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Leveling the Playing Field: Sport and Resistance in Low-Wealth Communities

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LEVELING THE PLAYING FIELD:
SPORT AND RESISTANCE IN LOW-WEALTH COMMUNITIES

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

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This project is dedicated to the family I have had the opportunity to become a part of through this work.
There's no place I would rather be than at the park, on the sidelines, and in the bleachers with you.

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Abstract

A consequence of systemic racism in the United States is low-wealth minority neighborhoods that are segregated from the rest of society and whose residents have less opportunities for social mobility than the general population. These neighborhoods often become the target of post-racial neoliberal projects of community development that emphasize individual development and achievement, or assisting residents with “escaping” their community as a means of achieving social mobility. One of the major forms of development is sport for development, aimed at youth in low-wealth minority neighborhoods. Here I call for a new narrative of community development that is critical, taking into account the significance of race at the individual and structural level for shaping the everyday experiences of residents of low-wealth neighborhoods. This new narrative should be asset-based, and make use of critical race concepts, such as community cultural wealth, and critical models, such as the Black Organizational Autonomy model, to reframe community development as a process of resistance capable of transforming both individuals and communities. My case study of the Pearson Youth Alliance football and soccer programs provides an example of the critical praxis of sport for development in a low-wealth minority neighborhood in the southern United States. I elaborate on this new narrative of development, especially the ways residents of the Pearson neighborhood perceive the work of the Pearson Youth Alliance and frame it as an ongoing project of resistance to manifestations of systemic racism.

Chapter 1: Introduction

One major consequence of the legacy of systemic racism in the United States is neighborhood segregation (e.g. Patillo 2007). When this is coupled with other consequences, such as large wealth disparities between whites and blacks and the overwhelming costs and burdens of structural and day to day racial oppression (Feagin 2006), low-wealth minority neighborhoods become places where social problems coalesce and are especially visible in American society. It is not surprising, then, that these communities are at the center of conversations concerning community development praxis in the United States. In what some falsely assume is a “post-racial” (Crenshaw 2011) America, community development is typically practiced from a neoliberal standpoint (Lyon 1999), which emphasizes developing individuals in order to help them overcome the deficiencies of their communities, access social mobility, and ultimately “escape.” Implicitly, neoliberalism treats development as a neutral process in which institutional experts evaluate problems in these communities and then provide services to help individuals overcome them. Needs-based community development thus treats residents of low-wealth minority neighborhoods as clients who require outside assistance, disenfranchising neighborhoods and families as sites of care and provision (McKnight 1995; McKnight and Block 2010). These approaches to community development are ameliorative at best, prioritizing daily subsistence of individuals over structural change to eliminate the problems (Ledwith 2011).

Critical approaches to community development, which push for multilevel strategies and consider how structural arrangements shape the everyday lives of marginalized people (Ledwith 2011), have emerged as a challenge to neoliberal community development. These approaches center the experiences of marginalized people in the development process, collecting and implementing local knowledges that have been previously subjugated and suppressed (Horton 1992; Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Yosso 2005). Implementing insider/local instead of outsider/institutional driven community development is an important step toward empowering resident stakeholders of low-wealth minority communities to exercise autonomy in the development process, evaluate their needs and take account of assets they possess to meet these needs. This transforms “clients” into “citizens” (McKnight 1995) and raises the potential of community development to enact structural change aimed at uprooting social problems rather than providing escape hatches for individuals. It also reimagines low-wealth

neighborhoods as places of significant strength where marginalized people gain skills and the critical consciousness necessary to both surviving and resisting system inequality, particularly racism (Ledwith 2011; Yosso 2005).

My dissertation research enters this conversation by using a case study of a sport for development (SFD) program in a low-wealth minority community in the southern United States to examine critical community development in action (for a complete list of acronyms used in the following chapters, see Table A.6). I evaluate the ways the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA) youth football and soccer programs challenge traditional narratives of development, particularly SFD, and serve as tools of resistance against systemic racism (names of places, people, and organizations have been changed to maintain the confidentiality of the research participants). Though the analyses demonstrate they are by no means mutually exclusive, each chapter emphasizes different strains of an overarching antiracist “counternarrative” (Bonilla-Silva 2014) of community development: asset-based community development (chapter two), community cultural wealth (chapter three), and the black organizational autonomy model (chapter four). The theoretical underpinnings of the research are systemic racism theory (Feagin 2001, 2004, 2006, 2013) and critical race theory (Crenshaw 2011; Yosso 2005), and I employ qualitative and feminist methodologies of data collection (e.g. Doucet 2008; Gatenby and Humphries 2000) and analysis (e.g. Charmaz 2014).

In chapter two, I ask four questions: 1) To what extent do stakeholders in the PYA view sport as inherently good for people and place?; 2) How do the experiences of stakeholders debunk the Great Sport Myth?; 3) In what ways does the PYA serve as a means for resisting manifestations of systemic racism?; and 4) What are the implications of these findings for research on sport and community development? My analysis uses systemic racism theory (Feagin 2006) to challenge the Great Sport Myth—that sport is always a positive tool of development that benefits individuals and communities (Coakley 2011; 2015)—and to push asset-based community development (ABCD) (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993) in a decidedly more critical, antiracist direction. For questions one and two, I find PYA stakeholders have a strong faith in sport as a powerful tool of development, but it is not a blind faith. They acknowledge ongoing problems with how the PYA operates, such as poor communication, as well as within the neighborhood, such as issues in families and low parent engagement in the programs. Comments in interviews reveal stakeholders view sport as one among many assets they possess to leverage for community development, and their vision for development includes other important assets such as a

relationship with local law enforcement. One of the most important contributions of the PYA and the primary way the PYA serves as a means of resistance against systemic racism is how stakeholders employ the PYA to change the narrative of their community and offer an alternative perception of Pearson. Stakeholders reject racist assumptions that Pearson is a needy and high crime community with parents who do not care about their children and instead reframe the neighborhood as a place where development is occurring and residents have access to resources, relationships, and role models that can be invested in making progress. As more people in Pearson “buy in” to the brand (or counternarrative) being produced by the PYA, their resistance to systemic racism and capacity for development becomes stronger.

In chapter three, I delve deeper into the counternarrative brought up in chapter two, using a framework of community cultural wealth (CCW) (Yosso 2005) to analyze three key stories shared by stakeholders in interviews. I ask three questions: 1) In what ways does the neighborhood context of Pearson and the operation of the PYA demonstrate the shortcomings of traditional measures of capital?; 2) Based on key stories (counternarratives) of PYA stakeholders, how does community cultural wealth fostered in the arena of the PYA contribute to resistance against systemic racism?; and 3) What are the implications of these findings for the ongoing praxis of sport for development in low-wealth neighborhoods? I find traditional measures of cultural capital are often used to evaluate community development in low-wealth minority neighborhoods and the intergenerational transmission of inequality through formal education systems (e.g. Bourdieu and Passeron 1977; Sampson and Graif 2009). These measures reify white, middle class forms of capital as the base that all others are compared to and thus reinforce systemic racism by deeming low-wealth minority communities as inherently deficient. Pearson, by these measures, is a “bad” neighborhood, but this is an oversimplified image that underestimates the strength of Pearson. In the stories I analyze, stakeholders reimagine hard losses as opportunities to instill important lessons in youth participants; describe the ways involvement in the PYA enhances empathy and levels the playing field in relationships between coaches and players; and explain the importance of encouraging participants to look up to coaches and former participants as well as to stay engaged and continue to give back to the community as the next generation of role models. Yosso’s (2005) model of CCW reframes cultural capital as “an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression” (p. 77). Of the six dimensions outlined by Yosso,

aspirational capital (e.g. Luna and Martinez), familial capital (e.g. Larotta and Yamamura 2011), social capital (e.g. Martinez 2011) and resistant capital (e.g. Huber 2009) are the most evident in the stories of PYA stakeholders and form a counternarrative of development whereby the PYA is a site of production and multiplication of cultural capital used to reject racist images of their neighborhood that view Pearson culture as inherently deficient.

In chapter four, I apply Horton's (1992) underutilized black organizational autonomy (BOA) model of development to evaluate the PYA as an "indigenous institution," which Horton argues are required for the successful praxis of black community development. I ask three questions: 1) to what extent does the Pearson Youth Alliance currently embody the BOA model characteristics of economic autonomy, an emphasis on black history and culture, and a socially inclusive membership and leadership?; 2) To what extent does the neighborhood context of Pearson influence the capacity of the PYA to embody these characteristics of the BOA model?; and 3) What are the implications of these findings for the ongoing pursuit of models of community development appropriate for minority communities in the United States? I find through interview analysis the PYA struggles considerably with financial autonomy and becoming economically profitable due to obstacles of working within a low-wealth neighborhood context with poor infrastructure and recreational facilities. This is problematic because Horton identifies economic autonomy as the most significant characteristic of indigenous institutions given how economic inequality ties into systemic racism (Feagin 2006). Black history and culture is significant in minority communities, but so is the recognition of changing demographics. My analysis shows the PYA holds an important place in the collective history of Pearson residents and helps residents navigate changing racial demographics; this finding is in tension with Horton's (1992) idea that an indigenous institution should emphasize solely black history and culture. Based on this, I consider how the model might be extended using a place-based conceptualization of community (e.g. Kretzmann and McKnight 1993) instead of an identity-based conceptualization (e.g. Anderson 2006). The leadership of the PYA is socially inclusive when it comes to different classes of African Americans and Hispanics, but there are very few white leaders. This aligns with the BOA model's prescription that strong indigenous institutions will have a socially inclusive leadership and membership, but it is something the PYA established only after a failed attempt to include white coaches. I argue this is evidence that the PYA is best conceived of as development in progress, or an emergent project of community development.

There are several implications to the findings in these chapters for the practice and evaluation of sport for development and community development more broadly in low-wealth minority communities. Sport for development practitioners should consider establishing locally owned and operated sport for development programs as a safeguard against the Great Sport Myth and recognize sport as one among many assets in low-wealth minority communities. There is tension between the oppressive history of sport as a reproducer of social inequality and its potential to be critically applied to challenge systemic racism and inequality, and this tension must be acknowledged and addressed by sport for development practitioners. Aside from providing a safeguard against the GSM, situating development praxis and evaluation in local contexts is a form of critical consciousness raising that helps practitioners gain a better understanding of the ways social structural arrangements shape the everyday lives of oppressed people and implement multilevel development strategies that address problems in context. As practitioners engage in multilevel development approaches that are initiated from within instead of outside marginalized communities, alternative measures of capital and critical race theories are important tools for incorporating marginalized voices into the development process and rejecting the ways traditional deficit-based measures silence experiential knowledge of local residents. Ultimately, these chapters show development should be viewed (and studied) as a social process, ever emerging, rather than a static phenomenon, and thus no organization is likely to embody ideal development. Part of the process of critical community development is the constant re-evaluation and re-formation of strategies due to shifting political and social contexts (Ledwith 2011).

Taken together, these chapters theorize development, unraveling standard approaches and narratives of development and replacing them with a vision for an unapologetically critical, antiracist praxis of community development in low-wealth minority communities in the United States. I elaborate further on the implications and possible extensions of my work in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 2: Sport for Development and Asset-Based Community Development from a Systemic Racism Perspective

Although the media has promoted an image of a post-racial American society—especially since the election of President Obama—systemic racism has not been uprooted. In the United States, people of color are overrepresented in low-wealth urban communities characterized by underfunded public schools, a lack of basic amenities such as grocery stores, and high rates of health problems caused by close proximity to environmental hazards (Farley and Squires 2005; Taylor, McGlynn, and Luter 2013). Research shows minorities are more likely than whites to desire racially diverse neighborhoods (Farley and Squires 2005) but lack opportunities to achieve upward social mobility due to the legacy of systemic racism. Some consequences of gaping wealth inequalities between whites and minorities, especially blacks, are disparities in homeownership as well as a lack of residential mobility and access to desirable neighborhoods for blacks and other minorities (Fischer and Lowe 2015; Swisher, Kuhl and Chavez 2013). Feagin (2006) connects these “costs” of white economic domination to ongoing systemic racial oppression on which all institutions of U.S. society are founded.

Recognizing the prevalence of social problems in low-wealth minority neighborhoods, public officials, and community development practitioners have funneled a large number of resources into programs meant to improve the quality of life and access to opportunities of their residents. One strategy, sport for development (SFD), recognizes the significance of sport in U.S. (and global) culture and society and thus its potential to be used to enact positive social change. Indeed, sport is a major social institution that serves multiple positive functions, such as enhancing and expressing collective identity and pride (e.g. Lam and Corson 2013; Zhemukhov 2014); encouraging higher levels of civic engagement and fostering stronger bonds amongst participants (Brown, Hoye, and Nicholson 2014); and creating economic opportunities through the emergence of a worldwide sport industry (Kasimati 2003). Recently these potentially positive functions of sport for people and places have led policy makers to position sport as a first-choice strategy of development.

In the United States, some of the most popular rags-to-riches narratives in the media are of African American boys raised in poverty who grew up to be athletic superstars (Rhoden 2006). One reason SFD is an attractive development method in neighborhoods suffering from inequality is because at a glance sport appears neutral, or nonpolitical—a “level playing field,” so to speak (Levermore and Beacom 2009; Martin 2014).

Underlying success stories such as those of LeBron James and Kobe Bryant is the American Dream, founded on the ideal of a meritocracy in which anyone can use a little talent and a lot of hard work to climb to the top. However, when constructing development programs, the level playing field of sport is at best a shaky foundation. Very few child athletes grow up to become super stars, and there is mixed evidence at best that sport participation as a child will bring success in other areas of life as an adult (Coalter 2008, 2010). Jay Coakley labels misplaced faith in the development power of sport the “Great Sport Myth,” defined as the assumption that sport is “inherently pure and good,” that this purity and goodness is “transmitted to those who play or consume [sport],” and that “sport inevitably leads to individual and community development” (2015:404).

Community development is often need-based and institutionally driven. It targets specific communities and seeks to offer programs that will counter needs identified by experts and policy makers. For example, if a low-wealth, minority community is labeled “high crime,” it may be selected by a nonprofit as the site of a new after-school program meant to keep youth engaged in positive activities so there is less opportunities for them to commit crimes. One major problem with need based development is revealed by asking, who is the hero of a development narrative? The victim(s)? The villain(s)? Need-based strategies of community development position outside institutions, organizations, and experts (e.g. the nonprofit) as “heroes” of the stories, and thus—perhaps unintentionally—classify neighborhood residents, even children (e.g. youth who might commit crimes), as at best powerless victims dependent on heroes, and at worst, antagonists heroes must defeat (Shorters 2016). This development strategy strips, rather than restores, the dignity of residents in marginalized communities.

Overcoming challenges in low-wealth minority communities requires new narratives and practices of development. Instead of constructing strategies based on needs of low-wealth people and places, there is a call for community development that works from the “inside out,” turning over control of the process to resident-stakeholders. Asset-based community development (ABCD) assumes low-wealth neighborhoods, like all other communities, have an assortment of gifts—such as sport—that can be leveraged for development. Assets are people themselves and all of their skills and experiences, as well as neighborhood associations, facilities, and institutions (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). ABCD empowers neighborhood residents to define development agendas and form strategies to accomplish goals using primarily local resources. It is a welcome shift in narrative for residents of low-wealth neighborhoods who want a voice in the development process. However, ABCD often

lacks a critical race consciousness, leading to programs that overemphasize more visible issues (i.e. crime) while failing to challenge social mechanisms in which they are rooted (i.e. poverty and systemic racism).

In this paper, I use a case study of the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA) football and soccer programs (see Tables A.4 and A.5 for a description of the teams)—which were founded by residents of Pearson, a low-wealth minority neighborhood in a mid-sized city in the southern U.S.—to demonstrate both the value and limitations of SFD. Sport is a culturally significant institution, but this does not necessarily translate into successful development. Nevertheless, it is still a valuable asset possessed by many low-wealth communities. I conduct a critical race analysis of the PYA using Feagin’s (2001, 2004, 2006, 2013) framework of systemic racism theory. When framed using Feagin’s systemic racism theory, the GSM is debunked, and an intentionally critical race practice of ABCD opens the door for a new narrative of SFD: one in which sport for development programs can be wielded as assets in resistance to systemic racism.

My case study reveals the extent to which PYA stakeholders view sport as inherently good, but it also shows them to be more critical practitioners of sport for development than one might expect. Many Pearson residents credit the sport programs of the PYA for bringing some positive changes in the community, but they are not blind to some of the weaknesses of the organization or the need for a multi-asset approach to development that reaches beyond sport. I interrogate the ways in which their experiences with the PYA debunk the GSM while also reframing SFD as a means of resisting manifestations of systemic racism in their lives. Finally, I consider the implications this case study has for further research on sport and community development.

Review of Literature

Systemic Racism Theory and Community Development

Feagin (2004) has written extensively concerning systemic racism theory, which he developed as a framework that “emphasizes material, social, educational, and political dimensions of racism” (p. 205) with particular attention to the “everyday experience” of racism in the United States (Feagin 2001:4). According to Feagin (2001, 2004, 2006), key aspects of systemic racism theory, which is an antiracist framework, include: economic domination characterized by the unjust enrichment of whites and impoverishment of blacks and other minorities and the transmission of this disparity across generations; a racial hierarchy in which racial groups have divergent interests and alienated relationships; the costs and burdens of racism that extend to discrimination and

cultural imperialism across multiple, interconnected societal institutions such as “education, politics, housing, health care, policing, and public accommodations” (2006:23); the white racial frame, which is “an organized set of racialized ideas, stereotypes, emotions, and inclinations to discriminate” (2006:25); a racist ideology used by whites to defend and rationalize racial oppression; and ongoing individual and collective—most often black—resistance to systemic racial oppression.

What the theory of systemic racism demonstrates is that racism is not a social disease plaguing an otherwise healthy social system. Racism is, in actuality, in the “foundation” of the house of the United States (Feagin 2013), which has been called the “first democratic nation” even though it was built by a convention of elite white men, 40% of whom were slave owners, who governed a national population that was 20% enslaved blacks. The economic exploitation and unjust impoverishment of black people in the United States began in the 1600s with slavery, continued through a period after the Civil War of “legal segregation,” and remains now in the form of significant wealth disparities between whites and blacks—in 2009, median white household wealth was twenty times greater than median black household wealth (Killewald 2013). White economic domination of blacks and other minorities is the foundation of current patterns of social inequality such as neighborhood racial segregation, high rates of unemployment, and a lack of residential and social mobility (Farley and Squires 2005; Swisher et al. 2013).

There is an evident racial hierarchy in the United States in which whites are superior to all other races, other minorities are in the middle, and blacks are at the bottom. This hierarchy is visible across time, and has changed very little even in light of resistance such as the Civil Rights movement. The United States is currently run by a democratically elected black President, but it is anything but a “color blind” society (Bonilla-Silva 2014). In the racial hierarchy of the United States, men like President Obama are an exception used by whites to justify myths of a “post-racial” society. The system privileges white interests over the interests of all other racial groups, especially blacks, and “has kept African Americans from doing much of what they need and desire to do for themselves and their families” (Feagin 2006:21).

White domination and cultural imperialism is also evident when studying unequal education opportunities between whites and blacks (e.g. Parsons and Turner 2014); a lack of black representation in policy-making and decision making positions in society (e.g. Marschall, Ruhil, and Shah 2010); and alarming rates of mass

incarceration of black men combined with the failure of American law enforcement and criminal justice institutions to protect black citizens from police violence and civil rights disenfranchisement (Alexander 2012). Systemic racism is present not only in institutions, but also in the consistently discriminatory behaviors of white people, actions supported by a strong white racial frame, which merge with a racist ideology that establishes white superiority as a thing of “natural social order,” thus rationalizing racism. Many whites outright deny the existence of racism in the United States, with arguments ranging from “I never owned slaves,” to “I’ve got plenty of black friends” (Bonilla-Silva 2014), while others acknowledge certain problems with “race relations” but root them in individual prejudice instead of systemic oppression (Feagin 2004, 2006).

At a glance, systemic racism appears to be an insurmountable obstacle to social progress in the United States. It has, after all, endured for over 400 years in the world’s first “democratic” nation. Institutions change very slowly, but there have been significant moments of resistance to systemic racism in the United States (i.e. the Civil War) as well as ongoing black resistance to racial oppression that ranges from slave revolts in the 1700s and 1800s to African Americans waging battles through the court system for legal recognition of their rights. Finally, throughout history, African Americans have established and passed down ever evolving counternarratives of human relations that envision a more egalitarian society and reject negative, white framed images of blacks and explanations of social relations. These lessons in the practice of counterframing aid each subsequent generation of blacks in bearing the weight of oppression while embodying antiracism (Feagin 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2014). Resistance, according to Feagin, is the most important dimension of systemic racism theory. Resistance has existed in many forms as long as racial oppression has existed, and as more people become engaged in active resistance, a potential exists for it to become powerful enough to radically re-formulate the system and begin to uproot systemic racism (Wingfield and Feagin 2012).

As of yet, resistance has not gained enough momentum to overturn institutionalized racism and other forms of social inequalities. Small amounts of progress have reshaped but not eradicated racism. One example is the current system of mass incarceration in the United States, which Michelle Alexander (2012) considers the “New Jim Crow” because of how it “legally” strips freedoms and civil rights from black men with felony records, even after their release from prison. Progress has been made in every day interactions as well, though Wingfield and Feagin (2012) explain that the hard framed racism of the past (e.g. use of racial slurs) has been replaced by

soft framed racism, which is less explicit but still damaging (e.g. the media's overrepresentation of crime stories with black perpetrators). Bonilla-Silva (2014) also notes similar patterns, which he describes as color-blind racism, in the ways interview respondents discussed race, such as insisting they were not racist but explaining interracial marriages were less likely to work because of family conflicts or the stress it would put on multiracial children. Wingfield and Feagin (2012) attribute these shifts to a "racial dialectic" in which hard framed racism (a thesis) is challenged by black resistance and counterframing (an anti-thesis), but the challenge produces a minimal change or soft-framed racism (a synthesis).

Standard practices of community development can be understood in a framework of systemic racism and the racial dialectic. While many projects are well meaning, they do little to challenge the economic domination of minorities by whites. Most social welfare programs aim to help people survive day to day in an unequal system. They provide resources to meet pressing needs without considering long-term social change that could prevent these needs. These programs often further exacerbate and alienate negative race relations by employing white experts to commit to community service in low-wealth, predominantly minority communities, promoting "white savior" narratives and stereotypes that classify people of color as needy and unable to help themselves. Community development that intentionally rejects the white frame and racist ideology is instead needed, approaches that establish a counterframe of development that empowers people, create opportunities for relationships and partnerships grounded in empathy and shared ownership of the process, build the capacity of individuals to change their own communities in the ways they see fit, and recognize the worth and dignity of all persons. Many scholars have used critical race theory to point to the limits of using sport as strategies of development in low-wealth minority communities (e.g. Hylton 2010), but systemic racism theory raises the possibility that sport can also be practiced in intentionally antiracist ways, and when directed by resident stakeholders in a minority community, it can be an important source of counternarratives of individual power and ability and neighborhood pride.

Sport for Development and the Great Sport Myth (GSM)

While sport has been a documented part of human society since 6000 B.C., recently it has also been conceived of as an important facilitator of human progress and development, emerging as a field of study and practice called sport for development (SFD). Youth sport programs are popular worldwide and have been a

longstanding (and accepted) strategy for engaging at-risk young people (especially boys) in neighborhoods across the Western Hemisphere as well as in developing nations (Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Coalter 2012; Levermore and Beacom 2009). The goals of these programs are often ambiguous, but they are generally directed at individual development such as increasing self-esteem and confidence (Daniels and Leaper 2006; Wagnsson, Lindwall, and Gustafsson 2014), teaching discipline and life skills (Trottier and Robitaille 2014), increasing academic performance (Rees and Sabia 2010), and helping youth “get out” (shorthand for achieving social mobility and escaping poverty) (Curtis, McTeer and White 2003; Fuller et al. 2013). Community development practitioners, as well as volunteers and participants, assume sport will benefit young people without specifying how it might do so and without carefully evaluating the outcomes of specific initiatives (Coalter 2008, 2010).

SFD scholars have begun to establish and evaluate sporting initiatives, often relying on measures of social and cultural capital to record and analyze outcomes. They have found for certain people, sport may increase social mobility or at least short term odds of success. For example, some research has shown student athletes in high school are more likely to attend college and that former athletes have higher earning potential as adults (Spaaj 2009). Sport also has the potential to enhance access to physical, social, cultural, and economic capital by helping young people become physically fit, build relationships and networks, and access employment and educational opportunities that would be otherwise unavailable (Curtis et al. 2003; Daniels and Leaper 2006; Picou et al. 1985). Historically sport has been an integral part of social movements for equality, including the women’s rights and Civil Rights movements in the United States as well as the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Sport has a documented power to draw people together across social barriers and inspire shared pride amongst diverse groups (Lom and Corson 2013; Nauwright 1997; Rhoden 2006; Zhemukhov 2014).

A critical analysis of SFD calls into question some of the positive outcomes of sport programs. For instance, the benefits of SFD programs are unevenly distributed along race and gender lines—with white males benefiting the most (Messner 2007; Sabo, Melnick, Vanfossen 1993)—and sport programs are rarely studied longitudinally, so it is difficult to determine if the effects are significant over the life course of someone who participates in sport as a child. Furthermore, the socio-political history of sport is complicated. Although sport as a hobby of dominant groups has been recorded, the role of sport in the lives of minorities has been rendered invisible in official historical accounts (Wavlin 1984). For instance, while golf is considered a white, elite sport,

African Americans contributed numerous outstanding players long before Tiger Woods, designed some of the earliest courses, and invented equipment, such as the contemporary golf tee (Martin 2014).

When sport is being used as a development tool, practitioners rarely mention it was widely disseminated through European imperialism and colonization, and in the Western world its history is fraught with racism and discrimination. Rhoden (2006) shows how early American sport was populated with black slaves who competed for cash prizes for their masters. The rules of sport have shifted sometimes blatantly and other times more subtly intentionally to maintain the racial hierarchy of white dominance and to create obstacles for minorities who are professional athletes to use their platforms to press for equality. Even now, African American athletes sign \$40 million dollar contracts but still exist as “slaves” on white-owned plantations (franchise teams) of the professional sports industry (Rhoden 2006). A recent example of the clash between black athletes and a predominantly white-owned sport industry occurred when the WNBA fined teams and individual players for wearing warm up shirts that called attention to law enforcement violence against blacks. Fines were later rescinded when players used postgame interviews to publicly criticize the league for stifling their freedom of expression (Mather 2016).

These problematic aspects of the institution of sport that challenge the use of sport to “develop” the very communities it has had a hand in oppressing—especially communities of color—are silenced by the prevalence of the now global narrative of the virtue of sport. Coalter (2010) explains that “sport evangelists” travel the world promoting the gospel of sport and indoctrinating others with what Coakley (2011) calls the Great Sport Myth (GSM) or the “assumption that sport, unlike other activities, has a fundamentally positive and pure essence that transcends time and place so that positive changes befall individuals and groups that engage in or consume sport” (p. 306-307). The consequences of the GSM are far ranging and multilevel. Parents enroll children in endless activities, oftentimes sport teams, and sacrifice family time and other forms of education and enrichment in favor of sport (e.g. Lareau, 2011). Policymakers direct public and private monies and other resources towards sporting initiatives at the exclusion of other development opportunities. Well-meaning and powerful people concerned with social justice and philanthropy establish programs for underserved and marginalized communities that do more harm than good. Oftentimes, the benefits of large sporting events such as the World Cup or the Olympics are superficial and short-lived (e.g. Cope et al. 2015). Scholars interested in critically evaluating SFD programs lack support for their work because of the general sentiment that sport is inherently good and positive development is

a given. Finally, self-interested societal elites are able to manipulate narratives of the virtue of sport to gain support for programs that will increase their own power and wealth, leading to higher levels of inequality (Coakley 2011, 2015; Coalter 2010).

Sport may not be a perfect tool for development, and it may not always produce positive results as the GSM would have practitioners and participants alike believe, but it is nonetheless an asset available in many communities in the U.S. with a unique potential to be used for community development. With this in mind, it is important to consider new narratives of sport for development that critically explore the possibilities of sport as well as its shortcomings and position it in a larger program of development that seeks long-term solutions to structural problems such as systemic racism.

Asset-based Community Development (ABCD)

Standard models of community development are based on needs instead of assets. Professionals use their expertise to map the deficiencies of a specific place and then strategize how to meet these needs, such as by connecting the community with institutional service providers who specialize in aiding marginalized clients. While this model has had some success in ameliorating certain problems, it does little long term. People labeled as “in need” enter into a vicious cycle of expending personal time and resources to find the right service providers who can assist them week to week or month to month to break even. Advocates of asset-based community development (ABCD) point to the role of institutions in maintaining hierarchical social relations as one reason they are limited development tools. In fact, actual development is counterintuitive to these institutions because successful development would render professional service providers unnecessary as communities grew in their capacity to provide for themselves (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight 1995).

ABCD turns traditional models of community development inside out by emphasizing the power and capacity of people in marginalized neighborhoods to direct individual, associational, and institutional gifts (or assets) toward resource-multiplying development activities. These engaged citizens can then take the outcomes of these activities—which belong wholly to the community—and invest in additional development. Hence, programs established on principles of ABCD are accountable to local resident stakeholders, not to institutional professionals or outside resources. In fact, their primary resource is relationships amongst stakeholders, not money. These

programs are, at the core, capacity building—channeling increased involvement into larger networks of relationships, more connections between gifts and thus increased synergy and asset multiplication (Duncan n.d.).

ABCD can be broken down into five key steps to mobilize a whole community: 1) asset mapping; 2) networking and building relationships; 3) leveraging relationships to build a local economy and increase a community's ability to develop and communicate information; 4) holding a meeting for stakeholders to construct a plan for development; and 5) seeking and considering the integration of outside resources (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). Asset mapping requires investing a significant amount of time to listing and describing all available assets in a community. It is an ongoing process because as development takes place, there are additional assets to add to the map. ABCD divides assets into three major categories: individuals, associations, and institutions. Additional assets include physical characteristics of a neighborhood, such as parks and buildings, as well as economic assets. Individuals are residents with their gifts and skills. Associations are “three or more people who come together by choice and mostly without pay because of a common interest” (McKnight and Block 2010:6), and thus are not limited to formal community organizations. Institutions can be service providers, schools, churches, large nonprofits, and other things that exist within and outside of a particular community. ABCD resituates institutions as “assets” whose contributions to development are directed by community stakeholders. In this way, ABCD acknowledges the potential of institutions as assets without ignoring the problematic nature of institution-driven development (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993).

Relationships are the primary source of development because they link people, associations, and institutions in order to direct gifts towards community problem solving. Collectively solving problems requires resident skills, local markets, and communication centers that can be used to enhance the local economy and give local stakeholders control of images of their community and the vision for its future. This is why it is an important precursor to meeting with stakeholders to develop a vision and plan. Such a meeting can match local values and development agendas with available assets and good strategies for progress. Only after this has taken place should ABCD practitioners seek and/or use outside resources to support locally driven development. Moving through the five steps of ABCD has the potential to mobilize an entire community to work for its own interest and to develop citizen-residents who are committed to long-term community restoration.

Citizenship is an important concept in ABCD. McKnight (1995) explains that as American society transitioned from a production-based economy to an economy largely based on technology, the service industry exploded and people became “clients” instead of “citizens.” Clients are labeled as people who have needs that can be met by professionals who work in the service industry. Citizens, according to McKnight and Block (2010), are those who participate in democracy and choose “to create the life, the neighborhood, the world from their own gifts and the gifts of others” (p.6). One of the primary goals of ABCD, then, is to restore citizenship through empowering neighborhood residents to take control of community resources and development, instead of relying on professionals or experts to name needs and offer solutions (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). McKnight and Block (2010) use the principles of ABCD to explain how a truly satisfying life comes from establishing strong neighborhoods and families, not from increasing one’s participation in consumer society. They ground an “abundant life” in seven key responsibilities: health, safety, environment, economy, food, children, and care. They then systematically explain how local communities made up engaged citizens, and not a consumer/client driven market of institutions and social systems, represent the best opportunity for accomplishing these responsibilities. An over-reliance on institutions decreases neighborhoods’ capacities to take care of their members.

A systemic racism theory analysis of ABCD does not discount the important contributions of ABCD to the development conversation, but it does reveal the presence of a strong white frame and the glaring silence of ABCD on the intersections between race and the history of distressed neighborhoods in the United States. Although they coined the term “asset-based community development,” Kretzmann and McKnight credit “the experience of courageous and creative neighborhood leaders from across the country” (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993:1) in the formation of the methods and principles laid out in several ABCD guides and on the ABCD Institution’s website. However, they fail to critically address the reasons these courageous neighborhood leaders feel the need to creatively work outside traditional modes of community development, or the fact that these leaders are most likely people of color without the institutional (i.e. university) and racial (i.e. white) privilege to disseminate their ideas. Additionally, Kretzmann and McKnight explain the devastation of marginalized neighborhoods in the United States through an economic lens, rightly pointing out the negative impacts of the closing of factories and loss of manufacturing jobs, but they do not connect the problems faced by low-wealth neighborhoods to the economic domination of people of color by whites that is central to systemic racism.

Since capacity building is central to ABCD and is often practiced in low-wealth minority neighborhoods, one of the primary capacities that should be encouraged through development is the capacity to resist racism. Systemic racism is central to the everyday experiences of low-wealth minority people, and their capacity to claim ownership of the development process in their communities begins with their capacity to reject disempowering, racist frames and alienated relations and instead to construct a counterframe—and new narrative of development—that reflects the unique character and assets of Communities of Color.

The Pearson Youth Alliance (described at length below) is a sport for development program that is unique in that it was founded and continues to operate in the Pearson neighborhood under the authority of local African American leadership. These local resident-leaders and stakeholders understand the importance of maintaining ownership in changing their community. They believe in the power of sport to accomplish their vision for Pearson youth and thus focus their energies on establishing multiple youth sport teams which are tasked with communicating the PYA's core organizational values—unity, character, and pride—to participants. Conversations with stakeholders reveal the ways in which the PYA has come to represent Pearson residents' ongoing resistance to their experiences of systemic racism. Based on these conversations, some key questions addressed in this article are:

1. To what extent do stakeholders in the PYA view sport as inherently good for people and place?
2. How do the experiences of stakeholders debunk the GSM?
3. In what ways does the PYA serve as a means for resisting manifestations of systemic racism?
4. What are the implications of these findings for research on sport and community development?

Methods

To answer these questions, I rely on four years of participant observation research with the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA) as well as eight in-depth interviews with eleven PYA coaches, parents, participants, and administrators. My work is a case study of the PYA community sports programs, focusing on the ways the programs have operated between 2012-2016 as well as experiences stakeholders have had with the PYA and their perspectives concerning its development work. A case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (Yin, 2013:16). It is an appropriate method of study

in this instance because the PYA's programs occur in a context that includes homes, offices, and the public park in Pearson; sites where games are played; and interactions between Pearson residents and other people that take place across these contexts. It would be a disservice to study the PYA as if it existed independently from the social arenas in which it occurs, the social networks that funnel people and resources into it, and the social-structural realities that frame life in Pearson. This is an oversight in community development research, which measures individual outcomes quantitatively and leaves out the larger neighborhood and social-structural context within which the programs operate.

I used critical race theory, feminist methodologies, as well as theories of community development, specifically sport for development, to guide this case study. Critical race theory and feminist methodology rely on a relativist perspective and the practice of reflexivity, acknowledging the significance of storytelling (Crenshaw 2011; Glover 2007), multiple truths and the co-construction of knowledge between researchers and participants (e.g. Gatenby and Humphries 2000; Doucet 2008; Smith 1987). During the interview process, I spoke to a variety of participants—coaches, mothers, fathers, residents, nonlocal volunteers, administrators, etc.—and encouraged all to speak from one or multiple roles which they occupy (for instance, father *and* coach) (Holstein and Gubrium 1995).

Observations began in 2012 when I spent intentional time with a small group of parents who operated a water station for the teams during PYA practices and games. I also brought my camera to games to take photographs for parents and coaches. In subsequent seasons, I moved from sideline roles to assisting coaches and filming games for the senior (oldest) football team. In 2015, I served as the primary administrator for the new soccer program, Pearson United (PU) (see Table A.5). I conducted research interviews between fall 2015 and summer 2016. I followed a semi-structured format, using a question guide but allowing participants to share stories and move the conversation in other directions (see Galetta 2013). Most interviews with persons living in Pearson took place in the participant's home or at the PYA office, which is an apartment in Pearson near the park where football and soccer practices take place. Several interviews were conducted in my apartment, one in my office on campus (with a student volunteer), and one in my car in the parking lot of a mechanic where one of the PYA coaches was having his car worked on. Each interview took between 90 minutes and three hours depending on what kinds of stories participants shared and whether or not it took multiple sessions to complete the interview

(two persons scheduled multiple sessions with me, and one person requested a re-interview after gaining more experience with the PYA).

While I took extensive written fieldnotes during the first year of observations and some audio and fieldnotes during the following three years, most of the data for this chapter comes from transcriptions of the interviews, which were completed over my third and fourth years of involvement. Gradually ceasing to take fieldnotes and moving toward interviews was a conscious decision after reflecting on deepening relationships with several participants and realizing I wanted them to be able to more clearly identify me as a researcher and choose what to contribute to the research. Participant observation research, especially when it is oriented toward social change, challenges boundaries between researcher and participants and raises numerous ethical dilemmas that each scholar must navigate (e.g. Gatenby and Humphries 2000). Interview research can still benefit from personal relationships and rapport that ethnographic research encourages, but the boundaries between what is and what is not research are more clearly defined.

During the course of conducting interviews, I moved between data collection, transcription, and early stages of analysis (which informed subsequent interviews). Charmaz (2014) calls this approach iterative, in which a researcher moves between data collection and analysis and engages in multiple, increasingly more focused coding cycles. Ultimately the data consisted of eight interview transcripts and many pages of fieldnotes and memos. Atlas TI coding software was used to assist in sifting through the data and applying and comparing codes. Early rounds of initial coding relied on more general, theory-driven codes, but additional rounds of data collection and coding honed in on concepts, questions and ideas rooted in the texts themselves. An example of a theory-driven code or a sensitizing concept (Charmaz 2014), is the *Great Sport Myth (GSM)*, which highlights places in participant narratives that align closely with Coakley's (2011,2015) definition of the GSM. In subsequent rounds, I also coded for more abstract codes and *resistance* and *narrative change* emerged, which showed contradictions between the GSM and traditional development rhetoric and created space to interrogate more ABCD-oriented practices of the PYA, discussed below.

Analysis

Question 1: The Value of Sport

At a glance, it might appear stakeholders in the PYA have fallen for the GSM. It was not difficult for them to explain why they believe sport is good for the youth participating and for the community. When asked, “Why sports?” (as opposed to other youth programs), a number of stakeholders expressed faith in the power of sport to change the community and inspire certain values, as well as its ability to enhance individual character traits such as commitment, self-esteem, social skills, and responsibility (e.g. Daniels and Leaper 2006). Coach Max, the father of one of the senior football team members as well as one of the team’s coaches, put it this way: “I think in life, in Pearson...there hasn’t been much winners here. [When they are on the field] they feel, ‘Hey, yes, I am winning. And not only that, but I am winning at life, too.’ I think that is the biggest thing. That is why sports is the biggest thing.” Here, Max underscores the power of sport to change the ways the kids perceive themselves on the field and off the field. It is a grand statement, but other interview participants echoed the sentiment that the PYA was an essentially good force in the lives of youth participants (Coakley 2011). PYA stakeholders were especially quick to praise the ability of sport to encourage unity.

Loyalty, the mother of three PYA participants, wife of one of the sophomore team coaches, and parent coordinator for teams her two sons play for, touches on the potential for sport to be a level playing field and to unite participants: “[Kids feel] challenged when it comes to educational things [because]...someone has done something better than them. Versus when they go to sports, it’s like everybody is the star, because we all know how to play, we’ve all been taught to play...It’s like, ‘I’m playing sport, but I’m playing with my friends.’” Embedded in her explanation of “Why sports?” is an acute awareness of racial inequality in the local public school system (see Table A.2 for some brief demographic information concerning residents in Pearson and in the city where Pearson is located). She understands that strife in the school environment can impact both the self-esteem of individual young people as well as their relationship with others if they feel they are competing in a system in which they cannot succeed. Sport, she believes, levels this playing field with all youth being given the opportunity to learn the skills in an arena that emphasizes a sense of team competition and success and strengthens the relationships between teammates. This is in line with Coakley’s (2011) explanation of the GSM, which he says highlights “the belief that sport participation has a positive impact on youth development because it...increases self-confidence,

self-esteem, and positive body image [and] builds character in the form of discipline, teamwork, and responsibility” (p.308).

PYA stakeholders also pointed to sport as an important source of pride in self and pride in community (e.g. Lom and Corson 2013; Zhemukhov 2014). Chantel, the mother of two football players as well as a parent coordinator for the senior team (see Table A.4 for more information on the structure of the PYA football teams), described the community trash pick-up days organized by the PYA every season:

[The PYA teaches pride] by having them doing the garbage pickup in the neighborhood. Pride about where you live at. If it's nasty, you like living in filth? If you don't like living in filth, let's get the trash up. They did the pickup. You know, it showed them [everybody] was out doing it. So it wasn't just we gonna throw the kids out there and let the kids pick up the trash. The parents were out there helping. That made them see we all take pride in where we live at.

Chantel overlaps pride and unity here, emphasizing the importance of the pick-up days for bringing kids and parents together to serve the neighborhood and express pride in their community. According to Coakley (2011), because the GSM favors a neoliberal and individual-focused agenda, in order to have an impact at the community level, the “lessons [must be] internalized by enough people,” (p. 309), and one of the aims of the garbage pick-up days hosted by the PYA is to integrate more people into the programs and vision of the PYA.

Pride and unity were the most often mentioned (possible) good outcomes of sport for development, and they are two core values of the PYA. Pearson stakeholders also told stories about the third core value of the PYA, character, as they recounted examples of behavior and attitude changes of participants. Maria, the coach of the oldest teams in the soccer program, mentioned some character changes she has seen in just a few short months: “The first time, they don't want to listen, they don't want to talk, and right now they talk, they asking, ‘Can I do that?’...they don't follow all [instructions]...but I saw every day, they change. Sometimes they go very happy and then other days they go very bad. I say, ‘Oh my god,’ [laughing] but maybe next weekend is better for them.” Hector, Maria's husband and a co-administrator of the soccer program along with me, interjected as Maria spoke: “[The players] change the manners!” And then he and Maria described several individual examples. I also shared a personal experience I had with one of the older players, Rafael, who refused to participate in a practice I was leading. After several weeks of defiance, Rafael asked for my name when he offered to help me carry some equipment to the field, and he has increasingly become one of the leaders on the team, volunteering his time to

assist coaches in directing younger players. John, a college student volunteer with soccer, also commented on the positive influence of sport, saying, “In terms of attitude, we know Rafael has done a lot better. I guess as I get closer to the kids—I don’t know how ‘bad’ they were at the beginning—you know what I mean? But now I’m comfortable in saying more than 90% don’t do drugs. That some of them care about their grades and want to go to university.” The ways PYA stakeholders describe these behavior and attitude changes amongst at-risk youth fit well within what Coakley calls the “fertilizer effect” of sport according to the GSM, which is that sport can be sown into the lives of marginalized youth to produce positive character growth because it helps them learn self-control and submission to authority, places them in contact with positive role models, and replaces the street environment with one that is more supervised and centered on “mainstream values and goals” (2011:308).

These are only a few examples of the “good” in sport mentioned by PYA stakeholders I interviewed. Parents shared about the growth in their children, coaches bragged on their teams’ increasing engagement, and leaders described how the PYA changed how residents and outsiders alike view Pearson. But Pearson stakeholders did not buy in to the GSM’s gospel of sport as an all-powerful tool of development. Interviews showed them to be critical users of sport for development who were thankful for the PYA and its positive outcomes but who do not overlook the ongoing need for “progressive change at a collective or community level,” which is a blindness the GSM promotes (Coakley 2011:309).

Question 2: Debunking the GSM

While SFD driven by large institutions (e.g. the United Nations) promotes the GSM and tends to over-emphasize the power of sport to solve problems, it also has the more implicit consequences of isolating sport from other strategies and assets of development and discouraging critical analyses because, at the heart of the GSM, is the belief that sport is “already as it should be” (Coakley 2015:403). Effective, sustainable community development in low-wealth minority communities, though, should be multilevel, multi-strategy, and multi-asset (e.g. Horton 1992). It also requires ongoing critical analysis and adjustment (Ledwith 2011). The PYA’s practice of SFD debunks the GSM in several crucial ways. The programs are locally driven, and Pearson residents have maintained control of planning and decision making (McKnight 1995). PYA stakeholders who I interviewed did not shy away from offering criticisms of the PYA and sharing ideas for its improvement, rejecting the idea that sport, or the program itself, is “as it should be” (Coakley 2015). They also were quick to give details about how the sport programs of PYA blend

with other things, which points to a more critical understanding of sport as one among many assets and arenas of development in Pearson (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993).

Two key critiques of the PYA that emerged in stakeholder interviews were the lack of clear leadership structure which stifled the flow of information, ideas, and resources; and a lack of parental/family support that increased the kid to adult ratio in the program, made supervision difficult, and put additional off the field burdens on coaches and other PYA leaders. Commenting on the structure, Jeremiah, who is the head coach of the senior football team, said this:

Each team is kind of its own kingdom, we all run things differently, you know... But I think that if it were a top down approach, that all coaches would be teaching the kids the same thing so that by the time kids got higher in the system, they would be educated on these same principles over and over again, rather than getting something completely new every time they switch to a new team.

As a coach, Jeremiah desired a top-down structure that would help coaches of the different age groups make sure they were teaching players in the PYA the same values from year to year. Since the PYA does little to publicize the organization's values or offer coaches training to establish consistency across teams, each team functions as its own "kingdom," and the SFD program is less effective because it lacks connections from team to team. The lack of hierarchy and formal structural also inhibits communication in the organization. Chantel described the frustration for parents when they receive last minute information:

[Coach Moses] isn't really [pause], how I say it? He's not really that organized...like sometimes, we would have spur of the moment, the game had changed, or you know like we got a scrimmage, you know like, "This is not organized." You know like, last minute. And maybe if we had a little more organization...try to get things out to those parents that are involved a little bit sooner than the night before. I mean, if I had a little time, I might could have slid away, you know, take my lunch break at a certain time [to make it to a game].

Chantel went on to suggest a better system for distributing information, such as mass texts, emails, and recruiting more staff. This is a system some parent coordinators have used in the past, but Chantel indicated it could be more centralized. If parent coordinators succeed in centralizing this system in the future, they would greatly enhance the PYA's ability to distribute information, contributing to step four of the ABCD process (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993).

Coach Moses is known and respected by nearly all residents in Pearson—but he is less effective at administrative tasks that require technology and planning ahead. His ability to recruit, combined with a lack of

communication and foresight, at times strains coaches, who feel they have more kids than equipment and no clear way to report their needs to the PYA's administration. Hector explained the problem:

I mean, there's really no communication...They don't even know how many balls we have, what we need, they really don't care about that. They looking for some kind of number of kids but they don't see what we need to have those kids...We need the equipment and it frustrates me they don't give us any. I mean [it's going to be better] if they offer us what we need.

While Jeremiah's comments touch on the lack of connections between teams, and Chantel's touch on the lack of connections between the teams and the parents, Hector points out a need for better lines of communication between upper level PYA administrators, mainly Coach Moses, and coaches who lead the program day in and day out and are more aware of what the teams need to succeed. Hector also expresses a key tension in development: that although programs might want to increase their reach, "more" is not always a positive thing if the community does not have the asset capacity to expand. In this case, local ownership is especially significant, because resident stakeholders can better navigate this tension than outsiders who are less familiar with available assets (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Black 2010). Even with gaps in communication, many of the mothers who are parent coordinators constantly evaluate the needs of the teams and step in where they can to close the gaps.

Loyalty, who has two sons on the football teams, described some of the initiative they take:

We also organize lunches, not only for kids that we have all day, but for the team that we are over. Each parent coordinator, and we don't have a limit of them, are over a certain team...we assist with all of those things from permission slips, birth certificates, pictures, rides, parent contact, and making sure they have food after the game. Food and water after the games...we're kinda the eyes and ears for the coaches when they're on the fields coaching or when they're talking to officials out on the sidelines after the game. We're their eyes and ears when they can't do it.

The parent coordinators are a vital part of overcoming some of the problems with structure and organization in the PYA and closing gaps across teams and within the leadership. As Loyalty mentions, there is not a limit on the number of parent coordinators the teams have, and so one of her stated goals (see below) as a parent coordinator is recruiting additional mothers to serve and empowering them to contribute.

Although some of the issues with structure in the PYA could be resolved by intentionally opening more lines of communication between coaches and administrators and across different teams, there would still be a gap between the PYA and parents of many participants. Most PYA stakeholders who were interviewed agree parent engagement is lower than it should be. This is an important problem to address because one of the goals of ABCD

is to enhance citizenship, and a lack of parent involvement reflects the disenfranchisement of families in the neighborhood and a lack of faith in their own capacities to address the needs of their children (McKnight and Block 2010; McKnight 1995). Responding to the question of the most frustrating thing about the PYA, Chantel had this to say: “Look at it this way: if you know, for instance, we got a hundred kids, we got ten parents. That’s a hundred kids. All different ages, you know you got them ranging from four years old to fourteen. That’s too many kids. And you know, not enough grown people to monitor [them].”

Chantel went on to explain the consequences of lower than necessary supervision: “They’ve had fights. You know they’ve had fights. They’ve had trouble, you know. We’ve had to leave.” Loyalty described the additional strain on the parents who are engaged in PYA leadership: “I try to think of ways [to increase parent involvement]. Cuz you know, a lot of these kids’ parents are right there at home and I mean, don’t even feed them. So they come to us hungry. And that’s more of a strain because it’s like, [parent coordinators] have lunch ready, [but] we don’t have breakfast ready.” Loyalty’s comments recalled an incident to my mind from fieldnotes when a football player on a younger team got sick because of dehydration. None of his family members were at the game, which was over thirty minutes away from Pearson. Several mothers—including Loyalty and Chantel—tended to him on the sideline. They found out he was sent to the game with a teammate, but without breakfast or money to buy food. They reached out to his parents and were told bluntly no one could pick him up. He should have gone home immediately or to the doctor but parent coordinators opted to purchase some food for him and keep him at the game because there were too few adults for someone to leave to take him home.

According to the GSM, one of the positive effects of sport for youth in underprivileged communities is increased supervision and subsequent resilience to social vulnerability (e.g. Coakley 2011; Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Coalter 2012). What this incident reveals, however, is that the quality of supervision offered by the PYA suffered because of the high ratio of youth participants to adult leaders and volunteers. Each of the soccer teams has 1-2 coaches, and each football team has 2-4 coaches, but there are up to 20 participants per soccer team and up to 35 per football team (see Tables A.4 and A.5). While middle class families with teenage children may spend copious amounts of time taxiing their kids to different activities (e.g. Lareau 2011), the pattern in Pearson, and many low-wealth neighborhoods, is the opposite. Coach Jeremiah noted some obstacles to parent

engagement with the PYA—such as single parent households where a mother is forced to work long hours—but also commented on the overarching pattern of decreased supervision as the youth move from childhood to adolescence: “You have kids that are grown by eleven, twelve, and thirteen just because by that point they’re responsible for themselves. They’re responsible for their brothers and sisters.” While the GSM promotes sport participation as a “replacement family” of sorts due to the connection of at-risk youth with positive role models (Coakley 2011, Fuller et al. 2013), Jeremiah was uncomfortable with the PYA’s ability to carry participants from adolescence to adulthood. When asked what the most at-risk group in Pearson was, he pointed to kids who age out of the football program:

The Pearson Panthers organization only caters to kids up to the age of thirteen [and then] we’re kind of forced to release you... [And] you’re really just kind of rolling the dice and hoping that everything that they needed to equip them for life, that they received. Because once they’re fourteen, they’re pretty much on their own...So I would say that group of young, black males that leaves the organization, that really don’t have any other structure to associate with after that are probably the highest risk just because they’re looking for something to get themselves into.

While SFD practitioners would like to believe sport offers enough character development, supervision, and structure to give at-risk youth what they need to succeed as adults, the reality is that it is difficult to measure the long-term effects of sport (Coalter 2008, 2010; McTeer and White 2003), and while sport participation can have positive effect, it is unlikely by itself to help communities overcome structural and systemic inequality and barriers to social mobility. PYA stakeholders want multi-faceted solutions to the challenges they are facing and do not expect the PYA to be the only, or even the primary, asset they need. During the interviews, they pointed to a need for more support for over-burdened single mothers, access to quality public education and opportunities for higher education, an increase in religious participation, and a desire to work with law enforcement officials to make Pearson safer. For example, Loyalty believed the PYA was responsible for increasing trust between Pearson residents and the local police:

Along with the violence, the police out here was given a bad name, and we brought the kids and the police together. Best thing could have ever happened. So now it’s like, “we know these officers, and we know they’re not bad officers, you know, [because] they’re at our games. They’re at our meetings. They’re at our park, you know, events. You know, they are at our banquets talking to us and interacting with us.

Maria and Hector agreed Pearson was developing, but feared potential consequences of a reduction of policing: “A lot of people, when they hear Pearson, they hear the bad place. But I think right now it’s a good play.

It's not too bad," said Maria, and Hector added, "It's improving," before Maria finished, "Yeah, I don't know why they changed the Sheriff's office, because when the Sheriff's office [was] there, it's [better]. And I know a lot of police is there." At the time of the interviews, the Sheriff's station had moved to a less visible location, closer to a recently constructed casino near Pearson, and several interview participants mourned the loss of police visibility. The success of the sport for development efforts of the PYA, they understood, were at least in part because the sheriff department helped to make the streets, and the public park where the youth practice football and soccer feel safer. According to Jeremiah,

The [PYA] has kind of make the park the hang out spot, where if in the past they may not have had a place to go, now it's OK to go to the part, and just hang out. "Instead of getting into trouble, I'm going to the park. If I need a place to go just to get out of the house, I can go to the park and I can be safe. If I tell mom I'm going to the park, she knows that I'm gonna be safe."

Pearson stakeholders desired progressive social change that would require a network of assets and institutions—sports, law enforcement, schools, families, etc.—to accomplish (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Block 2010).

Question 3: Resisting Racism

Feagin's (2004, 2006) theory of systemic racism outlines several key components of the manifestation of racism in America. Racism is evident in the U.S. generally, and in Pearson specifically, in several ways mentioned by Feagin. There are wealth disparities between whites, blacks and Hispanics in Pearson. While over 30% of minorities live below the poverty level in Pearson, just 20% of whites are impoverished (see Table A.2 for more detailed statistics). There is also an evident racial hierarchy that impacts relations within Pearson and between Pearson and other communities, something mentioned in several interviews. John, a college student volunteer with the soccer program described the racial hierarchy he saw, which aligns with Bonilla-Silva's (2014) depiction of American racial inequality that positions whites on top, other minorities in the middle, and blacks on the bottom:

Culturally, like black culture is frowned on pretty much, I think, in mainstream white culture, as would be Hispanic culture...just think of a stereotypical Hispanic versus a stereotypical black person. A Hispanic, not gonna speak English, they talk really fast, they're short. Things like that. And black is currently [a lot of] jokes like they just steal things, they mooch off of welfare and things like that...I also don't like the tension between the black and Hispanic culture [in Pearson]....there's very little mixing overall...It's complete segregation.

Elsewhere, I describe the ways the PYA has struggled to establish economic autonomy and how the PYA has rejected white-framed ways of operating in favor of local knowledge (chapter 4). In Feagin's (2006, 2013)

theory, the most important component is resistance, which is embodied in both the actions and rhetoric of predominantly people of color that call out and reject racism. Although SFD as practiced by the PYA has some flaws (outlined above), one of the most significant contributions of the program is the way PYA stakeholders employ it to change the narrative of their community and offer an alternative perception of Pearson. Here I briefly outline the counternarrative (Bonilla-Silva 2014) of Pearson as a neighborhood that residents are proud of and believe is worth investment and engagement. One of the most poignant expression of this counternarrative came from Isaiah, Chantel's twelve year old son who had played on PYA football teams for several years and had just moved up to the senior team. While he acknowledges problems that exist in Pearson, he rejects "high crime" and "poor role models" as the central narratives of his community:

Most boys get to crime faster because they see their father, their uncles, their—even their grandfathers doing this stuff. And they feel if they don't do it, they don't have anything else to look up to. And they don't have anything else to turn to. And I think that the main point of the [PYA] was to deny that. That they do have something else to go by.

As the conversation turned to the ways outsiders see Pearson, Isaiah further explained his frustration with the blindness to the positive characteristics of the neighborhood:

It is like absolutely you can't walk outside without being jumped by somebody, being shot, being hurt. But [in Pearson] you can go outside, you can meet someone. You can meet a nice person. You can, you can walk by somebody and help them. It's not always somebody getting hurt. Sometimes, sometimes it's somebody helping somebody that's hurt. Somebody giving something to somebody.

The PYA has generated a fierce sense of pride in Pearson, and as the counternarrative has become stronger, it has helped the PYA attract participants from outside the neighborhood. One of the main ways this narrative has spread, according to Coach Jeremiah, is through word of mouth at schools PYA athletes attend:

The kids are starting to buy into the brand name of being a Pearson Panther. I think they enjoy playing with their friends, they enjoy representing their neighborhood, and it's gotten to a point where they really want to help build the name of the Pearson Panthers...we no longer have kids that just come from Pearson...[now] the kids take pride in going to school and saying, "I play for the Pearson Panthers organization."

One of the most resistant aspects of the PYA is that it brings outsiders into Pearson to receive services, which stands in direct contrast to traditional development narratives that frame low-wealth minority communities as recipients of services who need of outside intervention (McKnight and Block 2010).

When asked about the best characteristics of Pearson, stakeholders mentioned the unity of the neighborhood and the ways people are willing to come together and to fight for what they want. They also mentioned increased business development around the neighborhood as well as the opening of a private school in Pearson and a charter school less than a mile away. Loyalty, who had moved in and out of Pearson over two decades, said she wanted to make Pearson her permanent home because she could see things moving in a positive direction. Chantel remarked that as a single mother, she is thankful for the extra support of male coaches such as Jeremiah, Moses, Raymond, and Max. Raymond and Max both live in Pearson and intentionally mentor the boys on the teams. Coach Max, who moved out of Pearson for several months, moved back in because he wanted to continue to be a present role model:

There's a definition of people I always hear, "I'm a product of my environment"...I grew up in the hood. I'm still living in the hood. But guess what? I never became that environment. I'm a product of it, but I never became the environment...I want to be the one, I want to stir [the kids] away. If I can just be a light, I'm here, you see what I'm doing. I go to work every day, I'm doing this, I'm striving to be an entrepreneur...I wanna be able to channel to them, "I can do the same as Coach Max."

In the minds of PYA stakeholders, the organization is contributing to the re-branding of the neighborhood. The PYA does not isolate the youth entirely from the challenges of systemic racism and inequality they are experiencing, as Max's comments demonstrate, but in Isaiah's words, "They do have something else to go by." The PYA has become a new neighborhood "brand" that residents can choose to represent and adhere to. While "branding" can be one of the most racist parts of the sporting industry in the U.S.—as Rhoden (2006) shows in his analysis of black professional athletes who are essentially "owned" by plantations of professional sport franchises—the PYA reframes the branding power of sport as a community asset that allows residents of marginalized neighborhoods to establish and maintain a self-defined (and owned) brand they can use to generate excitement and investment from inside and outside of the community. This rebranding process is one of restoring citizenship (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Block 2010; McKnight 1995) because it uses sport—an associational asset in the case of the PYA—to mobilize Pearson residents to work for their own benefit and map their own course for development.

Discussion and Conclusion: The Implications for Community Development

The results of my case study show that PYA stakeholders do have a strong faith in sport as a tool of community development. However, their faith is tempered by the acknowledgement of ongoing problems within the PYA and within the neighborhood. While PYA stakeholders are invested in sport for development, they do not believe sport is the only tool they have, nor that it should be. They desire a multi-asset strategy that engages with several institutions to produce long-term community-level progress, not just individual outcomes. The major way in which the PYA is an example of a SFD program that debunks the GSM is through the formation of a counternarrative that challenges manifestations of systemic racism that stakeholders are facing. This counternarrative rejects racist assumptions that Pearson is a needy, high crime community with broken families who are not invested in their children's futures. It does not pretend problems do not exist, but instead it reframes Pearson as a place where development is occurring and where residents have access to resources, relationships, and role models within Pearson that they can tap into with the goal of increasing investment in their community and providing for the next generation. The citizens of Pearson who are engaged with the PYA are the heroes of this story. As more stakeholders attach themselves to this new brand of Pearson, the level of resistance in the community and development will continue to increase.

Though as a case study my specific findings may not be generalizable beyond Pearson and the PYA, there are several important implications for the practice of SFD in low-wealth minority communities beyond the one I studied. The first implication is that establishing a sport for development program as a locally owned and operated development initiative provides an important safeguard against many of the potential negative outcomes of the GSM. When an SFD initiative is locally driven, it is less likely to fall into the traps of being buttressed by blind idealism, reinforcing class and racial inequality, or ignoring other important assets and strategies of development. It is also more likely to seek community-level, structural changes and not just individual development.

Another implication is that sport is a significant asset of development, but the success of SFD programs may depend on viewing sport as one among many possible assets available for development, and intentionally pursuing a more multi-faceted strategy. PYA stakeholders did not isolate sport from other significant assets and institutions, particularly law enforcement, the education system, and strong families. Structural inequality such as racism cannot be successfully challenged with individual-level only solutions or with shortsighted development

that takes care of today's immediate issues without considering the underlying causes. Looking at the larger picture, Pearson stakeholders were aware that the obstacles the youth were facing could not be conquered by sport participation alone and that there was still a need to consider how to bridge the gap between their exit from the programs and entrance into adulthood. SFD practitioners working in low-wealth communities should exercise similar caution—understanding the limit of sport and need for additional assets—as well as optimism, realizing sport can be an excellent starting point for generating engagement and interest in further development work.

Finally, while sport for development practitioners in low-wealth communities should be cognizant, even wary, of the oppressive history of sport and its potential to reproduce inequalities, they should also critically examine opportunities within SFD to use sport to challenge systemic racism and its oppressive manifestations at the individual and community level. In the case of the PYA, the challenge comes in the ways that the program has assisted stakeholders in rebranding their community and developing a counternarrative that resists negative presentations of Pearson in the media and city where Pearson is located. Changing the narrative and rejecting harmful images that outsiders use to label Pearson is an important step in re-enfranchising Pearson residents and empowering them to take charge of development in their neighborhood. This is an important goal of ABCD and also represents an important contribution of my work: the infusion of asset-based community development with a critical race consciousness.

One of the limits of my work is that I am using theories and models from sport for development, asset-based community development, and systemic racism theory to evaluate the PYA even though the PYA was not founded with these (or any particular model) in mind. It would be easy to ask if a retroactive analysis such as this is appropriate or what kinds of challenges Pearson stakeholders might face in implementing changes based on this analysis since the program has already begun and gained significant momentum as it moves in certain (not all positive) directions. The criticisms and new ideas raised by stakeholders show a willingness to evaluate and adjust the PYA, but at the completion of this research, several significant problems remained, such as lower than needed levels of parental engagement and a limited leadership structure that resulted in poor communication. Taking time to reflect and establish programs with best practices in mind is undoubtedly a better approach than starting something quickly and then facing significant obstacles to changing a flawed system. Future development projects in Pearson and elsewhere and using sport as well as other assets would benefit from the application of ABCD and

systemic racism theory from the outset, which would walk residents of low-wealth minority neighborhoods through the process of mapping the assets available to them; establishing networks of relationships across assets; enhancing the local economic and communication context so there is a strong foundation on which to build; and having meetings that are part planning and part critical consciousness raising. Intentionally engaging in this process means programs that are implemented will be locally driven, well-informed, clearly structured, and strongly supported from the beginning, and thus increasing their success.

Chapter 3: The Counternarrative of Community Cultural Wealth

A particular understanding of what community means and what constitutes an ideal community shapes both the methods and goals of development. Community environments and outcomes of development projects are often evaluated using measures of financial, physical, human, social, and cultural capital and civic engagement (e.g. Blanchard, Tolbert and Mencken 2011; Browning 2009; Sampson and Graif 2009). While these measures are valuable and raise important questions concerning the reproduction of social inequality through community processes (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), at times they reinforce structural inequality by reifying dominant (white middle class) capital as the standard to which Communities of Color should aspire (Yosso 2005). Sport for Development (SFD) initiatives constructed for low-wealth, often minority, youth assume sport programs will open doors to social mobility for vulnerable young people (black and Hispanic boys in particular), such as increasing the likelihood of high school graduation and college attendance or providing connections important for the job market and navigating other social institutions (e.g. Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Coalter 2010; Holt et al. 2012). Due to the burdens of systemic racism, minority youth may perceive these goals as unattainable through other means (e.g. Rhoden 2006).

These are lofty goals for sport programs, but there is a general sense of faith amongst individuals at all levels of society—from international government officials and presidents of nations to local community center directors and single parents of struggling families—that sport has the power to produce upwardly socially mobile young people (Curtis et al. 2003). Implicit in this assumption is both a definition of ideal community—one that raises successful young people—and an identification of a trusted tool to accomplish this community: sport. However, most sport for development programs are established and studied within institutions—such as schools and athletic clubs—instead of in neighborhoods where low-wealth young people spend most of their time and are socialized into society. Also, measuring the outcomes of SFD programs, especially as sites of community vs. individual development, has proven difficult (Coakley 2011; Coalter 2008, 2010). While sport participation does seem to improve individual life outcomes for some, these benefits are unevenly distributed (e.g. Messner 2007; Sabo, Melnick, and Vanfossen 1993).

Most SFD programs are also deficit based, which means they are founded on the idea that certain groups of people (i.e. young black boys) lack certain resources and qualities and seek to remedy these needs through programs (i.e. a football team). Ultimately, deficit based community development further disenfranchises residents of low-wealth neighborhoods by stigmatizing them and ignoring the abilities and knowledges they can contribute to the development process (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Block 2010). In the case of sport, too often it is viewed as an escape hatch from low-wealth neighborhoods for minority boys, which over-emphasizes individual benefits of sport, denigrates these neighborhoods as places talented youth need to escape, and ignores the potential of sport as a site of collective resistance and structural development. Using traditional measures of capital to gauge development in low-wealth minority neighborhoods will not work because most of these measures over-emphasize individual change and use a white, middle class base of capital as the standard to which all others are held accountable, thus reinforcing existing social hierarchies and failing to take into account forms of capital minority communities possess (Yosso 2005).

Elsewhere (chapter 2), I have called for a new narrative of development that is asset-based, not need based, and that empowers residents of low-wealth minority communities to take ownership of the development process. While asset-based community development (ABCD) emphasizes the gifts resident-stakeholders contribute to the development process (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Block 2010), it stops short of investigating the ways in which social problems in low-wealth minority communities are rooted in systemic racism. Using systemic racism theory (Feagin 2006) and the concepts of counterframing and counternarratives (Bonilla-Silva 2014) to reimagine SFD and ABCD, I have shown sport can be conceived of as an asset-based counternarrative of development. My research questions address the ways the neighborhood context of Pearson and the operation of the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA) demonstrate shortcomings of traditional measures of capital, how stories shared by PYA stakeholders are evidence of community cultural wealth being fostered through the PYA to resist systemic racism, and the implications of these findings for continued practice of sport for development in low-wealth minority neighborhoods.

Below I show how critical race theory and community cultural wealth (Yosso 2005) can be applied to interpret a counternarrative of sport for development that has the potential to transform individuals and communities and resist systemic racism. I draw representations of the counternarrative from stories offered by

stakeholders in the PYA, a neighborhood sport for development (SFD) program. Traditional measures of capital present a bleak picture of Pearson, but the narratives of the PYA offered by stakeholders present a very different image of the community and the development program. Although the narratives acknowledge problems in the neighborhood, they emphasize the ways the PYA demonstrates community transformation and a shifting identity in Pearson. Ultimately, these key stories show how participants resist systemic racism in their community by using community cultural wealth generated through the SFD activities of the PYA.

Literature Review and Theoretical Frame

Community and Sport for Development

Community studies cover many topics but often ask questions about the social processes of community formation, destruction, and maintenance (e.g. Simmel 1936; Toennies [1887] 2011; Wirth 1938); the significance of people's sense of community attachment (or belonging) (e.g. Flaherty and Brown 2010; Kasarada and Janowitz 1974; Sampson 1988); and the interplay between individuals, communities, and social structural systems that is evident when people seek to change communities and overcome social problems rooted in urban life (e.g. Bulmer 1986; Sampson, Morenoff and Earls 1999; Tolbert et al. 1998). Within community studies, SFD scholars are concerned with the process of using sport (institutions, leagues, teams, neighborhood programs, etc.) to enact positive changes that improve the everyday lives of people, including their ability to successfully navigate social structural systems within which they exist.

Although SFD can be studied from a global perspective—which considers the potential for sport to be used to reduce conflict and encourage unity in an international context (e.g. Darnell 2010)—in the United States and Canada, it is more likely to be undertaken from a youth development perspective concerned with the impact of sport on individuals through programs in more contained institutional contexts. Examples of these contexts include schools, recreation and community centers, and sport organizations and clubs. What separates SFD from other leisure studies is its particular concern for how sport can be used to enact change whether through the enhancement of individual abilities (sporting and otherwise), the strengthening of relationships between people who are engaged in sport (e.g. players or parents of players on a team, coaches and their players, fans of a club, etc.), or increased investment in a place (such as building new facilities or improving existing ones, attracting

business investments, etc.). A large body of SFD research and practice emphasizes the potential for sport to enhance the lives and opportunities of disadvantaged youth. In this context, sport is seen as a way to increase social mobility of vulnerable populations, especially minority boys and young men, and to give them tools to succeed off of the field in arenas such as education, work, and family (e.g. Haudenhuyse, Theeboom, and Coalter 2010).

For example, using semi-structured interviews with parents and athletes, Holt et al. (2011) found that while numerous barriers to sport participation exist for children of low-wealth families (transportation, work schedules, registration fees, etc.), those who were able to participate in club sports with the aid of scholarships reported benefits such as relationships with coaches and opportunities to make friends; increased teamwork and social skills; and improved emotional control, confidence, discipline, and academic performance. Anderson-Butcher et al. (2014) employed a pre-test, post-test survey of low-wealth youth in a university-operated summer sport camp. Their research shows development in sport competence for multiple sports as well as social competence (i.e. sense of belonging), but only the sport competence improvements were statistically significant (this may be due to the fact that social competence is more challenging to measure and quantify than sport competence). Holt et al. (2012) studied PE and after school sports programs at an inner city school to see what kinds of positive youth development were encouraged through the programs. Comparing interviews with coaches, administrators, and participants showed the key benefits were gains in empathy and social connections and that the context of the programs—during class, during lunch, and after school—influenced the outcomes.

These studies are valuable because they demonstrate the power of sport to enact individual change. They hint at some of the challenges of SFD as well, noting not all groups of people have equal opportunities to participate and thus access to the benefits. While improvement in physical abilities is relatively straightforward to measure, social outcomes are more difficult to operationalize and evaluate. And finally, context matters—clubs, university campuses, and schools have the resources to offer youth SFD programs and to intentionally include low-wealth minorities in these programs. These places may offer opportunities unavailable in the neighborhoods where these youth live. In the words of one study, “School programs represent an ideal location for promoting youth development in low-income areas because they can provide safe, supervised, and structured activities” (Holt

et al. 2012:97). Implicit in this comment is the assumption that neighborhoods where low-wealth youth live lack the capital necessary to provide safety, supervision, and structured programs and are thus unable to provide the same kinds of opportunities for development that schools (or other institutions) can offer. Community and family context influences individual abilities and opportunities to navigate social systems and overcome obstacles to success (e.g. Lareau 2011; Martens et al. 2014), but the solution of many youth SFD programs is to remove youth from their home context instead of to work within the context with the goal of transforming it.

Studying youth SFD outside of the neighborhood and family context by default limits findings to the ways in which sport can be used to enact individual change. It also reinforces, rather than challenges, the narrative that low-wealth neighborhoods constrain opportunities and success of their residents. According to McKnight and Block (2010), neighborhoods and families have been stripped of the capacity to provide for their residents because of the cultural myth of consumerism that an “abundant life” must be purchased. Low-wealth communities have less purchasing power and are marginalized in a culture that values participation in a consumer market above all else. Other social theorists have also pointed to the further marginalization and disenfranchisement of the poor in Western nations (e.g. Bauman 2005, 2007). Advocates of asset-based community development (ABCD) root the capacity of neighborhoods and families to care for and provide for people in the recognition of individual gifts (assets), the formation of connections and relationships between people and assets, and the intentional and collective action to employ the gifts in ways that multiply them. At times, institutions undermine strong neighborhoods and families by labeling them as “inadequate, incompetent, problematic, or broken” (McKnight and Block 2010:2) and offering to sell them solutions instead of empowering them to become the solutions (McKnight 1995).

Although a marketplace-oriented consumer culture has created tension between institutions and neighborhoods—which are the places we live, but also connected to behavioral norms we embody, as well as the social relationships, wealth and income, and opportunities we can access—neighborhoods are still the primary source of health, safety and security, the well-being of the environment, the resilience of local economies, provision of basic needs (e.g. food, shelter), and the resources to raise children (McKnight and Block 2010). Research supports the importance of considering neighborhoods when studying development. For instance,

McKenzie et al. (2013) found wealth disparities between neighborhoods impacted the condition of the community and recreational facilities and the ability of these facilities to offer youth programs and encourage high levels of participation. Conditions of low-wealth residential communities have also been connected with negative life outcomes of residents, such as dangerous sexual behavior, patterns of delinquency, and lower levels of education attainment (e.g. Sampson and Graif 2009; Martens et al. 2014; Murry et al. 2011). The places people live impact their relationships with their neighbors as well as their ability to obtain and activate available capital (social, cultural, financial, etc.) (Browning 2009; Portes 2000; Sampson, Morenoff and Earls 1999).

SFD needs to reclaim the *community* aspect of development, grounded in the neighborhood contexts in which programs take place. Sport is one asset among many that neighborhood residents can use to accomplish their development goals. However, there is a gap in current literature. Neighborhood driven SFD programs are not established or studied as often as institutional driven programs. Most SFD programs for low-wealth minority youth are deficit based—emphasizing individual and community shortcomings—instead of asset-based, centering the gifts local stakeholder-residents contribute to the development process and accumulate as a result of their engagement. They also overlook the ways SFD can be intentionally employed as a means of enacting community level change and enhancing the capacity of neighborhoods to care for and provide opportunities for their residents. In order to do this, SFD must be carried out in ways that challenge structures of inequality, particularly systemic racism, which shapes the lived experiences of low-wealth minorities at home in their neighborhoods as well as in all other social arenas (Feagin 2006).

Asset-based sport for development that challenges systemic racism and other inequalities experienced by minorities requires a new framework of theory, practice, and evaluation. Elsewhere (Chapter 2) I have argued systemic racism theory is an appropriate theoretical foundation for an antiracist praxis of community SFD. Below, I add to this the concept of community cultural wealth (CCW), which is a critical race theory counterframing (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Feagin 2013) of cultural capital. Cultural capital is an important concept in theories of the reproduction and transmission of inequality across generations (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), but traditional definitions and measures overemphasize individual development to the detriment of community development and reinforce existing structures of inequality instead of resisting them (Yosso 2005).

Critical Race Theory and Sport for Development

In the era of President Obama, a flurry of post-racial theories has argued that the United States has moved into a new phase of history and politics no longer marred by racism and discrimination (Bonilla-Silva 2013; Crenshaw 2011). As Feagin (2006, 2013) points out, however, racism is systemic, rooted in the structural foundation of the nation, extending over 400 years from the genocide committed against Native American people to legal slavery and Jim Crow segregation to the present, where whites lament ongoing battles for equality such as the Black Lives Matter Movement and falsely claim equality has been achieved. The contemporary form of racism that exists in the United States has been described as color-blind or laissez faire racism (Bobo and Smith 1998; Bonilla-Silva 2013). It persists in more subtle, or “soft” forms in the face of cultural norms of political correctness and reemerges in explicit forms (e.g. political cartoons, offensive commentary) when it is threatened by counterframes and narratives of resistance (Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, and Embrick 2004; Feagin 2013; Wingfield and Feagin 2012).

Kimberly Crenshaw (2011) believes the post-racial era inaugurated with the election of President Obama is different from earlier iterations of color-blind or merit-based biases in the system. Post-racialism uses the present success of a few (e.g. Obama) as evidence for the collective overcoming of centuries of oppression. It puts the responsibility for overcoming existing obstacles to success squarely in the court of the individual, alleviating any responsibility the system bears for continued discrimination. This stance, which is entrenched in the American psyche, effectively neutralizes resistance. Development in this individual-focused, neoliberal tradition reinforces the myth of the American meritocracy and post-racial strategies of development that ignore the significance of racial oppression in the lives of African Americans and other minorities. Despite progress in race relations over time, ongoing resistance is critical for ongoing change. Critical Race Theory (CRT) emerged as a means for scholars to combat post-racialism, to center voices of marginalized persons in theory and practice, and to identify and challenge contemporary manifestations of racism.

According to CRT, conventions and norms in academic disciplines as well as political and social institutions (such as the criminal justice system) are often the framework the majority uses to maintain the status quo and unequal distribution of power across social groups in society. CRT reveals the political nature of these institutional

mechanisms and develops tools to challenge them. Activism such as the student movement at the Harvard Law School that birthed CRT is thus a key component of CRT. Scholarship and activism are united in CRT, which now encompasses numerous disciplines and social arenas. In practice, CRT centers marginalized voices through the use of storytelling (in the form of counternarratives, parables, oral histories, anecdotes, etc.) which reveal white privilege by challenging dominant narratives in society that support institutional inequality (Crenshaw 2011; Glover 2007). These stories, also called counterframes and counternarratives (Feagin 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2014), “build a common culture of shared understandings among minority communities whose voices are missing from scientific discourse while simultaneously destroying stock stories...[and are therefore] used for their transformative possibilities” (Glover 2007:197).

Aware of the threat of post-racialism and the need for CRT scholars to intentionally seek and produce multi-disciplinary knowledge that contributes to continued activism on multiple fronts, Crenshaw (2011) casts a vision for the future of CRT: “Beyond the academy, the opportunity to present a counter-narrative to the premature social settlement that marches under the banner of post-racialism is ripe. In short, the next turn in CRT should be decidedly interdisciplinary, intersectional, and cross-institutional” (p. 1262). SFD research can contribute to this “next turn” “beyond the academy” in CRT, and CRT can be used to uncover and challenge stock stories and racism in SFD praxis. Practitioners often fall into a positivistic trap of analyzing programs as if the mechanisms that formed them, and thus their results, are politically neutral. In fact, in the 1990s and 2000s, sport was hailed by international governing bodies such as the United Nations as an especially politically neutral way to practice development (Levermore and Beacom 2009). The history of sport as an institution of colonization and racial oppression and its ongoing use to support the ideal of a colorblind America needs to be considered when sport is applied as a development tool. According to Hylton (2010; forthcoming), CRT can be used to frame analyses of race/racism and sport. He outlines five tenets of CRT that can be used in sport research, including 1) centralizing race and racism, 2) challenging convention and color-blindness, 3) social justice, 4) centralizing marginalized voices, and 5) transdisciplinarity. Sport is not neutral in history nor in contemporary practice, and the process of development is inherently political, since it presupposes a desire for, and action taken to accomplish, some form of social change. Applied to SFD practices then, a CRT framework raises questions of how racial power is expressed in

the development process generally, and, more specifically, how it is expressed in specific sporting contexts. SFD using a CRT lens rejects the notion that sport and/or development is racially neutral, challenges the assumption that sport is inherently positive and potentially liberating for racial minorities, and incorporates the voices of marginalized people into the analyses. The ultimate goal of CRT oriented SFD is not generalizable individual outcomes, but social justice, which means programs must be aimed at producing a collective, critical race-consciousness and social action aimed at institutional, as well as individual, change.

CRT has been used by scholars to interrogate and critique the sport experiences of African American athletes at all levels as well as those who work in the sports industry and those who participate as fans and consumers (e.g. Anderson and McCormack 2010; Agyemang and Singer 2013; Carter-Francique, Lawrence, and Eyanson 2011; Glover 2007; Griffin 2012). What these studies generally confirm is the ongoing presence of racism in sport, as well as the ways sport amplifies and/or reproduces existing inequalities. For example, Glover (2007) studied a little league baseball program using CRT to reveal that the policies and practices were not colorblind as they claimed to be and that there was tension when white teams had only one or a few black players as well as when black communities tried to organize all-black teams. The organization wanted to preserve an image of neutrality but in its pursuit of neutrality actually reinforced racial inequality. Glover's work is interesting considering the recent controversy over the all-black little league championship team from Chicago that was stripped of its title when league officials discovered neighborhood gerrymandering and illegal recruiting practices (which helped the team recruit the best black athletes from the city) (Longman 2015). The team was hailed as the first all-black team to win the title and then subsequently destroyed in the media by the cheating scandal, leaving one to wonder if the depth of scrutiny surrounding their victory and the violent response to the rules violations was evidence of underlying racism in the league as well as its fan base.

Although many celebrate the centering of marginalized voices within CRT, some have argued that only particular (e.g. black American) voices are centered and that CRT's emphasis on the black experience risks reifying, instead of undoing, the black-white dichotomy in the United States (Picart 2007). For instance, Litowitz (1999) alleges CRT scholars risk producing narcissistic work that over-emphasizes personal experiences without connecting them to academic questions and relies on storytelling without considering the fact that stories are

inherently emotional and could also be used against the cause. To demonstrate this, Litowitz offers the possible conflict of narrative that exists when CRT scholars claim to be “outsiders” even while they hold gatekeeping positions in powerful universities and publish research widely-read academic journals. This criticism of CRT reflects the post-racial climate in the social sciences (Crenshaw 2011). Arguing CRT is strengthening the black-white divide in American society assumes significant progress has been made to heal the divide when, in fact, it has not. Although many individual CRT scholars have overcome certain barriers to career success, CRT is concerned with macro-level, systemic inequality, not exceptions. Patricia Hill Collins’ (a critical feminist scholar) concept of the “outsider within” (Collins 1986) can be applied to reflect on what it is like for marginalized persons to achieve certain statuses inside of the academy while being constantly reminded that they are barely accepted.

Much CRT scholarship is conducted outside of the black-white dichotomy in the United States. The concept of community cultural wealth I use here, for instance, has been variously applied to interrogate the education experiences of black (e.g. Jayakumar, Vue and Allen 2013; Green 2014), Hispanic (e.g. Valdez 2010; Espino 2014); and Asian (e.g. Lu 2013) young people in the United States. PYA programs (as well as my interviews) involve black and Hispanic stakeholders. CRT does not privilege these stories to the exclusion of other forms of data and social-scientific knowledge. Instead it incorporates stories as significant sources of experiential knowledge held by marginalized communities that must be included in social research, especially when the project is aimed at solving social problems that disproportionately impact Communities of Color. CRT scholars with academic jobs are an important conduit for the magnification of marginalized voices and experiences in the academy and beyond. The counternarratives of development discussed below were generated in Pearson through stakeholders’ everyday interactions with the PYA and through critical analysis of what they experienced.

A standard critical race criticism of sport is its demonstrated potential to reproduce inequalities. However, it can also be viewed as “contested terrain” and a potential site of resistance. Hartmann (2000, 2003) explains resistance and domination are difficult to untangle and can exist alongside one another, making resistance “limited, partial, and contained” (2000:244), but possible. Sport, according to Hartmann (who cites Bourdieu), can be “a source of cultural capital that can be directed toward larger struggles for racial justice in the U.S.” (p. 244). Likewise, Hylton (forthcoming) sees CRT as able to interrogate “social relations and processes of power” (p. 12)

within sport and to aid the sport industry in conducting a more critical self-evaluation. Although CRT has been used as a lens to understand sport in professional and leisure contexts, it has rarely been used in SFD research, especially in a domestic context. My work constitutes an extension of CRT to domestic SFD, paying special attention to the neighborhood context. I suggest Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth (CCW) as a means of evaluating the potential for sport to be used as a strategy of development and resistance to systemic racism and inequality.

Community Cultural Wealth

Community cultural wealth (CCW) is, "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso 2005:77). It is a CRT challenge to the tendency of proponents of cultural capital to see low-income, racial minority communities as inherently "lacking" by using features of the dominant group and culture as the standards which determine what kinds of people can achieve upward social mobility. Indeed, one facet of Pierre Bourdieu's development of the concept of capital (social, cultural, financial, etc.) was the ways it contributes to the reproduction of social inequality (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Yosso (2005) and others (e.g. Huber 2009; Jayakumar et al. 2013; Liou, Antrop-Gonzalez, and Cooper 2009) argue for a more positive conceptualization of capital that is grounded in the strengths of the cultures of Communities of Color which offer marginalized people a means of resisting inequalities they face. Yosso (2005) identifies six forms of cultural capital that exist in many minority communities but are overlooked in traditional theories of capital: aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital, navigational capital, and resistant capital.

Aspirational capital is the ability to maintain hopes for the future even when facing significant obstacles to achieving them. It could also be called resiliency and is a hallmark of marginalized communities. An example of this form of capital from recent events is an exchange of letters between a high school teacher (white) and an African American professional basketball player. The Mount Eden High School teacher, Matt Amaral (2015), wrote a letter which went viral online, asking Steph Curry, the 2015 NBA MVP, not to visit his school because it would encourage false hope in the student body, most of whom are low-income blacks who are unlikely to become professional athletes. Charlton Jimerson, a Mount Eden High School alumnus and professional athlete himself, responded to

the controversy by highlighting the importance of having dreams and pointing out that Amaral's comments exploited the students and their experiences. Jimerson requested Curry to come speak to the students about his education and athletic achievements: "I have a motto that I translate to youth each and every time I have the opportunity: 'If you're going to be your biggest critic, make sure you are also your biggest fan.'" (Jimerson quoted in Elliot 2015). Jimerson's response exemplifies is the tendency of the system to underestimate aspirations of marginalized persons and the resilience necessary for them to pursue them anyway.

Linguistic capital encompasses the "intellectual and social skills" (Yosso 2005:78) gained when someone is able to communicate in multiple languages and/or styles. This would include a Latino child who speaks Spanish at home and English at school as well as an African American child who uses one version of English to communicate with friends and family and a second style of English to speak with teachers. It also encompasses other forms of communication fostered in low-wealth and marginalized communities, such as rap and hip-hop music, certain styles of dance, spoken word poetry, oral histories, and the practice of storytelling. Language is deeply connected to cultural awareness, and the ability to move between multiple languages and styles of expression can benefit youth when educational environments place equal value on all of the cultures that are represented, instead of promoting the mindset that certain forms of expression are superior to others. For example, in his autobiography, the rap artist Lecrae shares of his struggles in school: traditional public school classrooms did not have a place for artistic students such as him and his neighborhood valued athletic ability and street smarts over his skills with poetry and music. However, when he moved to a magnet school for performing arts where his classmates were mostly white, he felt alienated from his community and identity as an African American male and succeeded in convincing his mom to let him return to his previous school (Moore 2016). The linguistic capital of many racial minorities often goes untapped in American classrooms where educators are most concerned with "formal" English ability and traditional ways of speaking and writing.

Familial capital represents cultural knowledge that is planted and watered by one's kin, which is biological relatives plus a more broad community that shares a "history, member and cultural intuition" (Yosso 2005:79). It teaches one how to interact with others and fosters an "emotional, moral, educational and occupational consciousness" that shapes the individual and collective actions of the "extended family" (p.79). Familial capital

thus forms a tie between an individual and the larger community, which can become an important anchor for marginalized persons when they experience uncertainties resulting from social inequality. Neighborhood programs that establish a college-going culture in a community that is lacking a school system that supports minority students' dreams are fostering aspirational capital through the consciousness raising of familial capital (Jayakumar et al. 2013; Larotta and Yamamura 2011). This could be practiced through inviting former residents who have gone to college back to speak to peers who are following in their footsteps.

Social capital reimagined as an aspect of community cultural wealth is "networks of people and community resources [that] provide both instrumental and emotional support to navigate through society's institutions" (Yosso 2005:80). Explained this way, it is a tool of resistance to social inequality that marginalized people possess because of resources they can access via ties into their larger community. It is a strength that those in the dominant group who lack a collective consciousness and connection to a cultural extended family are unable to access. The network of people and resources that provides this kind of social capital is established gradually as marginalized persons use it to obtain success and then invest what they have gained back into the network that helped them make progress. Yosso (2005:80) relates this to the motto of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, which is "lifting as we climb." An example of the application of this motto is the system of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States, which produces and is supported by many gifted scholars and professionals.

Navigational capital is the skills minorities possess to navigate social institutions in the face of systemic racism and discrimination. It involves individual agency and resiliency as well as the community networks and resources that individuals can tap into to help them succeed in stressful environments. One major environment in which students of color have relied on navigational capital to succeed is on large university campuses, or "predominantly white institutions" (PWIs). Oftentimes special departments are formed that assist students in developing a strong community with others like them and then using the strength they receive from that network to engage the larger campus community. At the university I attend, the Women's and Gender Studies and African American Studies departments have served as "home" to African American and LGBTQ students and are important middle grounds between these students and the university's student body and administration.

Resistant capital is founded on the maintaining and passing down of other dimensions of community cultural wealth. It is “knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality” (Yosso 2005:80) and is an important part of the legacy of resistance and rebellion of marginalized minority communities. While resistant capital is not always positive—and can sometimes be self-defeating or conformist—when it is driven by a critical consciousness of structural inequality, it can lead to positive structural changes. One example of resistant capital would be the way African American mothers infuse in their daughters a sense of pride in their worth and beauty in the face of a whitewashed beauty industry that rarely features traditional African American features (e.g. natural hair) in a positive light. This resistant capital has become potentially transformative at the macro level as it has been picked up by numerous artists and social activists (e.g. Beyoncé’s recent music and film project *Lemonade* and her song “Formation”) and some companies that have promoted the “black is beautiful” movement (initiated in the 1960s and 70s) (Porter and Washington 1979).

Research using the CCW model tends to focus on educational attainment within institutional environments such as public schools and universities (Espino 2014; Huber 2009; Luna and Martinez 2013; Mahlomaholo 2010; Martinez 2011; Valdez 2010). However, community cultural wealth naturally extends from the institutional environment to the home context because of its emphasis of the lived experiences and embodied strengths of minorities. For instance, Dari Green (2014) conducted interviews with students, parents/guardians, and teachers/mentors in a Freedom Schools program in Baton Rouge, Louisiana that operates in a church in a low-wealth minority community. She found the program offered children’s activities and classes that helped students improve literacy and enhance their social advocacy and self-confidence. While these goals overlap those of other programs for low-income minority youth, the Freedom School is unique in its ability to also foster a social consciousness and understanding of Black history and current dilemmas African Americans face in the United States. Because the Freedom School intentionally weaves a social consciousness of African American strengths into the learning process, it contributes to the CCW of the children and families connected with the program.

Although CCW models are generally used to explore the strength of low-wealth minorities, Jayakumar and colleagues (2013) conducted interviews with middle and high income Black college students who had participated in the Young Black Scholars (YBS) college preparatory program in Los Angeles, California. They found that the

students regarded YBS as a more significant supporter of their college aspirations than their high schools and that the program helped establish a college-going culture amongst black students. These students came to see going to college as an act of resistance against racist narratives that saw minority students as less able to attain higher education and social mobility. Liou and colleagues (2009) also found public schools failed to help low-wealth minority students pursue their desires to go to college. They interviewed Latina/o students about their educational experiences in high school and argue the CCW model is “an alternative framework to engage local school stakeholders in the efforts of school improvement” (p.536). If stakeholders applied the CCW model, then they could incorporate the student’s funds of knowledge into the process of schooling, helping it align more effectively with the cultural background (and strengths) of the students.

Lu (2013) explains that CCW “emphasizes collective agency in the creation and accumulation of cultural capital” (p. 305) and studies a Taiwanese-owned school of music in New York City to show how Chinese immigrant families who enroll their children are applying a “musical cultural strategy for educational mobility” (p. 310). The school, Lu argues, becomes a means of encouraging academic success amongst the children of middle and working class Chinese immigrant families through the teaching of music as well as a site where Chinese immigrants exchange educational information. Although Lu focuses on a music program, the research is perhaps the closest yet to applying a CCW model to a sports program because the school of music, like a community sports program, is not just a place for students to learn music (sports), but also a “node” in an informational network, where “participants experience a sense of membership and social integration so that families can engage in local communities” (p. 308).

Considering CCW in the context of a community sport program extends the model beyond youth oriented educational settings to a neighborhood sport context that is a site of interactions between numerous members of a community. CCW is more valuable than other conceptualizations of capital for studying community level outcomes of development initiatives—not just individual development in isolated institutional settings—because it is rooted in the assumption that capital flows from the collective, lived, experienced of low-wealth minorities and that this capital is activated through collective resistance to oppression. One limit of the current CCW model is that it is so closely tied into existing literature concerning cultural capital in educational settings that it is rarely paired

with other critical models and methods of development in low-wealth minority communities such as ABCD. Like CCW, ABCD was constructed by scholars dissatisfied with existing frameworks for understanding resistance within minority communities. Unlike CCW, however, ABCD is missing a critical race consciousness necessary for understanding development and resistance in low-wealth minority communities in America.

In my research, I work closely with resident stakeholders of a youth sport program and use CRT and CCW to interpret key stories shared in interviews that are part of a collective critical consciousness and counternarrative fostered by the PYA. I offer a brief deficit-based image of Pearson, demonstrating the shortcomings of traditional measures of capital and then present a new image of the culture of Pearson that centers the voices of stakeholders and underscores the strengths of the community. I answer the following questions:

1. In what ways does the neighborhood context of Pearson and the operation of the PYA demonstrate the shortcomings of traditional measures of capital?
2. Based on key stories (counternarratives) of PYA stakeholders, how does CCW fostered in the arena of the PYA contribute to resistance against systemic racism?
3. What are the implications of these findings for the ongoing praxis of sport for development in low-wealth minority neighborhoods?

Methods

This research is based on a four year case study of the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA), which was conducted first through participant observation and later through in-depth interviews as I became more deeply engaged with the organization and had a harder time balancing participation with observation. The case study is multi-site, covering observations at offices and a public park in Pearson and multiple sport complexes outside of the neighborhood where teams compete (for an explanation of the complexity of context of case studies, see Yin 2013). Although my data includes hundreds of pages of transcribed interviews and fieldnotes, the current analysis is based on a much more focused portion of the data: three key stories participants told during interviews. There is disagreement amongst grounded theorists concerning whether or not a literature review should be completed prior to the analysis, and if so, how in-depth the review should be. While some theorists (e.g. Glaser and Strauss

2012 [1967]) question completing a literature review before the analysis because it could blind a researcher to concepts that are purely data driven, others acknowledge the importance of previous work for producing “sensitizing concepts,” or theory-based codes, that are a starting point for analysis (Charmaz 2014). I take this latter approach, using sensitizing concepts drawn from CRT and CCW to probe the data while maintaining my openness to other concepts that emerge from the data. Moving from initial rounds of coding to increasingly focused coding in an “iterative” process is important for developing an analysis that both fits the data and contributes to existing conversations in sociology. Examples of data driven concepts in my analysis include *challenge*, or places where stakeholders identified problems in their community, and *narrative change*, which is places where participants intentionally countered negative stereotypes of their community. Taken together, these are evidence of the social process of critical consciousness raising, which is a necessary precursor for resistance to systemic racism and resident initiated community development and which ties back into the sensitizing concept of familial capital (Larotta and Yamamura 2011).

To identify three key stories, I first chose 7-10 narratives present in the interviews that had several things in common: they appeared consistently across multiple interviews and/or multiple times within the same interview; they were representations of the collective history and consciousness of PYA stakeholders; and they stood out as being the anti-theses of “stock stories,” often places in interviews coded “narrative change.” I narrowed my original selection to three stories that were especially striking. The first, “Cheated” emerged in nearly every interview. The second, “Empathy” was powerful in its depiction of the everyday struggle for social change within the PYA that occurs on the individual level of coach-to-player relationships but is deeply shaped by structural realities in Pearson. The third, “Looking Up and Giving Back,” draws lines between the past, present, and future of the PYA by considering the possible long term outcomes of engagement that occur when youth who have “aged out” serve as role models for current participants. After narrowing my selection of stories, I carefully extracted the stories from the larger texts of the interviews and moved them to a separate document for further analysis.

Since my methods here differ from my methods elsewhere, it begs the question, *why stories?* Analyzing stories is an important task of CRT scholarship because collective resistance to oppression is woven throughout

community narratives and because listening to the stories shared within Communities of Color accounts for the knowledge they possess (Glover 2007; Huber 2009). The content of the stories themselves can be examples of rhetorical resistance, intentionally rejecting stereotypes and replacing them with an antiracist viewpoint (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Feagin 2013). But resistance is also embedded in the action of storytelling (expressing linguistic capital), and in the passing down of collective histories and experiential knowledge that builds resilience in the next generation and prepares them to engage in resistant behavior (Feagin 2013; Larotta and Yamamura 2011). Stories are situated within, and thus should be interpreted within, the cultures of those who tell them, making dimensions of CCW, which intentionally privileges cultures of communities of color, a significant tool of interpretation for stories told by stakeholders of the PYA. According to Yosso (2005:77), “various forms of capital are not mutually exclusive or static, but rather are dynamic processes that build on one another as part of community cultural wealth.” Within stories, this dynamic process is rendered visible, as different forms of community cultural wealth converge into counternarratives (Bonilla-Silva 2014) of collective strengths, rather than deficits, of Communities of Color.

Drawing from the work of Daniel Slorzano (1997, 1998), Yosso (2005) explains one of the tenets of CRT which theories of CCW contribute to as exposing “deficit-informed research that silences, ignores, and distorts epistemologies of People of Color” (p. 73). While sport can reproduce inequalities (e.g. Messner 2007), Hartmann’s (2000, 2003) concept of sport as a “contested terrain” is important when it is being applied to development. As I have written elsewhere (Chapter 2), a CRT driven praxis of SFD opens the door for sport to be used as a tool for critical community development that debunks the Great Sport Myth. As a contested terrain, sport is not viewed as inherently good or beneficial (e.g. Coakley 2011), but as a potential arena of individual and community transformation. The stories told by PYA stakeholders show how the sport programs are an arena of transformation, primarily through fostering a collective critical consciousness amongst participants, parents, coaches, and administrators. This consciousness rejects deficit thinking and privileges the experiences of PYA stakeholders, centering their voices and the knowledges they possess in the development process.

My analysis of the three stories below shows how the PYA offers opportunities for the growth, application, and ultimately multiplication of overlapping forms of CCW. An evident pattern is the ways coaches and

leaders employ linguistic capital (in conversations with players and parents) in the service of familial capital or nurturing cultural knowledges and the consciousness described above with the goal of producing higher levels of aspirational (goals) and resistant (actions) capital amongst youth. All of this occurs under the umbrella of social capital because of the resources individuals contribute to and access via the network of PYA stakeholders. Using CCW to interrogate the stories of minority resident-stakeholders in the PYA does not render the problems of Pearson invisible; in fact, the stories they share explicitly and implicitly acknowledge these problems. But stakeholders also highlight the structural roots of the problems and the ways in which the strengths of their community, instead of its deficits, can be a springboard for analysis and problem-solving (McKnight and Block 2010; Shorters 2016; Yosso 2005). Thus, rather than focusing on the reproduction of inequalities as traditional theories of capital do, this analysis emphasizes the reproduction of strengths through the stories within the PYA.

Analysis

Question 1: Pearson, the PYA, and Traditional Measures of Capital

Using traditional measures of capital to investigate Pearson would lead researchers to conclude the neighborhood is an environment devoid of cultural capital, financial capital, and physical capital. Pearson is similar in the percentage of residents who have graduated from high school to the city as a whole—a little more than 80%—but this figure disguises the fact that the citywide graduation rate for African American boys is only 46% (Holzman 2012). The gap is wider in higher education. Only 25.9% of Pearson neighborhood residents have a bachelor's degrees, while 33.7% of residents in the city have obtained a four year college degree. There are no public schools located in Pearson, so extracurricular participation in school based programs is out of reach for most youth, who rely on buses to get to and from school and are thus unable to stay after school to attend club meetings and sports practices. Unemployment rates in Pearson are high (8.1% for African Americans and nearly 25% over all for residents 16-19 years old), and the median income is \$43,000, with 36.6% percent of African American residents living below the federal poverty line (see Table A.2 for more detailed information).

There are numerous vacant lots, abandoned apartments, pothole-covered streets, and very few sidewalks in Pearson. The main road, Pearson Lane, divides Pearson in half, and with no sidewalks or pedestrian crosswalks, contributes to a rift between the two sides of the neighborhood. Stakeholders mentioned the condition of

neighborhood infrastructure several times during interviews. “Many apartments are abandoned. I mean, this makes it look bad. But mainly the streets. They’re in bad shape,” Hector said. Asked of the three worst things in Pearson, John ranked racial segregation and a lack of education as issues one and two, and then finished, “I would say the roads are—there’s no sidewalks. I’m always afraid I am going to hit people.” There are two small roadside memorials marking deaths of a pedestrian and biker in a less-than one mile stretch of Pearson Lane. The public park, which is the main site for PYA practices is poorly maintained by the city’s parks and recreational organization. There used to be three softball fields in the park, evidenced by what one expert deemed to be over \$20,000 worth of high chain link fencing and backstops as well as dugouts. The fields are overgrown and have been converted into three soccer fields, although they are rarely lined and it has been many years since new grass was sown. Although the parks and recreation organization claims to mow the grass once a week, sometimes it is allowed to grow for 2-3 weeks before it is cut. John remembered his first time in the park: “It could have been kept better I think. When I imagine soccer fields, it’s like very short grass. Some parts it was higher grass. The soccer goals didn’t have nets in a lot of them. Which could be difficult if you’re playing soccer and the balls go flying” (see Table A.7 for a map of the park).

One could also use measures of social and cultural capital to evaluate the outcomes of the PYA, but similar results follow. The football program recently began requiring athletes to submit their report cards, and this has enhanced the education motivation and performance of some participants:

[My oldest son] has improved in school. A lot. In the course of years, he’s improved a lot. I mean, where he was making Ds and Cs, he makes As, Bs, and Cs now. So I mean it’s an improvement. [It’s because] his coach told him, “The grades ain’t right, you ain’t playing.” Jeremiah got on him. And he stressed to him that school is—you have to get the books. You can’t play football if you ain’t got the books...now [after aging off of the PYA team] he’s eligible to play for school and in order to play for school you had to have a 2.5 GPA. [Chantel]

While the football teams are trying to help participants improve in school, the soccer teams are positioned more as a refuge from assumed failure in school. Due to the language barrier, many Hispanic students have grades that would make them ineligible to play school sports. They enjoy coming to Pearson United soccer practices and games because the teams operate entirely in Spanish. Coaches agree requiring them to submit report cards to participate would further discourage, instead of motivate, performance at school, as pointed out by John: “[Requiring report cards] would destroy the soccer team as of now because none of the kids—or very few of

them—would do well...I don't want to punish the kids who are having bad grades because I don't think it's their fault they're in the situation they're in."

The major form of social capital generated by the PYA programs is stronger relationships amongst teammates and parent spectators. Interview participants consistently used "family" language to describe these bonds, such as when Coach Jeremiah said, "I would say number one [most positive thing about Pearson], they're family oriented...they know all about each other's households and each other's families They know the good things, the bad things, which makes them a very strong force when they're working together." Chantel also used this language: "Since my boys have been playing ball, we've accumulated extra family members. And so we're all one big family... [For example] a couple of the coaches—I actually had surgery and two of the coaches kept my kids." While these bonds are an important outcome of the program, they are only meaningful for individual kids who participate on the teams and for parents who volunteer and/or attend practices and games. In fact, none of the above mentioned gains in cultural or social capital extend beyond individuals who engage with the program. This points to a major flaw with many traditional measures of capital: that they are often individual level instead of collective, making it difficult to use them to investigate questions of community benefits and possible structural changes that may result from an initiative (see Cope et al. 2016 and Flaherty and Brown 2010 for a discussion of the need for multilevel measures). Furthermore, by these measures, the image of Pearson that is painted is one of a low-wealth minority community with high levels of unemployment, run down streets and facilities, and strong friendships amongst neighbors that do very little to benefit the community as a whole or help them overcome structural challenges they are facing. Comparing Pearson to the rest of the city or to other neighborhoods in terms of capital would lead to a narrative in which Pearson constantly falls short and is unable to close gaps in capital without significant outside assistance. This is a narrative familiar to Pearson stakeholders, from youth participants to Moses, the founder of the PYA, who said what first comes to mind when someone says "Pearson" is:

Well, I think you always got that mindset of the past, of, "Bad." I hate to say it that way, but it's the truth. Even though we have changed and come a long way, it don't take but one tragedy to set it back in the mindsets of people. So, that's what I think of when I think of Pearson, just like everybody else, "Bad." You know, hate to say it—it's shifted a lot. It's shifted a lot. I mean, people recognize it. It's just that, when you got history—history got the tendency, especially when it's bad, it never lets go...Eventually we will [overcome it].

The negative narrative of Pearson is so strong that even the founder of the PYA admits he thinks of a “bad” neighborhood when someone says Pearson. Traditional measures of capital reinforce the dichotomy between “good” neighborhoods and “bad” neighborhoods and lead to deficit based development strategies that reinforce this hierarchy by using dominant, usually white, culture (which is present in good neighborhoods) as the standard of development in low-wealth Communities of Color. However, as Moses’ response indicates, minorities are aware of how their communities are viewed by outsiders, but their own views are more complex. While Moses’ first reaction is to say Pearson is “bad,” he follows that up with a declaration of progress, “we have changed and come a long way.” He is cautious in his declaration, however, remarking that “one tragedy” could undo the progress that has been made, and that bad history has the tendency to never let go, before finishing with hope: “Eventually, we will [overcome the history].” The tension in his comments reveals a need for new measures of capital that take into account problems in low-wealth communities while privileging the voices of community members and highlighting their experience, strengths, and efforts of resistance. Traditional measures of capital cannot adequately negotiate the tension in Moses’ understanding of his neighborhood, or comprehend the resistance in his story, but CRT and the dimensions of CCW create space in social theory to interrogate more complicated stories.

Question 2, Story 1: Cheated

One story that came up in several interviews with football stakeholders was the memory of when the Panthers junior level football team was cheated out of a championship game. Parents, coaches, and kids all agree referees made significant mistakes near the end of the game that cost the team, which was the first PYA football team to make it to the championship game of the league, the win. Some even suspect it was intentional on the part of the referees. Interestingly, this story was told in response to a variety of interview questions, which highlights its importance in the collective consciousness of stakeholders. Chantel told the story when I asked about Coach Moses’ decision-making and influence on the organization. Loyalty told the story when I asked about her relationship with the coaches and the ways the coaches connect to the kids. Then she repeated the story with more detail when I asked her to share her favorite memory with the PYA. Moses brought it up when I asked him if

there was a moment when he realized that stakeholders identified with Pearson and demonstrated pride in that identity. Below, excerpts from each telling of the story in the three interviews:

Just recently, a couple years back, when you seen the attitudes change, when you started seeing kids playing in the play offs and crying because they lose when [before] it was like, take their helmet off and wanna fight. Versus now, just straight up crying because they lost. Lost the game, lost a big game, an important game. So that's when you notice a difference [in identity]. That's when the change came. Because now, kids believed in themselves, believed in all the coaches, believed in the organization. And it made all the difference in the world. [Moses]

Some of the parents, and some of the coaches felt we played a game and we were cheated. We felt we were cheated. It was the juniors. Coach Moses was like "Just let it go," and him being the [leader], he had the last say so. "Leave it alone. Let it go." You know, and they just felt like you know, "No coach, you need to," you know, "We want, we want" —I'm gonna be honest, the kids wanted them people head on a platter, like the coaches and the parents, because we felt like they really cheated our babies. But Coach Moses was humble as he is, "Let it go. Don't worry about it." You know, and he stressed something to us and he had a point. Cheaters never win, really. Yeah, we let it go but I mean I ain't gonna say it wasn't hard but you know, we did. [Chantel]

[Coach Johnson] cried a little bit the year before [last season]. I mean, those kids were like "Oh my god," just crying, crying, crying. And he left because he didn't want the kids to see him cry...And [one of the dads], you know, he got so mad the police had to come. And I mean in a way it was bad because it's like he's showing the kids the wrong thing, but the passion that came behind it is like, "I'm not gonna let you do this to them because they work hard and you know, you're cheating, and they're working hard out here to win." [...] [My favorite memory is] when the juniors lost their first [Super Bowl] because I saw the passion in those kids' eyes. Like, the crying. I mean, my level of respect went up so high for these kids. Because I thought some of them were still there just to have something to do. But when—if you were there and saw how hurt they were, it's like, "These kids really do want this, and they really want to be successful." And I'm saying it's my favorite memory because I've experienced that in my house. [My youngest son] had a hard time with reading and writing because he have a family history [of learning disabilities]. And [he] would get so mad when he can't get something. He never gave up, and that's just like those kids. They didn't give up. They were being cheated and they could have said, "I don't wanna play no more!" But they still played in hopes of "I'm about to catch back up and win." You know, and like, wow. I mean they right then and there could have just shut down and they didn't. They didn't. I'm like wow, they still played hard. [...] We still have our hiccups with some of them...But it's just how they came together in that time, "We know we being cheated, but we ain't about to stop." [Loyalty]

Interestingly, the narrative of feeling cheated, or facing a difficult loss but overcoming it, also came up in interviews with soccer coaches. When asked about their favorite memory with the teams, Maria and Hector, who coach the oldest teams and assist with administration, cited rival games when the Pearson team lost. John, a college student volunteer, also mentioned the same game Maria describes as his favorite memory and an example of a time he was really proud of the players' ability to overcome adversity:

[My favorite memory is] when they play with the Anderson County for the second time. Because the first one they lost by a lot of goals. And when they had another game with them, they say “We’re gonna lose, we’re gonna lose.” But later they played it, and they are strong to play, and they lose just by one. That’s good. Because I’m proud of them. I say, “You can do it.” And they say, “Yeah, we can do it.” I say “Never give up. And never say I can’t. You need to try.” And they are very happy and they are proud. [Maria]

My favorite memory was the Bulldogs game because that’s the best team, and then from the beginning the kids see the Bulldogs as the team to beat. And then they play awesome, they really do a great game. And then they have them, just in the last minutes they lost, but it was a good experience. It was awesome. Just to see the kids fight for every ball, do their best. [Hector]

After every game I always feel proud of them. Whenever they fight really hard. Win or lose, the fact that we’re trying really hard...But specifically one game in particular, probably, unfortunately, last Anderson County game. You know what I mean? We lost but we played our asses off. They weren’t—you know, they weren’t too sad about it. Of course they’re frustrated because they lost, but they knew they worked hard...I talked with Adrian afterwards [and] he said he was using the game as motivation for whenever we play them next. He cares about the team enough where he wants to be the best. [John]

Community cultural wealth and resistance to systemic racism is woven throughout the stakeholder’s telling of these stories. The ways PYA stakeholders tell stories of being cheated but then quickly turn the narrative to one of overcoming (in a moral sense, not necessarily according to the score of the contests) mirrors how minority communities in the United States, particularly the African American community, have established a legacy of resilience and resistance in the face of overwhelming oppression (Feagin 2006; 2013). An aspect of this resilience is continuing to plan for the future and pursue hopes and dreams even when they appear unattainable, which Yosso (2005) defines as aspirational capital. In the story excerpts above, Loyalty’s remark that youth “didn’t give up” even when they could have decided to stop trying, and her pride in their refusal to submit, highlights aspirational capital. Loyalty’s telling of the story implies aspirational capital is activated through the PYA programs, something Maria’s memory of the Anderson County game confirms. Although the soccer team went into the game expecting to lose, and they did ultimately lose, Maria used the experience of a hard-fought loss to instill aspirational capital in her players, asking them to reflect on what happens when they decide to try, rather than giving up. She encourages them to hope for a future victory, which John’s conversation with Adrian about motivation for the next time they play against Anderson County reinforces. At the writing of this paper, a new soccer season has begun and the Pearson United recently faced off against Anderson County and won the game 6-2. It was the fourth meeting between the two teams, and the first Pearson victory.

Using the game to instill this lesson, and calling the team's attention to their collective experience and memory of previous losses leading up to an almost-victory is an example of exercising familial capital (e.g. Larotta and Yamamura 2011), in this case planting and watering seeds of knowledge to foster an emotional and moral consciousness that will help the youth navigate future situations when they feel frustrated and uncertain. The motto of Chantel's narrative, which she explains was something Moses reminded stakeholders of after the team lost the championship and felt cheated, is "Cheaters never win." Moses' offering of that wisdom is yet another example of familial capital, contributing to the collective consciousness and of PYA participants, reinforcing their confidence in a larger image of justice—one that does not depend on the results of one game—and asking them not to retaliate today—implying hope for a future, larger, victory. One reason in Green's (2014) research that the Freedom School was uniquely positioned in its ability to foster a social consciousness amongst students is because of its location in a neighborhood church, a socio-historical nexus in the black community where collective memory is stored. Although he is a person and not an institution, as a community leader with nearly 20 years invested in Pearson, Moses is a significant keeper of community history and is thus positioned to guide the resistance process and evaluate changes over time. The lost championship in Moses' understanding is a significant marker of identity change and thus successful resistance because rather than reacting negatively to the loss and acting out in violence, the players were able to process the emotions of losing and ultimately channel the experience into future success.

While deficit-based development strategies may believe isolating a child from his/her neighborhood and family context is ideal and that schools are ideal places for development (e.g. Holt et al. 2012), because the "home" culture is to blame for a lack of cultural capital, social change using a community cultural wealth lens is necessarily rooted in the home culture. Instead of viewing formal schooling as a funnel of capital to children who are lacking (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), the home culture provides the resilience youth need to navigate formal institutions that perpetuate inequality, such as public schools (Jayakumar et al. 2013; Liou, Antrop-Gonzalez, and Cooper, 2009; Lu 2013). There is evidence of this counternarrative in the ways stakeholders view the outcomes of the PYA. Loyalty tells the story of the PYA football team being cheated as a lead-in to a story of her younger son, who struggles in school. The same attitude the PYA encourages on the field—refusing to give up even when the

game feels rigged against you—is an attitude her son has carried into the classroom, refusing to give up even when he begins from a significant disadvantage. “I’ve seen it in my house,” Loyalty says of the confidence and grit inspired by the PYA. The stock stories of Pearson and the neighborhood’s residents present a picture of violence, poor performance and a lack of confidence, laziness and lack of engagement (being “just there to have something to do”)—but the PYA stakeholders describe a different kind of community and different character of residents, particularly youth: “crying because they lose;” letting a tough loss go even when the competition was unfair; saying “Yeah, we can do it;” and using hardship as motivation for next time. These lessons come from inside, not outside, of Pearson through familial capital.

Question 2, Story 2: Empathy

In my interview with Moses, he mentioned two sports programs that had tried and failed to operate in Pearson before he established the PYA. The first program moved to a different neighborhood and the second collapsed. The PYA is unique in that it was founded by local residents, which increases the likelihood that it will last because it is under local direction (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Block 2010). However, it is currently a tremendous burden on a small group of leaders and coaches, some who are residents of Pearson and others who live elsewhere but commute to Pearson to serve. The consensus among stakeholders who were interviewed was that to continue to grow, the PYA needs to recruit additional volunteers and leaders. When asked what makes working with the PYA hard, John responded, “It’s not the people’s fault, but we need more people to help and better dedicated long term [who] are able to do it potentially without getting paid, so they just do it out of the goodness of their heart.” John suggested college students, who are in a season of life with fewer obligations and so should be able to commit more time and energy to service. Chantel, who is a parent who volunteers frequently, suggested more parents: “It would be better. Because the more parents there, the more organization. Kids are going to mind a little bit more.”

Regardless of the source of help, recruiting it has proved a challenging task. Several stakeholders referred to the difficulty getting parents and other volunteers to fully commit to the program and shared stories of leaders who came into the PYA but left. The question that emerges, then, is what qualities separate leader-stakeholders who commit to the PYA long term from those who leave? It is an important question because answering it can help

the PYA in its mission to increase support and expand its leadership team, which will also allow it to extend sport programs to more participants. An important, implicit issue in the question is what exactly leaders are committing to when they engage with the PYA. Since the PYA is rooted in the Pearson neighborhood instead of an institution such as a school, commitment to the PYA is multilevel and multifaceted. Institutional development projects practice individual-level development of participants who are removed from their everyday contexts for “development” and then sent back to their home environments with the expectation they will carry the development with them.

The issue with this institutional approach is twofold: 1) the programs have only a partial view of participants because they are interacting with them outside of their everyday contexts and, related, 2) they underestimate how everyday contexts shape participants and may even inhibit successful development. Relocating development projects into neighborhoods means interacting not only with participants, but also with the larger and more complex, neighborhood context, which includes people (engaged and disengaged residents, family members of participants, insider and outsider volunteers, etc.); places (where the program occurs, where people live, where people hang out, etc.); as well as local norms, values, and histories (individual and collective memories and experiences). Jeremiah, who coaches the oldest football team, explained the ways the neighborhood and family context of Pearson can raise significant obstacles in participants’ lives as well as within the PYA (consistent with Martens et al. 2014 and Murry et al. 2011):

There are some parents who are doing an excellent job, who are doing it the right way—but there are also some parents who, you know, they’re not setting the best model for their kids to follow. And there becomes that awkward moment when the values that you’re teaching the kids conflicts with what they’re seeing in the house...[like] a parent who gets arrested for having drugs in the home. You’re instructing that parent’s child about doing the right things and not stealing and about character and about doing things the right way, but when you hear that that person’s parent just got arrested for having drugs in the home, the question becomes, well, what is the success rate for this child? Are they gonna take the values they’re receiving from us or are they gonna take the model they’re receiving from their parent? Like I said, that’s not everyone, but that’s just one example of the type of situations that we’re dealing with. [Jeremiah]

But Jeremiah also realized that truly connecting with the kids only occurred when coaches were willing to address the players with an intentional consciousness of that full context: from the family and home to the field and even extending to school. All potential stakeholders in the PYA would experience tension and frustration as they grappled with this context and their consciousness was stretched. Some would choose to leave. Others would

choose to stay, using rising empathy to negotiate the tension of in-context development. Empathy was a significant theme in the stories Jeremiah, the coach of the senior football team, shared about his role as a coach and how and why he stayed:

My job [in the DA's office] has given me...more insight into understanding the whole dynamic of the neighborhood versus just what you see on the field. [With that insight comes] a much better understanding and approach to how to work with the kids...I think this year taught me how to pull a kid aside and talk to them about why they're being sluggish. Or why they're crying at practice. You know it may not have anything to do with that hit they received. It may have everything to do with the lights are off at home and we haven't eaten in two days and we just need help. My mom needs help... [For example] there was a situation where a parent's house burned down and very soon after that, the player on our team started having disruptions in school. And rather than jumping down the kid's throat about the school issue, the first thing we did is we addressed the home issue. You know, "How is your mom doing? How is the house doing? How are y'all doing with the house search? And then I think once they realize you can relate to what they're dealing with, you know you provide some experiences that you've had that compare to that, it provides a level playing field at that point to tell that kid, "Ok, now that we've addressed that issue, and I've talked to you about this other issue at school. Why is that going on? Ok, and are you using all this stuff as an excuse for what happened at school?" So it just gives you a way to let them know, "Hey, I'm human too. I understand what you're dealing with. I'm not gonna put you down for how you're feeling, but I am gonna teach you how to address what you're dealing with. [What makes it different when working with low-income kids] is if you haven't dealt with it yourself, it's something you really won't understand, you know? If a kid comes to you and says, "Dad hit Mom," and you're dad has never hit your mom, although I can understand what you're dealing with, I have no way of relating to what you're actually feeling, what you're actually seeing, what you would do in response to that. If you tell me, "My mom has cancer, and I am having trouble getting her what she needs," my mom has never had cancer, and I've never had to support my mom. I've always been on the other side of that coin where my parents have been able to support me. So being eleven, twelve, or thirteen and talking about supporting my mom or helping my dad would be foreign. And unless you sit down and talk with them and understand what that actually feels like, it's impossible to address the other issues that they may have going on. [The increase in empathy has] changed my coaching strategy just to a point, just on what we're teaching. I think in the past, you teach kids good words and good values just because that's what you feel you're supposed to do as a mentor and as a coach, but if you don't teach the kids how to apply it, I think you lose the effectiveness of what you're teaching. And I think last year and this year have been the first time where we're able to actually wrestle with the things that the kids are dealing with and cater our lessons to the things we know they're gonna face [...] Being honest, I don't think you can do anything in that neighborhood without empathy... [People who stay have] a true relationship with the kids. Not just doing it out of obligation, not doing it as a volunteer project, but truly getting plugged in with the kids, wanting to know the families, wanting to know where the kids are coming from, looking for more of a relationship than just the two hours you spend playing football. [Jeremiah]

Jeremiah's story is evidence of both positive and negative social and familial cultural capital in the neighborhood (Browning 2009; Portes 2000). The bonds within families are strong, and the youth are gaining certain coping mechanisms and strategies both from the PYA programs and at home. In many cases, these overlap, and the PYA is reinforcing and multiplying positive cultural wealth the child acquired first at home; as Jeremiah

notes, “some parents are doing an excellent job.” But in other instances, there is a conflict in cultural capital, and the youth receive conflicting messages through their relationships with family members and coaches. Because the PYA is located in the neighborhood context rather than an institutional one, coaches have a heightened awareness of the conflicting forms of capital the youth must sort through, and they are able to apply familial capital, consciousness raising, to help the youth process how experiences in one area of life can impact experiences in other areas—such as how the athlete’s house burning down may impact behavior and decision-making at school and on the football field—and how the athlete should respond. The application of this familial capital requires coaches to exercise empathy as they work to understand what the kids are experiencing. As Jeremiah points out, this is extra difficult for outsider coaches who do not have lived-experience in the context of Pearson and thus have a wider gap to cross between their own experiences and the experiences of the youth in PYA programs.

In his theory of systemic racism, Feagin (2006) explains the presence of a racial hierarchy that causes alienated relationships between those who occupy different positions. This alienation works against the unity of purpose and action that effective resistance requires, and thus it is a mechanism of systemic racism that maintains and perpetuates oppression. In Pearson, there is evidence of this alienation in the struggle of the PYA to recruit leaders and volunteers who choose to remain in the program and engage in a long term development project that goes far beyond the sport field. What Jeremiah’s story shows is the ways in which CCW—particularly social and familial capital—can be exercised with empathy to reduce alienation and “level the playing field” in relationships formed through the development program. The story also demonstrates the social process of accumulation and application of cultural wealth. Stakeholders who remain with the PYA over a longer period of time gradually grow in their understanding of the context which shifts their understanding of how to coach in the context, and pushes them to explore new strategies of interacting with participants that take context into account. The empathy inherent in this process is resistant capital, contributing to the leaders’ capacity to act in ways that overcomes alienation related to systemic racism. A significant aspect of this process, and of the empathy it produces, is listening, which is something Yosso (2005) and others (e.g. Huber 2009) argue is critical for incorporating the voices of marginalized persons into education, and I would also argue, development.

Question 3, Story 3: Looking Up and Giving Back

Since the PYA has existed since 2009, numerous participants have aged out of the programs, including the first groups of players Jeremiah coached when he began working with the PYA in 2012. Jeremiah described different life paths of the players whom he has kept track of since they aged out:

I can think of kids that are now playing football for their high schools. I can think of kids that come back and they're bringing me report cards and they're showing me how well they've done. Or they're bringing me highlight films or they're bringing me schedules to try to get coaches to come and check out all the things they're doing. And when I compare that to the first year where a lot of the kids chose different routes to go, I see it as a good thing that the stories are slowly starting to turn for the better... [The worst story] is kids from the first and second year who are currently in jail for either armed robbery or gun charges or things like that. I have one player who died about a month ago from being shot.

Here, Jeremiah acknowledges the SFD successes of the PYA are mixed. The kids do not all leave the program and continue on an upwardly mobile trajectory. As I document elsewhere (Chapter 2), PYA stakeholders are rightfully suspicious of the Great Sport Myth (Coakley 2011, 2015). A pitfall of SFD is long term benefits are difficult to measure (Coalter 2008, 2010), but situating a development program within a neighborhood where there are leaders who have remained engaged for many years can help researchers gain access to stories documenting the past, present, and possible futures of program participants. The idea that the success of former participants and other significant role models is an important thing for current participants to look up to came up in several interviews. Coach Max mentioned a current football player at a local university who lives in Pearson and has dreams beyond the football field:

Bryan Mann, one of the defensive backs at [the local university] is my neighbor...When he comes over here, we hang out, we sit on the porch. We come in, we sit in, and we talk about life. A lot of times, when he's here, we don't talk about football, because he's a young man that's getting ready to be out. He comes from where he comes from. He doesn't want to coach. I put him in front of people in our group and he's like, "Coach, why are we doing this? I don't want it." He don't wanna [coach football], he wants to be an artist. Live through your work. Live through your work and it's gonna sell. [Max]

Luis, a college student volunteer, suggested taking youth to local high school games to watch former Panthers play: "That would be really cool to maybe get some of them together and maybe sometime go see if any of the high school games there are Pearson alumni playing...It would give them you know, this is what you could do, and then continued on there and watch someone who went on to play in college." Loyalty shared a story of when

Moses did what Luis suggested and arranged for the football players to attend a high school game where a former Pearson resident was on the field and how it exciting it was for the youth to hear the athlete's name over the loud speaker and to know he started out where they were:

I know for a fact that we got two kids that played with us that are off to college. They started off with us. One, he graduated from [a local high school]. His name is Daniel Green...He came up in Pearson. His parents worked so hard to put him in that school and pay for that school, and his talent started showing and I think [the school] was just like "Forget it, he can just come. Don't worry about paying." And I mean it paid off because he was excellent, and now he's off to college...we're gonna be here and those guys can show back up and share their story...They come back and I think it's cool because a lot of the kids are like, "Oh wait, your played with us!" And you know, they see this big person that's still built up, and not in trouble. And we actually got to go to a game [at the high school] when Daniel Green was playing and that's how Moses introduced [my son] and Daniel, and I mean that lit those kids' eyes up when they saw those big boys playing for high school and then to find out that this person was actually on our team. "Oh my God, Oh my God, I want to play for this school!"...They kept calling his name, "Daniel Green doing this," and "Daniel Green doing this," and [our kids are] like, "I wanna go to this school!" [Loyalty]

While looking up to examples of success was important, others mentioned the significance of giving back. In particular, Jeremiah explained the significance of leaving an open door for players to remain engaged in programs even after they age out:

[We could reduce the level of risk] by allowing that group [who ages out] to have better ownership in the organization. Whether it's making them volunteer coaches if they're not playing for their schools or finding a way to have some type of recognition for the kids that have left the program. Or whether it's us as coaches just going to support these kids as they play in their games or, not even games, in anything that they have in the future...let us know, so we can come support you. So just understanding that the support system doesn't just end when you're thirteen, but that we expect you to use us as much as you can to get guidance on how to work things going forward. [Jeremiah]

Loyalty described the power of a testimony a former participant gave at the annual football banquet to parents and children who had gathered to celebrate the season:

We had a kid at the banquet and I mean he made me cry when he got up there, he was like, "I was a bad kid, and you know, I sat down and realized how hard my mom had to work to provide for us and I saw I was mad because she wasn't there at the games [but then because of Coach Moses taking me to church] I started realizing my momma worked so hard to take care of us and I just have to grow up and be good..." and it's like, when he said that, there was another parent [who doesn't come to games] and she felt convicted by what he said... [Loyalty]

While these excerpts may not appear as a coherent story at first glance, they share the common theme of the hope that current PYA participants will look up to former participants who are now successful on and off the field and the belief that when former participants give back to the neighborhood and the program, the benefits are

mutual. The commonalities across the excerpts points to an underlying counternarrative of ideal development that PYA stakeholders are invested in, which is that the PYA will both connect participants to role models as well as transform them into the next generation of role models and that individual development will result in collective development as participants take the cultural capital they have gained and reinvest it back into the program. This is one of the ways the concept of CCW challenges traditional measures of capital and their tendency to promote individual level development (Mahlomaholo 2012; Yosso 2005). The stock story of sport for development aligns with the Great Sport Myth: at least a few participants will use sport as an opportunity to “get out” and achieve success regardless of their roots in a bad neighborhood, and the others who do not get out are to blame for failing to take advantage of an opportunity. The other side of individual development is individual failure, which overlooks the structural nature of problems and thus cannot be considered actual “community” development.

The counternarrative told by PYA stakeholders changes the script and promotes the potential for the PYA to connect individual and community development by increasing the ownership of participants in the program, encouraging them to step into leadership roles when they are too old to play and establishing relationships between current and former participants. These relationships foster a mindset amongst participants that looking up (aspirational capital) should be paired with looking back (familial and resistant capital) and enhances their understanding of how to take gains from the PYA and reinvest them in individual success (e.g. doing well in high school and college) as well as community progress (e.g. encouraging other Pearson youth to go to high school and college or motivating parents to become more involved) (Jayakumar et al. 2012; Liou et al. 2009; Lu 2013). The PYA’s mission, then, is not to use sport as a tool to help young people escape—instead, the PYA works to channel community strengths to shape young people in positive ways and encourage them to be active and engaged citizens in Pearson (McKnight and Block 2010).

Conclusion and Discussion: Implications for SFD in Low-Wealth Minority Communities

Using traditional measures of capital to evaluate current conditions in Pearson and the operation and outcomes of the PYA presents an image of the community founded on deficit-thinking. It lays bare all of the shortcomings of the neighborhood, especially in terms of education, income, employment, and infrastructure and assumes problems are rooted in a deficient culture and thus require outside solutions. The stories shared by PYA

stakeholders, however, offer a counternarrative that demonstrates the presence of high levels of community cultural wealth, especially aspirational capital (e.g. Luna and Martinez 2013), familial capital (e.g. Larotta and Yamamura 2011), social capital (e.g. Martinez 2011), and resistant capital (e.g. Huber 2009) that are fostered and multiplied through the PYA SFD programs.. This counternarrative is representative of the ways the PYA has become an arena of community transformation and resistance to systemic racism in Pearson. It enhances the capacity of PYA stakeholders to reimagine hard losses, even unfair ones, as evidence of a new identity and opportunities for growth and motivation for future challenges. It stretches and increases the critical consciousness of coaches and leaders, increasing empathy and leveling the playing field in previously alienated relationships, even as these stakeholders apply familial capital to instill this consciousness in PYA program participants to help them overcome obstacles they are facing. It connects individual and community development, stitching together players and coaches in mentoring relationships that gradually inspire the players themselves to become role models, to take ownership in the organization, and to serve the neighborhood. It chooses to see “at-risk” young people from a “bad” neighborhood who need to “get out” as potential “citizens” who can draw “strength” from their community to “give back.”

One of the strengths of using qualitative research methods, as I do here, is the ability to situate research questions carefully within social contexts. Implicit in criticisms of the mixed and difficult to measure outcomes of SFD programs (e.g. Coalter 2008, 2010), is a call for more qualitative approaches that are capable of both contextualizing results and evaluating programs long term, which includes the possibility of measuring change in the program over time as well as following youth beyond their time as participants. Although qualitative studies may not be generalizable in a purely scientific sense, they contribute to larger conversations in the literature by raising important questions and observing both the praxis (development-in-action) and outcomes of development initiatives. Although my work was carried out in Pearson and narrowly focused on the PYA, it reveals several implications for the praxis of SFD in low-wealth minority communities more broadly. One is the significance of locally driven development that is intentionally practiced inside, not outside, of the neighborhood context. Sport is a popular extracurricular activity often attached to institutions (public schools, universities, recreational centers, etc.), but it should not be limited to institutional settings. Relocating it to local neighborhoods requires leaders to approach youth participants within their contexts and understand the ways experiences in sport settings connect

to experiences in home and school settings. It rejects the over-simplified notion that individuals can be transformed without considering their positions in social-structural hierarchies and their everyday lives on and off the sport field. Although the level of commitment expected of leaders in neighborhood SFD programs may be higher because they are not insulated from problems outside of sport, the possibility for community-level change is higher because of the attention to context.

Another contribution of my work is the application of CRT and CCW to evaluate the PYA and interpret the stories of stakeholders. Traditional measures of capital silence marginalized voices in the development process, rather than centering them. The experiences of local stakeholders are vital for successful development because they offer knowledge and insight that can only be gained from experiences and is inaccessible to outsiders who do not have similar experiences and do not listen intentionally. Traditional measures of capital also lead to deficit thinking and strategizing, which over-emphasizes problems in neighborhoods and stigmatizes the cultures of low-wealth minorities, failing to recognize the significant strength that has been shaped through centuries of survival and resistance in the face of systemic oppression (Feagin 2006, 2013).

Incorporating previously marginalized experiences into the process challenges standard definitions of community and approaches to development that are linked to these definitions. If low-wealth minority communities are sites of both production and investment of cultural capital, then new strategies of development that take this into account are necessary. These new strategies and conceptualizations of development, such as asset-based community development (Chapter 2), CCW and the black organizational autonomy model (Chapter 4) reject white framed measures of wealth and capital that have previously been used to evaluate the worth of Communities of Color. Counternarratives of development such as I have studied here must be incorporated into development conversations and studied carefully, because they offer a perspective that may be “new” to academic inquiry but that is grounded in centuries of experiential knowledge and wisdom. Incorporating this knowledge challenges systemic racism within the development process and raises the possibility of intentionally antiracist praxis.

Thus far, CCW has been generally applied in educational settings in efforts to reform education systems and work towards curriculum and practices that are grounded in the strengths of minority students, not their presumed deficiencies (e.g. Liou et al. 2009; Yosso 2005). However, what my work shows is there is room to apply

community cultural wealth in sport for development (and other) settings and that when it is used to evaluate locally situated curriculums and practices, it gives researchers the opportunity to study the process of the formation and multiplication of community cultural wealth students carry into other arenas, such as school. An understanding of this process is crucial to asset-based community development that leverages the capacities of neighborhoods and their residents to participate in ongoing, sustainable efforts to overcome structural problems such as systemic racism.

Chapter 4: Critical Community Development: Situating the Black Organizational Autonomy Model in the Neighborhood Context

Remarking on the lack of community development models suitable for the unique history of black communities in the United States, Hayward Derrick Horton (1992) put forth the black organizational autonomy (BOA) model. The model is founded on the claim that the establishment and maintenance of viable black communities is accomplished through the formation of indigenous institutions that are economically independent, able to collect and control their own sources of data, pay close attention to black history and culture, and have leadership that includes men and women from multiple socioeconomic backgrounds (Horton 1992). Black economic, cultural, and social institutions are best suited to address the needs and concerns of the black community and, thus, the process of development begins with the construction of these kinds of institutions and then proceeds to the work accomplished through them.

The BOA model is an important sociological contribution to community development because it situates people and places within social structures that enable and constrain individuals and shape the environments where they live and interact. In particular, Horton's model emphasizes the ways race shapes the everyday lives of black Americans (e.g. Feagin 2006) and restricts opportunities for social mobility (e.g. Patillo 2007; Wilson 1987, 1996). Effective community development requires a midrange model able to address internal problems that can be directly impacted by individuals within a community as well as external problems that require larger scale social change to overcome. Community development approaches that ignore the significance of race often reinforce racial inequality. For instance, many strategies aimed at low-wealth, racially segregated communities are driven by white-dominated institutions that apply the white-framed label of "in-need" to minority neighborhoods. Mostly white experts and service providers are presented as solutions to the needs of black (and other minority) neighborhood residents. McKnight and Block (2010) are critical of development that establishes an inherently unequal relationship between institutional service provider-experts and neighborhood client-residents, and they offer asset-based community development (ABCD) as an alternative strategy. ABCD emphasizes the capacity of neighborhoods to care for their residents and rejects the unequal exchange of traditional community development (McKnight 1995) but overlooks the significance of race in shaping this exchange. The BOA model resists systemic

racism in the development process by positioning black community organizations and institutions as the most important assets for achieving and maintaining black community development but overlooks the ways in which local settings influence the formation of these institutions and the ways in which they operate.

Below I use a case study of one such organization, the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA), which uses sport as a tool for youth development to interrogate the process of black community development using concepts from models of critical community development, including Ledwith's (2011) radical model, Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993) model of ABCD, and Horton's (1992) BOA model. I put these models into conversation with one another, discussing strengths and weaknesses of each and opportunities to partner them in the development process. I use interviews with PYA stakeholders—including several African Americans, an Asian American, and a Hispanic American college student, and a Hispanic married couple who immigrated from Central America—to answer three primary questions: 1) to what extent the PYA embodies certain characteristics of the BOA model; 2) to what extent the neighborhood context of Pearson shapes this embodiment; and 3) what the implications are for the pursuit of models of community development in minority communities.

Review of Literature

The Call for Critical Approaches to Development

Lyon (1999) defines development as a “value laden concept that implies positive change” that is most often economic in nature (p. 114). He divides development into self-help, technical assistance, and conflict strategies. Each has its strengths and weaknesses, and in practice, most community development consists of features of more than one of these approaches. They are not mutually exclusive, and successful development requires careful study of the community context and a willingness to form flexible plans that can be adjusted during the process. In general, self-help emphasizes the importance of democracy and invites people to become active participants by taking control over decision making and implementation. Participatory action research, which views researchers as facilitators and community residents as stakeholders (e.g. Stoecher 2012; Stringer 2007), is considered self-help development. Although self-help has admirable goals of democracy, it is difficult to

implement in marginalized communities where difference and inequality within the community makes it difficult for stakeholders to unite and successfully work together.

While self-help attempts to achieve development from the inside out, technical assistance development emphasizes the need for outside experts who can guide (and fund) development. Projects that rely on government funding and/or grants obtained and managed by professionals (e.g. Taylor, McGlynn and Luter 2013) are examples of technical assistance. In the contemporary socio-political climate of federal programming, this form of development is quite common. Although technical assistance may bring in resources and programs to underprivileged communities, it often does very little to challenge structural inequalities that are the source of the problems, and it may even contribute to the reinforcement of negative images of low-wealth communities. For instance, the grant writing process frequently requires community leaders to compete for limited funds by submitting applications that prove their community is the most deserving—i.e., the neediest—of outside help. The language in these applications, and even in the mission statements of many organizations, characterizes the communities as broken, the residents as perpetrators and victims, and the organizations and project funders as “saviors.” Development using this approach is difficult to sustain because if a program is not successful, funding is cut because it does not work; however, if it is successful, funding may also be cut, because the community is not as “needy” as before (Shorters 2016).

Lastly, conflict development emphasizes challenging structural injustice and creating a more egalitarian community by forming alliances that intentionally (and publically) confront oppressive structures. Community development from a conflict approach is generally issue-driven. An outside expert helps form the alliance and remains actively involved as the coalition targets a specific issue, such as when a neighborhood resists the construction of a dumping site (e.g. Feagin and Shelton 1985). Although it may be successful in confronting a single issue, the alliance is difficult to maintain beyond one cycle of confrontation (Lyon 1999) because the expert moves on and the community no longer has a common enemy to unite against. Conflict-oriented development builds momentum to successfully tackle one problem, but the burst of energy is short-lived and rarely transitions into longer term initiatives.

What is missing from these categories is an inherently critical and long-term approach that recognizes the ongoing nature of the process of development and challenges social-structural arrangements that lead to problems community development aims to solve. Each approach described above takes for granted the existence of communities in need of development without asking the fundamental questions of *what* the underlying causes of social problems are? And *How* change can simultaneously address the everyday realities of struggling communities as well as the social structural arrangements that contribute to the formation of social problems and their maintenance across time and place? Leaving these questions unanswered means building community development strategies on assumptions of social pathology (e.g. certain groups of people are fundamentally flawed) and/or assimilationist notions (e.g. if certain groups of people were more integrated into the larger culture, some problems would cease to exist) (Horton 1992). Rejecting these false assumptions, Margaret Ledwith (2011:14) calls for more critical approaches to community development, writing:

Radical practice has a transformative agenda, an intention to bring about social change that is based on a fair, just and sustainable world. In this respect, it locates the roots of inequality in the structures and processes of society, not in personal or community pathology...Collective action for change has to follow through from local to structural levels in order to make a sustainable difference. Anything less is ameliorative, making life just a little bit better around the edges, but not stemming the flow of discriminatory experiences that create some lives as more privileged than others.

Locating inequality in social structures and processes without losing sight of the significance of the local is an inherently sociological task because it requires interrogating connections between individual and collective biographies and larger historical and social forces, which C.W. Mills (1959 [2000]) defined as the use of one's sociological imagination. Applying the sociological imagination to the process of development has led scholars to branch outside of traditional strategies in search of approaches to development that take into account multiple levels of development simultaneously and thus seek to "follow through" from the "local to structural" in order to enact sustainable change that reduces instead of ameliorates inequality.

Ledwith's Framework for Critical Community Development

Working in Europe, Ledwith (2011) argues community development is a social process that should be constantly reexamined and reformed based on "current thought, political contexts and lived experience" and "in relation to participatory democracy" (p. 14). Ledwith is committed to the practice of critical (and radical)

community development which goes beyond the boundaries of neighborhoods and seeks to effect structural changes. She defines the purpose and process of radical community development as “making an individual/local case into an issue, turning issues into causes into movements and building in the process a new political culture, new communities of resistance that will take on power and capital and class” (Ledwith 2011:28, quoting Sivandan 1989). Empowerment is a concept central to this process. Ledwith differentiates between self-help, which misdefines empowerment as assisting individuals and groups in enhancing themselves, and critical community development, which understands empowerment as a process of critical consciousness raising towards actions that contribute to the redistribution of wealth and power in ways that acknowledge and challenge structural inequalities. Self-help approaches that place the burden for development on individuals and groups contribute to the maintenance of inequality by ignoring very real structural obstacles to self-enhancement. Empowerment, summarizes Ledwith (2011:32) is “the process by whereby we develop the theory and practice of equality.”

In practice, Ledwith advocates analyzing power at various social levels through the use of elaborate community profiles so that people’s lived realities are the source from which theory and action flow. The community profile is a document or a collection of documents that examines community statistics from various sources as well as community narratives. It pays attention to experiences and information at multiple levels of social life: individual, group, community, structures and institutions, and the wider society (regional, national, global). At each level, questions are asked that situate individuals and communities relative to structural forces and challenge the status quo, refusing to accept inherently unjust structural arrangements that shape the lives of individuals and communities.

Ledwith’s model of critical community development seeks to allow smaller, more neighborhood oriented projects to “be seen as contributing to a bigger whole” (2011:41). According to Ledwith, this is an important feature of critical approaches to community development because traditional forms of development tend to ameliorate problems in the lives of a few individuals without forming the necessary connections to extend to resisting structural inequalities. Ledwith notes that critical community development has arisen from the community engagement of feminist and anti-racist community workers for whom large scale social change is often the goal. Although she emphasizes power relationships and the redistribution of resources—evidence of the

feminist Marxist roots of the model she presents—and she remarks that practitioners should seek to establish equitable and reciprocal relationships with community members, she does not extend her analysis of power to challenging the role of the practitioner/researcher in the process or consider how large scale social movements can be born in local indigenous settings independent of outside experts and/or large outside social institutions.

Ledwith's critical framework does not ask one of the hallmark critical feminist questions that can be just as easily applied to development aimed at overcoming racial inequality as it can to projects seeking to topple gender hierarchies: *can the master's tools truly be used to dismantle the master's house?* (Lourde 1984). If not, then local projects of development that occur outside of the bounds of traditional community development are not simply pieces meant to be tied into the larger wholes of social movements, but also the very seeds from which true change sprouts. The legacy of wealth and color-based neighborhood segregation in the United States makes neighborhoods especially important sites of resistance and development. Below keeping in mind Ledwith's (2011) framework of critical community development, as well as the unique social and political contexts in the United States that promote the importance of neighborhoods, I offer two models of critical community development on which my work relies: asset-based community development (ABCD) and the Black Organizational Autonomy (BOA) model of community development.

Asset-based Community Development

Answering the call for more critical forms of community development, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) put forth asset-based community development (ABCD), which was founded on years of experience working in neighborhoods alongside community residents and leaders to initiate positive change. What sets ABCD apart is not the methods it uses as much as the assumptions undergirding them. On the outside, ABCD very much resembles participatory action research (PAR), which is one of the main forms of self-help community development. While PAR still assumes the existence of communities in need of outsider expert-facilitators who are prized "assets" in the development process, ABCD assumes that all communities possess assets—including many undocumented experts—required to meet the needs of their residents. ABCD is thus grounded in neighborhoods, places where people live and interact, and rejects assumptions that certain communities require outside assistance to overcome the challenges they face. Neighborhoods are central to the development goals of ABCD practitioners who view

them as sites of care and socialization that can be the springboard for collective movements for structural change (McKnight 1995; McKnight and Block 2010).

One aspect of traditional development ABCD practitioners are most critical of is the way it is institutionally driven. McKnight and Block (2010) explain how service providing institutions—such as healthcare—promote unhealthy forms of consumerism and actually displace rightful centers of care in human societies: neighborhoods and families. When the expansion of institutions is promoted as the means to solve community based problems, it leads residents of low-wealth neighborhoods into harmful cycles of seeking outside assistance that is expensive (whether the cost is time spent accessing the resource or the financial price tag of obtaining it or both) and centered on subsistence rather than true development (McKnight 1995). Subsistence programs help people survive day to day but do very little to empower their long term success and economic and social mobility, which is a primary goal of development. If development programs succeed in producing mobility, then they gradually work themselves out of a job as a community advances. Institutions, however, are more likely to expand over time than contract. These competing interests—the desire to help people paired with the need to continue to exist—make institutions less than ideal conduits for effective community development (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993).

The way ABCD responds to this flaw in traditional strategies of development is by seeking resources within local communities instead of expecting them to flow from large outside institutions. Institutions are not disregarded as potential assets, but they are one resource among many and no longer viewed as the source of all other resources. ABCD practitioners begin development with a process known as asset mapping, in which they chart the assets available in a neighborhood, including individuals, associations and organizations, and local institutions. According to the toolkit publicly available from the ABCD Institute, “...ABCD is concerned with how to link micro-assets to the macro-environment [and its] appeal lies in its premise that communities can drive the development process themselves by identifying and mobilizing existing, but often unrecognized assets, and thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunity” (ABCD Toolkit 2009:¶1). The toolkit is posted online so community leaders can practice ABCD with or without consulting outside experts. Once assets are identified—everything from individual job skills to local nonprofits and small businesses—meetings are held to give

residents the opportunity to link needs with available assets. Programs that flow from these meetings are founded on assets already present in the community, so community leaders retain autonomy and ownership in the process, rather than sacrificing decision making power to outside funders (as might be the case in technical assistance approaches to community development).

The hope of ABCD is that the process of identifying and applying assets available in a community would also be a process of asset multiplication and that as more assets are produced and poured back into the development initiative, the neighborhood itself will ultimately be responsible for managing its own progress and enjoying the benefits of that progress. Over time, then, ABCD helps neighborhoods in becoming more self-sufficient care providers for their residents rather than increasing their dependence on outside service providers (McKnight 1995). While this is a marked departure from less critical forms of community development, ABCD practitioners over-emphasize economic aspects of development and underestimate structural barriers to effective change, especially racial oppression and inequality, and the intersections of race, class, and neighborhood that shape the lives of many Americans of color (e.g. Feagin 2006; Patillo 2007; Wilson 1987, 1996).

The Black Organizational Autonomy Model

In the 1990s, Hayward Derrick Horton developed a model of black community development called the black organizational autonomy (BOA) model. Horton (1992) argued traditional models of development failed to consider the unique history and culture of the black community in the United States and thus were ineffective. He locates the potential to address external and internal problems in the black community within black institutions and organizations that maintain autonomy from the larger society. He thus defines black community development as “the establishment and perpetuation of indigenous social, economic, and cultural institutions to address the needs and concerns of the black population” (1992:2). Wrapped in this definition is a direct rejection of assumptions of black pathology and/or the need for black communities to assimilate into the larger society to overcome problems, as well as the notion that structural change requires the input of professionals/experts privileged by the current structural arrangements. Instead, Horton’s model of black community development through indigenous black institutions assumes inherent strength in black community institutions that is maintained through autonomy, not assimilation, and composed of black persons from an array of social backgrounds.

According to Horton (1992), viable black communities are composed of indigenous institutions pursuing the wellbeing of the black communities, and these institutions have five key characteristics: 1) they are economically autonomous; 2) they possess “internally developed and controlled data sources”; 3) they emphasize black history and culture; 4) they develop and incorporate women in leadership positions; and 5) they maintain socially inclusive leadership and membership (p. 8). Horton’s work is noteworthy for the way it brings together several strains of critical analyses into one coherent model of black community development. Each of the five elements has been identified as an important marker of community and/or organizational strength, but Horton’s model is important because it joins the characteristics to offer a multifaceted approach to development capable of addressing both internal and external problems in the black community. Internal problems in the black community include things that are under the control of community members such as leadership and class stratification. External problems are larger issues that cannot be confronted at the micro level such as racism and downturns in the national economy. The Civil Rights Movement was successful in confronting external problems and reducing segregation and discrimination at the macro level, but it failed to address internal problems located in black neighborhoods such as teenage pregnancy and residential class segregation. The BOA model is meant to encompass a more balanced development agenda that helps black communities overcome internal and local issues even as they remain committed to pressing for civil rights.

Below I briefly delve into three of the five characteristics of the BOA model of community development that are particularly relevant for my case study of the football and soccer programs of the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA): economic autonomy, an emphasis on black history and culture, and a socially inclusive membership and leadership structure. I put the model in conversation with the work of other scholars actively involved in critical race research and/or development work, especially Feagin’s (2006, 2013) systemic racism theory, Wilson’s (1987, 1996) work on the concentration of poverty and absence of employment opportunities in inner city communities, and Patillo’s (2007) ethnographic research on mixed-income black neighborhoods in Chicago.

Economic Autonomy

Wealth inequality is one of the most deeply rooted consequences of racial oppression in the United States. In his theory of systemic racism, Feagin (2006) explains the ways wealth inequality is both a consequence of systemic racism as well as a structural arrangement that contributes to the maintenance of the racial hierarchy in the United States. Equal opportunity has never existed between whites and blacks, and the case for financial reparations is strong when one takes a careful look at the history of the unjust enrichment of whites and impoverishment of blacks, which has its roots in slavery. Blacks were brought by force to the United States, and slave labor became the foundation of the American economy and the tool of rural (e.g. working on plantations) and urban (e.g. constructing buildings and monuments) development. The economic arrangements that established whites as superior and blacks as property were so central to the American consciousness that they were written into founding documents and legal codes. Economic inequality persists today and is especially evident when wealth statistics and not just income are viewed. Wealth is a more encompassing concept, considering salaries and money in the bank along with other assets, such as home and property ownership and investments. A report from 2008 found that:

[When considering] the number of middle-class Americans with the resources to meet three-quarters of their essential living expenses for a period of three months, racial differences were evident. Ninety-five percent of blacks lacked the net assets needed compared with 78% of the middle class nationally. In fact, 68% of blacks had no assets at all and reported living check to check (Martin 2013:21, citing Wheary et al. 2008).

Asset poverty of blacks intersects with other forms of discrimination and inequality such as real estate redlining, neighborhood segregation, and lower levels of education attainment that contribute to less opportunities for social mobility. The consequences of wealth disparities between whites and blacks also extend to development, in which the process traditionally flows from white owned institutions to black marginalized neighborhoods. This is problematic because a significant amount of decision making power is connected to financial resources. Horton (1992) describes the importance of the black church for black community development as being rooted in the fact that the black church is perhaps the only historically economically autonomous black institution. During the Civil Rights Movement, the black church was the producer of powerful pastor-leaders whose freedom to speak against the system was in part because they were economically independent of it.

Black History and Culture

One of the mechanisms that reinforces systemic racism over time is the white-washing of history. Numerous critical scholars have pointed to the explicit erasing and mis-telling of narratives of African Americans and other minorities from history textbooks used in schools (e.g. Sheriff 2012). As recently as 2015, Roni Dean-Burren in Texas was outraged to find her child's history textbook covered African Americans in the chapter on "immigration" and included a population map of U.S. immigration with the caption "The Atlantic Slave Trade between the 1500s and 1800s brought millions of workers from Africa to the southern United States to work on agricultural plantations." Dean-Burren pointed out the textbook was rewriting slavery as voluntary immigration, and the use of the word "workers" instead of slaves implied they were voluntary employees on plantations rather than victims of the violent, dehumanizing slave trade (Tan, 2015). African American contributions to American society are also consistently ignored. For instance, while golf is usually considered a white, elite sport, African Americans contributed numerous outstanding players, designed some of the earliest courses, and invented equipment, such as the contemporary golf tee (Martin, 2014). In sociology, W.E.B. Du Bois was one of the earliest American social analysts—he wrote *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903—and his work continues to inspire critical race theory and research, but only recently has he begun to receive recognition as one of the founders of American sociology and perhaps the first African American sociologist.

Feagin (2013) traces what he calls the "white virtue"—ideals and assumptions of white superiority and black inferiority—across American history and demonstrates the connections between rhetorical and symbolic violence against blacks and ongoing systemic racism in the United States. He uses the concept of white racial framing to explain how stories and interactions at the individual and small group level as well as large historical narratives support structural inequalities, and he advocates "counterframing" as a strategy of resistance. Counternarratives intentionally reframe conversations and interactions in ways that both reveal and reject racism. When an organization intentionally centers black history and culture in the development process, as the BOA model does, it brings the process of counterframing to life and provides an opportunity for collective resistance against systemic racism.

Socially Inclusive Leadership

Horton (1992) identifies the class fragmentation of the black community as an obstacle to effective resistance and community development. He cites William Julius Wilson, who explains problems in urban black communities using a combination of class and cultural analysis. Some of Wilson's (1987, 1996) most famous work describes the ways closing of factories and the subsequent rise of the suburbs as job centers combined with the flight of whites and middle class blacks from urban centers to the suburbs led to high rates of unemployment, a lack of role models and leaders, and the concentration of poverty in inner city black neighborhoods. More recent studies have looked at differences and overlap between low-wealth and working class blacks and their middle class counterparts. Mary Patillo (2007) conducted a three year ethnographic study of Groveland, a middle class black neighborhood in Chicago and found the black middle class was in an interesting position. Most research focuses on low-wealth African American communities, which Patillo acknowledges is important work, but the growing middle class black population is understudied. Patillo's work shows the black middle class faces much of the same segregation as the underclass, especially when it comes to housing segregation. Because of this, the Groveland neighborhood was economically, but not racially, diverse. Delving into the politics of the neighborhood, Patillo finds the idea of a universal black political agenda is a myth, and more consideration needs to be given to the diversity of experiences and needs within the black community. The BOA model supports a leadership and membership structure of black community organizations that includes blacks from multiple social strata so these divergent interests are represented in black community development agendas and actions.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the BOA Model

The BOA model is located in a middle ground between micro and macro level phenomena able to consider the tension between what individuals can control and what is ultimately shaped by structural forces. Because the five characteristics of organizations that the BOA model seeks to facilitate incorporate internal (data sources, leadership) and external (culture, economic) factors, Horton (1992) argues it is more appropriate to use in the black community and has the potential to "provide the basis for programmatic planning [by facilitating] the development of programs appropriate to the nature of the community problem (internal or external)" (p. 8). He demonstrates the effectiveness of the model by offering a case study of the Black Community Developers of Little

Rock (BCD), which he spent two years studying. He describes how the BCD sponsored a black musical production as a fundraiser, successfully raised the necessary support by soliciting donations from black businesses, and made sure members from all strata of the black community were represented in the audience of the event. He further explains the BCD branched out of the black church, had many female leaders in its ranks, and maintained a socially inclusive membership roll. The BCD also conducted research collecting ideas and attitudes of local black community members concerning their needs so it was able to plan based on the data (Horton 1992). All of these features of the BCD make it a good representation of the BOA model in action.

Horton (1992) lists three implications of the BOA model for community development practitioners: 1) empowerment of the indigenous groups to act autonomously of external concerns (particularly the need for outside money); 2) the significance of the black church for effective black community development; 3) black community development is separate from civil rights advocacy in its more broad focus (external and internal problems), and in its long term nature, since constructing institutions is “time-intensive, long-term...more tedious and less glamorous” than winning civil rights battles (Horton 1992:16). The first implication, the empowerment aspect, along with its emphasis on both individual level (internal) and structural (external) issues places the BOA model squarely in the category of critical community development (Ledwith 2011). However, there are several possible criticisms of the BOA model.

Horton (1992) addresses two critiques when he presents the model. While some might think the BOA model is a “separatist” model due to its focus on economic autonomy, independent data sources controlled by black organizations, and the history and culture of black people, Horton notes it does not reject outside assistance entirely. It simply means the organization can exist without external resources. The BCD, for example, created levels of membership and opened doors for nonblack businesses to sponsor activities, but only after it initiated its programming with support from solely black businesses. A second criticism of the BOA model he addresses is that no community organization can perfectly represent all five characteristics. Although the BOA model of community development may oversimplify certain aspects of social problems and racial oppression, especially with the dichotomy of internal-external, it offers a valuable guide to the study and practice of sustainable development in black communities. The BOA model, then, can arguably be conceived of as an ideal type or a helpful analytic tool in

that it offers an ideal image of fully developed black indigenous institutions even though real world institutions are more likely to be evolving and partial rather than fully developed. The ideal is a helpful comparison to have, though, because it helps practitioners celebrate progress and map out goals.

What Horton does not do in his presentation of the model is expand on the very real challenges to implementing such a model in many community settings. The BCD in Horton's case study evolved naturally from the activities of a black church in Little Rock and drew together many like-minded individuals who were already dedicated to solving problems through grassroots development programs. Although certain factors would need to be present for a community to decide to take collective action to address problems it identified—such as some leaders interested in grassroots development—it is unlikely all (or most) low-wealth minority neighborhoods would instantly establish an institution with all of the characteristics of the BOA model. More likely, the five characteristics Horton outlines as the key to the black community developing indigenous institutions would emerge over time and be shaped by trial and error within the context where these institutions operate. For instance, a community organization may begin economically autonomous but with an all-male (or female) leadership structure. A major determinant of the capacities of organizations to embody the characteristics of the BOA model is the community in which they are embedded.

Horton gives a clear definition of community development—the establishment of indigenous institutions that possess the five characteristics of the BOA model—but he is less clear in defining the boundaries of “community.” When scholars discuss the “black community” as Horton does, they are often relying on an identity-based explanation of community (e.g. Anderson 2006). Identity based conceptualizations of community render the term more symbolic than physical, but communities have significant place components that are relevant in development conversations (e.g. Kretzmann and McKnight 1996). Horton touches on the physical aspects of community in his case study but does not elaborate on the ways the context of Little Rock or the more narrowed community of the neighborhood where the founding church was located or the area of the city where the black musical event was hosted, influenced how the BCD was able to operate. These are important questions for a mid-range model such as the BOA model because individuals and social institutions are embedded in and shaped by specific places. Racial oppression, for instance, exists across the United States as a whole, but its constraints on the

development of indigenous institutions may differ depending on where the organizations are located. For instance, in Little Rock, the city initially refused credit to the black-operated BCD—would the BCD have had similar issues reserving an event arena in Los Angeles?

The BOA model is surprisingly underutilized in sociological research concerning community development. This is perhaps because new waves of Civil Rights activism in the United States have focused heavily on the criminal justice and law enforcement systems, which Horton would consider external problems. Another concern is that critical race theory scholarship often emphasizes resistance that is rhetoric and discourse-based (Feagin 2013; Feagin and Wingfield 2012)—important social institutional underpinnings that reinforce systemic racism—instead of the establishment of uniquely black institutions and development programs. A third reason the BOA model is often overlooked likely has to do with its unabashed claim that indigenous black social institutions are necessary for black community development. This is not a claim that would sit well with numerous practitioners working in white-dominated institutions dedicated to development; even those willing to consider the necessity of autonomous institutions may feel the BOA excludes minorities other than African Americans and is thus untenable in neighborhoods that are racially diverse. This is a concern I address in the analysis below. My work contributes to Horton’s sociological analysis of black community development and highlights the importance of a critical model that is able to address the needs of particular Communities of Color in the United States without losing sight of larger structural issues, especially systemic racism, at the root of social problems they are experiencing.

The present case study fits within Ledwith’s (2011) framework of critical community development because it seeks to contribute to the ongoing process of reexamining and reforming community development practice in the contemporary socio-political context of the United States and with the lived experiences of residents in particular neighborhoods in mind. I focus on one of the smaller projects and use the BOA model of development (Horton 1992) combined with ABCD’s understanding of neighborhood assets (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993) to consider the ways this smaller project is evidence of a larger project of resistance to systemic racism and structural inequality. Based on the review above and with the goal of continuing to reform and reexamine the BOA model of community development through research and evaluation, I ask:

- 1) To what extent does the Pearson Youth Alliance currently embody the BOA model characteristics of economic autonomy, emphasis on black history and culture, and a socially inclusive membership and leadership?
- 2) To what extent does the neighborhood context of Pearson influence the capacity of the PYA to embody economic autonomy, an emphasis on black history and culture, and a socially inclusive membership and leadership?
- 3) What are the implications of these findings for the ongoing pursuit of models of community development appropriate for minority communities in the United States?

Methods

This research is a case study (Yin 2013) based on participant observation and interviews I conducted with the PYA from fall 2012—my first football season—through the current season, fall 2016. Most of my detailed field notes are from observations dating between 2012 and 2013, with intermittent notes from recent seasons also added to the documents. The process of reducing the frequency of notes over a long period of time is common in qualitative research although many researchers eventually withdraw from the field to write, something I have chosen not to do. Between 2015 and 2016 I conducted 8 in-depth interviews with eleven PYA stakeholders, including two mothers who also serve as parent coordinators in the football program; one of the mother’s two sons, who sat for one-third of the interview with their mom; three coaches from the oldest football team, including the head coach, an assistant coach who is also the father of one of the players, and a college student volunteer coach; a married couple who both co-administer the soccer program alongside me and are parents to one of the soccer players, while the wife is the head soccer coach for the oldest team; a college student volunteer with the soccer program who mentors the athletes and translates for me since I am the only non-Spanish speaker in the program; and the founder-president of the PYA (see Table A.1 for additional background information). Each interview lasted between 90 minutes and three hours, depending on the number of sittings, the number of persons being interviewed (from one to three), and the amount participants chose to share. I used a semi-structured format, coming prepared with a guide of questions touching on key ideas (see Item B.1 for a sample interview guide) but willing to deviate from the guide so the participant could contribute additional information

and stories. The narratives that emerged are thus co-constructed, guided by some of the social scientific topics I was eager to explore but put produced in partnership with PYA stakeholders who contributed their voices as parents and volunteers, insiders and outsiders, coaches and community leaders, neighborhood residents, and fans and participants (Holstein and Gubrium 1995).

It is important to note that throughout the duration of the research, my role as a researcher has constantly shifted and evolved. I gained entrée in 2012 as a sideline volunteer who helped with managing water for football teams alongside some of the parent coordinators and took pictures for the teams. As my relationship with other stakeholders deepened and I gained the trust of PYA leaders, I became a volunteer staff member with the oldest football team. This helped me get to know some of the youth participants better and gain insight into the day to day behind the scenes operation of the football team—from making sure all the team members have breakfast and transportation on gamedays to keeping a stash of extra mouthpieces in case one of the players forgets his—and I continued to grow in sport media, learning how to film games for the coaches to review for practices and make highlight reels for kids who aged out of the PYA programs and hoped to play in high school. In the summer, I direct a large, weeklong summer camp in partnership with the PYA. After seeing the camp improve each summer, the president of the PYA began asking me to assist him with administrative tasks from time to time. Sometimes he pays me for the work, while at others I volunteer. In 2015, when he wanted to start the soccer program but was overwhelmed because football, cheerleading, and soccer seasons overlap, the president asked me to work alongside Maria and Hector, a married couple who are members of a local Hispanic church that partners with the PYA, to establish and direct soccer. Maria, Hector, and I are now in our third consecutive season and second year with the soccer program. I am in charge of all communication between our program—three to six teams each season—and the city soccer club we play with. This involves numerous emails and phone calls as we set up the rosters each season, ongoing contact with coaches of other teams to manage team schedules, and on the ground presence at the games of the older teams to assist with sideline support and communicating with referees.

My progression in the PYA from sideline volunteer to soccer administrator represents a tension that exists in my work between research and activism. Along the way, I have developed deep friendships with several Pearson

residents and PYA stakeholders and good partnerships with most PYA leaders. I have also been overwhelmed with anxiety about managing the closeness of these relationships with my identity as a social researcher and trying to discern what my level of involvement should be. My movement between participant-observer and leader has not been without internal and even external conflicts common in qualitative research and often reflected on carefully by feminist ethnographers (e.g. DeVault 1996, Naples 2003). However, an important methodological question given the topic of this paper is whether or not my leadership in the PYA is a compromise to the PYA's autonomy and/or in tension with the PYA's indigenous nature. My answer is no, based on Horton's (1992) rejection of the critique that the BOA model shuns outside assistance entirely and the example he offers of the way the BCD handled offers of outside help. Autonomy means that an indigenous organization can exist without outside contributions, not that it must reject these contributions. The BCD put into place a membership structure and system for accepting donations that privileged local black businesses but also screened and incorporated outsiders. The PYA was founded more than three years before my first season on the sidelines and privileges local leadership as the case study below demonstrates. Since 2012, my presence with the PYA has been influential, particularly on the oldest football team and within the soccer program, but it would be absurd to claim the PYA requires my presence to exist or operate.

To accomplish the analysis below, I entered transcribed interviews and fieldnotes into ATLAS TI, a software tool that allowed me to apply some initial codes to the data and uncover others in subsequent rounds of coding. During my first round of work, I read each of the interview transcripts carefully and coded large segments of data using several general codes simultaneously. For instance, the same section of a participant narrative might be coded "economics" and "resistance" if it was a story about boycotting businesses that refused to support the PYA. I used over 15 individual codes during this stage of the analysis, using the characteristics of the BOA model as well as concepts in other literature as sensitizing concepts to guide the analysis (Charmaz 2014). In subsequent rounds of analysis, I wrote short memos that expanded on certain codes and sections of data. Several more focused codes significant to the present paper emerged, including those emphasizing discussions of funding the PYA and understandings of financial decision making, conversations concerning race and ethnicity in Pearson and in the city where Pearson is located, comments regarding PYA leaders or involvement in PYA's leadership, and

stories of collective action through the PYA aimed at overcoming problems participants identified such as negative perceptions outsiders hold of Pearson. Ultimately, the interviews provide a unique view of the social process of developing and maintaining an indigenous social institution, the obstacles faced by stakeholders in the process, and the victories they have celebrated along the way.

Embedding the BOA Model in a Neighborhood: The Case of the PYA

Below I address the research questions by using data from observations and interviews to show the degree of overlap between the PYA and the BOA model of community development and the ways the context of Pearson shapes the development of and operation of an indigenous institution such as the PYA. From the outset, this was not a straightforward task. While the BOA model advocates the establishment of indigenous institutions, it does not comment on the fact that the process of establishing a truly indigenous institution—outside of the influence of community development experts—is inherently a process of trial and error and gaining wisdom through long term engagement and experience. It would be impossible for smaller, indigenous, black institutions to sprout from low-wealth, minority neighborhoods such as Pearson and instantly align with the ideal characteristics presented in the BOA model (or any other model). Because of the retroactive nature of the evaluation—the PYA has existed for over seven years with no map for community development aside from the vision of its stakeholders—and the fact that community development is an ongoing process, certain characteristics of the BOA model are entirely absent while some are only partially evident or perhaps desired but not fully embodied due to significant context-based obstacles. I have narrowed my analysis to three out of five characteristics, excluding a conversation about internally collected and controlled data and about women in leadership because the PYA has not begun to formally collect data at this time (though my work is a potential first step) and because the case study focuses on the football and soccer programs of the PYA, which are male-dominated branches of the organization. The cheerleading and dance program, which are led by women and composed of all-female athletes, as well as potential PYA expansions into girls teams in other sports, are outside of the scope of the current chapter.

Analysis

Obstacles to Economic Autonomy in a Low-Wealth Neighborhood

Pure economic autonomy is rarely present in the community development process. My research shows that on a continuum stretching between complete financial autonomy and complete financial dependence, the PYA is currently more dependent than independent, and there are significant obstacles to achieving economic autonomy in a low-wealth neighborhood (Feagin 2006; Martin 2013). Three major obstacles documented in my interviews and observations were: 1) a reliance on outside financial management; 2) neighborhood wealth and facility disparities that limit the PYA's ability to profit from player fees and/or hosting home games; and 3) the high cost of sport equipment combined with the continued growth of PYA programs.

The PYA was founded in 2009 after a program operated by outsiders left the neighborhood. Moses knew he needed to raise a lot of money and partnered with Carson Helm, the founder and president of a nonprofit called Linking Ministries, which connects people across the city to service projects in their areas of interest. It was an odd partnership from the start between Carson, an educated and well-to-do white man in his late fifties to early sixties who mentors local pastors and nonprofit leaders, and Moses, an African American man in his early fifties who has made a living through a combination of street smarts and entrepreneurial drive (admittedly, he used to sell drugs before starting his lawn care business), and a desire to give back to the community (his first employees were local homeless men). But the partnership proved fruitful. Carson and Moses went to meetings with potential large donors from Carson's network while Moses solicited contributions from businesses in Pearson. A breakthrough came when the PYA obtained a commitment from the South B Initiative (SBI), a crime prevention organization, which promised to make large annual donations to the PYA since it was reaching at risk youth in the district the SBI covers. To make it possible for the PYA to receive tax-deductible donations even though it had not filed to become a certified 501-3c organization, Carson opened a PYA account under the umbrella of Linking Ministries. While this was a well-intentioned arrangement, from the outset of the PYA, its economic autonomy was compromised by over-reliance on outside management.

There are several positive take-aways from the mentoring relationship between Carson and Moses—Moses’ ability to connect with Carson to funnel resources into Pearson, their success in obtaining the SBI grant—but using the BOA model to evaluate the economic situation of the PYA raises red flags. The most significant is that the relationship between the PYA and Linking Ministries was inherently unequal and unsustainable. This is evidence not only of an unequal relationship between a development institution and a neighborhood organization (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993), but also of relational alienation between Linking Ministries, a white organization, and the PYA, a predominantly black organization (Feagin 2006). Linking Ministries was the primary giver of assistance, while the PYA was the primary receiver, and over time Carson was unable to commit as much time and resources to helping the PYA as the PYA was accustomed to receiving. This breakdown in a service-provider and client relationship is part of what Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) identify as a reason sustainable development must be founded on assets available within a community. It also supports Horton’s (1992) claim that indigenous institutions are the best conduits of development in the black community. Part of what Linking Ministries tries to do is empower indigenous institutions accomplish their goals, but the Linking Ministries is not an indigenous institution, and the PYA was one among several clients vying for resources.

Things crumbled relatively quickly. In 2015, on the advice from an accountant, Carson asked Moses to establish a board of directors, submit IRS paperwork to become a 501-3c organization, and open a separate bank account for funds. These are positive steps toward economic autonomy, but Linking Ministries’ support was withdrawn before the PYA accomplished all of the steps. The bank account and board were easy to set up but the paperwork has languished for over one year partially done. Moses asked me to complete it in 2015. I discovered additional records and reporting were necessary for organizations that had existed for longer than five years, and that compiling the information was outside the scope of my abilities. Because of this, I recommended Moses pay an accountant and lawyer to ensure the forms were completed correctly. Carson and I located professionals willing to help but later discovered Moses gave the paperwork to someone else, who has yet to finish it nearly a year later. For undisclosed reasons, but likely connected to pressure to spread money across more programs with easier to document results, the SBI cut the promised donation in half for its most recent grant. Moses did not have back up donations secured when he found out about the cuts and felt betrayed by the SBI. However, he noted he has

spent conservatively because of his fear donations would cease. He explained, “I’m very conservative. I mean, I could show off and [be like], ‘Look everyone, got money to spend.’ But I spend it wise and analyze [because] all good things come to an end [and] you know, it’s not for real, this not going to last forever. You can’t expect handouts on a consistent basis.” The PYA currently remains in financial limbo with less funds than expected and unable to recruit additional donations without the 501-3c status. While economic autonomy is something that can be accomplished over time rather than from the outset, the PYA’s initial over-reliance on outside financial management has complicated the process. This is why Horton (1992) argues economic autonomy should be established from the outset. ABCD (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993) also supports this: seeking outside assistance is the last step in the process, not the first. Carson is a mentor and friend of Moses, but in the end he also recognized the flaws in the partnership. Long term consequences of the dissolution of the partnership—which could be positive—remain to be seen.

A second major obstacle is that economically autonomous institutions are difficult to establish in low-wealth neighborhoods where financial and physical assets are limited. Of Pearson’s approximately 10,500 residents, 43.9% of youth and over 30% of the adults live below the federal poverty level. The poverty rate for blacks is 36.6%, and for Hispanics is 31.6% (unless otherwise noted, statistics were compiled using the American Fact Finder tool and drawn from the most recently available data from the U.S. Census and American Community Survey; see Table A.2). Acknowledging the financial hardship and lack of additional assets of many residents (Martin 2013), the PYA feels it cannot ask families to pay fees for their children to participate on the teams. In one meeting, a coach suggested the level of parent engagement and child retention might be higher if the PYA required fees, but Coach Moses responded that charging fees would cause enrollment to drop because families who could not afford the fees would pull their children from the teams rather than ask for assistance. During interviews, Coach Jeremiah disagreed with this sentiment and argued charging fees would raise parent and athlete commitment: “I think the Panthers organization is working overtime to try to make sure everyone is taken care of, but that also makes it so parents don’t really lose anything if they pull their kids off the team. The kids don’t lose anything if they quit the team. So I think the only way to build that is to require investment on the front end.” Jeremiah’s comments point to ways economic autonomy, particularly when driven by local investment, can

enhance engagement and commitment to a vision for development. In Horton's (1992) case study, the Black Community Developers of Little Rock (BCD) struggled initially to recruit donors and receive credit, but after the success of its first event, support increased. However, as Moses' claims in the meeting suggest, requiring low-wealth residents to pay fees can be a double edged sword, resulting in people abandoning the vision if they feel they are unable to afford to participate.

Aside from fees, another possible source of income for the PYA is hosting home games where the organization would make money from tickets and concessions. However, this is not possible for the PYA because Pearson does not have the necessary facilities for this kind of economic endeavor. The neighborhood park the PYA uses is owned by City Rec, the city's parks and recreation organization. City Rec charges high fees to reserve parks for programs. A nonprofit organization can reserve a park and have the fees waived if it can document its 501-3c status, provide proof of an insurance policy with large liability coverage, and promise the program being offered is open to the public and offered for free. These constraints make it impossible for the PYA to reserve the park formally, but the teams use the space to practice anyway, which causes conflicts with other organizations who pay for reservations. PYA stakeholders find it absurd they are supposed to pay to reserve the park, a neighborhood asset they feel they own and should be allowed to manage internally (McKnight and Block 2010). Even if the PYA was able to use the park to host football and soccer matches, there are not game-quality fields or bleachers, and City Rec is not interested in making that kind of investment. The teams practice in open grass in the outfields of what used to be softball fields—abandoned dugouts serve as the locker room—as well as on soccer fields that are not mowed often enough and rarely painted. As a result of not being able to host games, PYA families are forced to pay higher transportation costs (every game is an away game) and spend money on tickets and concessions that profits teams they play against. In short, due to the lack of quality physical assets in Pearson and being unable to claim ownership of the assets, a potential economic opportunity becomes an economic liability and increases instead of reducing inequality (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Feagin 2006).

A third major obstacle the PYA faces to economic autonomy is the expense of equipment and an almost constant need for more equipment as the organization grows. It is typical for sport for develop programs in the United States and abroad to rely on technical assistance development strategies (Lyon 1999), securing equipment

donations for their programs from large nonprofits and/or governmental organizations. Sport in general is an expensive enterprise, and the cost varies depending on which sport(s) a program offers. Football is one of the most expensive sports because it requires a large amount of equipment per child—helmets, pads, jerseys, etc.—as well as practice equipment. The expense is ever-expanding because more equipment must be purchased as more kids are added to rosters and old equipment wears out from use. An additional place-based obstacle is present in Pearson, where residents move frequently. Loyalty, Chantel, and Max—three stakeholder-residents I interviewed—all told stories of moving in and out of Pearson multiple times. For example, Max moved to Pearson, then to the other side of town, then back to Pearson, and then recently to a different house but still in Pearson. During its first few years of existence the PYA lost a lot of equipment as families moved and forgot to return what they had borrowed. Due to experience with this obstacle or his local knowledge (Ledwith 2011), Moses now requires coaches to collect all equipment that belongs to the PYA after every practice and game. They can store it in the PYA office near the park or in their personal vehicles, both of which are inconvenient and not fail-proof solutions: the office has been burglarized multiple times, and one team’s equipment was in a coach’s vehicle that was flooded during a recent natural disaster. Without a constant stream of income generated from local donations and/or participation fees or through hosting games, the PYA struggles to keep up with the constant need for more equipment, and this has recently become even more of a strain since the PYA has taken steps toward economic autonomy (Horton 1992) and found itself instead in economic limbo.

[Black?] History and Culture: Developing a Critical, Contextualized Project of Resistance

The PYA was founded by black residents of a predominantly black neighborhood with the intent of addressing the needs of community residents—specifically youth—but it has never claimed to be centered uniquely on black history and culture, something that would be especially hard given the changing demographics of the neighborhood. When interview participants were asked whether or not the program emphasized black history and culture, most responded they did not think the PYA explicitly focused on black history and culture, while a few even said they did not think that should be the point or that the program was for everyone and should not focus on one race over others. For example, Chantel, a mother of two football players, answered the question of whether black history and culture were vital to the organization by saying, “Mmm, not really. I mean, to be

honest, all cultures need to be addressed in some way. So I mean it's not to discriminate against anybody. All cultures need to be addressed in different [ways] you know." Luis, a college student volunteer with one of the football teams responded, "We take whoever we can get," and Coach Jeremiah elaborated, "I think [black history and culture] is relevant, but it's always been kind of an unspoken thing. What I've seen more so is the people that are truly dedicated to the organization, we can find a place for you...if you're willing to help pull the load, I think that you know, gender, race, really doesn't matter within the organization."

While this initially appears to be evidence of a lack of a critical race consciousness (Ledwith 2011), Pearson residents actually have a more complicated understanding of their community that goes beyond the race of the residents. One reason the BOA model may not be applied as frequently as one would expect and a reason PYA stakeholders struggled with this question is because contemporary community development rarely takes place in 100% racially homogenous communities. While neighborhood segregation is an ongoing issue in the United States, whites tend to be more separated from minorities than minorities are from one another (Patillo 2007). Horton's (1992) presentation of the BOA model conceptualizes "the black community" as more identity based (Anderson 2006) than place based (McKnight and Block 2010), but the development of indigenous social institutions, which is the form of resistance promoted by the BOA model, necessarily occurs in particular places. Complicating the process further, these places are dynamic and constantly shifting, so the ways they shape local institutions is not a static variable. These local institutions tie into larger projects of resistance (Ledwith 2011), but much of their work is embedded in the everyday lives of people in neighborhoods and cities. It is important to ask, then, whether or not the characteristic of the BOA model, "an emphasis on black history and culture," can be expanded to include an awareness of local groups of people and the continuously changing contexts, cultures, and histories that shape their everyday lives, as well as a focus on larger narratives and structures that connect people across many places into identity-based communities. Stakeholders in the PYA struggled to recount evidence that PYA programs emphasize black history and culture, but they shared numerous examples of the ways the PYA is a site of resistance to systemic racism in their community and how the PYA has been significant at various points in time in the local history and culture.

To describe how the PYA helped Pearson residents take pride in their community and change outsiders' perceptions of Pearson—which in part accomplishes the critical community development goal of drawing multilevel connections between layers of structure—Loyalty shared a story of going shopping for food for a celebration party after her son's team won a championship:

We went through Walmart when [my son] won the football game, and [white people] in the subdivisions that are around here that go to that store, they're like, "You know, I didn't know that was going on." Well, we don't expect you to know what's going on because you don't have to go that ways (through Pearson). But when we walked through there and some of the kids had their jerseys on...people were pushing past us and looking like, "Pearson? Huh. Where y'all come from?" [We answered], "We've been here for years. And today these little guys just won the Super Bowl, like they won every game, they won it all!" [They responded] "Oh my god, congratulations!" And I think somebody paid for some of the stuff we had up there...and it's like, "But we're here now. You know, [now] you know who we are."

Loyalty understands that neighborhood segregation separates Pearson from many white neighborhoods in the city (Patillo 2007; Wilson 1987, 1996). The PYA gives residents the opportunity to show off their accomplishments outside of the neighborhood and potentially change the perspective of outsiders, particularly white people, who have a bad impression of Pearson but who have never spent time there. Coaches and administrators of the PYA programs are keenly aware that the PYA athletes are representing the neighborhood to people who, in Moses' words, believe "nothing good comes out of Pearson," and that the sport programs are the opportunity for multilevel resistance (Feagin 2006): for the kids to take pride in who they are and where they come from (internal), and to reshape the narrative of Pearson in the surrounding areas (external) (Horton 1992).

The PYA helps form positive connections between Pearson residents and those outside of the community, but it has also helped overcome conflict and oppression within the neighborhood (Patillo 2007). A significant instance of this was in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Pearson is located in a mid-sized city in the South that received a sizable number of refugees from the Gulf Coast flooding caused by the hurricane. Many of these refugees resettled permanently in Pearson, setting off a territorial conflict between pre-storm residents and resettled residents. Though the PYA was not officially formed until several years after the hurricane, it became a significant site of integration and helped reduce barriers between Pearson residents. Loyalty, who had lived in Pearson off and on since she was a teenager, explained, "Once they got out to the field, it changed. When they got there. Now maybe when they went home, it was different. But when they got there, it was minor issues. It wasn't

major [because] they had to play with each other... [And now] I don't even hear that at all. Not as much as I did." Moses also noted the importance of the sport program (both what existed before the PYA and the current teams) for community identity: "[The sports] helped a lot because the kids grow into it, you know came from [different places] but it's all the same thing...We have an identity because [the PYA] brought consistency to the neighborhood. [Before] there wasn't the identity because it's not like 'I'm raised here,' you know, there was no identity."

In addition to helping pre-storm / post-storm residents come together, more recently the PYA began considering ways to help residents adjust to changing racial demographics in the neighborhood, a process of negotiation it is uniquely equipped to handle as an indigenous institution (Horton 1992). In the past decade, the Hispanic population in Pearson has boomed, and the increase has not been without conflict and tension. Many black residents express distrust of their Hispanic neighbors, whom they struggle to communicate with, and Hispanic residents feel marginalized in Pearson because many community programs are led by black people and seem to be offered for exclusively black residents. Coach Moses decided to expand the PYA sport offerings to soccer in an effort to incorporate Hispanic residents into the PYA and reduce tensions between blacks and Hispanics in the neighborhood. Hector described the importance of the soccer program for humanizing interactions between blacks and Hispanics: "It's going to help the way they see all people all together... [Blacks usually] see us as a group not as individuals. So the program may be helping that way." While Hector thought the program was reducing some barriers by helping build relationships between blacks and Hispanics and dispel group stereotypes, he acknowledged there was still work to be done because of segregation within the PYA. "It's separate," he said, "because in soccer there is few black people... [We just need to] keep on working. I mean just try to blend them together, and do activities together...don't separate the Hispanics from blacks or from whites."

Hector's remarks are important because they represent the understanding that development is an ongoing process and that local institutions do not immediately represent the needs of all the people in the neighborhood. It takes intentional collective action over a long period of time for residents in low-wealth minority neighborhoods to develop institutions that work for them and to maximize the potential of those institutions. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) view asset-based community development as a cycle in which community assets

are continuously evaluated and invested in ways that multiply them over time. The BOA model also makes space for continued growth as indigenous institutions continue to survey the needs of the communities they serve. The BCD in Horton's (1992) case study began with a music program but planned to add other events and activities after evaluating its first event. The PYA's hope is that there will be more racial integration across sports, as well as opportunities outside of sport programs for residents to develop stronger relationships.

Conceptualized as an institutional community asset, the PYA creates and multiplies opportunities for collective action that is central to critical community development (Ledwith 2011). For instance, Chantel tells a story of a PYA-led boycott of a local business that refused to sponsor the football teams:

[The PYA] asked them to donate, and [the business] was like, "No" and [the PYA] was like, "Well, you're going in or we're gonna get you out of business." [It spread through] word of mouth...we know other people besides football people. And if I'm fitting to go run over here, [I say] "I don't go to that store." [Someone asks] "Why?" [I say] "Cuz they won't help. We tried to get them to help the football team." [They decide] "Ok so, they won't help the team, we can't go in there."

Loyalty further explained, "You are in this community, you're making money here, you're making OUR money, and we're asking you for a small donation to help these kids. And your answer is, 'No.' Well, we don't have to spend our money here. And see how long you survive." Her explanation is evidence of a collective critical consciousness raising and legacy of resistance against systemic racial (and economic) oppression (Feagin 2006; Ledwith 2011) in Pearson that enabled PYA stakeholders to organize a business boycott that included residents with and without children on PYA teams. Residents feel strongly the PYA is doing a positive work in the neighborhood and that local businesses that profit from families in Pearson should be willing to invest in the development of the community's youth. The business caved after one year and began supporting the PYA, and several other local businesses also joined. The boycott not only used the institutional force of the PYA and the networks of its residents (important neighborhood assets) to successfully increase support (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993)—it also heightened residents' understanding of an unequal relationship between business owners (many of whom do not live in Pearson) and local customers and empowered them to push for a more equitable, reciprocal relationship (Feagin 2006; Ledwith 2011).

These examples show the importance of community organizations that focus their development efforts on local cultures and histories and exemplify the ways in which a mid-range sociological model such as the BOA

model can help communities overcome external and internal problems (Horton 1992). The very act of coming together to form the PYA and continuing to maintain and grow the program is evidence PYA residents are not satisfied with the status quo in their neighborhood and are willing to take action to resist systemic racism by challenging stereotypes and false perceptions of their community (external), forcing local businesses to invest in the surrounding area (external/internal), and fostering improved relationships between residents in the neighborhood from different racial-ethnic and social backgrounds (internal). Horton's conception of community as primarily identity based, and the subsequent emphasis on black culture and history, does not make adequate space for narratives of local community development embodied by indigenous institutions such as the PYA. It is clear, however, that indigenous institutions produced from a mid-range model of development can embrace a both/and conception of community that is sensitive to identity (Anderson 2006) and place based (McKnight and Block 2010) factors of marginalized communities.

A “Thin Line” and the Water Table: The Membership and Leadership of the PYA

Although many people assume low-wealth neighborhoods are homogenous communities of mostly poor people of color, the legacy of housing discrimination means that they are typically more economically diverse (Patillo 2007). Pearson's median household income of approximately \$43,000 is evidence of this diversity. Numerous families in Pearson live far below the median, but a sizeable working and middle class group of families live in the community. Two sides to the Pearson neighborhood are divided by Pearson Lane, and one of the major differentiating factors between the two sides is class. On what I call the “park side” (where the community park as well as the PYA offices are located), the neighborhood's poorest residents rent apartments and duplexes. On what is called the “Shire side,” named after the name of a large housing development across the street from the park, residents are more likely to rent or own single family homes. Over all, about 35% of Pearson residents are homeowners and 65% are renters, and there is much neighborhood turnover—nearly half of Pearson's residents moved into their homes in the past decade. The difference between the two sides of Pearson—the park side's potholed streets, higher crime rates, vacant lots, and run-down houses and the Shire's expanse of cottage-looking homes and groomed yards that draws Habitat for Humanity projects—is so stark that some residents, especially those in the Shire, insist it is two different neighborhoods. The distance between the two sides is the width of a

two lane road, but it is a social and physical divide that is hard to cross (Patillo 2007). When I asked Max if at least 70% of PYA participants were from Pearson over all, his response exemplified the conflict between the two sides:

Well, not [all of them are] from this side [the park side], though...It is different, and the people are treated different. That's the thing. The people that live on that side [Shire] is treated different. I can live over there. I can afford to live over there, but I feel I'm more needed on this side [the park]...Let's put it like this, [the park side] needs to have a neighborhood watch. How many of them in the Shire are going to make it their business to come here to do a patrol? That's not very many. I understand, they probably worry about, "Well, I have my safety, and I have my family to worry about." It's a thin line. It's tough.

Ultimately, more participants in the PYA come from the park side than the Shire. Many others come from outside of Pearson all together, driving in from the surrounding neighborhoods to have access to an affordable sport program. It is a mark of pride for Pearson residents the PYA attracts outsiders into its programs because it shows the changing perceptions of Pearson in the city. Loyalty said, "A lot of our kids out there don't even stay out here...First thing people say about Pearson, 'They're nothing...' And they heard of the team, came over here to try it out, and got stuck. [They stayed because of] our unity. How our coaches work so hard with these kids, and it's not just about football." Likely a similar number of outsiders come into the PYA as youth from the Shire. The PYA wants to include more Shire residents, but there are few sidewalks in Pearson and no cross walks across Pearson Lane that allow youth to easily cross between the two sides. The Shire is somewhat isolated from many PYA programs, especially football and soccer, which take place in the park. While the Pearson neighborhood is economically diverse, then, the layout of the community and the lack of infrastructure (sidewalks, crosswalks), causes a physical division and contributes to a social and political division (Patillo 2007) between the two sides that is also reflected in the membership of the PYA (see Table A.7 for a map that shows The Shire and the park side of the neighborhood relative to the public park).

The PYA's leadership is more socially inclusive than its membership (Horton 1992). This is because the founders are from Pearson—Coach Moses has spent nearly twenty years here and lived on both sides while his assistant Coach Jessica lives in the Shire—but the coaches are a mix of Pearson residents and volunteers from elsewhere in the city. The coaches from Pearson are mostly working class men with jobs in factories and plants or who own their own small businesses in fields such as home repair, but the coaches who volunteer from other parts of the city tend to be middle and upper class. For instance, Coach Jeremiah, who lives on the outskirts of the city

thirty minutes away from Pearson, is an attorney who works in the city's DA's office. The uniting factor within the PYA leadership is race—it is almost entirely black and Hispanic, an accurate reflection of the neighborhood's demographic makeup—which aligns with Horton's (1992) more identity-based conception of community. The PYA operates in Pearson, but leaders who commute to Pearson from other neighborhoods in the city enhance the level of social inclusiveness, contribute perspectives and experiences different from those of Pearson residents, and are important funnels of resources, especially youth from other neighborhoods, into PYA programs.

PYA leaders' racial and ethnic identities matter (Feagin 2006; Horton 1992), but the institution's more explicit privileging of minority leaders came after a failed attempt to include whites. During the 2012 football season, at the prompting of Carson Helm, Moses opened PYA coaching positions to 8-10 white men from Carson's church who wanted to contribute. But the relationship between the white coaches and the African American coaches and participants soured before it was ever really established and the white coaches left within two seasons. The white coaches had vastly different expectations for how a sport program was supposed to operate—they wanted to divide duties amongst coaches so that each man would lead two practices a week and take turns attending games on the weekend—and came in expecting to change the PYA for the better (in their minds) rather than learning from existing coaches how to best operate in Pearson. The ways the white coaches wanted to divide the labor and reduce the level of commitment for each individual coach directly conflicts with the mentality of indigenous coaches, and, if carried out, would have disenfranchised local coaches by rejecting their experience in the favor of nonlocal knowledge (Ledwith 2011; McKnight and Block 2010). Jeremiah, who has coached for five seasons but does not live in Pearson, provided his "outsider" perspective and offered his opinion on why the white coaches ultimately quit:

I don't think you can do anything in that neighborhood without empathy [because] in every sense of the word, being in Pearson can be inconvenient...I think in other organization, that are more structured, that have better parental support, that have better financial resources, you can set a time of five to six thirty and all the parents will bring the kids there at five and will take the kids home at six thirty...With Pearson, you have to accept the fact that if you don't go pick up this kid, he's not going to your practice. If you're not willing to go sit with this parent for an hour and a half and talk to them about the other things that they're dealing with, you're not going to have access to that kid to begin with...so I think just the investment of time, energy, and everything else, kind of weeds out the number of people that are available for that type of commitment to the kids in the area.

There was no formal training before white coaches were placed as PYA football coaches, and while the original goal was for them to be integrated with and work alongside indigenous coaches, when they were unable to force other PYA coaches to work their system, nearly all of them opted to coach on a single staff, the junior level team. Although incorporating the white coaches was an attempt at integration, it ultimately furthered the alienation between the white and black coaches (Feagin 2006). Only 2-3 made compromises to work alongside or even under a local coach with more experience in Pearson (notably, these are the ones who stayed beyond the first season). The result of this coaching arrangement was a poor relationship with PYA stakeholders. Even parent coordinators scoffed. From fieldnotes taken in 2012, I documented the following incident:

The junior team is getting ready to play. The white coaches bring a light blue cooler filled with bottled water and put it on the sideline, in front of the water table [which was for all the teams and was set up by the parent coordinators] and between two wooden benches. Evelyn [a parent coordinator] sees this and is upset they brought their own water when there is already water set up. She stops one of the white coaches, a thin white man in his 30s. She tells him there is no need for him to bring water. "We brought water for ALL the teams," she says. She is standing behind the water table gesturing to the two large Gatorade coolers filled with water and the six clear plastic water bottles that go in a blue holder and can be run between the field and the table. He is standing in the grass on the other side of the table, behind the cooler he brought, facing her. He smiles, and says something like "Thank you, that's good," and then walks away. I hear Coach Eddy behind me ask her why she had to "be so hard on him." Later, since the team ends up using the community water anyhow, Evelyn and I both take one of the bottles from the cooler. She tells me she knows she shouldn't after getting on him about the cooler, but she explains they don't bring water bottles because the kids throw the empty bottles on the ground and it creates extra cleanup.

In this incident, Evelyn confronts one of the white coaches for not honoring the existing system the PYA has for giving water to the teams and for bringing separate water meant for his team only. Although water is the surface reason for the conflict, it represents the white coaches' rejection of indigenous work and knowledge. These interactions between white male coaches and black (mostly female) parents on the sideline were common. The white men were well meaning, but the parents, especially the parent coordinators, were frustrated by their lack of interest in understanding why PYA leaders followed certain systems and rules (Ledwith 2011). It was as if the white coaches assumed the rules in Pearson had no logic when in fact the PYA's system of operation had developed over several years of experience. One reason the BOA model claims indigenous institutions are the best suited to enact real change in minority communities (Horton 1992) is because they wield the full force of un-subjugated indigenous experiential knowledge. Evelyn's explanation about the players littering with the bottles is a logical

reason for deciding to have large water coolers and reusable bottles for the teams instead of individual disposable bottles.

Discussion: Implications for the Ongoing Practice of Development

The PYA is perhaps best conceived of as an example of development in progress or an emergent project of critical community development (Ledwith 2011). It is very much an indigenous institution (Horton 1992) but is still working out what indigenous means when it is situated in the context of Pearson. The characteristics of Pearson shape the capacities and qualities of the PYA. In some cases, the neighborhood context calls for a more nuanced understanding of certain characteristics of the BOA model of community development, such as considering local history and the changing racial demographics of the population instead of only focusing on black history and culture. At other times, the neighborhood context makes it difficult for the PYA to embody significant characteristics of the BOA model. While the BOA model prizes economic autonomy and suggests indigenous institutions should be capable of producing economic gains for the black community (Horton 1992), Pearson lacks facilities and infrastructure, as well as local household wealth (Martin 2013), that could help the PYA become financially profitable through hosting games or charging participation fees. Failing to gain economic autonomy when the PYA was founded has now put the PYA in economic limbo after breaking away from outside financial oversight and the reduction of a large annual donation from another organization. While the future of the PYA may currently be uncertain, the PYA has demonstrated the ability to evaluate its practices and learn through a process of trial and error (Ledwith 2011). It learned the significance of maintaining indigenous leadership after trying to integrate white coaches during the 2012 season and observing the resulting tension when the white coaches refused to accept indigenous experience and knowledge.

Several significant implications for the ongoing practice of community development in low-wealth minority neighborhoods emerge from this case study. First, development is a social process that is constantly in flux. Part of the process is engaging in continuous cycles of application and evaluation to produce theories of development that are valuable now without being too rigid to incorporate emergent knowledge as social structures and institutions, as well as local communities continue to change (Ledwith 2011). In Pearson, sport for development strategies and goals have been shaped by historical and cultural factors such as the aftermath of

Hurricane Katrina and the expansion of the Hispanic population in the neighborhood. As an indigenous institution, the PYA was in tune with this local history and the politics that flowed from it (Patillo 2007), so that instead of threatening the existence and operation of the PYA, these fluctuations became opportunities for the PYA to develop into an important institutional glue, giving residents with competing interests and a tendency toward conflict a common source of engagement and pride (Feagin 2006, 2013).

The BOA model is under-appreciated as a strategy of development in part because it is under-applied and thus under-evaluated. Applying and evaluating the model, as I have done here, is an important step toward updating and expanding the framework. An important way my case study of the PYA stretches the BOA model is by showing its value as an ideal type or analytic tool that makes visible a community's progress in the development of an indigenous institution to meet its needs. No community is likely to possess all of the tools to instantly produce an effective indigenous institution, but all communities possess assets that can be leveraged and multiplied to address the challenges they face (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). In Pearson, numerous obstacles prevent the PYA from becoming economically autonomous, but the PYA's inability to currently claim economic autonomy does not mean it cannot make progress on this front. The PYA's experience with white coaches that has led to a more intentional privileging of indigenous leaders is an example of how an institution's embodiment of the five characteristics of the BOA model can grow over time and through trial and error.

Finally, a recurring theme in my case study is the centrality of place in development (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; McKnight and Block 2010). The BOA model is a necessary addition to community development because it underscores the need for indigenous institutions that are wholly committed to the needs of minority communities. Many problems are rooted in structural inequalities, particularly systemic racism (Feagin 2006, 2013); but an important concern for development is the ways structural arrangements shape the everyday lives of individuals and groups, and neighborhoods are arenas of day to day interaction as well as resistance (McKnight and Block 2010). Horton presents the BOA model using a more identity-based conceptualization of community, but just as a midrange model has the capacity to address both internal and external issues, it can take into account the interests of minority communities at large (identity) as well as those embedded in particular neighborhoods (place). The PYA's diverse leadership bonded by common race and ethnic identities shows the importance of

identity based community, but the qualities and capacities of the PYA to enact effective community development are clearly shaped by the context of Pearson.

It is my hope that this case study contributes to a growing body of literature in community development that highlights the significance of indigenous institutions for the development of minority communities in the United States. The BOA model is currently under-utilized, and there is room for practitioners to use Horton's (1992) work as the foundation for an unabashedly critical, antiracist, praxis of community development that rightly centers indigenous experiences and knowledges that are too often silenced by well-intentioned and white-framed approaches (Feagin 2013; Wingfield and Feagin 2012). No instance in my research demonstrates the call for a new strategy of development such as the BOA model more clearly than when Evelyn called out the white football coach for his inability to see the irony of bringing a cooler full of individual water bottles when there was, and had always been, a water table right in front of him.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Sport is an important part of contemporary American culture often seen through the lenses of entertainment, leisure, and capitalism. Indeed sport participation and viewing are popular American hobbies for people of all ages, and as an industry, sport is used to generate massive profits at all levels from local recreational businesses to professional franchises. It is not surprising, then, that sport has also become a popular tool of development. However, it is important to realize that sport is not a politically neutral tool or an automatically “level playing field” (Coakley 2011, 2015; Coalter 2008, 2010; Martin 2014). Sport for development is an important though complex component of community development, especially in low-wealth neighborhoods, and it must be studied and practiced critically. Until the present study, several important bodies of literature concerning development praxis were considered in isolation of each other. My research drew on several strands of sociological theory and literature that (to my knowledge) have not previously been put in conversation with one another within the bounds of a single research project. Sport for development programs abroad are more often evaluated than programs in the United States (e.g. Levermore and Beacom 2009). Community cultural wealth (Yosso 2005), which is under the umbrella of critical race theory (Crenshaw 2011) tends to be applied to evaluate the experiences of marginalized persons in education institutions (e.g. Mahlomaholo 2010). The black organizational autonomy model (Horton 1992) is underutilized but offers an intriguing framework for the establishment of indigenous institutions to develop black communities (Horton 1992). Asset-based community development (e.g. McKnight and Kretzmann 1993) is grounded in local neighborhoods and emphasizes assets instead of deficiencies but overlooks certain structural obstacles in the lives of low-wealth minorities, such as systemic racism (Feagin 2006). Here, I have used community cultural wealth and systemic racism theory to push sport for development praxis and asset-based community development in a more critical direction (Ledwith 2011). My case study of the Pearson Youth Alliance (PYA) provides evidence of counternarratives (Bonilla-Silva 2014) of community development that debunk the Great Sport Myth (Coakley 2011, 2015) and show the ways stakeholders use sport in concert with other assets to resist systemic racism (Feagin 2006) and enact multilevel (individual, collective) development in their neighborhood.

Though development is studied in many fields of research, a sociological analysis is particularly relevant because sociology intentionally seeks connections between individuals (biography) and larger patterns of society (history) (Mills [1959] 2000) and community development programs also must reconcile the lived experiences of people within social-structural contexts (Ledwith 2011). Horton (1992) makes the case that sociology is important because it is capable of producing mid-range models of community development that can resist internal problems (the everyday things that individuals have the power to change) and external problems (the structural things that can only be addressed through collective action and systemic change). Development in low-wealth minority communities such as Pearson requires connecting the everyday and local with larger social justice projects, and this connection is an important feature of critical community development (Ledwith 2011). Racial oppression in the United States is both micro and macro, shaping the lived experiences of Communities of Color and limiting their social mobility (Feagin 2013). Though community development often emphasizes economic processes and inequality (e.g. McKnight and Block 2010), it tends to overlook the significance of racial inequality in American society. My work shows the necessity of rejecting the post-racial myth (Crenshaw 2011) in development and highlights the ways the PYA serves as an arena of resistance in which both leaders and youth participants engage in critical consciousness raising and where cultural wealth to survive and resist racism and overcome inequality is both produced and multiplied (Yosso 2005).

Sport as a whole is not a level playing field or a politically neutral tool of development as some falsely assume (Coalter 2008, 2010; Martin 2014; Messner 2007). While it is important to practice sport for development critically and recognize possible inequalities and power imbalances inherent in the process (Horton 1992), it is also important to maintain optimism that there are spaces within development where more level ground can be constructed, such as the ways the PYA sport programs increase empathy and reduce alienated relationships (Feagin 2006) between coaches and players, enhancing the ability of leaders to exercise familial capital (e.g. Larotta and Yamamura 2011) to help the youth navigate difficult situations they are experiencing. On this ground, counternarratives of development are formed (Bonilla-Silva 2014; Feagin 2013) and in these new stories, new heroes are named (Shorters 2016). In Pearson, the PYA is constantly seeking ways to involve more local

stakeholders and to practice both individual and community development by encouraging youth participants to become the next generation of role models who are eager to give back instead of “get out.”

Beyond sport, these chapters contribute to some important questions in sociology broadly and more specifically in community development. First, as Yosso (2005) asks, “Whose culture has capital?” and more specifically, who defines (or should define) cultural wealth? PYA stakeholders do not deny problems in Pearson (such as domestic violence, poverty, and crime), but their perception of their neighborhood as a place where people look out for one another (e.g. when a coach watches a mom’s kids after a surgery) and where people have significant collective power to leverage for their goals (e.g. the boycott to get businesses to support the PYA), stands in contrast to the deficit-based thinking of outsiders that classifies Pearson as a “bad neighborhood” (McKnight and Block 2010). Development practitioners need to incorporate local experiences and voices into the development process, because the experiential knowledge possessed by residents and community stakeholders is valuable cultural capital (Ledwith 2011; Yosso 2005). My work has sought to document some of the stories shared by PYA stakeholders and integrate the knowledges they represent (Holstein and Gubrium 1995) into the dialogue concerning development praxis.

Another related question that comes up is in what ways is the local neighborhood context significant for development? Institutionally driven development that either isolates participants from their lived contexts (e.g. Holt et al. 2012) or labels residents of low-wealth minority communities as clients in need of outside assistance (e.g. McKnight 1995) at best leads to daily subsistence and short term ameliorative solutions rather than to sustainable development with the potential of producing structural change and uprooting social problems (Ledwith 2011; Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Taylor, McGlynn, and Luter 2013). Development must be practiced and studied in context because the places where people live and interact and work—often neighborhoods—are both expressions of their position in larger social structures and shape their opportunities for movement in these structures (e.g. Martens et al. 2014). Furthermore, when development is situated in neighborhoods, the vast array of cultural wealth and local assets becomes available to practitioners (both insiders and outsiders) who listen intentionally and who are willing to have their critical consciousnesses stretched and their understandings of society challenged and altered in the process.

Finally, scholars working in low-wealth communities should consider the ways poverty intersects with other social identities and variables such as race, gender, and education attainment. These intersections not only shape daily interactions and experiences within a neighborhood context, but also where marginalized persons are located in larger social hierarchies in society. It is at these intersections where individuals are able to access (or not) social mobility and where stakeholders are able to enact (or not) larger structural changes. Neoliberal development too often focuses on economic realities as the root of all social problems as well as solutions to the problems (e.g. Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Lyon 1999). It also tends to emphasize individual change and mobility instead of social change (Coakley 2011), which leads to blaming individuals and/or the deficient cultures of entire groups of people when development fails. Sustainable development in low-wealth communities will benefit from the reimagining of “wealth” from a more critical race perspective (Yosso 2005) as well as from probing connections between individuals and social structures (Horton 1992) and the ways intersectional inequalities shape these connections (Ledwith 2011).

Four years in Pearson working with the PYA has provided a wealth of observational, experiential, and ultimately interview data used in this case study. While case studies are valuable for contributing to social theory and studying social phenomenon in their social contexts, the depth of case studies can be complemented by the breadth of opinions and experiences captured in surveys or using other quantitative methods of data collection and analysis. Conducting surveys with a random sample of Pearson residents would add to the existing data the experiences of people who are “insiders” to the neighborhood but “outsiders” to the program (Collins 1986), and to measure their perspectives of development in Pearson and the work of the PYA. I interviewed eleven PYA stakeholders ranging from youth participants to the program’s founder and president; I included men and women, coaches, parents, and college student volunteers; the interview participants were African American and Hispanic, from a variety of class and occupational backgrounds, and a mix of residents of Pearson and nonresidents, which is reflective of the larger group of stakeholder in the PYA (see Table A.1). However, one group who was not interviewed, but who came up frequently in interviews, are parents whose children participate in the programs but who rarely or never volunteer or attend practices and games. Though they may not be engaged stakeholders, they certainly hold a stake in the program through their children’s participation, and their voices are important going

forward, especially as PYA leaders feel it is important to increase parental involvement but are not certain how to do so.

Although I interviewed two mothers who are parent coordinators in the football program and one female coach in the soccer program, women and girls are underrepresented in the current chapters for several reasons. First, they are underrepresented in the organization as a whole, something that has not gone unnoticed by stakeholders. Coach Max, for example, has daughters and remarked,

I think our organization can channel to girls a little bit more...right now, what we have is the cheerleading and dance. We don't have anything else [for girls]...I think it's imperative to get some of these things involved with girls because it's going to determine the longevity of the organization...the future leaders of these days now are being more female. [Max]

These chapters cover football and soccer, two sports that have predominantly male participants. However, the sport offerings of the PYA include football, cheerleading/dance, basketball, and soccer. The only one of these that focuses on girls explicitly is cheerleading and dance (offered in the fall and spring). Girls are allowed to play soccer and basketball where they are on teams with boys, but only a few younger girls (under the age of 10) currently play these sports. The sports offered certainly influences the representation of girls and women in the PYA, but this ignores an underlying issue: minority girls are less likely to participate in community activities (such as sport) and may fall through the cracks in institutional settings as well where boys are viewed as more “at-risk” than girls (for an enlightening discussion of the ways gender inequality works in low-wealth urban communities, see Miller 2008). Some of the lack of participation is due to social problems in low-wealth minority neighborhoods such as higher rates of teenage pregnancy and a perceived lack of safety (e.g. Martens et al. 2014), and it is evidence of a gender hierarchy within these communities that intersects with racial oppression and other forms of inequality to limit the social mobility and opportunities to engage of young female residents. Future development research and praxis needs to be done to critically address multiple forms of inequality—not just race, which I emphasize in these chapters—and to consider the ways oppression works within groups of marginalized people as well as between marginalized people and dominant groups in society.

The Pearson Youth Alliance is on the cusp of changes in leadership and structure that are outside of the scope of this research but that I intend to incorporate in future research. Some important areas for future inquiry

are the construction of a community profile (Ledwith 2011) to better situate Pearson in the larger city, state, and national context, which is important in linking local projects of development and larger agendas of social change. I would also like to work with local stakeholders to begin asset mapping so we have a more clear understanding of the PYA's position in the scheme of available assets in Pearson, including people, other community organizations, facilities, and institutions inside and outside of the neighborhood. PYA stakeholders mentioned other assets during interviews and the belief that the PYA was related to things such as local law enforcement, schools, and neighborhood businesses, but these relationships have yet to be explored. The relationships between assets is the most significant form of capital local stakeholders have to accomplish their development goals (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993), and it is possible one of the major obstacles to the PYA's continued growth—its lack of financial autonomy—could be solved if more of these assets were brought into the equation. Because economic inequality is a significant part of the legacy of racial oppression in the United States (Feagin 2006), establishing economic independence and increasing the financial capital of the community would enhance the PYA's capacity to use other forms of capital (e.g. community cultural wealth) (Yosso 2005) to resist systemic racism.

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Appendix A: Tables with Additional Demographic and Organization Information

TABLE A.1: RELEVANT DEMOGRAPHIC / INTERVIEW INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Participant (Pseudonym)	Role with the PYA	Years Involved	Pearson Residency	Location/Details of Interview	Relationship to Author
Barret	Former football participant; son of Chantel	6+	Resident	Restaurant	Close friend of the family since 2012
Chantel	Mother of Isaiah (football) and Barrett (football); parent coordinator	6+	Resident	Restaurant; Chantel's home in Pearson	Close friend of the family since 2012
Hector	Father of 1 participant (soccer); husband of Maria; Co-administrator of soccer program	2+	Nonresident (attends church in Pearson)	My apartment	Met outside of the PYA in 2013; close friend of the family since 2015
Isaiah	Current football participant; son of Chantel	6+	Resident	Restaurant	Close friend of the family since 2012
Jeremiah	Head football coach, senior team	5+	Nonresident	Inside my vehicle in the parking lot of a local business	Close friend since 2011; met outside of the PYA
John	College student volunteer mentor (soccer)	1+	Nonresident	My apartment	Former student (fall 2015)
Loyalty	Mother of 3 participants (football, basketball, cheer); wife of coach, parent coordinator	7+	Resident	Loyalty's home in Pearson	Close friend of the family since 2012
Louis	Assistant football coach, senior team	2+	Nonresident	My office on campus	Former student (fall 2015)
Maria	Parent of 1 participant (soccer); wife of Hector; Head Coach, oldest soccer teams	2+	Nonresident (attends church in Pearson)	My apartment	Met outside of the PYA in 2013; close friend of the family since 2015
Max	Father of 1 participant (football), Assistant football coach, senior team	3+	Resident (moved away recently)	Max's house in Pearson	Friend of 2 years (since 2014)

(Table A.1 continued)

Coach Moses	Founder / President of the PYA, parent of 1 participant (football), coach of various teams (football, basketball)	7+	Resident	Office of the Pearson Initiative, in Pearson	Met in 2011 outside of PYA through other sport development activities
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TABLE A.2: SITUATING PEARSON IN THE CITY

	PEARSON NEIGHBORHOOD	CITY (where Pearson is located)
RACE (% population) (2010)	Black: 63.7% Hispanic: 13.8% White: 25.8%	Black: 54.5% Hispanic: 3.3% White: 39.4%
UNEMPLOYMENT 16 YEARS OLD + (% by RACE) (2010)	Black: 8.2% (2010) Hispanic: N/A White: 3.1% (2010)	Black: 9.2% (2015)* Minority: 8.7% (2015) Over all city: 5.8% (2015)
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES / GED (%) (2014)	18-24 years old: 19.2% 25+ years old: 33.8% Male (18-24): 22.3% Female (18-24): 16% Male (25+): 37.6% Female (25+): 29.2%	18-24 years old: 19.7% 25+ years old: 25.9% Male (18-24): 22.4% Female (18-24): 17% Male (25+): 25.5% Female (25+): 26.2%
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE OR HIGHER (%) (2014)	82.8% overall	85.9%
BACHELOR DEGREE OR HIGHER (2014)	22.7% overall	32.7%
HOUSING (% RENT / OWN) (2014)	Rent: 65.2% Own: 34.8%	Rent: 49.9% Own: 50.1%
Poverty (% below poverty level by RACE) (2014)	Black: 36.6% (2014) Hispanic: 31.6% (2014) White: 20% (2014)	Black: 31% Hispanic: 29.8% White: 17.6%

*2015 unemployment data taken from the state Workforce Commission data instead of the Census

TABLE A.3: "THE NEW PARADIGM FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY IMPACT—ASSET-BASED"

	Needs/Deficit Based	Asset-based
Purpose	Changing community through increased services	Changing community through citizen involvement
Method	Institutional reform	Citizen-centered production
Accountability	Leaders are professional staff, accountable to institutional stakeholders	Leaders are widening circles of volunteer citizens, accountable to the community
Significance of Assets	Assets are system inputs, asset mapping is data collection	Assets are relationships to be discovered and connected, asset mapping is self-realization and leadership development
Production Resource	Money is the key resource, falls apart without money	Relationships are the key resource, falls apart when money becomes the focus

(Table A.3 continued)

Operating Challenge	How do we get citizens involved?	How do we channel and build on all this citizen participation?
System Dynamic	Tends to spread itself too thinner over time	Tends to snowball over time
Evaluation	Success is service outcomes, measured mostly by institutional stakeholders	Success is capacity, measured mostly by relationships

Adapted from the *ABCD Toolkit*, contributed by Dan Duncan, Faculty Member of the ABCD Institute at Northwestern.

TABLE A.4: PYA PANTHERS FOOTBALL TEAM STRUCTURE*

Developmental "D" League Team	Pee-Wee "Sophomore" Team	Junior Team**	Senior Team
Youth 5-7years old 15-20 players Tackle Andrew (head) (resident)	Youth 7-9 years old 20-30 players Tackle Ernest (head) (resident) Chris (asst.) (resident)	Youth 9-11 years old 20-30 players Tackle 2 Coaches Johnson (head) (nonresident)	Youth 11-13 years old 30-40 players Tackle Jeremiah (head) (nonresident) Max (asst.) (resident) Ray (asst.) (nonresident***) Luis (asst.) (nonresident)

*this chart is based on the most recently available information and only includes coaches who have worked multiple seasons with the PYA and/or who are mentioned in the research

**this is the team coached by white coaches in 2012, before Coach Johnson began coaching

***Ray recently moved into Pearson after losing his home to a natural disaster

TABLE A.5: PYA PEARSON UNITED SOCCER TEAM STRUCTURE*

11 th /12 th Grade Team	9 th /10 th Grade Team	5 th Grade Team	2 nd Grade Team
Youth 16-18 years old 15-20 players Maria (head) (nonresident) Rafael (asst.) (nonresident)	Youth 13-15 years old 15-20 players Maria (head) (nonresident) Hector (asst.) (nonresident)	Youth 9-12 years old 10-15 players David (head) (nonresident) William (head) (nonresident)	Youth 5-7 years old 10-15 players Nick (head) (resident) Richard (head) (nonresident)

*this chart combines information from the 2015-2016 seasons; for example, David and William coached in the fall (two teams at this age level), then only William in the spring, then only David the next fall season

Some important notes about race and the PYA programs:

- Currently, all of the football coaches except Luis (Hispanic) are African American while all of the soccer coaches except for me (white) and the team mentor, John (Asian) are Hispanic
- There is only one nonblack football participant that I am aware of, a local Hispanic youth
- During the first season a 2-3 African Americans tried soccer but did not participate in subsequent seasons; all of the current participants are Hispanic, with varying immigration and citizenship statues (from undocumented to second or third generation Americans)
- There have been white participants in the past in the PYA, but they have never made up more than 1-2% of participants
- I am currently the only white person with a significant day to day leadership role with the PYA, though several of the PYA's recently established board members are white

TABLE A.6: IMPORTANT ACRONYMS

Acronym	Explanation
PYA	<u>Pearson Youth Alliance</u> : the community organization founded by Moses in 2009 that currently facilitates football, cheer/dance, soccer, and basketball programs for youth from Pearson
SFD	<u>Sport for Development</u> : a field of research and practice that uses sport to develop individuals and communities; often used in areas of global conflict and/or communities with socially vulnerable youth (Coalter 2008, 2010)
GSM	<u>Great Sport Myth</u> : the idea that sport is an inherently positive force for the development of individuals and communities and that participants automatically benefit from sport participation (Coakley 2011, 2015)
CCW	<u>Community Cultural Wealth</u> : Yosso's (2005) critical race theory reimagining of cultural capital that emphasizes forms of cultural capital present in minority communities; dimensions include aspirational, linguistic, social, navigational, familial, and resistant, though these are not mutually exclusive
CRT	<u>Critical Race Theory</u> : a field of research and practice that was born out of a student movement at the Harvard Law School and is especially interested in revealing and resisting institutional mechanisms (in the criminal justice system and in other fields) that contribute to racial oppression (Crenshaw 2011)
ABCD	<u>Asset-based Community Development</u> : a theory of critical community development put forth by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) that emphasizes assets communities possess to leverage toward development and establishes intentional local development programs
BOA	<u>Black Organizational Autonomy</u> : a model of community development put forth by Horton (1992) that advocates an intentionally black, antiracist practice of community development through the establishment of indigenous social institutions
BCD	<u>Black Community Developers of Little Rock</u> : an indigenous institution that was the site of a two year case study by Horton (1992) on which he founds the BOA model
SBI	<u>South B Initiative</u> : a local crime prevention organization whose region of work includes Pearson, and who committed to make large annual donations to Pearson several years ago before drastically reducing the amount of the donation in 2016

TABLE 7.A: PARK MAP



APPENDIX B: Research Items and IRB Approval

ITEM B.1: SAMPLE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

I want to start off the interview by hearing your story of the Pearson soccer program. Tell me how you became involved with the soccer program, how you are currently involved, and what your experience with the program has been like?

-Do you currently live in Pearson? (If so, for how long? If not, have you ever lived in Pearson?)

-If you don't live in Pearson, how did you find the neighborhood—first impressions?

-How did you hear about the soccer program? Why did you choose to get involved?

STAKEHOLDER PROGRAM EVALUATION

What would you say is the reason the soccer program exists?

What kinds of positive changes has the soccer program brought to the community? Do you remember the neighborhood before the program existed? What was it like?

Tell me about some problems that exist in Pearson. How does the soccer program relate to these problems?

What about crime? Do you feel safer in Pearson (do you think Pearson is safer) since the soccer program started? Are there other reasons you feel safer in Pearson now than you used to?

Do you think the problems in Pearson affect different groups in different ways? (prompt: boys/girls, blacks/white/Hispanic, etc.) Would you say certain groups have more problems than others? If so, explain which groups/why

(If doesn't live in Pearson) Describe your relationships with people in Pearson. Do you trust people you've met in the community through the program?

(If stakeholder resides in Pearson) Do you know your neighbors? Do you trust the people you live around? Why/why not? (prompt: ask for some stories/examples that support what they answer)

(For parents) Do you know the coaches? Describe the relationships?

(For coaches) What kind of relationship do you have with the other coaches? With the parents? With the kids?

Do you know the parents of kids who are involved with the program? Describe the relationships?

Has being involved with the soccer program helped you get to know more people in Pearson? (or, has it strengthened existing friendships?)

Has being involved with the soccer program benefited your child(ren)? If so, how? Can you tell me a story that shows how your child has benefited? (If doesn't have kids) Can you tell a story that shows how kids have benefited?

The core values of the Pearson Youth Alliance are unity, character, and pride. Do you think the Youth Alliance is meeting its goals of encouraging these values? Why/why not?

What does unity mean to you? How do you see it expressed (or not expressed) in the GYA?

What does character mean to you? How do you see it expressed in the GYA?

What does pride mean to you? How do you see it expressed in the GYA?

Are there other values you feel are important that are missing?

What makes the soccer program successful?

What are some problems you see with the soccer program? What is the most frustrating thing for you about the soccer program?

What could make the program more successful?

What is your favorite memory with the soccer program?

There's been talk of possibly offering other sports either through the Youth Alliance or another organization. What other sports would you like to see and why?

There are a lot of programs for youth in Pearson through the Pearson Initiative such as the Pearson Initiative tutoring during the year, their weekend art programs, and their summer program. Have you or your children been involved with these? What makes sports special? What does a sports program do for the neighborhood and the kids that other programs don't do?

Can you share a story of how/why sports matters to your family and child(ren)? What differences it makes in your lives?

(For coaches, suggested by a mother) Imagine your life without the GYA programs. What would it be like? Family/neighborhood/you personally?

The Pearson Youth Alliance is a Christian organization. Does the faith aspect matter? If so, how does it matter?

Pearson Youth Alliance and the Black Organizational Autonomy Model

Now let's think specifically about the Pearson Youth Alliance.

-To your knowledge, where does the money to operate the sports programs come from?

-Who controls that money?

-Who are the leaders of the Youth Alliance?

- (prompt) Male/female leaders?

- (prompt) Are the leaders from Pearson or other places?

-What are the qualifications to become a leader in the Youth Alliance?

-Who has the most power in the Youth Alliance? How can you tell?

-Who makes the decisions in the Youth Alliance? Can you give an example of how decisions are made?

-Most participants in the Youth Alliance are black. Does the Youth Alliance value black history and culture? How can you tell?

-Explain how the Youth Alliance operates. In your opinion, does it operate well? Why/why not? Would you make changes? If so, what kind?

NEIGHBORHOOD/COMMUNITY (situating the program)

Someone told me one time that it would be hard to do a large sports program in Pearson because the neighborhood had a different kind of history than other neighborhoods in Baton Rouge. They told me that most people in Pearson didn't grow up in Pearson, so they cared less about the neighborhood and wouldn't get involved in a sports program. How would you respond to that?

-Did you grow up in Pearson? If so, tell me what that was like. Why have you stayed/come back? How has the neighborhood changed since you've lived here?

-I've heard a lot of people came into Pearson after Hurricane Katrina. What was your experience during Katrina? Were you in Pearson before Katrina?

-When someone says "The Pearson neighborhood" what comes to mind? If I gave you a map, how would you mark off what is/isn't Pearson? (give them a piece of paper and have them map it out!)

-What would you say are the three best things about Pearson? (explain)

-What would you say are the three worst things about Pearson? (explain)

-Do you consider Pearson your permanent home, or do you plan to move in the future?'

Abbreviated ASSET MAPPING (connects to Community Cultural Wealth)

How could your skills be used to make the Pearson Youth Alliance better? Are you interested in using your skills in this way?

When you think about your skills, what 3 things do you think you do best? Which skill(s) would people pay you to do?

Have you been involved in any kind of community activities or programs in Pearson or any places you have lived? Can you describe your involvement?

Have you ever considered starting an official business/Have you started a business? Can you describe it? What kinds of obstacles kept you from starting the business?

Do you have a business that could partner with the GYA? Are you interested in this opportunity?

What are some skills, people, or some places that are missing in Pearson?

What are some obstacles to improving Pearson? How do you think these obstacles can be overcome?

DEMOGRAPHICS (to end the interview)

What is your name and age?

What is your relationship status? (Describe your family for me)

How many kids do you have, what are their names, and how old are they?

Where do your children go to school?

How do they get to and from school each day?

What other activities (in the neighborhood or at school) are your children involved in?

Which of your children are involved with the Panthers? What team(s) do they play on?

Last question. Can you think of anything we didn't discuss today that you wanted to talk about? Anything you want to know about the Panthers that I didn't ask about but that I should ask about?

Thank you for your time! I'll be making a transcription of the interview, which means getting it all typed out and printed. Would you be willing to look over the copy of the interview to make sure it looks ok? It would also give you the opportunity to add anything you think of later.

ITEM B.2: STAKEHOLDER INFORMED CONSENT

You are invited to participate in a research study on the Gardere Youth Alliance's Packers football and soccer program being conducted by Danielle Thomas, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University. The study focuses on the network of parents, coaches, volunteers, and community organizations that facilitate the program. The purpose of this study is to explore the views of those who support the programs in some way, to define the programs with them, and to work with them to identify needs of the programs. The study seeks to facilitate communication amongst different groups of supporters with the goal of planning and implementing specific actions to address identified needs. If you decide to participate in this study, I would like to speak with you individually and/or in a small group of 2-5 people about several things: your involvement with the football and/or soccer program, how you see yourself supporting the program(s), what your role with the program(s) means to you, and places where you think the program(s) need more support or a different kind of support than they currently receive.

The interview(s) will last 1-2 hours and I will record them using a digital tape recorder and cell phone. I will transcribe the interview(s) and analyze the text. At any time during the interview(s), you are free to stop the interview(s), refuse to answer a question, and/or withdraw your participation from the study.

All information will be kept confidential in accordance with LSU guidelines designed to protect research participants. I will take the following steps to protect your identity: a) I will replace participant names in all written research materials, and b) password protect all research files on my computer.

This study involves answering questions dealing with your experiences with the Packers. Although risk for psychological harm is minimal, it is possible you will feel uncomfortable discussing certain experiences. Participation in this study is unlikely to benefit or harm you. Your participation is voluntary and you are not required to answer any questions.

Your signature indicates you have freely chosen to participate in this study and have read and understood the information in this form. There will not be financial compensation for participation. Your decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect your relations with the researcher, Department of Sociology, or Louisiana State University. There is no penalty for withdrawing from the study at any point during the research process.

If you have additional questions, contact Danielle Thomas, LSU Department of Sociology, 106A Stubbs Hall, 502-229-4030, dthom68@tigers.lsu.edu OR Lori Martin, Ph.D., LSU Department of Sociology, 106B Stubbs Hall, 222-578-1785, lorim@lsu.edu. Questions and concerns about your rights as a research participant can be directed to Dennis Landin, Ph.D., Chair Louisiana State Institutional Review Board Office, 131 David Boyd Hall, Baton Rouge, LA 70803; phone: 225-578-8692; email: irb@lsu.edu.

Thank you very much.

I have read the procedure described above and I freely volunteer to participate in the study and verify I have received a copy of this description.

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Principle Investigator Signature: _____ Date: _____

ITEM B.3: PARENT/GUARDIAN INFORMED CONSENT

Your child is invited to participate in a research study on the Gardere Youth Alliance's football and/or soccer program being conducted by Danielle Thomas, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University. The study focuses on the network of parents, coaches, volunteers, and community organizations that facilitate the program. The primary purpose of the study is to explore the views of those who support or participate in the program(s) in some way, to define the program(s) with them and to work with supporters and participants to identify existing needs of the program(s).

Children who participate in the program have a special perspective that I would like to include in the research. They are key participants on the football and soccer teams and their experiences and opinions about the program(s) are important. If you decide to allow your child to participate in this study, I would like to talk with him/her either in your presence or in a small group of 2-5 children about his/her involvement with the programs, what he/she enjoys about the program(s), why he/she chooses to be a part of the Gardere Youth Alliance organization, and any way(s) he/she believes the program(s) can be improved.

The interview will last 30 minutes to one hour and will take place at a place and time convenient to you or at the Hartley Vey Gardere BREC park in Gardere during regular practice times. I will record the interview using a digital tape recorder and cell phone. I will transcribe the interview and analyze the text. You are welcome to watch the interview take place, but I ask that you remain at a distance, or at least quiet, so the children are not distracted and feel free to speak openly about their experiences. At any time during the interview, you are free to stop your child's participation and remove him/her from the interview. Your child is also free to stop the interview, refuse to answer any questions, and/or withdraw his/her participation from the study.

All information will be kept confidential in accordance with LSU guidelines designed to protect research participants. I will take the following steps to protect your child's identity: a) I will replace names in all written research materials, and b) password protect all research files on my computer.

This study involves your child answering questions about his/her experiences with the Gardere Youth Alliance football and/or soccer programs. The risk for psychological harm is minimal, but it is possible your child will feel uncomfortable discussing certain experiences. Participation in this study is unlikely to benefit or harm your child. Your child's participation is voluntary and he/she is not required to answer any questions.

Your signature indicates you are allowing your child to participate in this study and have read and understood the information in this form. There will not be financial compensation for participation. Your decision whether or not to allow your child to participate will in no way affect your relations with the researcher, Department of Sociology, or Louisiana State University. There is no penalty for withdrawing your child from the study at any point during the research process.

If you have additional questions, contact Danielle Thomas, LSU Department of Sociology, 106A Stubbs Hall, 502-229-4030, dthom68@tigers.lsu.edu OR Lori Martin, Ph.D., LSU Department of Sociology, 106B Stubbs Hall, 222-578-1785, lorim@lsu.edu Questions and concerns about your rights as a research participant can be directed to Dennis Landin, Ph.D., Chair Louisiana State Institutional Review Board Office, 131 David Boyd Hall, Baton Rouge, LA 70803; phone: 225-578-8692; email: irb@lsu.edu.

Thank you very much.

I have read the procedure described above and I freely volunteer to participate in the study and verify I have received a copy of this description.

Parent/Guardian Signature: _____ Date: _____

Principle Investigator Signature: _____ Date: _____

ITEM B.4: CHILD ASSENT FORM


I, _____ agree to be in a study to learn about the Gardere Youth Alliance football and/or soccer program(s) and to find ways to improve it. I will have to spend some time during practice to answer some questions about being a football or soccer player for the Gardere Youth Alliance. I can choose to quit being in the study at any time and will not get in trouble if I decide to quit.

Child's signature: _____ Age: _____ Date: _____

Witness: _____ Date: _____

ITEM B.5: IRB APPROVAL

ACTION ON PROTOCOL CONTINUATION REQUEST



Institutional Review Board
 Dr. Dennis Landin, Chair
 130 David Boyd Hall
 Baton Rouge, LA 70803
 P: 225.578.8692
 F: 225.578.5983
irb@lsu.edu | lsu.edu/irb

TO: Lori Martin
 Sociology

FROM: Dennis Landin
 Chair, Institutional Review Board

DATE: May 5, 2016

RE: IRB# 3331

TITLE: "I'm not Overlooking Them": Using a Community Cultural Wealth Framework to Evaluate a Youth Sports Program

New Protocol/Modification/Continuation: Continuation

Review type: Full Expedited Review date: 5/5/2016

Risk Factor: Minimal Uncertain Greater Than Minimal

Approved Disapproved

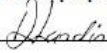
Approval Date: 5/5/2016 Approval Expiration Date: 5/4/2017

Re-review frequency: (annual unless otherwise stated)

Number of subjects approved:

LSU Proposal Number (if applicable):

Protocol Matches Scope of Work in Grant proposal: (if applicable) _____

By: Dennis Landin, Chairman 

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING –
 Continuing approval is **CONDITIONAL** on:

1. Adherence to the approved protocol, familiarity with, and adherence to the ethical standards of the Belmont Report, and LSU's Assurance of Compliance with DHHS regulations for the protection of human subjects*
2. Prior approval of a change in protocol, including revision of the consent documents or an increase in the number of subjects over that approved.
3. Obtaining renewed approval (or submittal of a termination report), prior to the approval expiration date, upon request by the IRB office (irrespective of when the project actually begins); notification of project termination.
4. Retention of documentation of informed consent and study records for at least 3 years after the study ends.
5. Continuing attention to the physical and psychological well-being and informed consent of the individual participants, including notification of new information that might affect consent.
6. A prompt report to the IRB of any adverse event affecting a participant potentially arising from the study.
7. Notification of the IRB of a serious compliance failure.
8. **SPECIAL NOTE: Make sure to use bcc when emailing more than one recipient.**

*All investigators and support staff have access to copies of the Belmont Report, LSU's Assurance with DHHS, DHHS (45 CFR 46) and FDA regulations governing use of human subjects, and other relevant documents in print in this office or on our World Wide Web site at <http://www.lsu.edu/irb>

Vita

Danielle Jo Thomas went to Frankfort High School in Frankfort, Kentucky, where she played soccer and softball, fell in love with writing, and began to think about becoming a high school English teacher. In 2006, she moved southeast to the Appalachian Mountains to attend Milligan College in Tennessee, where, after a semester of classroom observations, she decided she did not want to become a high school English teacher. That same semester, she took her first sociology class, and the next semester she changed her major and dug into the social sciences. Danielle found a home in the field of sociology because it allows her to blend her passions for service, community engagement, and scholarship. After obtaining bachelor's degrees in Sociology and Humanities and a minor in French in 2010, Danielle moved further south to attend Louisiana State University. In 2011, Danielle was introduced to the "Pearson" neighborhood through a church service project. She began volunteering with sport programs in the community, founded a large summer sport camp, and eventually aligned her research with her work in Pearson. During her time at LSU, some of Danielle's favorite things have been attending LSU football games, sampling (OK, gorging herself on) Louisiana cuisine, and realizing her love for teaching all over again in the college classroom. Danielle received her master's degree in Sociology from LSU in 2012 and plans to complete her doctorate degree in Sociology with a minor in Women's and Gender Studies from LSU in 2016. Upon graduation, she plans to continue to explore sport for development using a critical, sociological lens and to establish service learning projects that connect campus communities and local neighborhoods.