gender as socially constructed categories where sex, social norms, class, personal experiences and interactions intersect. Meanwhile, to understand how this discourse is put into practice, I employ the Foucauldian term of governmentality; a set of mechanisms used to shape individual conducts (dispositions and behaviors) for meaningful performance in the public realm. However, Li (2007) acknowledges individuals (urban poor young males) possessing certain ways to resist the governmental interventions. Hence, I employ the concept of agency

to examine the extent in which beneficiaries challenge the discourse of ‘at-risk’, by taking into account how social and economic structures where they are situated shape their actions.

## **Structure**

This paper is divided in 4 chapters. Chapter 2 provides the historical and discursive context of the intervention. Towards the end, I reflect on how sports is use as a tool for development. In Chapter 3 I provide information about the socio-economic characteristics of El Agustino and how these, in combination with certain perceptions allows the intervention frame ‘Youth-at-Risk’. Chapter 4 presents in-depth description about interactions in the school between young people and school’s staffs. It also explores the motivations and persuasions of these young males in joining the school as well as the meanings that they provide to their experience. In the final chapter, I reflect on the encounters between young people and school agendas.

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## Chapter 2 ‘They Play, We Educate’: Narratives of Development through sports?

In this section I situate the discursive context in which the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK is located. In doing so, I introduce briefly what I mean by Sport for Development (SFD) interventions and how these have been studied from social and medical sciences, and that to argue for the importance of studying how the SFD interventions works. In the subsequent part I present the actors behind the management of the school in order to understand how and since when this SFD intervention operates in El Agustino. The chapter concludes by noting the extent to which the promotion of physical activities in a context of SFD interventions ensures the achievement of development.

### Sports for development?

Sports for Development (SFD) involves the use of physical activities as a pathway to promote healthy lifestyles, include excluded marginalise social minorities (women, migrants and ‘disadvantaged children and young people’), rehabilitate ‘anti-social’ behaviour, increase education attainment, improve academic performance, and involve young people into the labour market where states and non-state institutions at the local, regional, national and international level carried out all these physical activities that contributes to the social life and reinforces major cultural values.

What is important to note is that these ideas about what sports can do for the humankind have been nurtured by a state policy experience and some legal enactments. For example, according to Beutler (2008) and Kidd and Donnelly (2007), in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the United Kingdom implemented socio-political reforms by using sports activities to encourage self-discipline, reduce crime rates and unemployment for young people. While UNESCO in 1978 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 acknowledge that undergoing physical education and practicing sports must be considered as major rights. In this line, these experiences shed a light on how a few years later, since 2001 and above, UNICEF promotes sport activities in conjunction with other actions to achieve of the MDGs<sup>9</sup>. This is because it is assumed that through SFD interventions the individual capacities of social vulnerable groups will be improved, which echoes in Sen’s (2001) definition of development as freedom.

In the recent years, industrialized and non-industrialized countries have implemented SFD initiatives to solve specific social problems, and according to Reis et al. (2015) it seems that the implementation of SFD is becoming an increasing trend across the world and will lead to the achievement of the MDGs. Nevertheless, scholars from medical and social sciences, as Burnett

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<sup>9</sup> For more information see on <[http://www.un.org/sport2005/resources/task\\_force.pdf](http://www.un.org/sport2005/resources/task_force.pdf)>

(2009), Rowe (2015), Black (2010), Vermeulen and Verweel (2009), Schnitzer et al. (2013), Kelly (2013), Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), Nicholls et al. (2011), Coakley (2006, 2011), and Kay (2009), have questioned to what extent the positive outcomes achieved through the SFD interventions could be attributed to sports itself and not to external factors like management, sports settlements, relationships between participants and trainers, family engagement, and so on. Under a 'critical framework' approach the focus of these studies were to examine how sport practicing could lead or not to achieve wellbeing and human development.

In relation to the social science field, the concept of social capital is used to examine to what extent children and young people from disadvantaged economic-social position ('at-risk') who, participate in SFD interventions create a sense of belongingness that could improve their access to the public goods by the adoption of civic values. According to Skinner et al. (2008) having social capital seems to be an indispensable resource to be part of the larger society whether to: ensure the economic capital in accordance to Pier Bourdieu's views; create social bonds with different actors that facilitate the access to common goods in the public sphere as James Coleman posited; or promote civic engagement, maintain adequate levels of democracy and encourage economic participation as Robert Putman has explained. For instance, Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) focused their study in one SFD intervention, which aimed to assimilate young people from non-Dutch backgrounds to the Dutch society. By using the concept of social capital, the authors examined sport interventions in The Netherlands to see how through the non-Dutch participants' experiences and interactions through sports with young Dutch participants create a sense of belongingness and identification with the Dutch society. In addition, besides gaining social capital through playing of sports, social studies have also pointed out how the practice of sports influences the creation of identities and attainment of social recognition. For instance Kay (2009) explores how the experience of young girls in an Indian SFD intervention have positively influenced their participation in the private and public sphere.

On the other hand, physiological and medical studies have used the concept of 'positive life prospect' approach, which Richard Bailey developed, to emphasize how participation in sports has a positive impact on the physical, affective, social, cognitive, and lifestyle dimensions. Inspired by this concept, Super et al. (2014: 13) explored how children and young people from economically or socially disadvantaged backgrounds ('at-risk') who engage in physical activities can increase internal and external assets to achieve wellbeing and then to overcome to unfavourable situations. Within a 'positive development' paradigm, Super et al. argue that regardless of the specificity of their context, children and young people could increase their psycho-social internal and external recourses through sports to achieve wellbeing by developing: self-regulation skills (the dispositions, abilities, capabilities and responses to adequate the behaviour to the socio-cultural values in determinate context), and resilience (the individual's ability to cope with stressful situations).

Under a critical framework, these studies have investigated how sports interventions improve human conditions. However, less has been said on how SFD intervention works on the ground, the agendas pursued by the participants and benefactors and the meanings attached to football for both. In addition, the studies do not take into account the way in which subjects of SFD projects are represented, as well as how the problems are meant to be solved through which SFD interventions are framed. Therefore, through this paper that I would like to examine an initiative of SFD in the district of El Agustino by using discourse analysis and ethnography.

## From a Football club to a Socio-Sporting Football School MLK

Since 1968, the Jesuit Parish, Virgin of Nazareth, has been performing a major role in the social life of the Limenian district of El Agustino. Throughout the years, aside from nurturing the spiritual aspect of the community, the parish has offered medical and psychological attention, educational services for children, community leaders' empowerment training, and special attention for young males in 'vulnerable' situations.

Its program for young males in vulnerable situations started in 1999 when the numbers of violent confrontations between young male gang members have increased substantially<sup>10</sup>. The program was the result of the cooperation between the Association of Youth Organizations Martin Luther King<sup>11</sup> and the Jesuit Parish. According to the Parish, the main objective of the alliance was to ensure the satisfaction of the needs presented by the members of the association. Among those needs were employment opportunities, community social reparation actions, access to basic education, and practicing football. Even though each of these activities implied the creation of specific organizations, the creation of the Martin Luther King Football Club (MLK FC) amongst others accorded greater significance. This was mainly because the MLK FC was registered in the Peruvian Institute of Sports and the Peruvian Federation of Football that allows the club to participate in official local tournaments and the *Copa Peru*<sup>12</sup>.

Even though the football activity started as a space for 'healthy' entertainment, which led to formation of friendship bondings and acquisition of discipline for young male ex-gang members, as the ex-president of the association pointed out<sup>13</sup>. It was not until 2003 when the MLK FC, in cooperation with the Jesuit Parish, decided to create the MLK Football School (MLK FS).

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<sup>10</sup> Among all, territorial disputes and football teams rivalries were the main drivers for clashes.

<sup>11</sup> The association reunited members from different gangs who also were part of the official *Alianza Lima* Football Club Fan Group '*Comando Sur*'.

<sup>12</sup> The Peruvian Football tournaments are organized by the Peruvian Football Federation and comprises three professional categories The *Campeonato Descentralizado* (First League), The *Segunda Division del Perú* (Second League) and *Copa Perú* (Third League).

<sup>13</sup> *Jovenes en Riesgo de El Agustino* (Young People of El Agustino at Risk) video posted in YouTube by the ODP. Accessed 27 September 2015 < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UILZE24yHr8> >

The MLK FS was attended not only by ex-gang members but also boys from 8 to 20 years old. The MLK FS mission was to produce and prepare competitive athletes and to serve as an alternative platform to prevent them from engaging in violent actions like gang wars by making them more productive through sports and instilling them discipline.

However, for the Jesuit Parish, the economic maintenance of the MLK FS was costly and with the infrequent and insufficient financial assistance of the sponsors, the MLK FS began to face some difficulties in meeting all their financial needs. Hence in 2009 the *Oficina de Desarrollo y Procura* (ODP), the Jesuit department in charge of the financial maintenance of the social programs, presented the idea of the MLK FS to the Real Madrid Foundation and since 2010 they became the main financial contributors, and the MLK FS became the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK.

The Real Madrid Foundation, part of the Spanish Real Madrid Football Club (Real Madrid FC), was created in 1999 and places sports at the center of its social and cultural interventions. In this regard, its main objective is to promote the practice of football and basketball among different ages, and in the case of young generations<sup>14</sup> link the practice of sports with their integral development. Therefore the Foundation pursues to achieve these goals through their socio-sporting football and basketball schools, where the practice of sports is seen as a medium for social interactions and ‘adequate’ alternative to expend free time<sup>15</sup>.

According to the Real Madrid Foundation, the aim of the socio-sporting schools is to promote the development of capacities of children and adolescents during their formative process rather than prepare professional athletes. In this sense, the socio-sporting schools’ objectives are:

develop social skills to **improve** interpersonal relationships, contribute to their social integration, improve their life quality, acknowledge sport practicing as a therapeutic activity, and help participants to find a personal and social equilibrium. In addition, **in the case of countries deprived socio-economically**, affected by natural disasters, armed conflicts and so on, place **the sport practicing as a ‘way out’ of their difficult realities** (Didactic Guide: Sporting Schools p.5, Real Madrid Foundation. The emphasis is mine).

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<sup>14</sup> I like to highlight that when the Foundation uses the term young generations to name children and young people interchangeably. In the same spirit, they use the term children or child, to call children, adolescents and young people. In my paper, I use young people or boys when introduce the participants of my research.

<sup>15</sup> Real Madrid Foundation (n.d) Didactic Guide: Sporting Schools. p.4.

Besides El Agustino, the Real Madrid Foundation has two more socio-sporting schools in Peru, one also in Lima and the other in Ayacucho<sup>16</sup>. Even though the three of them target the same age-group population, promote the integral development and offer academic support, each of the socio-sporting schools responds to specific realities of the context where they are located and has particular purposes. For instance in El Agustino, the Socio-sporting Football School MLK appears as ‘healthy’ and ‘secure’ alternative for the use of free time. In addition the school also works with ex-gang members, facilitating their reinsertion and integration into the society<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand the socio-sporting school located in another district of Lima targets children and adolescents who are in ‘social risk’ situations. Meanwhile, the one situated in Cangallo, Ayacucho promotes the social integration of children and adolescents into community life.

In the case of El Agustino, the partnership between the parish and the Foundation implied not only a change in the name but also a change in the targeted population, internal organization and the adoption of a new philosophy. For instance, the Socio-Sporting School MLK targets boys and girls between 5 to 16 years; the staff receives periodical capacity-building on pedagogy, methodology and socio-sporting schools management; and the trainers and the coordinator present written reports twice a year of the students’ progress and attendance, as well as the number activities carried out during the year and the overall number of beneficiaries.

On the other hand, in contrast to the MLK FS, the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK does not pursue to prepare competitive football players, rather it seeks to prepare ‘good citizens’. In this regard, the socio-sporting school aims to inculcate in children and young people in the development of values, like companionship, responsibility, teamwork, honesty, and forgiveness, to perform in public arena. It also as promotes attainment and completion of primary and secondary level of their beneficiaries. Under the slogan ‘They Play, We educate’ the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK aims to prepare children and young people for adulthood.

## Conclusion

I started the chapter by defining SFD interventions as the promotion or implementation of physical activities aimed to improve societal conditions. I then I argued that from sociological and medical perspectives, the studies on SFD interventions have focused into the extent in which the achievement of SFD intervention goals could be attributed solely to the physical activities. Never-

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<sup>16</sup> Real Madrid Football Club (n.d) ‘Peru: Nuestros Proyectos’. Accessed 3 November 2015 <<http://www.realmadrid.com/form/sobre-el-real-madrid/fundacion/proyectos>>

<sup>17</sup> Real Madrid Foundation (n.d) ‘Escuela Socio Deportiva Martin Luther King’. Accessed 3 November 2015 <[http://www.realmadrid.com/cs/Satellite?c=RM\\_Proyecto\\_FA&cid=1389752619531&pagename=RealMadridResponsive%2FRM\\_Proyecto\\_FA%2FRM\\_Proyecto&pid=4500014944505](http://www.realmadrid.com/cs/Satellite?c=RM_Proyecto_FA&cid=1389752619531&pagename=RealMadridResponsive%2FRM_Proyecto_FA%2FRM_Proyecto&pid=4500014944505)>

theless, how the subjects of SFD interventions are framed has been left out of the discussion. Thus, these discussions are the springboard for highlighting the necessity of examining how SFD interventions work and what they produce in those who are targeted to improve.

I situated my research under the SFD discourse because the Socio-sporting Football School MLK aims to improve not only social capacities but also ensures educational attainment of their beneficiaries, both assumed indispensable for a better performance in the social realm by increasing opportunities. However, it should be noted that the extent in which the completion of primary education, and even secondary in Peru ensures equal opportunities for all, rather than reinforce and perpetuate systems of exclusion. Moreover, according to Cueto (2014), Defensoría del Pueblo (2013) and IPEBA (2011) the quality of education varies discretionally depending on the geographical location (urban or rural), type of administration (public or private), ethnicity, gender, poverty and parents schooling experience. In this sense, promoting educational attainment without questioning, the quality and access of the educational service is provided and the extent the service itself enables people to achieve a better quality of life seems to be an empty promise.

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## **Chapter 3 ‘Urban Poor Young Males live in a trap’!**

I start this chapter by defining the discourse of Youth-at-Risk and how it is used as a tool for governing and predicting beneficial outcomes. To illustrate these narratives, I describe how the socio-economic context of El Agustino enables a SFD program to depict youth males ‘at-risk’ in legitimizing their intervention. In addition, I present how the so-called ‘at-risk’ young males challenge this depiction. I conclude by noting how the representation of youth male ‘at-risk’ should be problematized.

### **The discourse of Youth-at-Risk and their instrumental purpose**

Kelly (2000, 2001) who explores the creation and politics behind the discourse of ‘Youth-at-Risk’, explains that ‘Youth-at-Risk’ can be understood through its ‘historical truths of youth as delinquent, deviant, and disadvantage are reiterated’ (2001: 23). In line with Urteaga (2009), in her review of literature about studies on anthropology and youth, the definition of youth lies on the ‘psycho-medical’ assumption that young people have essentially an unstable behaviour which is a product of their biological condition and is being repressed while they enter into adulthood.

Even though under this assumption every youngster could be depicted as potentially ‘at-risk’. I would like to note that through social policies those who are facing poverty are represented quintessentially as at-risk. Furthermore, according to Kelly (2001) the discourse of ‘Youth-at-Risk’ is utilised as a tool to govern in neoliberal context because their ‘at-risk’ conditions are understood as results of individuals and family characteristics. In this sense, the interventions aim to take youth out of risk by regulating their disruptive behaviour. On one hand, these interventions attempt to protect young people and their families from the negative effects of ‘at risk’ conducts such as poverty, unemployment, drug-consumption, delinquency, among others. However, on the other hand, and most importantly, the policies for ‘at-risk’ are given to ensure the proper society functioning. In other words, the ultimate goal of these narratives is to make ‘self-governable’ beings who are able to pursue common goals: economic stability, employment, no delinquency, and so on, by adapting their behaviours and dispositions.

### **‘A Risky Environment is a Trap’!**

El Agustino is one of the 43 districts of Lima Metropolitan, located in the capital of Peru. The district, which was created officially in 1965<sup>18</sup>, hosts a great

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<sup>18</sup> Through the Law 15353.

number of migrants mainly from the centre and south regions of the country. According to the National Institute of Information and Statistics (INEI), the on-going migration process to the capital that started in the mid-40's responds to a shortage or lack of opportunities to satisfy livelihoods and access to basic services<sup>19</sup>. In this regard, along with other districts located in the periphery of Lima Metropolitan, also known as 'urban cones'<sup>20</sup>, Peruvian migrants are forced to leave their hometowns thereby occupying unpopulated areas of the capital.

According to INEI, the estimated population of the district, for July 2015, is at 191,365 where 54% of which are under 30 years old<sup>21</sup>. In addition, according to the National Survey of Households conducted by the INEI in 2009<sup>22</sup>, El Agustino is one of the thirteen Limenian districts where people living in poverty and extreme poverty are concentrated, numbering more than 20% of the population. With regards to educational attainment, according to the INEI in 2007<sup>23</sup> the majority of people (53,8%) 15 years and older achieved secondary degree, while 16,10% only finished primary.

In terms of quality of life, the metropolitan survey conducted in 2014 by the Observatory '*Lima Como Vamos*'<sup>24</sup> has shown that 80% of the Limenian population identifies urban insecurity and delinquency as major problems of the city. Similarly, as Mujica (2013) explains, this perception of increasing delinquency and criminality does not occur only in Peru but it seems to be a common trend among the Latin American countries<sup>25</sup>, where the perception of growing juvenile violence is seen as one of the causes. However, I would like to note that these perceptions do not occur in a vacuum; rather they are nurtured, shaped and influenced by how the mass media, as well as the policymakers identify and represent the problem to be.

For instance, according to the Peru's National Policy Department, the presence of *pandillas juveniles* (juvenile gangs) has been identified as a threat for the peace and order in the urban cities. In the long-term the members could be part of organize criminal gangs<sup>26</sup>. Even though, according to the dictionary of

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<sup>19</sup> For instance in 2014, according to INEI, 3 millions 480 thousand Peruvians moved from the countryside to the capital.

<sup>20</sup> These places are also known in a derogative way as *Asentamientos Humanos* (Human settlements) or *Invasiones* (Invasions), does not have the minimum infrastructure to provide basic services.

<sup>21</sup> *Una Mirada a Lima Metropolitana*. INEI (2015). Accessed 19 September 2015 < [http://www.inci.gob.pe/media/MenuRecurso/publicaciones\\_digitales/Est/Lib1168/libro.pdf](http://www.inci.gob.pe/media/MenuRecurso/publicaciones_digitales/Est/Lib1168/libro.pdf) >

<sup>22</sup> *Encuesta Nacional de Hogares – ENAHO*, where the index of poverty and extreme poverty have been calculated according to the minimum income and the possibility of satisfaction of the basic needs.

<sup>23</sup> *Censo Nacional de Poblacion y Vivienda 2007* (National Census of Population and Households 2007).

<sup>24</sup> Since 2010, the observatory monitors and evaluates changes produced in the quality of life of Lima Metropolitan citizens. Accessed 19 September 2015 < <http://www.limacomovamos.org/quien-es-lima-como-vamos/> >

<sup>25</sup> For instance, following Mujica (2013), the study conducted by the Inter-American Development Bank show that across the Latin American countries in 1995 the perception of crime was 80% and for 2001 this percentage change to 90%.

<sup>26</sup> '*Las pandillas se convierten en bandas criminales*'. Newspaper. Perú21 (2015). Accessed 15 May 2015 < <http://peru21.pe/actualidad/pandillas-se-convierten-bandas-criminales-2216920> >



the Royal Spanish Academy<sup>27</sup>, the term *pandilla* has two meanings ‘a group that often gathers together with a joyful propose’ or ‘a from of friendship whose propose is to cheat or harm others’. For the Peruvian social imaginary, the concept fits the second definition, which also implies drugs and alcohol consumption as well as vandalism and hooliganism.

While there is no policy that integrates the problem of urban security and juvenile violence in Peru, there are some initiatives from the civil society and state institutions aimed at preventing the formation of *pandillas* by targeting the populations that are ‘highly at risk’ of becoming part of them. Interventions as such, according to Mujica (2013), identify solo-parenting, dysfunctional families, loss of moral-civil values, intra-household violence, drug consumption and commercialization, social segregation, school drop-outs and poverty as the drivers for the formation of juvenile gangs. For it is assumed that these factors are concentrated in particular settlements, the interventions often target young people and children of the urban cones of Lima Metropolitan. Therefore, the SFD intervention targets children and young people of El Agustino, because it is assumed that the socio-economic characteristics of the district affect them negatively.

I believe that intra-household violence, is a very complex issue, that leads young people to get involve into juvenile violence (...). In addition this problem [intra-household violence] generates a problem with the authority. Obviously a boy of a girl who is a victim of violence is going to have resentment towards the figure of authority. Add to that is their natural rebel characteristics which can result to them going against the authority (Carlota – Interview 21, July 2015).

For all [children, young people, adults, women] the environment [El Agustino] is dangerous but it is more dangerous for children because of their condition. They are more vulnerable. They are defenceless, they cannot defend themselves. Also they [children] imitate what they see from the adult world [drug consumption and violence] (Rocío – Interview 16, July 2015).

Well, if a child is exposed to drug consumption they can become drug-addicts. For example, if you start with drug consumption you are going to fall into an addictive conduct (David – Interview 23, July 2015).

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<sup>27</sup> Institution that regulates, observe and ensure the proper use of Spanish language across the Spanish-speaking countries.

The problem is that there are not spaces for recreation (...) maybe this makes it difficult for young people find alternatives to drug consumption (Mirtha – 12, August 2015).

Kids does not have alternatives to develop, because most of them do not have things to do. There are no secure spaces for them. They are more likely to get involved into delinquency or drug consumption. If they have more free time with nothing to do is more probable that they will not learn positive things (José – 22, July 2015).

It is important to note that through these understandings on the implications of ‘at-risk’ environments, youth is defined as a binary category. On one hand, young people are represented as a homogeneous and passive category, who regardless of their age, gender and capacity to overcome circumstances, are framed as victims of their hazardous context. On the other hand, young people are portrayed as the potential social-threats. Therefore it is assumed that living in ‘at-risk’ environment not only increase the probabilities of the youngsters to become potential threats; but moreover such a ‘hostile’ environment increases their ‘vulnerable’ condition by limiting the possibility to attain life-skills and then to have equitable access to opportunities that enable them to perform in the social sphere and to overcome to their ‘vulnerable’ and ‘marginal’ condition.

However, these understandings of ‘at-risk’ are not the same for all social actors and also for those who are depicted ‘at-risk’.

In El Agustino there is a lot of delinquency. For example, from where I live, there are *pandillas*. In the nights they gather together and they steal in *Puente Nuevo* [a neighbourhood of El Agustino]. I know them. They don’t study, They mainly steal. However El Agustino is a good place for boys from 15 to 17 years old, because it gives you opportunities. There are some places [in El Agustino] here where you can have the opportunities to become a professional (Omar – Interview 7, August 2015).

The delinquency in El Agustino is the result of the insecurity in the district. For me, that is a responsibility of the Major. In El Agustino, some boys steal to buy drugs or are involved in *pandillas*. For instance in my neighbourhood there is a lot of *pandillaje*. There are a lot of people who steal. I have seen boys from 13 to 12 years old who maybe they steal because they have some needs, some might say ‘I don’t have money, my mom does not want to give me [money]’. (...) Some friends drink [alcohol] or smoke [marihuana]. Well, I do have friends like that. But as I have told you, I don’t see myself doing that because I have a great opportunity for playing

[football] and I don't have the necessity to do that. I don't like it' (Renzo – Interview 11, August 2015).

El Agustino is a little bit dangerous because of the delinquency (...) Nowadays, things are getting better now. Before it was messy. People were killed and buried near to the train rails. There was a lot of delinquency. But, now it is different. Of course, there is still delinquency. (...) El Agustino is neither intrinsically bad nor good for a boy of 15 or 16 years old. It depends on the mentality of the boy. For instance, a boy who does not have enough [economic] resources and believes that he is not going to succeed in life might think that delinquency is an option for him (Daniel - Interview 12, August 2015).

For a 14 to 16 years old boy, El Agustino is a good place to live because it has football fields [as also known as *losas*]. However it could turn into a non-safe place for a boy of 14 years old. The safety of the place will depend on the friends of the boy (Alfonso – Interview 12, August 2015).

Although the so-called 'at-risk' boys acknowledge that in El Agustino, delinquency, *pandillaje*, drug consumption and commercialization exist; and that, most of the times, young males are depicted as the main authors of those acts. The boys, whom I had the opportunity to talk to during my fieldwork, noted that El Agustino itself does not represent a trap for the development of young people. In other words, through their own reflections the boys challenge the narrative of at-risk. In doing so, they also confront the representation of youth as passive category without capacity to react upon and easy to be influenced by a hostile context. In addition, this also differs to the main narrative of at-risk wherein families and individuals are portrayed as the main responsible of the negative outcomes. The boys in their discussion of 'Youth-at-Risk' include the socio-economic structures that enable or disable youngsters to overcome vulnerabilities.

## **From Risky to Safe spaces: Benefactors' Agendas**

While El Agustino is depicted as potentially dangerous environment that puts the 'integral' development young people at-risk, the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK is presented as the solution to overcome these pitfalls.

Children came from very troubled scenarios. They need to have spaces where they feel they belong and spaces to recover, to reflect and to develop all the potentials. We want to create spaces for children, a space where they feel they belong; and they are respected; and they can be protected from drugs, violence, and delinquency. If children don't have access to other spaces where they are loved and their personal skills are strengthened, their possibilities to access to other services are going to be limited. We want to

provide spaces for children wherein they will be developed and be ready for their future. We provide sports because we believe that is a venue for personal skills' improvement. It is necessary to achieve goals and change own realities (Eduardo – Interview 24, July 2015).

Because children are vulnerable and they do not know how to protect themselves, providing them positive experiences [as the football school] can help them to overcome that [vulnerability]. We create spaces where children can enjoy their life-phase (Rocío – Interview 16, July 2015).

In partnership with the Real Madrid Foundation we are trying to improve children's life. We work for the children's rights and satisfy their basic necessities. (...) We provide a space where children can be better (...) We are looking for a social change, for social development and community development (Antonio – Interview 14, July 2015).

In this regard, the SFD intervention represents the socio-sporting school as a safe space for young people to be in and achieve 'integral' development by the adoption of 'desirable' life-skills necessities to their transition into adulthood. Because 'hostile' environments cannot ensure and 'adequate' transitions from one life-stage to another, interventions need to utilize certain 'tools' to ensure the attainment of those.

### *'Football safes lives'*

In line with the SFD discourse, for the socio-sporting school, football is depicted as a useful 'tool' to the solution for social problems if it is given in a certain context.

Through sports you can channel constantly a desirable conduct. You can fail, but then you should find a way to change your performance (Rocío – Interview 16, July 2015).

Through football we are able to teach, self-esteem, leadership, forgiveness, responsibility, honesty, healthy lifestyles, emotional intelligence, teamwork and resilience – tools that are necessary for life (Eduardo – Interview 24, July 2015).

We use sport [football] as a tool to work on family shortcomings, educational deficiencies, and life aspirations. Because it is something that has a magnetic power, we consider it useful as a formative and educative space (Antonio – Interview 14, July 2015).

While they are doing sports [football] they are not doing something else. Hence, it replaces conducts and behaviours: good for bad. Sports [football] is used to redirect learnings. For instance, when you learn something organically it is going to be more effective than just studying to learn something (José – Interview 22, July 2015).

As an ultimate goal, the school is looking for educated good citizens able to do some changes [improve] in the country (Piero – Interview 16, July 2015).

In this regard, these perspectives of football as a ‘tool’ for life improvement draw on the idea that is worthy as long as it is manageable by adults. The worthiness of this idea is in line with Satta (2015), who explores subjective experiences of Italian children in a football academy club. It lies on the assumption that football as a ‘tool’ for improvement enables young people to acquire healthy life-styles. More importantly, it also enables them to acquire life-skills for the regulation of their behaviours and dispositions towards something socially desirable. In addition, this idea suggests that to remain worthy, football needs to be regulated or controlled by adults; otherwise the utility prescribes. This paradigm presupposes that when young people conduct the practice of football the beneficial effects remain in individuals’ enjoyment and pleasure that could be dangerous if it is not supervised by an adult, an idea that I will further discuss in chapter 4.

Similarly, the streets or *losas* (urban football fields)<sup>28</sup> where young males play football after schooling hours (afternoon till night) represent for the social imaginary an unsafe place for them. This is because adults do not control the space where the integral development of young people could be challenged whether as victims or potential threats of ‘at-risk’ settings. Moreover, those are depicted as spaces for drug and alcohol consumption, and clashes between *pandillas*.

## Conclusion

I start this chapter by discussing how, in neoliberal contexts, ‘Youth-at-Risk’ discourse is used as a tool of the government to push the belief that individuals and families, and not the state, are responsible for their own trajectories. In doing so, I argued that this discourse categorizes youth as binary: victims and threats. I then illustrated how the discourse of ‘Youth-at-Risk’ is used by the Socio-Sporting School to legitimize their intervention in El Agustino and protect those ‘at-risk’. However, by including the voices of so-called ‘at-risk’ ac-

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<sup>28</sup> The dimensions of a *losa* are slightly similar to a football indoor field, and one *losa* is equivalent to one-tenth of an official football field. In El Agustino, like other districts with similar socio-economic characteristics, it is possible to find at least one *losa* per neighborhood, which is located in the perimeter.

tors, I problematized to what extent young people are identified as victims and potential threats. Finally, I discussed that the agendas behind the SFD intervention aimed to improve ‘at-risk’ population’s well-being do not consider them as a valid interlocutor for their own interests.

Even though, doing sports under the discourse of SFD is considered something positive, it is indirectly assumed that their profitability depends on the following factors: how it is actually practiced, setting, who are leading it and what is the agenda behind this practice. In other words, it seems that the practice of football is noteworthy when it does not only have a physical reward but also and most importantly when behaviours and dispositions could be channelled into something ‘socially desirable’ – an attempt that is achieved by adults, the ideal-type of beings that possess the know-how to conduct their lives.

In addition, I like to note that the slogan ‘They play, we educate’, echoes in the observation of Satta (2015: 275) in an organized sport institution. Even if football is used as a space for young people’s enjoyment and development, adults are the ones who decide on the aspirations, values and conducts that non-adults should attain. Furthermore, they also dictate on how young people should play in order to achieve those. In this regard, it seems that the space for non-adults to bring their own agendas is limited or absent. In the following chapter, I further explored this idea.

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## Chapter 4 Do we [all] pursue the same purpose? A closer look at a sport for development intervention

I start this chapter by giving a brief explanation of the intervention characteristics: managerial structure, number of beneficiaries and process of becoming a beneficiary. Afterwards, I present the physical space where these interactions take place by using the concept of masculinities. In the following section I talk about the agendas of the trainees and how these are related to the socio-economic structure where the boys are situated. I conclude by noting the degree in which these agendas are similar to the ones pursued by the program.

### The Socio-Sporting Football School MLK

Even though the Real Madrid Foundation sponsors the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK, the Jesuit non-profit organization *Encuentros El Agustino* is in charge of its administration. In this sense, as the school is one of five interventions of *Encuentros El Agustino*, where participation in football is complemented with periodical parents meetings, and psychological and social work services for girls and boys from the most economic disadvantaged sectors of the district. The organizational structure of the football school is composed of one coordinator, five educators (trainers) and one administrative manager. Each educator is in charge of one group that houses students of the same age as the Table 3. shows.

Table 3. Characteristics of the Football School Groups

Group Number	Category	Stage of Football Learning	Educator's Sex	Member's Age
1	A	Initiation	Female	5 to 6
2			Female	7 to 8
3	B	Initiation & Improvement	Male	9 to 10
4			Male	11 to 12
5	C	Improvement	Male	13 to 16

Source: Author's Elaboration based on fieldwork notes

In addition, depending on the corresponding category, it is expected that the beneficiaries develop and attain techniques, tactics, and strategic football skills, as well as football style in playing. According to the 'Didactic Guide: Sporting Schools', for the Category A (from 5 until 8 years old) is preferred that participants learn general notions on football, basic football regulation and team play. For the Category B (from 9 to 12) specific notions on football tactic are introduced without ignoring the general notions which worked for the Category A. Finally in the Category C (13 to 16 years old), as also known as

Football *Improvement Stage*, the participants are expected to improve their football styles, techniques, tactics and strategies as well as learn the official football regulation.

Although the Socio-sporting school targets boys and girls for each category, the total number of girls registered represents less than 7% in comparison to the boys. For instance, in the first turn given every Tuesdays and Thursdays (3:00 pm to 4:30 pm) 93.57% of the participants are boys, meanwhile in the second turn given the same days (4:30 pm to 6:00 pm) the percentage of boys enrolled is 95.04% as Table 4. shows.

Table 4. Number of Beneficiaries according to sex and turn

Group Number	Category	Member's age	Turn 3:00 pm to 4:30 pm		Turn 4:30 pm to 6:00 pm	
			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	A	5 to 6	44	3	33	3
2		7 to 8	68	6	45	9
3	B	9 to 10	44	4	62	2
4		11 to 12	41	2	48	-
5	C	13 to 16	65	3	80	-
<b>Total</b>			<b>262</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>268</b>	<b>14</b>

Source: Author's Elaboration based on information provided by the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK.

During all my visits to the training days, I observed that no girls were participating at all in the last two groups, and the attendance of the girls between 9 to 10 years old was not regular, in both turns. According to the intervention staff and the young males, this reflects how football in the Peruvian context is linked to a masculine activity that demands physical performance, which implies body contact amongst the players. It therefore represents an unwelcoming place for girls; moreover it is assumed that girls should have a delicate behaviour. Whether the social conventions established an adequate conduct for each sex, I like to point that the reduce number or absence of girls in the last categories illustrates how girls' participation is constrained by the gendered notions of space. As Delgado (2007), who explores the gendered dimension of public spaces, mentions that differently to the public sphere, for the social imaginary the private arena represents a feminine secure place for women, characterization that takes that for granted, that regardless of the gender the private sphere cloud also be a violent, insecure and unsafe space.

### *Becoming a member*

To be a member of the football school, participants are required to present the following documents: a photo, a copy of the national ID card, a copy of the Integral Health Insurance (SIS), a copy of the academic transcript, and a proof of residence. In addition, on the registration day, one parent or a legal guardian



must escort the beneficiary in order to authorize his participation in the socio-sporting school by signing a letter of agreement. I like to note that this letter not only authorizes the participation of the beneficiary but also is used as a mechanism to ensure caregivers involvement in the activities organized by the socio-sporting school. In this sense, the socio-sporting school aims to establish that caregivers are answerable counterparts to reinforce all school learnings. In addition, during my conversations with the young boys about the process of becoming a member of the school, they mentioned that the letter of agreement is a document that also proves their entitlement, in the sense that it certifies the economic family's limitations to pay for a private football school. Information that is contrasted with the registration on the SIS, a free health care service that targets population living in situation of poverty and extreme poverty.

After this process, the students are granted an ID card of the Socio-Sporting Football School and a set of one uniform (including a t-shirt, shorts and a pair of socks with the logo of the Real Madrid Foundation). If the football school notices that the candidate student does not hold a national ID card, a SIS card or an academic transcript, they will provide assistance to the beneficiaries on how to access these. The rationale behind this process is to ensure that the beneficiaries have access to the education system and health care services. In doing so, the school aims to ensure the exercise of children's rights, even if when they acknowledge that the quality of those public services is not good.

On the other hand, this process of becoming a member also entails some power-relationships amongst the actors (staff, parents or legal guardians, as well as children and young people). Moreover if the process of decision making to become a member of the football school for children and young people, needs to be validated an adult whether a parent or a legal guardian. However, it should be argued that to what extent 'becoming a member' represents a genuine free choice for all children and young people, or this varies depending on agency and type of relationship with parents or legal guardians. For instance, the Administrative Manager told me that he obliges both of his children who are 8 and 10 years old to be part of the football school more than once because he thought it was good for them. But when he noticed that they seemed not to be playing football, he let them leave the socio-sporting school. Meanwhile, for the rest of the boys whom I interviewed and who, all belonging in the category C, they decided on their own when if they want to become a member. For instance, Daniel decided to be part of the football school because he realized that it was part of the Real Madrid FC. In Daniel's case, as in any other of his previous experiences related to football schools, the 15-year old boy collected all the required documents and asked his father to sign the letter of agreement.

However, I like to highlight that even when it seems that being a young male gives the boys certain degree of autonomy and independence to make their own decisions, some aspects of their relationships with caregivers have nuances of subordination and dependency. For instance, the boys also do some household chores (i.e. take care of younger siblings, go to the hospital an

pick up medicines) or help with the household economy (work their parents in their jobs) to ensure their livelihoods.

The necessity of having an adult figure outside of the football school to reinforce all learnings gained in the field, suggests that children and young people's processes of increasing 'worthy' learnings should be biased and controlled by adults who seems to know better. Although amongst the adults (caregivers vis-à-vis socio-sporting school staff), it is assumed that is the program and not the family embodies an accurate institution that should decide what learnings or attitudes should be taught and adopted by the participants. Moreover, if the socio-sporting school assumes that the educational system and families in El Agustino, have fail into their assigned role: forming 'good citizens' to reduce children and young people vulnerabilities. I like to note that this assumption echoes on Kelly (2001) ideas about how 'Youth-at-Risk' is often depicted as the result of individual responsibilities, but not structural conditions such poverty, inequality, or social exclusion.

## Actors, spaces and interactions

### *The Estadio Padre Eterno*

The sessions are given in the Municipal Stadium '*Marcelino Caycho Arone*' situated in the southern part of the district, near the cemetery *Padre Eterno* and a steel smelter factory. The boys and the football school staff usually called this *Estadio Padre Eterno*. Built by the city hall of the district, the compound has only one football field of synthetic turf and is barricaded alternately with white concrete columns and walls, with a space in between, allowing pedestrians to observe the field from the streets. Even though the complex has three entrance doors that face the road, only one of them is being used. Next to this door, on the right side there is a small kiosk. In front of it three bleachers and to the left the stadium are the administrative office, two unisex restrooms, and two bigger concrete tribunes. A metal fence surrounds the football field that is located 3 meters away from the tribunes and to go in is necessary to pass through a metal door. The field that is almost the same size with the official one has two metal arches, and two benches.

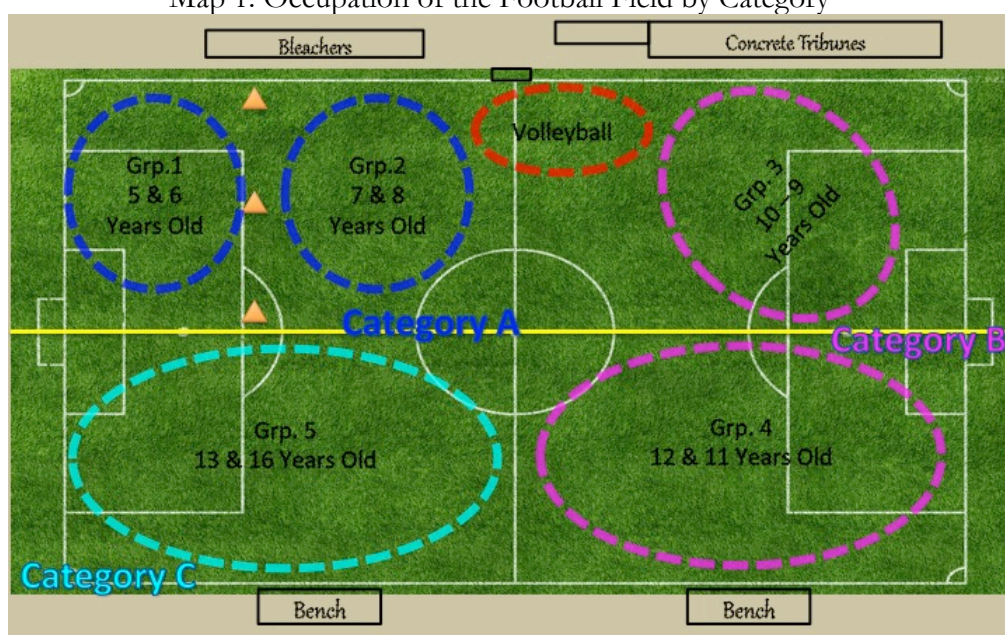
During the training days, each group occupies one specific area on the field. These areas are clearly delimited by a long cotton band and plastic cones as the Map 1 shows this. However, this distribution of the space is not permanent. For example, on the days that the school is closed, the field is utilized by other football schools and football clubs.

Usually, the majority of the students arrive ten or five minutes before each turn starts. In the case of the categories A and B, most of the beneficiaries arrive in the company of one relative (mother, father, older sibling or grand parents) who waits for the boys in metal bleachers during the whole session or plays a volleyball match. In the case of the category C, the boys arrive with their peers or by themselves. It is a common practice that some of them arrive ten or twenty minutes late. Before the session starts, all participants wait out-

side the field until the administrative manager open the small door. This signals that they can now enter. The administrative manager also, reminds the participants to give their ID to the trainer who checks their attendance.

On the other hand, amongst all the other groups the sessions are divided into three moments: *Calentamiento* (Warm-Up, 15' minutes), *Parte Principal* (Core Part, 60' minutes), and *Vuelta a la Calma* (Cool Down, 15' minutes). According to the Didactic Guide: Sporting Schools, the 'Warm-Up' entails the classic warm-up football exercises complemented with creative and ludic actions that induces collective participation. The 'Core Part' then implies the realization of exercises that enhanced motor, social, educational and tactical aspects. Finally, the 'Cool Down' involves stretching, breathing and relaxation exercises.

Map 1. Occupation of the Football Field by Category



Source: Author's Elaboration based on field notes.

### *The 'Profe' and Category C*

The last category of the soccer school is for young males of 13 to 16 years old. Even though the majority of them are 14 and 15 years old, the group is also composed of guys aged 17 and 19 years old. Being in this category provides them a new status of being considered young and not children. This recognition of their status demands certain kind of physical-mental performance (run longer distances, control body force, play rough when necessary, follow instructions) and implies establishing a non-strict and horizontal relationship with the trainer.

For instance, the boys call the trainer *Profe*, the Spanish diminutive for teacher that denotes proximity and care from the students towards the teacher. It seems that this intimacy between the majority of the students and *Profe*, has to do with the charismatic persona that he embodies. In this case study, the *Profe* is a 67-year-old physical education teacher from an educational institution

in the district. The *profe* is tall, slim, smiley and soft-spoken and treats the boys in a very friendly way.

### *Performing masculinities*

Following Okwany, I understand masculinity as fluid, socially constructed concept rather than ‘essential attributes’ of males (2015, forthcoming: 4). However, the society ascribed roles, obligations and attitudes that males should be perform in the social realm. Furthermore it is through individual and collective actions the notions of standard and normative conducts are regulated and reinforced. In this line, I argue how the football field is the scenario to perform and regulate a standard, normative and desirable type of masculinity.

For the boys being in the socio-sporting school entails an enjoyable and entertaining moment most of the times. Where the field is the scenario to have fun among peers and with the trainer, but also is the space where the performance of a particular type manhood provides us with insights on how a male-chauvinism or *machista* society where the boys are located shapes their conducts. According to Fuller (2012: 114), a *macho* type of masculinity implies a ‘aggravation of virility and the predominance of men over women’. However, in my analysis, I extend this predominance of a heterosexual behaviour over non-heterosexual conducts.

Thus, the field is the space where boys create friendship bonds. It also serves as an scenario where *macho* boys intimidated others by showing off physical force and imposing fear in order to gain respect and establish hierarchies to maintain a higher position than their peers. For example, during one training day right before the section of Warm-Up starts, I saw Renzo threatening one guy by saying ‘I’ve heard that you are saying that you can beat me. I just want to let you know that I am here, ready to beat you and beat all your friends’, to which the guy responded by denying everything.

Another way to perform a *macho* stance in the football field is by reacting against physical conducts that might put under question a heterosexual behaviour, which is considered the normative, desirable and acceptable for males. For instance, before the mid season break *Profe* tried a different routine for the Warm-Up. He separated the class into groups of six people each and assigned different roles to the group members: two catchers and four runners. *Profe* explained that the role of the catchers was to run holding hands, and catch each member of their group in a given period of time. Then, he indicated which groups will go first and which ones will take the succeeding turns. Not until the first group started the routine, the rest of the young boys, who were waiting for their turn began laugh loudly, moaning, and whistling to the catchers. One of the catchers was Renzo, who from the beginning of the exercise had worn a facial expression showing discomfort. He avoided touching the hand of his partner, but instead held his partners’ arm while putting a very serious face during the whole exercise. As soon as he finished the exercise, he ran to one of the guys sitting and threatened him. Besides this, laughing is another way to react towards a non-heterosexual manhood. For instance while I was talking with

Renzo, he recalled that when the profe said ‘grab the ball, grab the ball’ we laugh and respond ‘hey Profe, don’t say that’. This reaction denotes boys’ disapproval to situations that implicitly refer to same-sex sexual interactions.

I have described interactions to show how the social norms about a hegemonic masculine behaviour are embedded in the boys’ practices. Where the peer group functions as a social control force that regulates and validates behaviours through mocking or threatening those who do not act according to the norm. In addition, through the validation of conducts, the boys perform a hegemonic masculinity because they questioned non-heterosexual behaviours that destabilize the ideal way of manhood.

## **Boys ‘just’ wanna have fun?: Beneficiaries’ Agendas**

Male youth is often depicted as a homogeneous category, passive actors that are only thinking of having fun. Certainly, it resonates with Verkaaik (2003) having fun and contemplating about a fun-filled future seem to be the core of the youth’s current and future life expectations, but depicted them as homogeneous and passive is problematic. Moreover, inspired by James Esson’s (2013, 2015a, 2015b) study on migration of male Ghanaian youth to European football clubs, I argue that the rationale behind boys’ choices on becoming part of a socio-sporting football school in El Agustino sheds a light on how their ‘calculated’ decisions are grounded by the structural forces where they are situated. I refer to calculated decisions as a strategic type of agency, which entails acting and behaving in a way that anticipates the negative effects of the decisions made.

In this regard, I start this section by explaining the importance of being educated for the boys. Then by using the Foucauldian term of ‘Entrepreneur of the Self’ I interpret the rationale behind the boys’ decision in becoming members of the school. I discuss the instrumental importance of becoming ‘good citizens’ for the boys based on the concept of Governmentality.

### ***Being Educated***

Besides from the football training, most of the boys between 14 until 16 complement their sport activities with school attendance. For these boys going to school regularly and having a good academic performance are important because their trainers and parents expected that from them. Meanwhile, the utility of finishing secondary education resides in pursuing higher education, fulfilling one of the main requirements when it comes to have a full time job and to also have some desirable skills if they become full-fledged football players (i.e. knowing how to express themselves clearly).

I was part of the school [socio-sporting school] before, 3 years ago. I decided to leave it because I was so focused on football and not in my academic performance, I almost failed that year. Now that I am doing great at school [secondary school], I have enough

time to play [football] and study. I decided to leave because the trainers expect that you will have a good academic performance. If not they will ask you to leave for one or two months until you do well in school. I think they care about your academic performance because that is a requirement for any kind of job. Even if you don't become a footballer, you will need your certificate of secondary education completion. (...) If you become a football player, they are going to ask for your school's transcript [of records] because you should know how to speak... I mean the basics. If not, you don't know anything (Paolo - Interview 5, August 2015).

Firstly I want to finish secondary, then study [pursue further education]. Even If I become a professional player, I would like to continue with my career. Not everything is football. Besides football, you should have a career, you have to study. Nowadays, it's like that. If you want to succeed in life, you should study. For instance, if you only play football [footballer] and you have a family, when, your football career ends eventually, how are you going to make money and support them? (Renzo – Interview 11, August 2015).

Meanwhile, the other group who already finished secondary school is in the transition towards a new stage in their lives whether working part-time or working full-time while starting their studies in the higher education (technical institutions or universities). For example, Omar a 17-year old boy finished the secondary school on December 2014. Until the time of my fieldwork (July and August 2015), he was working part-time with his father and saving money for studying at university.

In Peru, whether the universities or institutes are private or public, the prospective students are required to pay an administrative fee for the registration. They are also required to pay for an examination test that will determinate the students' admission into the school. If the prospective students are admitted, they will pay for the administrative expenses of their admission and health care insurance per semester in the public institute. In the private schools, aside from the aforementioned costs, students are required to pay a monthly tuition. During the year, the majority of universities and institutes have only one admission process per each semester in February and July. In this sense, Omar will start university at least a year after most of students, at 18 years old. In the best scenario he will finished his studies in 5 to 6 years<sup>29</sup>. If he expends more years to finish his degree, the opportunities for entering in the regular labour market and earning a standard salary might be reduced. Moreover in the case of university careers, the Peruvian labour market prefers 23 – 24 years old bachelors' for internships.

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<sup>29</sup> In the Peruvian Education System, the university level consists on 5 to 6 years depending on the type of career. Meanwhile for the technical level the careers have 3 or 4 years of duration.

The boys acknowledge that the completion of secondary education is necessary whether in entering into the labour market, or becoming footballers or pursuing further education. Choosing to attend a university or technical institutions will depend mainly on having enough economic resources. Resources that as Díaz (2008: 126) mentions will cover the access, permanence and completion of the established years of the higher education. Despite how expensive it might be pursue higher education in Peru, young people seem to be ready to pay all these costs. That is because, among other factors, the demand for higher education respond to the profitability in the labour market and the expectation of social mobility (ibid).

### *From dreaming to becoming a football player*

For Esson (2013, 2015a), football could be seen as human capital, an alternative to education. Football can be used to achieve social mobility and provide economic stability in a short-term period in the context of economic uncertainty. By using the Foucauldian concept of entrepreneur of the self, Esson defines the boys' football skills as 'being for himself his own capital, producer and source of earnings' (2013: 90). It is in this argument, that I explore the boy's decisions to become part of the football school allows them to dream about becoming footballers. While the socio-sporting football school does not give them the opportunity to become a professional footballer, the boys acknowledge that to become one they need more intense training<sup>30</sup>, thus they use the football school as a stepping-stone for entering a professional club.

Although the socio-sporting football school provides classes only twice a week; its main objective is not to form athletes but 'good citizens'. The duration of the sessions are one and a half hour per day. The idea of becoming a footballer is nurtured by being part of a school founded by the Spanish Real Madrid FC, as well as *Profe*' networking with football clubs of professional leagues in Lima.

I am excited to be here [football school] because I know that some kids went to Spain to play. I think maybe this could be an opportunity to develop further my dream of becoming a footballer. That is my greatest inspiration. I hear that in three years, our category will go to Spain. There the foreign players play with the similar categories of the Real Madrid FC and Barcelona FC. If you play well you can stay there. If not, you will go back to your home country (Paolo – Interview 5 August, 2015).

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<sup>30</sup> To become a footballer most of the athletes start training at 5 years old and are expected that at 17 years old they are ready to play in a professional league. During this period, the aspiring athletes learn technical and tactical notions of football progressively. In addition, as they are growing up, the size of the football field where they play changes. For example, between 5 to 8 years old the athletes play in a football field, which is one-tenth size of an official football field. When they reach the period of 14-17 years old, they play in a professional football field size.

Therefore, playing in official or non-official matches organized whether by the football school or *Profe*, having a good individual performance raises the chances to being recruited by the trainers of the professional football clubs of Lima like *Alianza Lima* (AL) or *Universitario de Deportes*<sup>31</sup> (La U). As others professional football clubs, these clubs have at least five categories for young people under 17 years old. Each of these categories function as a preparatory stage to improve football techniques and tactical skills until the participants reach the age of 17. Moreover, for those who are not part of any category in, as the boys of the socio-sporting school, the football clubs organize public tests to select their future members. In case of being selected, the club provides free football equipment (shoes and uniform); medical assistance and in some cases, a fee honorarium for each match played.

During one of the non-official matches, while I was sitting on the bench cheering for the socio-sporting school team, Johnny<sup>32</sup> a 13 years old boy sat next and told me enthusiastically that because of *Profe*'s help, he will leave the school to play in the minor categories of AL after the football school middle season break. In addition, peers or relatives who had played in professional football clubs reinforce their desire of becoming a football player. It also helps them believe that this dream can be realized and achieved.

I want to become a football player like my dad. He played in Sporting Cristal [Peru's Football Club of First League], and also for Peru's National Football Selection (Paolo – Interview 5, August 2015).

My dad wants me to be a football player as he had tried to be one before, although he just played in the second league (Alfonso – Interview 12, August 2015).

Although some of the boys of the socio-sporting football school have previous experiences in playing for football clubs, these are not as professional clubs as AL or La U. It seems that being on the school provides more chances not only to gain access to play for bigger clubs in the future but it also helps them to train in the correspondent category.

I have been training since I was little. When I was 13, they [a local football club] saw me playing and selected me [in their football club]. *Profe* spoke with them [the club], and they gave me some money for my signature [to become part of the club]. (...) But this year [2015] *Profe* helps me to leave the club because for boys of 14

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<sup>31</sup> Both are the most famous, historical and emblematic football clubs in Peru. In addition, the players of each club are always called to play for the Peru's National Football Selection. Also, the football clubs *Alianza Lima* and *Universitario de Deportes* usually sell their best players to Football Clubs of the European Leagues.

<sup>32</sup> For ethical concerns, I use Johnny to refer the boy who sat next to me and not his real name.



or 15 the opportunities for playing in the local tournaments are few [17 is the minimum age to play in those tournaments] (Renzo – Interview 11, August 2015).

I used to play in two football clubs before I came here. I decided to leave those clubs because I was not playing in my category. Instead, I was playing with boys of 17 years old. Since we were a lot and I was new, I thought that the trainers would prefer them and not me. Therefore, I decide to came here because is a bigger club [He refers to the Socio-Sporting Football School MLK] (Daniel – Interview 12, August 2015).

In this sense, for the boys who dream about becoming football players, the socio-sporting football school represents a leverage force. It could be a short cut for social mobility and generates greater economic returns than pursuing higher education. For example, according to *Gestión* in 2014, the salary for the Peru's first league football club was averaging between 1,150.00 to 4,900.00 US Dollars<sup>33</sup>. It is more than the average salary for a recent graduate of higher education institutes. The Peru's Employment and Education Observatory *Ponte en Carrera*<sup>34</sup> data shows that during the first year after the completion of a degree, the average salary for a university professional is equivalent to 700 US\$. In the case of a technical professional, regular income is 500 US\$<sup>35</sup>. Along with the greater economic returns, as Paolo mentions, 'the football gives you reputation and fame'<sup>36</sup>, which is linked to the idea of socio-economic stability and successful life.

However, the boys acknowledge that opportunities to become a professional footballer are few. Also, even if they reach this goal their football career would not last forever. With these factors also comes the negative stigma of professional football as a hobby rather a career to be pursued. Therefore, they also recognize the need to consider other options alongside pursuing their dreams of becoming footballers, which is dictated by the symbolic importance of being educated.

My mom and my brother don't like the idea [becoming a football player]. They prefer, that I study [pursuing higher education] (...) because they don't want me to be like Raymond Manco (Interview on August 12, 2015).

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<sup>33</sup> 'En el Perú solo un futbolista tiene un sueldo mensual de US\$ 35 mil'. Newspaper *Gestión* (2014). Accessed 19 October 2015 <<http://gestion.pe/tu-dinero/asociacion-deportiva-futbol-profesional-peru-solo-futbolista-tiene-sueldo-mensual-us-35-mil-2096387>>.

<sup>34</sup> The Observatory is a result of the joint efforts between the Ministry of Labour and Employment Promotion, the Ministry of Education and Institute of Business IPAE that seeks to provide reliable information for young people about the offer and demand of professional careers.

<sup>35</sup> 'Cómo va el empleo?' (n.d). Accessed 19 October 2015 <<http://www.ponteencarrera.pe/como-va-el-empleo>>

<sup>36</sup> Interview 5, August 2015.

Raymond Manco was considered one of the best football players of the South American Under-17 tournament 2007. His future was very promising. But his 'unruly' behaviour that was covered by the Peruvian's tabloids undermined his career<sup>37</sup>. In this regard, the boys think about pursuing higher education is not only determinate by the desires of guaranteed economic stability and social mobility. It also seems to be influenced by the stigmatized conceptions about Peruvian's footballers. In this line, their 'strategic' agency allows them to stay in the socio-sporting school, perform well until an opportunity to achieve their dreams is on the horizon. As well as to stay into the educational system. Both in order to increase their opportunities for the future. Thus, a bit different to the Ghanaian case described by Esson (2013) where the aspiring young footballers drop-out from the educational system, the case of El Agustino suggests that the boys aim to pursue higher education because it seems to be a 'safer' backup plan.

### *Being disciplined is a must!*

For Foucault (1991) governmentality refers to a new form of power used to control 'desires, aspirations and believes' to maintain the society functioning in a proper way understood as how individuals' actions and behaviours are in line with the common will: economic growth, employment, healthy lifestyles and so on. This process of shaping mentalities and conditioning behaviours occur through 'calculated technologies' by implemented tactics, strategies, norms and laws. In the case of the socio-sporting school, I used the Foucauldian term to understand how is this intervention ultimately seeks ultimately form 'good citizens'. I draw an example based on fieldwork notes observation to illustrate this concept.

It was the first day of training after the middle session break, an unexpected sunny and warm afternoon in the Limenian winter. I arrived early in the stadium. As usual I sat in the corner of the bench located near the side of the Category C. There was a certain sense of difference from my previous observations, I noticed that the number of boys that day was bigger not only in the Category C but also in the other groups. In addition, the boys of the Category C seemed to be happier and active than before, maybe because they were returning from their school vacations or they were really exited to be with their friends. For the Warm-Up section, *Profe* gave the boys the following instructions: team-up in pairs, then grab one ball, run while kicking the ball around the perimeter of the Category C space and repeat the routine three times. As the class was unusually crowded and the materials for *Profe's* category were not enough for all the boys, Renzo and his pal took one ball from the sack of the Category B trainer. As soon as they finished the routine, they started to play with the ball while they were waiting for the next instruction. However, a moment of tension happened when the Category B trainer realised that the missing ball from his sack was used for playing. At that instance, he was mad and furiously shouted the last names of these two boys, while they ran to him as

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<sup>37</sup> 'How not to become a World Cup Star'. Blog Globalpost (2014). Accessed 19 October 2015 <<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/americas/peru/140710/not-world-cup-soccer-star-reimond-manco>>

fast as could. After the trainer reprimanded them for their ‘unacceptable’ performance, he ordered them to do 30 squats as penalty to what they did. Without hesitation they boys started to count each squat while the rest of the groups continued doing their routines, as if nothing had happened.

In the following day I meet Omar for a long conversation, while we were talking about the training days, he recalled this event by emphasizing that trainers want a ‘respectful behaviour’ from the trainees. To respect the trainer, is not only about waiting and obeying instructions from the trainers, but it also means to have a submissive and docile attitude towards their authority. I also noticed that in almost all our conversations, the boys bring up the importance of achieving discipline through their football experience.

They [the socio-sporting school] want us to be disciplined and have values. They teach that in a way that engages us, unlike in school, which is boring. Here we learn values by playing football like discipline, fellowship and respect. The Real Madrid Foundation wants to develop disciplined people rather than footballers. They want persons eager to succeed in life (Daniel – Interview 12, August 2015)

We know that if we play aggressively, some boys are going to *pioneerse* (be irritated), and everyone will play aggressively, that it’s going to be a mess. Therefore you have to behave [not play aggressively], because if you don’t [behave] *Profe* is going to stop you. If you play aggressively you cannot predict how the opponent is going to react (...) Maybe I punch him, he punches me back, then we fight. The institution does not want that, they want discipline. Being disciplined is good, because through it you learn to respect and listen to the trainer. You learn when you should be quiet and accept your faults. If the trainer is talking to you and you are not paying attention to him, he will get mad at you. You can even be expelled. If you are not disciplined, people are not going to respect you. (Paolo – Interview 5, August 2015)

In this regard, discipline for the boys is considered important and necessary not only within but also outside the football field because produces positive outcomes. However, this idea does not only exist in their minds but also in the imaginary of the socio-sporting school, where the importance of installing discipline contributes to the formation of ‘good’ citizens and prevents drug-consumption or delinquency. This process of becoming ‘disciplined beings’ occurs alongside with the figure of the trainer, who not surprisingly embodies the values and attitudes that should be imitated.

Differently to professional trainers, besides than transmitting learnings about football to their players, a **trainer** [in the schools] performs as a **role model**. (...) [i]n order to **make children be-**

**come an entire person** the trainer should converse with the players, **stimulate** the interest for cooperative sport, as well as the personal aspirations, **encourage** the care and moral development, **pay attention** to the diversity of the players, and promote teamwork (Complementary Material: Sporting Schools p.13, Real Madrid Foundation. The emphasis is mine).

A good citizen, in this account, is someone who is able to respect the authority, the law, but also someone who is eager to succeed in life; someone aligned with the common good; and contributes to the proper functioning of society. Therefore, the trainer is noted as a 'role model' to imitate. It is assumed that through the interactions with him, the boys will shape their conduct to achieve the desirable, standard and normative behaviours. In addition, the process of shaping mentalities towards a 'standard behaviour' occurs verbally through conversations and not verbally through physical punishment if it is necessary.

## Conclusion

I started the chapter by discussing how the socio-sporting school seeks to be a space that promotes equally participation for boys and girls, however the social constructions about football and public realm as masculine sphere constrain girls access. I then described how the requirements for becoming a beneficiary, being included in education system and gaining access to education have an overly instrumental purpose of children's rights. Moreover, the service-quality is poor and does not ensure, necessarily, a life improvement. In addition, I also argued how this ritual of becoming a member reproduces power relations between development practitioners' vis-à-vis caregivers, as well as adults and non-adults. By describing the football field and their actors, I presented how interactions take place by reproducing hierarchies and performing certain kind of masculinity. This discussion provides the context for my analysis on boys' agendas in aspiring to be members of the socio-sporting school.

Although the socio-sporting school aims to inculcate desirable 'life-silks' in urban poor young males 'at-risk' through the practice of football in to produce 'good citizens' and not footballers. The motivation of the boys for becoming beneficiaries suggests the contrary. Despite they acknowledge the instrumental importance of holding values and attitudes to perform in the social realm, and achieve higher education. The rationale for being a member denotes the use of a 'strategic' type of agency, which aims enlarge options to ensure economic stability and social mobility by dreaming about becoming footballers.

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## **Chapter 5 Conclusion: Football as 'Development' and their 'paradoxical' encounters**

In this study, I set out to examine how the dominant narrative of 'Youth-at-Risk', is contested, adopted or adapted by young male participants of the socio-sporting football school of Martin Luther King in El Agustino. I presented the juxtaposition of ideas, meanings and agendas that benefactors and beneficiaries attached to the football experience in a setting of Sports for Development intervention in a district of Lima, Peru. Influenced by readings on critical social policy, I conducted my research and analysis using both an ethnographic and a discourse analysis approach, to shed light on how developmental interventions work and tease out the implications of the program to the beneficiaries, rather than evaluating whether the interventions are meeting their proposed goals or not.

I drew on the analysis of data to argue that the constructions of 'urban insecurity' by the media, policy makers, and civil society in Peru identify urban poor young males as the troublemakers. They live against a backdrop of 'dysfunctional' households, unstable and informal economic conditions to meet livelihoods and 'dangerous' settlements characterized by drug-consumption and delinquency, which negatively influence young males' behaviour. In this sense, while the problem is narrowly defined as relying on individual responsibilities rather than socio-politic-economic structures that reproduce systems of inequality and social exclusion, the solutions to preventing urban insecurity are disproportionately focused on improving and strengthening the capacities of urban poor young males to overcome these shortcomings. In doing so, the solutions present a binary construction of urban poor youth males as victims of circumstances and potential social treats.

Therefore urban insecurity must be controlled and reduced in order to ensure the proper functioning of society. I explored how this is represented in an SFD intervention that aims to prevent social threats by inculcating values, conducts and attitudes in urban poor young males to produce governable beings. In this sense, I have shown in the analysis how under the slogan 'They play, we educate,' the SFD intervention of the Martin Luther King school utilizes football as a means to produce an ideal type of being, a 'good-citizen' through certain mechanisms (trainers, physical exercises and notions of being good) that ensure the formation of values and adaptation of adequate behaviours (to enable them to perform as expected in the public realm).

I also argued that under this slogan, the SFD intervention depicts benefactors as homogeneous and passive. Through my observations and interactions with the boys, my study reveals that while the boys acknowledge the instrumental importance of attained life-skills for their future performance, those who are depicted as potential 'social-threats' do not identify themselves as

such, neither do they represent a uniform group. Their participation in the intervention entails personal agendas that are shaped by the socio-economic structures in which they are situated. For the majority of male youth, their decision to become part of the intervention is based on the desire to increase life opportunities, and to ensure long-term livelihoods when there are only a few options. In this sense, the interactions between beneficiaries and benefactors show how the understandings of development and life improvement are subjective. Therefore, policy/practice that claim to possess the know-how in improving young people's wellbeing by taking them out of at-risk situations should actively include the voices of those whose lives they aim to improve in order to address effectively their needs. Otherwise, these developmental projects perpetuate the binaries in which urban poor young males are depicted, therefore failing to address inequality and social exclusion.

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# Appendix 1

## Guiding questions for the discursive analysis of the SFD intervention

N	Question	Goal	Strategies
1	What is the problem (young men living in a urban poor context at risk) represented to be?	To identify the implied problem representation. Identification of the problem as is expressed in the policy.	Identification of the problem as it is expressed in the policy.
2	What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	To ascertain the conceptual premises or logics that underpin specific problem representations.	Foucauldian archeology involving discourse analysis techniques such as: identifying binaries (at risk vs. safe), key concepts and key categories.
3	How has this representation of the problem (urban poor youth-at-risk) come about?	To highlight the conditions that allows a particular problem representation to shape and assume dominance.	Foucauldian genealogical analysis involving tracing the 'history' of a current problem representation to identify power relations involved in the prevailing problem representation.
4	What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? (Desirable masculinity vs. disrupted masculinity) Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' thought about differently?	To raise for reflection and consideration issues and perspective that are silenced in identified problem representations.	Genealogical analysis, and cross-cultural, historical and cross-national comparisons in order to provide examples of alternative representations.
5	What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	To ascertain discursive effects, subjectification effects, and lived effects.	Discourse-analysis techniques including identification of subject positions, dividing practices where subjects are produced in opposition to one another and the production of subjects regarded as 'responsible' for problems. Impact analysis: consideration of the material impact of the problem representations on people's lives.
6	How/where is this representation of the problem produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disputed, disrupted?	To pay attention to both the means through which some problem representation become dominant, and possibility of challenging problem representations that are judged to be harmful.	Identification of institutions, individuals and agencies involved in sustaining the problem representation. Mobilizing competing discourses of reframing the problem.

Source: Table adapted by the Author base on Goodwin's Table 15.1 'A summary of the WRP analytic framework' (2011: 173).