

**AN INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE RECRUITMENT AND PARTICIPATION  
OF SECOND-GENERATION AFRICAN CANADIAN ADOLESCENT GIRLS IN A  
COMMUNITY BASKETBALL PROGRAM IN OTTAWA, CANADA**

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Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa  
in partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Master of Arts in Human Kinetics

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## Abstract

Research on the unique challenges facing racialized and minority adolescent girls in Canada has prompted sport actors to develop tailored intervention strategies to address the disproportionately lower participation and retention rates of these subpopulations. However, much research has relied on unitary conceptualisations of participation barriers facing socially disadvantaged adolescent girls, which has produced “one-size-fits-all” policy and program solutions to address declining participation trends. Therefore, in my thesis research, I used intersectionality theory, a feminist participatory action research (FPAR) approach, and semi-structured interviews with 11 coordinators and coaches in the City of Ottawa’s Community Centre Basketball League (CCBL) to understand how they address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income Ottawa neighbourhoods. I then used Braun and Clarke’s (2019a) reflexive thematic analysis to better understand the facilitators and barriers to the recruitment and participation of these girls in the CCBL program. I identified four themes that inform the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the CCBL: a) CCBL coordinators hire coaches who can relate to the program users through shared culture and/or lived-experiences; b) CCBL coaches use their identities and lived experiences to enhance their understanding of the program users; c) CCBL coaches and coordinators make efforts to build trust with and increase buy-in from parents to improve participation from program users; and d) CCBL coaches and coordinators make religious accommodations in response to the needs of Muslim and Christian program users. The findings from my research can be used to promote more inclusive and equitable community-based sport programs serving ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girls in Canada.

## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis work to my phenomenal parents who always stressed the importance of education, and to my mentors, role models, and the trailblazers before me without whom I would not be here. Thank you for steering me to where I am today.

## Acknowledgments

I'm so humbled in this moment drafting my acknowledgements. There are so many I desperately need to thank.

Before thanking any person, I must thank my thesis supervisor Dr. Audrey Giles for guiding me through my greatest life project to date. Without your efforts none of my accomplishments would have been possible. Your net contribution to the world through graduating hundreds of students, teaching, and producing research is immeasurable and inspiring. My legacy, and the legacy of everyone you've touched as an educator, is yours to marvel as well. Thank you for setting me up for success. I would also like to thank my lab mates on the wonderful Team Giles (both past and present) for their support throughout my studies.

I'd be remised not to thank the City of Ottawa, the community advisory board, and every participant in this research project for opening their doors to me, letting me into their lives, and making the project what it is. For the purpose of protecting anonymity I cannot name each individual, but please know my appreciation for you is unwavering. I would also like to thank Canadian Women & Sport for partnering with me and letting me witness the magic behind the exceptional work undertaken by the organisation. CWS is an irreplaceable player in the Canadian sport sector and I'm proud everyday to have worked with their elite team. That said, I wish to give a very special thank you to Allison Sandmeyer-Graves, Jenny Lim, Greer Gemin, and Sydney Millar.

Thank you to the Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa and Somerset West Community Health Centre staff and community members whose presence and commitment to my success growing up made my childhood and adolescence the greatest years of my life. This thesis work is in your honour. Thank you Fauza, Meghan, Emilie, Vanessa, Monica, Andrew, Rob, Jennifer, Kelly, Josmi, Lise, Erin, Donna, Faduma, Cori, Jamie, Abdoul, Mahamoud, Yosef, Dave, and so many others.

To my colleagues at Health Canada, thank you for supporting me thorough my graduate studies and welcoming me to HPSI with such warmth. Thank you Sue, Linda, Cindy, Jodi-Anne, Jennifer, Stephanie, Louise, Anne, Marie-Hélène, Mai and many others who made, and continue to make my work experience so positive and uplifting.

I would especially like to thank my loved ones and friends including my brothers and sisters, Fatuma, Muna, and Nadira, and Julia, Michelle, and Joseph who carried be through my hardest moments. When I wanted to give up you were there for me. I won't ever forget.

A very special and warm thank you to Dr. Tanya Forneris and Dr. Corliss Bean who were the first academic scholars to open doors for my university success. Your kindest, warmth, and genuine regard for student success is unmatched and inspiring. For that, I wish both of you nothing but the very best this world has to offer.

I would also be remised not to thank my thesis committee members Dr. Mythili Rajiva and Dr. Alexandra Arellano. I had the pleasure of taking courses with both of you in my last year of undergraduate studies and first year of graduate studies respectively. Your wisdom and course

content moved me in ways that still affect me today. Thank you for leaving a lasting impression on my academic endeavours and for your critical contributions to my thesis project.

Lastly but certainly not least, I would like to thank Dr. Christine Dallaire and Dr. Alexander Dumas for their role in advocating for my scholarship and Dr. Bradley Young who in my second year of undergraduate studies recommended me to the UROP, which propelled me to where I am today.

## **Chapter One: Introduction**

The social, psychological, and physical benefits of youth (individuals 15 to 24 years of age) and adolescent (individuals 10 to 19 years of age)(United Nations, 2012) involvement in sport is well-documented across a number of fields and academic disciplines (Balish et al., 2014; Green, 2016). Research from positive youth development and sport for development studies has provided evidence for the viability of sport as an avenue for positive life and social skill development (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005), improvements in physical and mental well-being (Eime et al., 2013), affect and sense of self-worth (Blomfield & Barber, 2009), and even academic performance and career achievement (Marsh & Kleitman, 2003). However, notwithstanding these benefits, data on youth and adolescent involvement in sport in Canada have consistently shown a decline in participation for those between 10 and 13 years of age (Mulholland, 2008; Eime et al., 2019).

At the forefront of trends demonstrating declines in adolescent and youth participation in sport are even greater disparities among girls compared to boys (Wright, 2013). The current body of literature on adolescent girls' sport attrition in Canada has revealed intra-categorical differences in the participation of young girls in sport. Researchers have identified racialized minority status (Biddle et al., 2005), sexual minority status (Doull et al., 2018), and newcomer status (Canadian Women & Sport, 2021; Taylor & Doherty, 2005), among others, as exacerbating adolescent girls' decline in sport participation. These findings suggest that girls in these identity groups are having different experiences in and of sport than mainstream girls (i.e., middle-income, White girls). Therefore, for my Master of Arts research presented in this thesis, I used intersectionality and a feminist participatory action research (FPAR) approach to understand how program coaches and coordinators address the recruitment and participation of

second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income communities in the City of Ottawa's Community Centre Basketball League (CCBL).

The CCBL comprises one subset of seven unique sport programs and one leadership program – entitled the “I Love to” program series – and is offered by the City of Ottawa's Department of Recreation, Cultural, and Facility Services' and sponsor Canadian Tire Jumpstart charities (City of Ottawa, n.d.). The I Love to programs are hosted at multiple sites across the city to predominantly low-income families who experience financial barriers to registering in extracurricular activities. Demographically, the community centre catchment areas in which female CCBL program user disparities persist are comprised largely of visible minority, newcomer, and/or first- and second-generation residents and families (Social Planning Council of Ottawa, 2015).

The City of Ottawa sport managers and staff who helped to co-develop this research highlighted participation disparities in the CCBL program between adolescent girls and boys as of particular concern and indicated interest in investigating how they could enhance recruitment and retention of girl participants. The stand-alone paper in this thesis (Chapter 2) details my findings from 11 semi-structured interviews with the program coaches and coordinators involved in the delivery and/or oversight of the CCBL at four community centres in Ottawa that serve a large number of second-generation African Canadian girls and boys.

### **Literature Review**

In the following section, I provide an overview of three bodies of literature that are particularly relevant to the present investigation. First, I describe the changing demographic profile of Canada and the growing presence of first- and second-generation Canadians of Eastern heritage (e.g., African, South Asian, East Asian, Middle Eastern, etc.). I then discuss the

sociocultural determinants of adolescent female sport participation and recruitment with a particular emphasis on minority girls' experiences. Lastly, I close this section with a description of the City of Ottawa's CCBL program and the community-based sport landscape.

### **Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada**

Statistics Canada (2013b) assigns first-generation status to any person born outside Canada, second-generation status to individuals born in Canada to at least one foreign-born parent, and third-generation status (or more) to people who are Canadian-born and have two Canadian-born parents. For the purpose of my thesis research, I have adopted Statistics Canada's definitions of generation status; however, I acknowledge the contested nature of defining generation status (and particularly first- versus second-generation status) by birthplace whilst not considering factors such as age of settlement and whether one or both parents are foreign-born (Ramakrishnan, 2004). Scholars have problematized the notion that individuals who migrate to Canada at a young age and are subsequently raised, schooled, and socialised are categorically the same as individuals who migrate to Canada in their late teens or adulthood. Consequently, the term 1.5 generation was developed to describe individuals who arrive to Canada before the age of 13 (Zhou, 1999), although delineations vary, and "new" generation Canadian was developed to describe Canadian-born children plus foreign-born children who migrate to Canada before the age of five (Yan et al., 2008).

**Immigrant population.** Over the last century and a half, Canadians have witnessed tremendous growth in ethnic and cultural diversity within Canada (Canadian Heritage, 2018). Owing greatly to increased migration since 1991, the demographic composition of Canada today is vastly different from that of one generation prior, with more newcomers, older adults (65 and older), ethnic minorities, and culturally and linguistically diverse communities (Statistics

Canada, 2016). It has been estimated that by 2031, between 25% and 28% of people living in Canada will be foreign-born (Statistics Canada, 2010). Data from 2016 revealed that 37.5% of the total population of children under the age of 15 were either foreign-born or Canadian-born with at least one foreign-born parent, and that percentage is expected to rise to anywhere between 39.3% and 49.1% by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2017b); notably, the greatest increase is projected among the segment of Canadian-born children with two foreign-born parents (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Importantly, the sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions of Ottawa's immigrant community mirror the nation in terms of age, culture, race, circumstances of arrival, and length of time spent in Canada.

Prior to 2000, the majority of recent immigrants to Ottawa (i.e., those arriving between 1991 to 2001) originated from China, Somalia, Lebanon, the Caribbean and Bermuda, and the former Yugoslavia (Social Planning Council of Ottawa, 2004). Data from the 2016 Census revealed the top five places of birth of recent immigrants in the Ottawa-Gatineau region (i.e., those arriving between 2011 to 2016) were China, the Philippines, Syria, India, and Haiti (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Further, Statistics Canada (2017a) reported 36.2% of Ottawa-Gatineau residents were either of foreign-born status or offspring to one or two foreign-born immigrant parents. In another Statistics Canada (2013a) report, it was noted that Ottawa held the largest proportion of first-generation immigrants of refugee status relative to other major cities in Canada. The ethnocultural composition of first-generation immigrants is closely linked to the demographic and circumstantial profiles of second-generation children and youth.

**Second-generation Canadians.** In 2011, the provinces with the highest proportion of second-generation Canadians among their population were British Columbia (23.4%), Ontario (22.5%), and Alberta (19.1%) (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Urban centres are the most frequent

place of settlement for foreign-born individuals and their Canadian-born children, with 80.9% of this subgroup of the Canadian population residing in census metropolitan areas (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Visible minorities account for 29.8% of all second-generation Canadians compared to 60.2% of first-generation Canadians and 19.1% of the overall population of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013a). Furthermore, second-generation Canadians are increasingly representing Canada's youngest members of society (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Compared to the overall population of Canada, as well as preceding and succeeding generation categories, second-generation Canadians are younger on average with a median age of 31.9 years (versus the general population, which is 40.1 years); notably, the median ages of the second-generation population in Quebec and Ontario are much younger at 22.7 and 29.7 years respectively (Statistics Canada, 2013a). The median age of visible minorities of second-generation status was 12.2, 14.5, and 16.8 years of age respectively in 2011 for the three largest visible minority groups in Canada: South Asian, Black, and Chinese (Statistics Canada, 2013a). In 2016, Statistics Canada (2019) reported 38.4% of the Black population in Ontario was comprised of second-generation Canadians (and 53.4% were first-generation), with Africa and the Caribbean forming the most common regions of ethnic origin. In addition to the direct impact second-generation generation Canadians are having on immigration trends and population projections, this group is also distinguished from other generation categories for being uniquely situated ethnoculturally (Statistics Canada, 2013b). In the following section, I describe the recruitment efforts across Canada of women and girls to sport, and the effect of sociocultural factors connected to the identities and lived experiences of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income communities (racial and ethnic minority, socioeconomically disadvantaged, religious minority status, etc.) on the participation rates of these subpopulations. I

also provide an overview of the community-based sport sector as well as background information on the CCBL.

### **Adolescent Girls' Sport Recruitment and Participation**

**Sport recruitment.** Attempts to recruit girls and women to sport in Canada has captured the attention of academic scholars, governments, policy makers, and practitioners for decades. Both government and non-government policy actors have played an integral role in promoting girls' and women's integration into the sport system at all levels. For example, the Province of Ontario's Ministry of Heritage, Sport, Tourism and Culture Industries established the "Advancing Opportunities for Women and Girls in Sport" provincial action plan to augment women and girl's representation in sport as athletes, coaches, leaders, educators, and administrators (Ontario Ministry of Heritage, Sport, Tourism and Culture Industries, 2017). Canadian Heritage developed the sport policy, "Actively Engaged: A Policy on Sport for Women and Girls" – which replaced Sport Canada's Policy on Women in Sport – to bring attention to the recruitment and meaningful involvement of women and girls in sport-based activities (Canadian Heritage, 2017). Cragg et al.'s (2016) literature review and report "Policy and Program Considerations for Increasing Sport Participation Among Members of Underrepresented Groups in Canada" offered recommendations for developing inclusive, welcoming, and meaningful sport and physical activity (PA) experiences for underrepresented communities (i.e., women and girls, low-income Canadians, newcomers, etc.).

Non-government sport organisations have played important roles in developing and implementing sport equity initiatives involving the recruitment of girls and women into the Canadian sport ecosystem. For example, Canadian Women & Sport (CWS) (2012) (formerly the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport and Physical Activity)

produced a resource entitled “Actively Engaging Women and Girls: Addressing the Psycho-Social Factors” to raise awareness among sport policy and program makers, academics, and practitioners alike on the barriers to women and girls’ involvement in sport and PA. In the same document, CWS recommended introducing recruitment campaigns, strategies, and initiatives in order to sustain long-term active lifestyles for women and girls. Despite this plethora of policy interventions, lower rates of women’s and girls’ participation in sport persists, including within programs offered by the City of Ottawa.

**Sport participation.** Literature attending to the social determinants of adolescent and youth sport participation and engagement point to a number of underlying themes touching age, gender, race and ethnicity (Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004), religion (Walseth, 2016), culture and language (Weinberg, 2000), sexual minority status (Doull et al., 2018), dis/ability (Fitzgerald & Long, 2017), socioeconomic background (Jeffrey, 2008), and newcomer immigrant status (Tirone et al., 2010). However, there exists a dearth of studies examining the sporting experiences of young people in a manner that adequately exposes the complexity of lived experience as it relates to multiple intersecting social configurations and identities. For example, Fleming (2016) exposed the tendency within sport policy discourse to homogenize minority ethnic groups into monolithic entities. Similarly, Taylor and Doherty (2005) argued that sport, recreation, and physical education literature examining the experiences of immigrant adolescents has been limited due to restricting analyses to one gender, ethnic grouping, and/or leisure in a general sense. Pointing to the need for intersectionality in the study of adolescent dropout from sport, Molinero et al. (2006) surmised the importance of employing a comprehensive strategy that accounts for a wide array of sport withdrawal influencers. Consistent with the view that the diversity of individual experience with respect to social realities is critical to analysis, numerous

authors have cautioned against normative readings of youth participation in sport (Knez et al., 2012; Green, 2016; Fleming, 2016; Walseth, 2016). In response to this challenge, through my thesis research I sought to study the experiences of CCBL coaches and coordinators in trying to address the sport recruitment and participation of socially disadvantaged adolescent girls using intersectionality as a means to develop a more robust conceptual understanding of the facilitators and constraints.

**Community-based sport.** According to Van der Veken et al. (2020), community sport provide particular benefits to people and groups in socially disadvantaged conditions. The possibilities that community sport offers in the way of providing socially disadvantaged people access to sport that is otherwise inaccessible (such as private club sports) can increase opportunities for participation (Rosso & McGrath, 2017). Moreover, in situations where school or club sport may not resonate with adolescent girls, community-based sport programs can present a positive alternative. The controlled, regimented environment characteristic of school or club sport is contrary to community-based sport programs where flexibility and “fun” is prioritised over curriculum or competition. Additionally, the absence of formal dress codes, optional participation, scheduling flexibility, and the willingness of facilitators to tailor the programs around user needs make community-based sport an ideal avenue for low-pressure, stress-free sporting experiences. Research from positive youth development (PYD) has highlighted life skill development in community sport contexts through the influence of program staff (and parents) as a notable benefit (Newman et al., 2020). Program users can foster informal relationships and connect more deeply with staff in community-based sport environments in a manner that feels safe, thus empowering them to use their voices and share feedback or concerns directly with program leaders. Whitley et al. (2014) suggested that monitoring and reporting the

benefits of community-based sport programs for low-income and marginalized youth is of great importance in order to protect the place of such sport programs in underserved communities.

### **Community Centre Basketball League (CCBL) Program**

The CCBL is a free drop-in afterschool program that was introduced in 2012 by the City of Ottawa across recreation centres in priority neighbourhoods. The CCBL is unique in that it is the only sport-based Canadian Tire Jumpstart Program that is specific to adolescents (i.e., target age is 13 to 18). The CCBL was added to the I Love to program series, which as noted, comprises eight unique sport programs funded by Canadian Tire Jump Start Charities (City of Ottawa, n.d.). Priority neighbourhoods are characterised by lower socioeconomic conditions, higher crime rates, and limited services (City of Toronto, n.d.; Community Development Framework, n.d.). Another unique feature of the catchment neighbourhoods is the inter-agency partnerships between the service-based organisations in the area. For example, the City of Ottawa community centres foster relationships with the other agencies operating in the area such as Ottawa Community Housing, the Ottawa Police, local community health centres, and even the shelters in order to deliver a fuller suite of services to residents.

Attendance to the CCBL is greatest over the summer months when both the City of Ottawa's and Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa's (BGCO) male and female youth basketball teams compete in a city-wide recreational tournament. The summer league games are hosted weekly at one BGCO facility in Ottawa and transportation to the facility is arranged by the City of Ottawa and BGCO for competing teams. For a team to be eligible to participate in the league, it must recruit a roster large enough to make up one full line-up plus a substitute (i.e., a minimum of six players). Contrary to the summer months, attendance to the CCBL drops during the school year. While participation rates to the boys' CCBL program remains relatively consistent throughout

the year, the girls' program experiences significant drop-off. CCBL coaches and coordinators reported both participation and retention challenges for their girls' team (i.e., failed attempts at boosting numbers and maintaining numbers), which galvanized my thesis research on second-generation African Canadian girls' participation in and recruitment to community-based sport programs.

The demographic profile of users accessing the programs at the community centres are mainly second-generation Canadians of Somali, Congolese, Burundian, or South Sudanese descent, with a smaller number of users from other ethnic and racial backgrounds (e.g., Arab, White). Both Muslim and Christian children and adolescents make up a large number of participants in the programs. Although programs and services are delivered in Canada's official languages (English and French), program users themselves are linguistically diverse as many use other languages at home to communicate with their parents. Many of the users attend the programming continually from the time they move into the catchment neighbourhood and/or reach the minimum program age requirement (6 years old) to adolescence. In some instances, program users may transition to volunteer roles within the program once they reach high school and may eventually be hired to facilitate community centre activities. Indeed, the program is modeled on graduating members from program users, to volunteers, to employees (five CCBL coaches in this study fit this profile). Although program users are mainly from the surrounding neighbourhood, CCBL stakeholders also reported that some users bring their friends from school who live in other communities to participate in programs. In the proceeding sections, I describe the epistemological framework I used to guide my thesis research, followed by the theoretical and methodological frameworks.

## **Epistemology**

I used a social constructionist epistemology to conduct this research, which is commensurable to my theoretical and methodological framework, intersectionality and FPAR respectively. Social constructionism underscores the role of human interaction in the formulation of knowledge (Crotty, 1998). Weenink and Bridgman (2017) discerned the ontological and epistemological foundation of social constructionism as subjectivist and relativist; namely, there exist multiple truths as opposed to one single truth, which forms the basis of what is known and what can be known. Weenink and Bridgman then expanded on the principle of codependence between researchers and the “researched” within the process of knowledge production. Social constructionism provides a strong and appropriate epistemological model for my thesis research as it provides critical insights around my role as researcher in the process of knowledge creation and meaning making. The CCBL coaches’ and coordinators’ experiences along with my own represent a co-constructed interpretation of the factors involved in the participation and recruitment of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the CCBL. Moreover, as argued by Crotty (1998), the geographic, historical, and political contexts from which I and the participants produced and created meaning about the CCBL program is inextricable from our understanding of the facilitators and barriers to the recruitment and participation of the adolescent girl players.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Given the complex nature of the intersecting identities and lived experiences of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls who live in low-income communities in Ottawa, intersectionality theory was well suited to guide my thesis research with CCBL coaches and coordinators. Intersectionality theory was first conceptualised by African American feminist

scholars such as bell hooks (1984) and Deborah Karyn King (1988) in response to second wave feminist social movements and today has grown to include multidisciplinary fields of inquiry, including feminist, queer, postcolonial, and critical race studies, among others (Winker & Degele, 2011).

### **Emergence**

The term “intersectionality” can be traced back to Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 with the publication of her now distinguished journal article *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. Crenshaw presented three anti-discrimination court cases – also known as Title VII (i.e., legislation written as part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act for the protection of employees against prejudicial or otherwise unfair treatment in the workplace) – in which the claims of Black women plaintiffs were rejected for being too similar to other cases where remedial legislation had thus far been enacted, or too different, and therefore excluded from the protection of the Title VII Act. Crenshaw highlighted these cases for their potential to illuminate the doctrinal paradox in the legal system (and elsewhere), and the inconsistencies of “sameness/difference rationales” (Cho et al., 2013, p. 790). Crenshaw argued that the experiences of Black women who were simultaneously victimized by racism and sexism were conflated with White women, or grouped with Black men, in discussions around discrimination recourse. In doing so, the distinct victimization of Black women in the workplace, sometimes singularly and sometimes simultaneously by racist and sexist prejudice, was conceptually erased. As a result, the defendants were void of protection from the very anti-discrimination laws putatively created for them and other disenfranchised citizens.

Crenshaw's critique (1989) illustrated several issues with the discursive traditions of legal studies at the time, where discrimination was decidedly treated as occurring along a single axis. By demonstrating the limitations of such exclusionary analyses, Crenshaw made a case for a new renewed understanding of the complex dynamics of discrimination. Indeed, Crenshaw's call to action paved the way for activists, critical theorists, and scholars alike to engage with critical studies in new and more comprehensive ways.

### **Contemporary Usage**

Since its institutional inauguration, intersectionality has been used well beyond the grassroots movements of social justice and legal praxis to contemporary third- and fourth-wave feminist debates. Hancock (2016) described the discursive trajectories of intersectionality in the last twenty years as intellectually aligned to two projects: "(1) an inclusionary project designed to remedy specific instances of intersectional stigma or invisibility, and (2) an analytical project designed to reshape how categories of difference are conceptually related to each other" (p. 34). Departing from this point, it becomes evident where intersectionality scholarship has moved, where it is moving, and where it will (potentially) move as a field of study concerned not only with "giving voice" to individuals and groups historically marginalized (Choo & Ferree, 2010), but perhaps more poignantly with the implications of otherness measured against the normative constructions of identity, and the homogenizing structures, organizations, systems, and institutions that together constitute society.

### **Core Tenants**

As a challenge to the traditionally fixed ways of examining social structures and the complexities of human experience, intersectionality offers an alternative mode of understanding oppression and promoting social justice (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Those who use

intersectionality seek to conceptualize the source of social inequalities by tracing the experiences and perspectives of multiply-marginalized persons and communities in an embedded context (Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008). Intersectionality theorists push their political as well as intellectual inclusion agenda by rendering the previously invisible effects of sociopolitical location visible (Hancock, 2013). Intersectionality theorists also seek to conceptualize how the various dimensions of inequalities interact at all levels of society, and how socially constructed categories of difference are both theoretically and empirically related to each other (Choo & Ferree, 2010).

Intersectionality theory situates the social world in a constant state of dynamic synergy and reciprocal action wherein knowledge is produced multidimensionally and power expressed relationally rather than in supreme manifestation. Analytically, intersectionality theorists contextualize the processes of discrimination to the extent that experience can be captured but not essentialized to a specific people or group (Cho et. al, 2013). Categorically speaking, intersectionality theorists reject additive formulas of discrimination, choosing rather to represent discrimination as a nexus occurring along a continuum of interacting and mutually constructed categories of identity, social structures, and symbolic representations (Winker & Degele, 2011). The paradigmatic principles of intersectionality call for an interrogation of the differences in experiences for subgroups within a category rather than a grand narrative around the group's oppression (Carastathis, 2016).

### **Strengths**

The strengths of intersectionality theory lie in its ability to enrich understandings of inequality-producing phenomena by interrogating the complexities of oppression, subordination, domination, and privilege as they relate to constructions of identity at all levels of society

(Carastathis, 2016; Dill & Zambrana, 2009). Namely, engagement with the “contextual dynamics of power” usher in ways of understanding the lived experience of individuals and groups as they navigate the social world (Cho et al., 2013, p. 788). Furthermore, intersectionality scholarship is advantaged by its generative capacity to influence policy and promote social justice (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

### **Limitations**

Germane to the limitations of intersectionality are the contrasting orientations and different sensibilities between scholars with respect to its boundaries (Cho et al., 2013). Consequently, those who critique intersectionality have suggested that its potential is undermined by the very principles that strengthen it: namely, its inconclusive prescriptions with regard to relevant identity-based and/or socially constructed categorical content. Debates around the scope of intersectionality – such as what it includes versus what it does not – are at the core of its theoretical limitations (Cho et al., 2013). The extent to which intersectional locations are or can be divided and further subdivided into categories of difference present troubling intellectual as well as ethical concerns around epistemic and discursive authority (May, 2014). Some scholars have critiqued theorists and practitioners who approach intersectionality studies around diversity and “voice,” claiming that such analyses run the risk of ushering discussions away from power asymmetries (Choo & Ferree, 2010). In the former instance, the word diversity becomes a conciliatory statement masking power embedded practice.

Despite several potential challenges, I avoided the above epistemic and theoretical issues by employing an inductive approach to understanding the CCBL staff members’ experiences. Such an approach is consistent with Winker and Degele’s (2011) multi-level intersectional analysis and FPAR; namely, participants dictate the analytical boundaries of salient identity

information and lived experiences; therefore, relevant identity factors emerge inductively (Winker & Degele, 2011).

### **Application to Thesis**

In summary, I used intersectionality theory to guide my understanding of the experiences and perspectives of the CCBL program staff toward the barriers and facilitators to the recruitment and participation of low-income second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls who participate in the CCBL. In particular, I unpack how the intersections of gender (girl), age (adolescence), race (Black), socioeconomic status (low-income), and religion (Christian and Muslim) produce complex and multi-faceted experiences that are unique from their mainstream counterparts' experiences in community-based sport. In the next section, I provide an overview of the methodological framework I used to answer my research question; FPAR.

### **Methodology**

I used a FPAR approach to complete my thesis research. As suggested by the name, FPAR represents a blend of two knowledge projects brought into one methodology: critical feminist theory and participatory action research (Langan & Morton, 2009). Reid et al. (2006) defined FPAR as a “conceptual and methodological framework that enables a critical understanding of women’s multiple perspectives and works towards inclusion, participation, and action, while confronting the underlying assumptions researchers bring into the research process” (p. 316). Below, I describe the two dimensions of FPAR (feminist and participatory research principles) and how I applied FPAR to my thesis project.

Feminist researchers are concerned with (re)centring the voices, experiences, and perceptions of women, including women’s knowledge and feminine ways of knowing (S. & Velayudhan, 2010). Although feminist research is informed by a diverse range of

epistemologies, theories, social movements, and methods, at its core, such research is used to attend to the sociopolitical objective to advance gender equality, analyse and explain gender-based oppression, promote the voices of women, and document their lived experiences (Cooky, 2016). Given the scholarly underrepresentation of the participation and recruitment of ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girls in sport, my research was well-suited to FPAR for its epistemological and policy action contributions. Since feminist researchers aim to centralize “the social realities of women” (Landman, 2006, p. 430) and the role that gender plays in producing and maintaining relations of power within patriarchal systems (DeVault & Gross, 2014), my thesis research contributes to a feminist social justice agenda by promoting CCBL coaches’ and coordinators’ knowledge on the facilitators and barriers of underrepresented adolescent girls from the margin to centre. The centralization of gender – particularly when it is perceived as excluding other relations of power from analysis – is sometimes presented as a critique of feminist research (Hussain & Asad, 2012); however, I addressed this limitation by employing an intersectional lens throughout the research process to acknowledge the constitutive nature of gender alongside other factors that shape the experiences of socially disadvantaged adolescent girls (Bailey et al., 2019).

Feminist researchers also attend to the epistemological and methodological implications of insider/outsider status in community studies (Naples, 1996). Cooper and Rogers (2015) shared insight on their insider status in relation to their feminist research on mothering. As mothers themselves, Cooper and Rogers (2015) described intellectual and methodological challenges of engaging participants as researchers and women with lived experiences; namely, on the one hand outwardly observing the experiences of participants and on the other hand internalizing those experiences through the lens of their own journey mothering. Beside the challenge of managing

the dual role of knowledge wielder and knowledge seeker, Rajiva (2009) contended a second challenge encountered by insider researchers is possible participation in the same “othering discourses” (p. 80) and that produce the very forms of oppression affecting the community being studied. However, Naples (1996) argued that insider status and outsider statuses are not fixed, dichotomous social locations; rather insider/outsider statuses are fluid and (re)negotiated with community members through interaction.

FPAR users explicitly support participatory research principles (Langan & Morton, 2009), which require collaboration, equitable ownership, and shared control between investigator(s) and participant(s) in all phases of the research process (Israel et al., 1998). Participatory action researchers aim to “democratise research” (Sullivan et al. 2005, p. 989) through co-creating knowledge alongside the project stakeholders (e.g., community members) and building the investigation from the ground up (Holcup et al., 2004). According to Reid et al. (2006), the notion of action in FPAR can invoke different meanings, but the authors offered a definition of action to mean the “multi-faceted and dynamic process that can range from speaking to validate oneself and one’s experiences in the world to ‘the process of doing something’, such as taking a deliberate step towards changing one’s circumstances” (p. 317). In the case of my thesis research, action orientation entailed connecting the research purpose back to the central research and policy development aims of improving the recruitment and sport participation of girls in the CCBL.

I used participatory research principles at the outset of this project’s development to establish a community advisory board (CAB), which included City of Ottawa program managers, coordinators, and coaches, who together provided insight into the development of the proposed research question, feedback on the study design, validated the project timeline, and addressed my

concerns over feasibility and ethics. Stakeholders such as CCBL program users and their parents were unrepresented on the CAB due to difficulty recruiting members and the premature end to my data collection and recruitment activities following the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to the minimal turnout of CCBL program users week-to-week at the McClaren Community Centre (covered in more detailed in the methods section of chapter one), the pool of possible candidates who could join the CAB as representatives remained low; the same challenge was true for parents who were effectively absent from the community centre from the beginning to end of the project. Therefore, the opportunity to engage either CCBL program users or parents in CAB activities remained a consistent challenge. The limitations I encountered in my thesis research are widely associated to the weaknesses of participatory research methods wherein ensuring adequate community representation is too often constrained by practical challenges. Similarly, Lykes et al. (2021) described “limits to power-sharing within research processes dominated by euro-northamerican knowledge-producing systems” (p. 5) as another weakness of FPAR. In my research, I attended to both weaknesses by increasing efforts to consult CCBL program staff in decisions related to the overall project while maintaining a reflexive attitude about my position and power as a researcher relative to the community, participants, and CAB.

Through combining critical feminist thought with participatory action research principles, FPAR allowed me to investigate the factors involved in CCBL coaches’ and coordinators’ efforts to engage second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the CCBL program while taking into account the pervasive effects of gender and how it intersects with other dimensions of the girls’ social experience (age, religion, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status) on their participation and recruitment. Moreover, using a FPAR approach enabled me to partner directly with community stakeholders to ensure the project remained authentic in prioritising research

outcomes for participants. In the next section, I will discuss the methods I used to complete the project including my sampling criteria, sample size, data collection technique, recruitment strategy, and fieldwork.

## **Methods**

### **Ethics**

I obtained approval from the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board to conduct this research. Furthermore, the City of Ottawa granted me permission to conduct all of my research activities and volunteer at the McClaren Community Centre. Through my partnership with City of Ottawa program managers and staff responsible for the back-end planning and front-end delivery of the CCBL and other recreation programs at various community centres across Ottawa, I received input on all matters relating to my research activities and approval in advance of making any research-related decisions.

### **Sampling and Inclusion Criteria**

I used both snowball and purposive non-random sampling strategies to recruit City of Ottawa CCBL coaches and coordinators as research participants. According to Marshall (1996), a judgement or purposeful sampling strategy is informed by who best can answer the research question. Given the narrow research concerns for my thesis research, a purposive non-random sampling approach was most appropriate to capture a sample conducive to understanding how CCBL staff address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income communities in the CCBL program. I based my inclusion criteria for participants on present or past CCBL involvement (in the last two years) in the capacity of coach or coordinator. I defined participants involved in the front-end delivery of the program as coaches while I identified individuals involved in the back-end planning and development of the

program as coordinators. In the next section, I discuss how I determined the sample size for CCBL coordinators and coaches.

### Sample Size

I adopted Braun and Clarke's (2019b) position on saturation to guide how I determined sample size. Braun and Clarke (2019b) argued that researchers using reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) should not rely on operationalized notions of sample size and saturation, but instead focus on providing clear and coherent rationale for the number of participants in relation to the study context. In the case of my thesis research, the overall population from whom I recruited participants was determined based on input from the project partners who identified the most appropriate individuals to engage. The final sample size in my study was 11 CCBL program staff including five males and six females from the McClaren, Waverley, Capilano, and Milltown (pseudonyms) Community Centres in Ottawa. Participant names as well as the community centres in which they work were anonymized to conceal the identity of CCBL coaches or coordinators and limit the amount of identifying information. Given the small sample size, foregoing the use of pseudonyms for the participants and community centres could lead to identification that would compromise the integrity of research. The CAB supported the notion of anonymization as did the Tri-Council Policy Statement on research involving human subjects.

**Table 1. Study participant profiles**

Participant (Pseudonym)	Sex (Male/Female)	Community Centre Name (Pseudonym)	Staff Role	Number of Years Involved	Race/Ethnicity or Heritage
1 – Malek	M	McClaren	Coach	7	South Sudanese
2 – Dohra	F	McClaren	Coach	9	Afar
3 – Yusuf	M	McClaren	Coach	8	Somali
4 – Alain	M	McClaren	Coach	7	Congolese
5 – Amy	F	McClaren	Coordinator	2	White
6 – Clare	F	Waverley	Coordinator	2	White
7 – Deborah	F	Capilano	Coach	5	African Canadian

8 – Lada	F	Milltown	Coach	8	Undisclosed
9 – Houman	M	Waverley	Coordinator	12	Undisclosed
10 – Jane	F	Waverley	Coordinator	12	White
11 – Nour	M	Waverley	Coach	1.5	Somali

## Volunteer Work

Before starting my semi-structured interviews with CCBL program staff, I spent approximately eleven months volunteering at the McClaren Community Centre on a weekly to biweekly (twice per week) basis. Beginning in April 2019, after spending several months engaging with various City of Ottawa stakeholders to piece together the project, I started attending various activities hosted within the McClaren Community Centre catchment neighbourhood, as well as outside of the neighbourhood (such as youth fieldtrips). Once the CCBL games started in July of 2019, I began attending each of the McClaren CCBL Girls Team’s games. CCBL league games were hosted at one of the Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa’s recreation facilities. Teams from both the City of Ottawa’s CCBL program and the Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa are invited every year to participate in the CCBL through friendly competition in the summer. After the regular season games conclude, all teams are invited to participate in a final league-wide tournament (hosted at Carleton University) to celebrate.

I continued my volunteer work at McClaren during the fall of 2019 in the drop-in “Girls Only” leisure-based program offered to young girls aged 10 to 15 and the drop-in mixed-gender multi-sport program for children and adolescents aged 6 to 13. Both the Girls Only and mixed-gender drop-in programs were hosted on Tuesday evenings (back-to-back from 5:30pm to 7pm and 7pm to 8 pm respectively). On Saturday mornings, I attended the drop-in Girls’ CCBL program, which was scheduled from 11am to 1pm; practices were non-structured to allow program users to practice whatever skills they most desired such as shooting, dribbling, or

playing pick-up games. Notably, attendance rates to the Saturday morning practices ranged from zero to a maximum of three girls each week (an average of one player). The McClaren Community Centre CCBL does not track participation rates to the program as it is a drop-in and no formal sign-in is required to enter or use the facility. I continued attending the Tuesday evening programs and Saturday morning practices from September 2019 up to the point when I had commenced my fieldwork near the end of January 2020. From this point, I started my participant recruitment and later staff interviews until all City of Ottawa recreation facilities (including the McClaren Community Centre) were forced to close in March 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Volunteering at McClaren over the course of eleven months (April 2019 – March 2020) enhanced my research project in several ways. For example, by doing so, I was able to build trust with the project stakeholders such as the CCBL staff (i.e., coaches and coordinators), as well as programs users and community members. I was able to connect with the McClaren Community Centre CCBL staff in a manner that enriched the interview process; namely, being familiar and comfortable with one another facilitated a more natural and open conversation. Further, spending time with research participants to get to know them in a manner that is decoupled from fieldwork aligns well with feminist principles which advocates for participatory methods that promote respect for participants and their community (Gervais et al., 2018).

### **Recruitment**

My intended recruitment strategies had to be modified following the City of Ottawa's Recreation, Cultural and Facility Services city-wide facility shutdowns starting on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2021, after the COVID-19 pandemic was announced in Ottawa. Preparations to begin recruitment and fieldwork at the Waverley Community Centre were underway. My planned

fieldwork at the Waverley Community Centre consisted of attending their Girls' CCBL practices as a volunteer to familiarise myself with the community, employees, and service users, and to recruit and interview Girls' CCBL players and staff. However, my research activities were disrupted, and as a result, I was unable to conduct any in-person fieldwork beyond the McClaren Community Centre.

Prior to the pandemic, I recruited McClaren CCBL staff either via electronic or in-person distribution of my recruitment letter. However, following pandemic measures, when I could no longer conduct in-person fieldwork, I solicited the help of two CAB members to assist with the recruitment of additional CCBL staff. The CAB members acted as gatekeepers and shared the opportunity via email among their network of CCBL coaches and coordinators at the Waverley, Capilano, and Milltown Community Centres. The three community centres were chosen for recruitment due to their comparable socioeconomic (i.e., affordable housing neighbourhoods) and demographic conditions (i.e., high density of visible minority first- and second-generation families). Each CAB member recruited a group of interested parties and then forwarded me their names and emails. I then took over communications with the participants in order to explain the study and schedule virtual interviews with those who consented.

### **Data Collection**

I used semi-structured interviews to collect data. One of the strengths of the semi-structured interview – compared to structured or unstructured interviews – is the balance achieved between free-flowing versus directed conversation (Smith & Sparkes, 2016). Smith and Sparkes (2016) argued such balance provide an ideal space for participants to share meaningful accounts and insights while also engaging the specific topic at hand. Further, semi-structured interviews are conducive to the co-creation of knowledge as advanced by my epistemological

framework social constructionism. Namely, I as the researcher had the freedom to modify my interview guide in real time while the participants had the space to speak unrestricted.

Initially, I had planned to conduct semi-structured interviews with both CCBL program staff and program users (as well as one focus group interview with program users), but the onset of the pandemic introduced numerous practical limitations. As the staff members are City of Ottawa employees, and many were already aware of the research, maintaining contact with them was feasible during the pandemic. However, for privacy reasons, I was not permitted access to any program users' contact information (e.g., phone number, email, home address, etc.). As a result, I was unable to contact them to set-up interviews, thus limiting my data collection to semi-structured interviews with CCBL program staff, which thus also shifted the focus of my research to examine only the experiences of CCBL coaches and coordinators.

I completed four semi-structured interviews in-person at the McClaren Community Centre prior to the pandemic. Once the Centre closed, I completed the remaining seven semi-structured interviews using Zoom video conferencing software. The interviews ranged from 35 to 65 minutes in length depending on the level of detail participants provided for each response. My interview guide was organised in three segments with three questions each (please refer to appendix B for details). During the first interview segment, the questions were intended to probe participants about what they felt could be done to mediate the constraining factors around ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girls' participation in community-based sport programs.

1. To your knowledge, what are some of the barriers young girls are facing accessing your sport programs?
2. In your view, what distinguishes the young girls actively involved in your sports programs (and in particular the CCBL) from the girls who forgo participation?

3. Among those challenges described, what would you identify as the greatest deterrent for young girls of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds?

The theme of discussion during the second interview segment was around the challenges participants were encountering (if any) in the delivery of sport programs, such as the CCBL, to ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girls.

1. What are some of the challenges you face recruiting girls to participate? (clarify the intent of this question is to understand the needs of staff, not participants)
2. What has been done to date to address the challenges staff are facing with respect to recruiting girls or increasing participation
3. What has been done to date to mediate challenges around retention in the CCBL or other sport programs at the centre?

The last interview segment was focused on what strategies participants put forward (if any) to address cultural diversity in the delivery of sport programs at their respective centres.

1. What considerations have program staff and volunteers made to multiculturalism in the delivery of sport programs at the centre?
2. What accommodations have program staff and volunteers made to address the needs of program users (by request or based on professional discretion)?
3. What are some of the challenges you face in trying to integrate multicultural considerations?

As a number of the program staff were of second-generation African Canadian heritage, I also took the opportunity to pose additional questions to these participants about the role of their lived experiences as racialized and minority second or 1.5 generation Canadians and their understanding of ethnocultural diversity in the community-based sport context. During this

segment of the interview, I asked staff about their experiences participating in sport in relation to the views or sentiments of their parents toward sport (support, resistance, indifference, etc.). I also asked the staff about their identity as second or 1.5 generation Canadians and what it meant to them growing up (through childhood and adolescence) and now (in adulthood). Finally, I closed the interview segment with questions about the role of their identity and lived experience (for example with sport or as second and 1.5 generation African Canadians) in shaping their day-to-day work with community centre program users and particularly with CCBL players.

### **Data Analysis**

I used Braun and Clarke's (2019a) reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) method to analyse the participants' interview data, which is congruent with both my epistemology, social constructionism, and theory, intersectionality. Originally introduced as thematic analysis (TA), Braun and Clarke (2006) first published a paper on this analysis method in 2006, and later updated their terminology to include "reflexive" to address common misunderstandings the authors observed throughout the popularised use of the approach (Braun & Clarke, 2019a). By updating their terminology to include "reflexive," Braun and Clarke wished ultimately to a) clarify their conceptualisation of TA and distinguish their respective approach from other iterations; b) emphasize the researcher's express, active role in producing knowledge; and c) reiterate the importance of philosophical transparency (Braun & Clarke, 2019a).

Braun and Clarke (2019a) drew explicit boundaries between their conceptualisation of TA – being an "organic" and iterative process – from those rooted in positivist principles such as coding reliability TA. Further, as the updated approach's name suggests, the authors highlighted the importance of researcher reflexivity while engaging with this version of the analysis method. Finally, Braun and Clarke implored researchers to acknowledge the epistemological and theoretical assumptions informing their analytical process. Notwithstanding the updated

terminology, RTA involves the same basic steps as the original TA method, beginning with data familiarisation followed by coding, theme development, revision, naming, and finally writing up (Braun et al., 2016).

Guided by Braun et al.'s (2018) paper on the six phases of TA, I started the analytical process by immersing myself in the data through relistening to the interview audio recordings and concurrently following the written transcripts. As I listened to and reviewed the interview audio and transcripts, I documented any ideas or questions that arose in my mind. Throughout the process of familiarising myself with the data, I remained intentional about how my lived experiences and positionality influenced my interpretation of participant responses, opinions, and perspectives on how to support second-generation African Canadian adolescent Girls' CCBL program participation and recruitment. Through recognising my identity as a 1.5 generation African Canadian, cis-gendered woman of colour, and my background in community-based sport programs, I tried as best as possible to acknowledge the ways in which my positionality continued to influence the knowledge production process.

I then commenced coding the data by systematically reviewing each of the 11 interview transcripts with focused attention on extracting words or statements that addressed my research concerns (i.e., participation and/or recruitment barriers and facilitators). Consistent with intersectionality principles, I completed my data coding using an inductive approach where idea generation emerged from the bottom-up as opposed to the top-down. Braun et al. (2018) distinguished inductive versus deductive orientations in terms of the "starting point of the analysis" (p. 853) and whether the investigator uses the raw data or existing concepts (respectively) as the mediating step when identifying codes. Braun et al. (2018) also illustrated the difference between semantic versus latent coding whereby the former indicates a level of

analysis that is based on explicit statements while the latter on implicit ideas. According to Braun et al. (2018), each level of data coding is best understood as a gradient, therefore researchers can adopt a hybrid of either approach. I used a semantic focus to align my analysis with my research goals to identify practical examples that illustrate the diverse experiences of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls engaging in community-based sport.

During the third, fourth, and fifth phase of my RTA, I produced four themes that illustrated the experiences of CCBL coordinators and coaches in addressing the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the CCBL. Phases three to five of RTA include the development, refinement, and finalisation of the themes that ultimately represent the results of the analysis. To develop the themes, I used the codes identified in phase four to locate patterns of meaning and repetitions that could be compiled into one overarching idea. Engaging in theme development exposed some contradictions and conflicting statements between CCBL coaches and coordinators working at different community centres or (in some cases) the same community centre. Such tensions enriched or completed ideas that were previously unclear during earlier steps of the RTA. The sixth and final stage of RTA is the write-up of the findings, which I discuss in chapter two of my thesis. In the next section, I provide an overview of my thesis format.

### **Thesis Format**

My thesis is structured in a “publishable paper format.” In my publishable paper, which forms the second chapter of my thesis, I outline and discuss the results from 11 semi-structured interviews with City of Ottawa CCBL coaches and coordinators at the McClaren, Waverley, Capilano, and Milltown Community Centres who are involved in the front-end delivery and/or back-end oversight of the program. I sought to answer the following question: “How do City of

Ottawa community sport program staff address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the Community Centre Basketball League program in low-income neighbourhoods in Ottawa?” In the third and final chapter of my thesis, I discuss the methodological, theoretical, programmatic, and policy implications of my thesis research, describe project limitations, and finish with recommendations and opportunities for future studies.

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**Chapter Two: An Intersectional Analysis of the Recruitment and Participation of Second-  
Generation African Canadian Adolescent Girls in a Basketball Program in Low-Income  
Neighbourhoods in Ottawa**

### **Abstract**

In this study I use intersectionality theory to investigate the factors that program coaches and coordinators believe influence the engagement of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in a community-based sport program in Ottawa, Canada; I interviewed 11 program coordinators and coaches involved in the City of Ottawa's Community Centre Basketball League (CCBL) at four different recreation facilities in low-income neighbourhoods in Ottawa to gather insight on the barriers and facilitators to the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls. The results following a reflexive thematic analysis of the semi-structured interview data are four-fold: a) CCBL coordinators hire coaches who can relate to the program users culturally or through lived-experience; b) CCBL coaches use their identities and lived experiences to enhance their understanding of how to support program users; c) CCBL coaches and coordinators make efforts to build trust with and increase buy-in from parents to improve program participation; and d) CCBL coaches and coordinators make religious accommodations in response to the needs of Muslim and Christian program users. My results demonstrate that community-based sport programs serving second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income communities in Ottawa require multifaceted program and outreach strategies that consider the intersecting social experiences of participants (on the basis of age, gender, socioeconomic status, and religion) to improve recruitment and participation outcomes.

Community-based sport programs form an important part of the Canadian sport ecosystem (Doherty et al., 2014; Mulholland, 2008). Particularly for low-income children and adolescents, community-based sport programs serve as a gateway to organised activities to which they would lack access otherwise. The benefits of sport participation have been widely documented across numerous disciplines (psychology, sociology, etc.) and range from positive life and social skill development (Fraser-Thomas et al., 2005), to improvements in physical and mental well-being (Eime et al., 2013), affect and sense of self-worth (Blomfield & Barber, 2009), and academic performance and career achievement (Marsh & Kleitman, 2003). Some benefits correlated to community-based sport programs include increasing social capital through relationship building with nonfamilial adults (i.e., staff and volunteers) (Matthew, 2014) and crime prevention (Carmichael, 2008).

Using an intersectionality theoretical framework, in this study I investigated the factors involved in the participation and recruitment of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in a community-based sport program in Ottawa, Canada: the Community Centre Basketball League (CCBL). Through semi-structured interviews with 11 CCBL coordinators and coaches, I sought to answer, “How do City of Ottawa CCBL coaches and coordinators address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income communities in the CCBL program?” I used a feminist participatory action research (FPAR) approach to inform the project design, and Braun and Clarke’s (2019) reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) method to interpret the field note and transcription data.

The CCBL is a City of Ottawa operated and Canadian Tire Jumpstart funded program that runs out of City-owned recreation facilities and community centres in predominantly low-income neighbourhoods in Ottawa (City of Ottawa, n.d.). Many of the families who access the

programs and services offered in the four centres involved in this study are low-income and members of equity-seeking communities (i.e., newcomer, racialized, Muslim, etc.). CCBL program managers and staff (which in my study context refers the coordinators and coaches) have identified a longstanding trend of considerably lower girl participants compared to boys in the CCBL program despite an equivalent male/female population in the centres' program catchment areas (i.e., the surrounding neighbourhood and homes most proximal to the community centres) (Social Planning Council of Ottawa, 2015). Such observations are consistent with the current body of literature on adolescent girls' sport participation in Canada, which has revealed a marked decline in the participation of young people and particularly young girls in sport throughout their lifespan (Wright, 2013). Such disparities are exacerbated when female participation is disaggregated by socioeconomic status and race (Biddle et al., 2005), ethnicity (Fleming, 2016), religion (Knez et al., 2012), sexuality (Doull et al., 2018), and dis/ability (Goodwin, 2016) such that low-income, racialized, ethnic minority, Muslim, LGBTQ+, and youth with disabilities are most hindered. Although sport researchers and practitioners have committed time and resources toward understanding the facilitators and barriers to the long-term involvement of adolescent girls in sport. Extant research frequently does not represent the sporting experiences of Canadian girls in a manner that adequately exposes the complexity of their lived experiences as they relate to multiple intersecting identities.

As the population of young Canadians becomes increasingly diverse, there is growing cause for sport sociology researchers to complicate theoretical understandings of adolescent and youth sport experiences. Statistics Canada (2017a) has projected as much as 49% of the population of Canadians under 15 years of age will have an immigrant background by 2036. As more and more first-generation immigrants from parts of Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and South

America have settled in Canada and grown their families, a new demographic of Canadians has formed; namely, second-generation ethnic minorities. Through the adoption of the cultural attributes of their first-generation immigrant parents and those of mainstream Canadian society, second-generation young people are frequently pushed into a cultural “grey area” that is not quite like newcomers or first-generation immigrants and not quite like Canadians of three generations or more. As this cohort of the population continues to grow, it becomes necessary to begin looking at the ways in which their presence influences and is influenced by various sectors of society, including sport, to promote an inclusive vision of sport program design and implementation.

### **Literature Review**

While there exists a wide array of literature on the participation of adolescent girls in sport, the absence of studies addressing the particular sporting experiences of second-generation girls, and more specifically African Canadian girls, presents both a challenge and an opportunity; namely, the challenge of locating within the broader field of adolescent girls’ sport participation the factors that uniquely effect the engagement of members of this group, and the opportunity to contribute new insights to the field. Sport researchers have widely problematized adolescent girls’ attrition and drop-out rates in one of two ways: by conflating the experiences of some girls as being representative of all girls’ experiences, or by failing to recognise the reciprocal nature of multiple inequality-producing phenomena operating at a given moment (Flintoff et al., 2008). The impacts of such analytical limitations are especially evident when examining second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls whose experiences to date have received limited attention in sport participation and recruitment research, or in some cases, whose experiences are implicitly believed to be represented by/through the experiences of first-generation immigrants.

Second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income neighbourhoods must navigate the intersecting effects of gender, race, and class matrices of oppression. Consequently, scholars who do not consider the impacts of the interactions of these phenomena on sport participation may not adequately document the underlying causes of these girls' engagement with or disengagement from sport. Furthermore, second-generation African Canadian girls require focused consideration that should not be conflated with newcomer youth in terms of the impacts of generation status. The ethnocultural identity of second-generation Canadians is shaped simultaneously by their heritage culture and that of mainstream Canadian society, which poses distinct challenges when the two cultures have elements that are deemed incompatible (Tastsoglou, 2008).

Decades of national as well as international studies have confirmed that discrepancies in the participation of boys and girls in sport are not unique to the City of Ottawa's CCBL program (Biddle et al., 2005; Dwyer et al., 2006; Wright, 2013; Green, 2016). Literature pertaining to adolescent and youth sport participation rates has pointed to class and socioeconomic background, race and ethnicity, and religion as influencing young people's participation. As there exists limited research on the sporting experiences of second-generation African Canadian girls, below, I provide an overview of studies addressing the facilitators and barriers to the recreational sport participation of low-income, racialized or ethnic minority, and Muslim and Christian adolescent girls. Commonalities in the social location of adolescent girls who are Black, Christian or Muslim, and/or low-income to that of the second-generation African Canadian girls involved in this study provide foundational understandings of the challenges CCBL program users might encounter as a function of gender, age, socioeconomic status,

racialization, and/or religion. I also summarise studies on second-generation Canadians' leisure participation to build on knowledge around the sporting experiences of this sub-population.

### **Race and Ethnicity**

According to Fleming (2016), the subject of ethnicity, race, and racism “remains relatively under-researched and therefore insufficiently understood” in youth sport (p. 287). Despite the dearth of available studies, relevant international research on the sport participation of Black and ethnic minority girls reveal differential experiences compared to White and ethnic majority girls. Racial and ethnic minority girls participate in sport at lower rates within the youth population writ large (Women's Sport Foundation, 2020), and this discrepancy is pronounced when class-based and cultural factors are considered through an intersectional lens. For example, in a United States-based study, Wright (2013) described the disproportionately lower participation rates of African American compared to White American girls in sport and highlighted how this disparity is exacerbated for those in lower socioeconomic status households. Similarly, a comparative study between the club sport participation of minority versus majority adolescent males and females (aged 16 to 18) in Norway revealed an overrepresentation of minority girls among those with the lowest sport participation rates; conversely, no such gap was observed between majority and minority adolescent boys (Strandbu et al., 2017). Through ethnographic fieldwork in Norway, Thorjussen and Sisjord (2018) found that the physical education (PE) experiences of both male and female students in multi-ethnic classroom settings were mutually shaped by their gendered, ethnic, cultural, and class identities. Thorjussen and Sisjord's (2018) work illustrated the need for more explicit considerations of intersectionality in sport research to enhance analyses concerning differential experiences of and within sport.

## **Socioeconomic Status**

Research on the sport experiences of low-income adolescent girls has underscored greater attrition and withdrawal rates when compared to girls of higher socioeconomic status (SES). For example, Vandermeerschen et al. (2015) surveyed 3005 male and female primary and secondary school students (between the ages 6 to 18) in Flanders, Belgium, to determine factors that influence club-organised sport participation. The authors found that low family SES, which involves low household income and parental educational attainment, was a significant predictor of participants' sport withdrawal. Similarly, in a quantitative study with 732 adolescent females in geographically diverse neighbourhoods in Victoria, Australia, Eime et al. (2013) found that both SES and family support levels (among other indicators such as ethnicity and religion) played integral roles in predicting participant club sport engagement levels. Adolescent girls from upper-class families were most represented among participants involved in club sport, with the inverse being true for low-income, ethnic minority and non-Christian girls, and particularly those lacking family support. Jeffrey (2008) also found links between lower SES and lower rates of adolescent participation in sport and PA among eighth and ninth grade female students in northern Ontario, Canada. A Canadian Heritage (2013) produced research paper on sport participation trends in Canada demonstrated that children from low-income families are least likely to participate in sport regularly and of lesser likelihood to participate in sport as household income decreases. The same paper also revealed an inverse relationship between sport participation and household education level, which when considered against household income is indicative of SES; as education and income are widely accepted proxies for SES (Diemer et al., 2013 as cited in Post et al., 2018), one may infer from the report that low SES Canadians and families experience the lowest rates of sport participation.

## Religion

Extant studies on the participation of Muslim and Christian girls in sport have revealed challenges for girls from both religious groups. Walseth (2016) discussed the historical basis from which ideas of physical excellence and strength as beacons of piety and Christian faith emerged following the 19<sup>th</sup> century Muscular Christianity movement. While this ideology benefitted the athletic engagement of Christian men, Christian women and girls continued to be discouraged from entering competitive sport spaces. Entrenched gendered ideas tied to Muscular Christianity that discouraged Christian women from participating in competitive sport may present negative implications for Christian women today. Furthermore, contemporary Christians face cognate challenges in reconciling their faith identity with incompatible mainstream, secular sport values (Walseth, 2016). Walseth described the pressures faced by Christian athletes as leading to “compromising their Christian identity” in order “to be accepted by the team or in their sport” (Walseth, 2016, p. 299). Additionally, Sunday sport participation continues to be a contested area in the Christian faith community for those seeking to participate in events, games, or activities. In a study on Sunday spectator sport attendance among Christians, Waller (2009) found that survey respondents who believed Sunday was intended for Sabbath activities (i.e., sacred and reserved for worship) negotiated their religious beliefs vis-à-vis their desire to enjoy Sunday sport events; frequently, the end result of such negotiating was a decision to participate in festivities rather than miss out.

The challenge of Christian athletes maintaining religious identity whilst enjoying the same benefits of sport as secular groups is similar for girls in Muslim communities. In a West Midlands, England-based study on the sport experiences of Muslim girls in PE classes, Dagkas et al. (2011) found that the inability to negotiate religious requirements due to inflexible classroom

expectations (e.g., PE dress code versus hijab obligations), negative parental perceptions around the value of PE, and increased body consciousness through adolescent development were all significant barriers to the inclusion of Muslim girls in PE classes. Incongruencies between the preferences of Muslim girls (and/or their parents) and normative expectations around female engagement in PE classes create tensions that dissuade the continued involvement of Muslim girls in sport and PA if unresolved (Dagkas et al., 2011). Conventional sport models that do not consider the religious obligations of Muslim faith users risk imposing unwanted or unreconcilable expectations around Muslim girls' involvement in sport programs. At the same time, pointing to the risk of forming misleading cultural stereotypes of Muslims, Knez et. al (2012) problematized the idea that adolescent Muslim girls (on the basis of religion) are inherently limited in their options to enjoy the full scope and benefits of participating in sport by illustrating the diversity of values, preferences, and individual choices across Muslim females. Notably, research on the sport experiences of Muslim adolescents is scarce, with a much wider availability of studies focused on adult women. The dearth of literature on Muslim girls in sport speaks to the need for more scholarly attention on Muslim adolescent and youth sport engagement to improve their access and inclusion in sport.

### **Second-Generation Canadians and Leisure**

Second-generation Canadians of non-British and French ancestry are increasingly comprising Canada's youngest members of society, signalling a shift toward more visible minority and racialized peoples across the population than ever-before seen (Statistics Canada, 2017b). In addition to their direct impact on population projections, second-generation Canadians are also distinguished from other generation categories for being uniquely situated ethnoculturally. As a cultural hybrid between the dominant mainstream and their foreign-born

parent'(s') culture(s), second-generation Canadians are often described as being bicultural (Sodhi, 2008). The concept of biculturalism emerged to describe the adaptation of individuals whose cultural traditions differ from the country in which they have settled; namely, having “comfort and proficiency” with both heritage and host country cultures (Schwartz & Unger, 2010, p. 26).

Tirone and Goodberry (2011) examined the relationship between leisure and biculturalism by documenting the experiences of racial minority second-generation Canadian youth in a longitudinal study. The authors found that leisure enabled the participants to develop synergies that allowed them to retain their heritage culture while also adopting the cultural norms of dominant Canadian society. As sport forms a subset of leisure activities (Human Kinetics Canada, n.d.) the findings from Tirone and Goodberry’s study allude to some of the impacts of and possibilities offered by sport participation for second-generation ethnocultural minority adolescents. Further to this idea, Walseth (2008) found through interviews with 15 second-generation Norwegian female athletes (aged 16 to 25) that sport clubs served as sites where social capital was reinforced through “bridging” with other ethnocultural communities and “bonding” with members of the same ethnocultural community. Similarly, through a systematic literature review of cultural capital and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) groups’ involvement in sport and PA, Smith et al. (2019) found that cultural capital was both forged and negotiated within both contexts for CALD migrants. Notably, CALD communities were comprised of both first- and second-generation immigrants in the studies included in the literature review; however, the latter group are believed to have greater cultural capital in theory (Fernández-Kelly, 2008 as cited in Smith et al., 2019).

The centralization of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls within sport sociology research will provide critical insights on the lived experiences of and challenges faced by girls who currently rest at the intersection of numerous socially disadvantaged identity categories commonly studied in isolation (low-income, racial, ethnic, and religious minorities). Furthermore, as second-generation ethnocultural minority Canadians represent Canada's fastest growing segment of people under 19, further research into the sport experiences of this demographic are timely as the Federal, Provincial, and Territorial governments, and local and National Sport Organizations work to advance gender equity in sport (Canadian Heritage, 2017). To this end, the sport experiences of all girls, rather than only mainstream girls, must be considered in order to map the challenges in the recruitment and participation of diverse racial, class, and religious groups in community-based sport programs. The application of intersectionality theory throughout the research process provides a framework to understand how to better support the sport participation of individuals and communities who are affected by compounded systemic and structural inequalities both outside and within sport (Azzarito & Macdonald, 2016).

### **Theoretical Framework**

Intersectionality is a feminist theory that allows researchers to (re)conceptualise the social position of individuals or groups who face multiple forms of disadvantage. As a challenge to the traditionally fixed ways of understanding systemic discrimination and inequality, intersectionality offers an alternative mode of examining multi oppression (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). The critical engagement of intersectionality privileges those who have been marginalised within society (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Dill & Zambrana, 2009) by making the invisible effects of sociopolitical location visible (Hancock, 2013). The utility of intersectionality is evidenced by

the tensions of “sameness/difference rationales” within popular discourse that maintain contradictory ideas of identity and lived experience as distinctive and generalizable at the same time (Cho et al., 2013, p. 790). Crenshaw’s (1989) distinguished critique of antidiscrimination legal doctrine illustrated sameness/difference rationales precisely by presenting the conceptual limitations of grouping Black men’s and White women’s experiences as representative of Black women’s, while also maintaining that Black women represent neither group’s experiences. Such troubling analytical traditions form the contours of sport studies, as evidenced by the compartmentalisation of factors such as gender, race and ethnicity, class, religion, and age, within adolescent girl sport attrition and drop-out investigations. In my research, I use intersectionality theory to guide my conceptual understanding of how program coaches and coordinators address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls involved in the CCBL program in Ottawa. Interviews with CCBL coaches and coordinators provided insight on the facilitators and barriers to the recruitment and participation of African Canadian adolescent girls in community centre sport activities.

### **Methodology**

Bringing together critical feminist theories with community-based participatory action research principles, I employed FPAR to conduct my research (Langan & Morton, 2009). According to Fonow and Cook (2005), feminist methodologies’ guiding principles include the centralisation of gender and gender asymmetries, examination of the relations of power surrounding gender, challenges to strict separation between observer and observed, considerations concerning the relationship between researcher versus the researched, the epistemological validity of subjective knowledge, consciousness-raising as a methodological tool, and concern for the ethical implications of research with particular attention to the

exploitation of women. Understanding the factors involved in engaging second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in community-based sport and in the CCBL requires attention to the nuances of gender and how it relates to social experience. Consistent with feminist thought and FPAR tenants, I used participatory research principles (S., & Velayudhan, 2010) at the outset of this project's development to establish a community advisory board (CAB), which included City of Ottawa program managers, coordinators, and coaches who together provided insight into the development of the proposed research questions, proposed research design, and to share any concerns over feasibility and ethics. Despite my efforts, I was unable to recruit CCBL program users and their parents as members of the CAB due to practical constraints tied to the COVID-19 pandemic and general disinterest from stakeholders.

## **Methods**

### **Fieldwork**

I obtained approval from the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board to conduct this research. I was also granted permission by the City of Ottawa to volunteer at the McClaren Community Centre and complete research activities on-site in the pre-pandemic context. Prior to commencing my data collection, I spent approximately eleven months (April 2019 – March 2020) volunteering at the Girls' CCBL program. I started my volunteer work in April 2019 by attending the team's practices and recreational league games over the course of the summer. The recreational league games were scheduled biweekly against other CCBL and Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa (BGCO) basketball teams from July to August 2019. Once league games concluded at the end of the summer, I continued volunteering at the McClaren Community Centre's CCBL practices on Saturday mornings. During CCBL practices, I spent my volunteer time running basketball drills with players or playing in casual pick-up games. During practices,

I spent as much time as possible interacting with program users and staff by engaging in informal conversation.

My personal engagement with stakeholders and community members during the summer, fall, and winter months of 2019 to 2020 as a volunteer enabled me to build trust and rapport with the McClaren Community Centre staff prior to engaging in recruitment and data collection activities. My volunteer work also helped me gain an understanding of the program and how the McClaren Community Centre operates on a day-to-day basis. Despite my fieldwork ending abruptly in March 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in the end of the CCBL and all other City of Ottawa operated recreational program and services, I was able to benefit from the extensive time I spent with McClaren Community Centre stakeholders allowing a more seamless transition from in-person to online research activities.

### **Participant Recruitment**

I used a purposive non-random sampling approach and snowball sampling to recruit 11 CCBL coaches and coordinators (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The City of Ottawa introduced strict health and safety measures in response to the COVID-19 pandemic to curb the spread of the virus which resulted in City-wide sport and recreation program shutdowns including the CCBL program. As a result, CCBL staff were recruited exclusively rather than in conjunction with CCBL program users (the primary participant group initially). My inclusion criteria for staff participants included present or past involvement (in the last two years) in the CCBL program in the capacity of coach and/or coordinator. I defined coaches as individuals involved in the front-end delivery of the program and coordinators as individuals involved in the back-end planning and development of the program (collectively referred to as “staff”). Table 1 provides an overview of the study participants’ profiles including their sex, the name of the community

centre at which they work, their staff role (i.e., coach or coordinator), and the number of years they have been involved in the CCBL program. Canadian Women & Sport provided each participant a \$100 honorarium through our joint funding under the Sport Information Research Centre's Researcher Practitioner Match Grant Program.

**Table 1. Study participant profiles**

Participant (Pseudonym)	Sex (Male/Female)	Community Centre Name (Pseudonym)	Staff Role	Number of Years Involved	Race/Ethnicity or Heritage
1 – Malek	M	McClaren	Coach	7	South Sudanese
2 – Dohra	F	McClaren	Coach	9	Afar
3 – Yusuf	M	McClaren	Coach	8	Somali
4 – Alain	M	McClaren	Coach	7	Congolese
5 – Amy	F	McClaren	Coordinator	2	White
6 – Clare	F	Waverley	Coordinator	2	White
7 – Deborah	F	Capilano	Coach	5	African Canadian
8 – Lada	F	Milltown	Coach	8	Undisclosed
9 – Houman	M	Waverley	Coordinator	12	Undisclosed
10 – Jane	F	Waverley	Coordinator	12	White
11 – Nour	M	Waverley	Coach	1.5	Somali

### Semi-Structured Interviews

I completed a total of four semi-structured interviews in-person prior to the COVID-19-pandemic and seven semi-structured interviews using Zoom video conferencing software. On average, interviews lasted anywhere between 35 and 65 minutes in length. I divided my interview questions into three segments according to theme. During the first interview segment, I asked participants about what they felt could be done to mediate the constraining factors around ethnocultural minority adolescent girls' participation in community-based sports programs (e.g., To your knowledge, what are some of the barriers young girls are facing accessing your sport programs?). For the second interview segment, I asked questions to obtain a sense of the challenges the participants encountered (if any) in the delivery of the CCBL as well as other

sport programs to ethnocultural minority adolescent girls (e.g., What has been done to date to mediate challenges around retention in the CCBL or other sport programs at the Centre?). In the final interview segment, I asked questions regarding what strategies participants put forward (if any) to account for cultural diversity in the delivery of the sport programs at their respective centres (e.g., What considerations have program staff and volunteers made to multiculturalism in the delivery of sport programs at the centre?). I also gave participants the opportunity to speak about their identity and lived experiences, and if/how it supports their engagement with program users in the CCBL or other programs at the community centres.

### **Analysis**

I used Braun and Clarke's (2019) version of thematic analysis – namely reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) – to analyse the CCBL coaches and coordinators interview transcripts. Braun et al. (2016) described thematic analysis as a tool used to identify themes and patterns of meaning across a qualitative data set. Braun et al.'s (2016) approach is situated within a “Big Q” qualitative research tradition; however, they have stated that their approach is not attached to a specific theoretical framework or methodology. Braun and Clarke (2006) broke down thematic analysis into six steps – “familiarizing yourself with your data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, [and] producing the report” (p. 70) – which function to guide the analytical approach without encroaching on the generative capacity of the researcher. Braun et al. (2016) advised researchers to define their engagement with the data in terms of the level of analysis (i.e., semantic versus latent focused), the approach to coding and theme development (i.e., inductive versus deductive reasoning), and the ontological, epistemological, and theoretical assumptions informing the study.

I used an inductive, “data-driven” approach (Braun et al., 2016, p. 192) in tandem with semantic coding to identify patterns across the data set, which is consistent with my theoretical framework. Intersectionality theorists Winker and Degele (2011) argued the interrelations between inequality producing phenomena – such as gender, age, and class – vis-à-vis the social disadvantages experienced by individuals or groups cannot be predetermined by theoretical deduction, but only through empirical induction following concerted interaction with data gathered from the lived experience of the affected groups. Therefore, in my analysis, the lived experiences of the program staff took primacy over the knowledge I gathered a priori through my review of literature on topics such as the facilitators and barriers to sport participation and recruitment for adolescent girls who face marginalisation.

Consistent with my use of RTA (Braun & Clarke, 2019), I believe my positionality is salient to my analysis. As a Muslim, heterosexual, cis-gendered woman of African Canadian descent who grew up accessing community-based sport programs in a low-income community in Ottawa throughout my childhood and during my youth, I developed an intimate connection to the cultural and social contexts of community-based program spaces, and particularly those offered in low-income communities. Furthermore, following my time as the beneficiary of community-based sport and recreation programs, I transitioned into providing volunteer and eventually paid support to the very programs I once accessed as a user. I believe both my identity and personal and professional experiences in community-based sport programs provided me with knowledge that informed the development of my study and analysis of my findings.

## **Results**

Using RTA, I identified four themes concerning how CCBL coaches and coordinators address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian girls in a

community-based basketball program in Ottawa: a) CCBL coordinators hire coaches who can relate to the program users through shared culture or lived-experiences; b) CCBL coaches use their identities and lived experiences to enhance their understanding of the program users; c) CCBL coaches and coordinators make efforts to build trust with and increase buy-in from parents to improve participation outcomes for program users; and d) CCBL coaches and coordinators make religious accommodations in response to the needs of Muslim and Christian program users.

### **CCBL Coordinators Hire Coaches Who Can Relate to Participants**

All of the CCBL coordinators shared similar views on the importance of hiring CCBL coaches who can relate to program users. For example, Clare, who is a CCBL coordinator at the Waverley Community Centre, described her efforts to staff the CCBL with individuals who could relate to the program users on a personal level and/or through lived experience.

I made sure I didn't staff a program that had a lot of different cultures participating in it with two people that were unaware of the culture. Like [I want the staff members to be able to say], “You know what? Today's a no hijab day. Let's take everything off. Let's just be girls”...I watch my staff go over and beyond just to make these girls feel comfortable. Just to make these girls, make sure that they know they're welcomed, and they're wanted here... I have goosebumps about it because it's like that's something that I personally can't do myself. My staff who does CCBL now, she came up through CCBL, actually. She was a participant... she can tell the girls the challenges she faced. She can provide her absolute life experience in the program to make them keep coming back.

Houman, who is also a CCBL coordinator and previously a coach at the Waverley Community Centre, explained the importance both of having a woman coach and someone who can relate to the players on multiple levels:

So, one of the things we did...in the other community centre to increase participation [was]...the staff they [coordinators] chose were... mostly females that were once participants, or that work, that live in the community that they serve. Because the female participants, they know that person. And they, a lot of times [are] like, "Oh that's my cousin's friend or that's my cousin or that's you know, we know her." Like so all they do is, "hey, I'm the coach now. I'm hired. Come to the practice." And they will just come because it's like, it's a safe place where they can come and have fun.

Jane, who is a CCBL coordinator at Waverley and has worked closely with Houman for many years, shared a similar viewpoint on the importance of having a woman coach the Girls' CCBL and what relatable factors look like in practice:

I think a big thing that we did is that, for female sports, getting female coaches. I think was a really big, smart move. And female coaches who know what they're talking about, like they've played basketball, you know. And then also we have, our coaches, are first-generation. So, I think it helps that they can kind of be able to understand and relate to what it means to be living in a household...[when] your parents are immigrants or you yourself were born inside the country or moved here when you're younger. And having that flexibility of understanding of "I need to go home," "I need to go do this," or "I need to go out," and or like "my mom called, I have to go now," I think...that is helpful, and it's not having someone who doesn't understand the importance of "I have to go because

my parents don't speak English very well. I have to go to my little brother's school to talk to the principal and help family with that.”

Yusuf, who is long-time CCBL coach for the boys’ team and assistant coach for the girls, illustrated a key feature of the hiring model used at many of the Community Centres involved in this study:

Yeah and so I think with right now if we were to check the staffs that we have here, I think if, I would say 75% went through a program called I Love to Mentor so it's, it's like almost all the staffs like they've gone through that program, through that training, and now they work, you know, so it's like programs like that that are helping them develop and get them a job because they've been through here, they know the community... they lived here, and now they volunteer, and then they get that job.

### **CCBL Coaches Use Their Identities and Lived Experiences to Enhance Their**

#### **Understanding of How to Support Program Users**

Four of the six African Canadian CCBL staff in the study discussed how their identity enabled them to better support program users. For example, Malek, who is primarily a coach for the Boys’ CCBL at McClaren Community Centre, but also a substitute coach for the Girls’ CCBL program, shared how his background allows him to understand the program users’ experiences:

For myself personally, I don't find much challenges because of my background. I'm African myself. The rules in the house for most Africans, I think are kind of, you know, they have the same standards and the same kind of respect level of, you know, what you got to follow. So, like with me knowing these things and me knowing how they - how

their households might operate, I can approach them in a certain type of way so I don't feel that much challenge...to get them to participate and all that kind of stuff.

Alain, who has been involved with the McClaren Community Centre's CCBL program as a coach for many years, explained the ease that comes with supporting second-generation African Canadian children and youth as a result of his shared lived experience:

... the thing is, it's kind of easy because we are multicultural staff – we all come from those backgrounds. So... like there's nothing new [in] dealing people like us. We have brothers, we have siblings, we have cousins and stuff. We play with them or when we are having fun with these little ones will be the same thing as being on the program, but only thing is these ones are not related to me. But it's the same thing, same exact thing, so basically, it's like, we know... how it is when you're at home. I know sometimes your parents won't let you go out because they'll tell you or do your homework ... we know that so when we have them we know how to deal with them because it's like second nature... We've been there, so that's how it's easy for us – because we can relate.

A number of other program staff (six in total) mentioned the negative impact of babysitting duties on the girls' participation in the CCBL. For example, Dohra, who is the coach for the Girls' CCBL at the McClaren Community Centre, described how her lived experience helps her to understand how to support program users:

It's easy. I don't find it hard. I kind of like, with experience and time, but when kids stop showing up without like an excuse or something I kind of just like, I should ask them questions and not attack them and, you know, bombard them with questions but would... just make it easy on them, you know? Not like give them a hard time or anything like that but explain to them that I understand because my parents were strict growing up. Like I

said, I couldn't always come to program when I wanted to [as a child], and if I skipped out on this week's programs then it was probably because they [parents] didn't think it was important you know? Yeah, so I understand, and I relate to them because I too had to babysit some of my siblings and skip out on programs... you'd wish sometimes that the parents took [the program] as serious as school, like you know, nobody would ever skip out on school to babysit their siblings. But um, they just don't find it like- they don't see it... as a priority, and they see it more as like a leisure [activity].

Program staff of non-African cultural backgrounds also expressed how their lived experience helps them to support program users. For example, Lada, who is the coach for the Girls' CCBL at the Milltown Community Centre, shared how her background as a first-generation immigrant makes her sympathetic to the position of the girls as well as the parents:

... it's honestly for the multicultural [girls] is so hard, but since I am immigrant too, I can understand, I can relate too. I know why the parents think about that, why the parents do that. I used to help the girls [and say]: "oh I understand where mom coming from because I'm immigrant too. I don't let my daughter do the same because of this, this, this reason". Know what I mean?... but it's hard because, you know, they are in Canada. The culture's different from their parents' culture. You have to show them girls, you know what, we can pick the good thing from here and we can practice, we can do this, we can, you know, I try to help them. To accept the parent's thinking and they [can] add their own... I told them what I used to do with my kids. I am an immigrant mom too... I know what it's like.

When asked about the role that lived experience plays in connecting with the kids in the program, Houman shared how his background and identity help him support program users:

I grew up in the same communities that I was working [in] and then the communities that I served. I grew up without a father. I had challenges as a minority, as a Muslim, and that sort of thing. I don't want to say it's a must [to have staff with similar lived experience as the program users] ... but um, I think it really does help to have gone through it.

### **Program Staff Make Efforts to Build Buy-In from Parents to Improve Participation by Program Users**

When discussing some of the challenges encountered in the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls, the program staff frequently discussed the challenges of parental buy-in, approval, and trust. A number of staff members described situations in which they made accommodations for users at the request of parents; in some cases, the accommodations illustrated a divide between what program users wanted versus their parents. For example, when asked whether the timing of practices posed any challenges to participation and retention, Lada described the role of parents in determining attendance:

My program, it was on Saturdays from 3 to 4 for the girls. And honestly, anytime we change it, we asked the girls do you like to change their time? Do like to change the date? For weekdays, they say, “No, my mom doesn't let me out if I have homework.” Most [of] the parents...they said no for weekdays.

Houman shared his experience of mothers bringing forward concerns and noted the difference between the program users' views compared to their mothers' views:

... they [program users] don't have an issue with continuing coming to Community Centre where there's a lot of guys, playing basketball in front of a group of guys, having a male coach. It's not necessarily a problem for them, but it's a problem for their parents... They would say, “My mom doesn't want me playing anymore. My mom doesn't think I

should play in front of guys.” So that would be challenging. There were so many times that I had to speak with the mothers. The mothers would come to me and say, “I don't feel comfortable my daughter playing sports and running around in front of guys, going to tournament with guys.” The girls, they want to play with boys. They want boys to watch them play, cheer them on and that sort of thing. Whereas some parents, some parents say like okay, “It's gonna be girls versus girls right?” And maybe it's a safety thing too. They don't want their girl playing against a boy that's gonna go full speed and maybe bump them so maybe it could be that. But I think a lot of it is the cultural religious reasons.

Similarly, Dohra described her experience of trying to ease the concerns of parents who were reluctant to have their daughters participate in the program. Notably, Dohra signaled the differences in how parents value the programs versus their daughters:

If a girl is saying, “Well, I can't really come to program because my mom and my dad don't want me to play basketball,” then I'd kind of go out of my way and have a conversation with the parent and explain to them that, listen, like, “she'll be playing basketball, and if you want her to do more homework then I could offer my help and help her with her homework.” That's things that I've done in the past just to get the kid in the program... having conversation with the parents and explain to them that it'd be good for her to join this program and to play basketball and to be a little bit more active, and kind of exchange stories, like relatable stories sometimes, you know? Make it make sense to them because I kind of understand. My parents were strict parents growing up, too.

Malek expanded on the notion of parental strictness in deterring consistent attendance:

Getting here in the first place, it all depends on if their parents are not too strict because if they are, then they're not gonna come every single time. They'll come once in a while and sometimes their parents actually bring them here even though they are [at that] certain age where they can come by themselves, but it's like the parents don't know what they're bringing their kids into right?

Clare described her efforts to address the concerns of mothers about their daughters attending CCBL practices at a neighbouring community centre. She described building trust with mothers through a peer group:

...on the other side of [Jackson Street] I have the [Durrand] Community Centre [that] has a lot of females age 13 to 17. But because it's not directly in the community with the [Waverley] Community Centre, the mothers are very hesitant to allow the girls to walk up to the [Durrand] Community Centre. So, it's what I'm doing to kind of accommodate or to defer these fears is I now am in [Durrand] every week. Every Wednesday morning, I meet with the mothers. We call it ladies who lunch. We talk about things. We talk about the kids. We talk with communities, but it's like I'm trying to now be that face to the Community Centre so the mothers are more trusting... But it's like what can I do as a full-time staff to make sure these girls are coming? So, we arrange staff walking them, picking them up, but then you have a 17-year-old who's like, "I don't need to be walked." So, it's very tricky. There are so many barriers and so many challenges we face just to get them to come to the Community Centre.

Nour, who is African Canadian and played and coached in the CCBL, explained the challenge of getting first-generation African Canadian parents to buy into the concept of girls in sport and in the CCBL:

... parents don't have that much trust, I guess, in the system... They're not very familiar [with] the way that sports and females are – sort of can be intertwined and can also be a good thing... Their parents already have other commitments for them [the girls]. Like familial commitments. So, that's kind of the thing that we get the most from them, and I think it's just because of the lifestyle that a lot of people who are predominantly African live. That's like one of the big barriers.

Notably, Alain shared dissimilar views on the role parents play in the context of influencing their adolescent girls' choice to come to program or not:

I just feel like, parents come. I see them, they see their kids play, they're pleased with it. I never seen an issue, maybe me personally because I mostly only deal with youth – and then youth, they're at that age already where kind of parents let them fly, you know?

Deborah, who is a CCBL coach at the Capilano Community Centre, also expressed parents being at ease with their daughters' participation in the program:

If any parent was to hear that their daughter is at [Capilano], it was like, oh yeah, I'm gonna sit on the couch and put my feet up. That's how comfortable they were. As long as they know that they're [at Capilano], it was like, oh yeah, it's fine. Very rare did we get parents coming in looking for their kids. And if they do come to our facility looking for their kids and they're not there, that was like a red flag. Because we're that safe place right. It's like if they're not at [Capilano], it's like, you know, red light. Where are they?

### **Accommodations are Made in Response to Muslim and Christian Program Users**

Many of the program staff described various considerations that were made for program users for reasons relating to Christian or Muslim faith. For example, program staff, through observing Islamic customs such as daily obligatory prayers and fasting during Ramadan, strived

to accommodate Muslim program users. Jane described the changes that were made to CCBL practices to accommodate Muslim program users who were fasting and/or needed a private space to pray:

So, for instance, during Ramadan, changing the time so everyone can break fast or moving the program to later so that everyone has the chance to be with family and eat and then can come play basketball. Trying to be very flexible, understanding that we're gonna leave early if you have to go because there's prayer...A lot of times both the girls' and boys' programs will start, they'll have a separate room if people need to pray. We kind of just want to make it that everyone [is] comfortable, everyone feels welcome, and we understand that at the grand scheme of things, what's an hour of basketball when there's other stuff that kind of is going on? We don't mind being flexible in our timing in our programming for everyday life.

Similarly, Amy described the efforts that were made to make the annual CCBL tournament more accessible to Muslim program users (timing and lunch menu):

So, I know that often they try their best to not do the big basketball tournament around Ramadan, but booking in Carleton [University] gym is really hard, so that's been their struggle there. But even then, you know, the pizzas were cheese pizza, but then the kids that couldn't eat we made plates so that they could take it home, and they could have it when their fast broke [in the] evening.

Nour discussed food and dress code when providing examples of how Muslims program users' needs are considered in program design:

A lot of the kids that come from these areas are Muslim. And they have dietary restrictions. They can't eat pork or gelatin. The City of Ottawa actually does make sure

that those restrictions are being followed when we're doing cooking or when these kids are at tournaments and we're eating and what not... but for example, going back to the actual game itself, I think that if the City of Ottawa found a place in their budget where they could post some money to get jerseys and shorts and stuff like that and also respect the fact that some of these girls are Muslims, so they have to do some modifications of those jerseys and shorts, you know?

Yusuf shared examples of what had been put in place to make the program space more welcoming to hijab wearing program users:

... for the CCBL part, it's a girls' only program kind of so we have a girl as a coach, so we try to break barriers. [We ask], "okay do you want no male in the building?" No problem will have a female staff. "You wear hijab?" No problem, the building will be shut down from 11 to 12 if you want to play, take your hijab off there are no boys [in the] building because we try to break barriers so that there's no challenges where a kid or youth or a female might feel like, you know what, "I don't want to go there because I feel like my values are not respected or anything."

In addition to accommodations made on behalf of Muslim program users, Yusuf as well as a number of other staff mentioned how practice scheduling was changed from Sundays to accommodate Christian program users who had obligations to attend Church service with their families.

If we can understand why they're not [attending], what's happening, like is it the timing? You know, should we change? Is evening not good enough? Or like, you know, is Saturday, not good enough? I know that some of our programs have changed on Sunday just to respect the religion aspect of people wanting to do or go to Church and but it's like

do we move stuff? Like just understanding and that's the barriers that we want to break.

And how can we fix this? Because you know, we have lots of youth in this neighborhood.

Lots of females in this neighborhood. So, we need to get as many out.

Similarly, Deborah mentioned the negative consequences of scheduling the CCBL program on a Sunday due to conflict with Church service.

This particular program, it's on a Sunday. It's like we're [in] church. We have this.

[Parents say to their daughters] where do you think you're going? So it's like, well I want

to go play basketball. It's like no. You can't go play basketball with Church... you need

to do this and tomorrow's school. So no. And then from the community we had difficulty

finding a date because everything was booked on any other day. So, the only date that we

could come up with was the Sunday and these are teenage girls so they're starting [jobs].

So it's like well you need to book off work... they can only work on the weekends. So

that was a little bit hard too. The facility itself, it was hard to get spacing. So for us, we

actually had to come up with [the program] date being the Sunday... so it's like we can't

do early because that's Church. We can't do it too late because they have to get ready for

school the next day.

Informed by the themes I produced following an RTA of the CCBL coordinator and coach interview data, I will discuss each of the major findings in the next section.

### **Discussion**

The sporting experiences of mainstream girls (i.e., White, middle class, Christian, etc.) have often taken precedence in research and sport policy development, leading to the neglect and othering of minority, racialized, and/or low-income girls (Azzarito & Solomon, 2005). The findings from my study present an opportunity for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to

learn from the experiences, challenges, and successes of sport leaders who are presently working with low-income, second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in Ottawa. The identities and lived experiences of many of the program users in the CCBL are linked to social inequalities concerning gender (girl), race (Black), socioeconomic status (low), cultural minority status (African heritage), and religious minority status in the case of the Muslim program participants. Such complexity calls on those in the sport community to engage intersectionality throughout the development and implementation of community-based sport programs in ways that address the needs of this population group.

Following an RTA of interview data collected from 11 sport coordinators and coaches involved in the oversight or delivery of the CCBL at different four community centres in Ottawa, I identified four themes that inform the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the CCBL. In this section, I draw on intersectionality to discuss the findings. For the first and second themes, I discuss the findings related to representation-based hiring practices. Namely, CCBL coordinators hire coaches and devote resources to developing leaders from the community who can relate to the program users through shared culture and/or lived experiences to enhance program delivery. Informed by the third theme, I discuss the findings related to first-generation immigrant parental buy-in and trust and how it relates to the broader challenges CCBL coaches and coordinators encountered in the recruitment and participation of program users. Based on the fourth theme, I discuss the findings related to the accommodations that were made to address the needs of Muslim and Christian program users through the planning and operation of the CCBL program.

### **Representation-based Hiring Practices**

The underrepresentation of women and members of marginalised communities (BIPOC, LGBTQ+, persons with disabilities) in coaching and sport leadership positions has been widely documented in sport management and leisure research (Cunningham, 2008; Fink & Pastore, 1999; Picariello & Angelle, 2016). National efforts to advance the recruitment, professional development, and retention of women coaches across all sporting levels have gained traction through coordinated government and non-government sport policy awareness campaigns (Canadian Heritage, 2017), although much work remains to be done. Notwithstanding such efforts, there exists little research in the sociology of sport or broader fields on the value of representation-based hiring practices to enhance support to equity-seeking communities. In contrast, the substantive volume of literature on the benefits of cultural competency, unconscious bias training, and recruiting certified professionals to support inclusive service delivery (Schleien et al., 2009) suggests a domination of hiring frameworks that reward those who are not members of communities that experience marginalization. The representation-based hiring model used for the CCBL program illustrates the power of diversity in promoting the inclusion of adolescent girls whose needs are often overlooked in circumstances in which program leaders are unable to recognise or predict how operational decisions may lead to unintended challenges for program users who are not members of the mainstream.

At the community centres involved in the study, the adolescent girls' identities and experiences were reflected back to them through the staff and other program users (low-income, racialized, African Canadian, and/or Muslim). Evidenced by the fact that CCBL staff at the four centres did not view their efforts at identifying and accommodating the program users' needs as requiring exceptional effort or consideration, intersectional considerations appeared to permeate organisational practices to the point of normalisation. Statements made by CCBL coordinators

and coaches within the first two themes illustrated the extent to which sharing identities and/or lived experiences with the second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls enhanced relationships with the program users and their parents and contributed to the reflexive nature of staff's accommodation efforts. Statements such as "for myself personally, I don't find much challenges because of my background. I'm African myself" as well as "it's kind of easy because we are multicultural staff. We all come from those backgrounds...so there's nothing new [in] dealing people like us" illustrated how Malek and Alain (respectively) did not view integrating intersectional considerations as requiring concerted effort.

The interview participants noted that coming from the same or a similar neighbourhood, being second-generation African Canadian and/or Muslim, being a previous CCBL program participant, or having strict African Canadian parents growing up enabled the staff to relate well to the CCBL program users. Assigning women to coach the CCBL program was also identified as a critical step to creating a more comfortable environment for the players, particularly the girls who wear hijab. Clare, a CCBL coordinator at the Waverley Community Centre, expressed the value of the contributions of the CCBL coaches who engaged with the youth in a way that she claimed she could not due to her positionality, which illustrated the value of having staff with similar lived experience as the participants working for the CCBL program.

Adolescent girls must navigate pressures brought on by their peers, community, parents, and society, which all construct and convey an image of an ideal girl – sometimes in ways that contradict one another – that leaves second-generation ethnocultural minority girls with a "fractured sense of self" (Rajiva, 2009, p. 78). In this way, there is tangible convergence between concepts explored in racialized girlhood studies and second-generation Canadian studies around the trials of fitting in through bridging both mainstream and heritage cultures for minority girls.

The representation-based hiring model of the CCBL thus can act as a buffer against the othering tropes to which racialized adolescent girls are exposed elsewhere in society through constructions of being an obedient and well-behaved daughter who stays at home, takes care of her siblings, listens to her parents, and does not engage in “un-lady like” behaviour like basketball.

Furthermore, research concerning ethnic minorities in sport has revealed stereotyping where, for example, assumptions around the group’s sport preferences produce biased perceptions of what sports members of that ethnic group may or may not enjoy playing or doing (e.g., Black people don’t like hockey, South Asian people like cricket, etc.). Some ethnic groups are also problematically considered to be inherently less interested in sport compared to White people, which speaks to the idea of the group being seen as the issue rather than the system or structure creating exclusionary conditions that lead to disinterest (Fleming, 2016). Ethnic minorities are also viewed as a homogeneous group, which can lead to problematic colour-blind policies that treat all children and youth as the same or like White, middle-class youth and families. As ascertained by Fleming (2016), “youth sport has been and remains a site for racism” (p. 290), yet research around the pervasive impact of stereotyping, racialization and racial discourse in sport in Canada remains largely unexplored. Moreover, the intersections of identity factors with race and with ethnicity are not considered in sport policy development and research; more specifically, the intersection of age as a social relation of power is underexamined in sport sociology research on racialized adolescent girls. Therefore, the effects of racism and ethnoracial stereotyping on the sport experiences of second-generation African Canadian girls must be unpacked further to draw deeper understanding of the role of representation-based hiring in combatting the harms of discrimination and prejudice for program users.

## **Parental Buy-in and Trust**

As alluded to in discussions with program coordinators and coaches, the parents (and particularly mothers) of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls did not subscribe to normative constructions of sport as inherently beneficial for their daughters. Therefore, building trust and buy-in was required to obtain active parental support for program participation. When trust and buy-in were absent, CCBL coaches and coordinators noted that they experienced great difficulty recruiting program participants and retaining their participation. Comparatively, when parents expressed complete comfort in their daughter's presence at the community centre, program staff described how CCBL attendance was bolstered by parental approval. Trust plays a particularly crucial role when considering crime levels and the negative perception of safety in the catchment neighbourhoods targeted in this study.

Research on the effects of parental expectations concerning the leisure choices of their second-generation Canadian children has revealed tensions and incompatible wishes with respect to approved activities. Second-generation Canadians of Eastern heritage in Western cultural contexts (such as African Canadian first-generation immigrants) face issues related to Eastern and Western value system conflicts that can lead to feelings of alienation, confusion, and emotional conflict when reconciliation of differences is not possible (Ali, 2008; Kobayashi, 2008). First-generation African Canadian parents are likely to have differing values in relation to mainstream Canadian views surrounding sport, therefore community-based sport program promotion must be tailored in such a way that takes into account the obstacles second-generation African Canadians girls face with parental buy-in. Such differences are represented through prioritisation of school over leisure as well as differing preferences from their daughters on matters of mixed versus sex-segregated sport. The World Health Organisation (2010) wrote: "In

many low-income countries where people work every day just to survive, the concept of leisure time is not always well understood and nor is it a priority” (p. 36). As such it is conceivable that African Canadian parents who have immigrated from economically disadvantaged countries or conditions may have a different value relationship to leisure and how it is spent. By recognising the potentially differing views toward sport African Canadian parents may have, as well as the significant role they play in their daughters’ participation in the CCBL, steps may be taken to increase parental engagement in community centre activities as a strategy to build trust and promote program participation buy-in.

According to the Canadian Women & Sport’s (2021) handbook on “Engaging newcomer girls and women in sport and physical activity,” the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI) highlighted three gaps in sport and PA programs that impede the participation of new Canadian girls: 1) lack of attention to cultural differences challenges in participation; 2) absence of gender considerations and appropriateness in program design, and 3) failure to address parental concerns. Although these findings are specific to first-generation immigrant families (parents and children), the very same limitations were evidenced through discussions with CCBL program staff who noted the influence of parents – as well as gender and its intersection with religion and low-income status in particular – with factors that effect the participation and recruitment of African Canadian adolescent girls. Enlisting the third-party support of Multicultural Health Navigators (MHNs) to act as intermediaries between the community centre and African Canadian parents may offer a useful alternative to staff-led community outreach efforts. MHNs offer cultural and linguistic expertise to local community health and social service-based organisations to assist immigrants (and particularly newcomers) navigate the Canadian health care system (Champlain LHIN, 2014). As community centres play

a key role in supporting the health of catchment residents, partnering with third-party MHNs who work at local community health and social service-based organisations is not only topical but has the potential to provide valuable assistance in translating knowledge and messaging to allophone first-generation parents as well as communicating the benefits of sport participation in a culturally sensitive fashion.

### **Tailored Accommodations**

The findings from my study highlight the need for religion-based considerations in community-based sport program delivery to second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls. CCBL coaches' and coordinators' efforts to accommodate both the Muslim and Christian program users by actively eliminating religion-based participation barriers was exemplified through several practices. Measures such as moving practice times from Sundays to avoid overlap with Christian church service, modifying the intensity of practices during Ramadan for fasting players, and restricting male access to the gym for the girls who wear hijab are all examples of ways in which CCBL staff adapted the program to meet the needs of Muslim and Christian players. By countering conventional sport models that do not consider the religious obligations of Muslim faith users (Nakamura, 2002), CCBL coaches and coordinators challenged normative, Eurocentric expectations around Muslim girls' involvement in sport programs. Similarly, the participation challenges of Christian players were also addressed, in contrast to other secular sport spaces where Christian faith program users' experiences often go unnoted (Walseth, 2016).

CCBL program staff also illuminated ongoing challenges in connection to babysitting that place program users under pressure to provide childcare for their younger siblings. The socioeconomic conditions of the families in the CCBL catchment neighbourhoods, which

contribute to parental challenges in finding affordable childcare services, place the program users in a position whereby their involvement in community centre activities is contingent on whether or not they must babysit their younger sibling(s). In such instances, birth order may be related to the responsibilities of babysitting assigned to adolescent girls. Mohammed (2020) found that first born adolescent girls reported their birth order as a constraint to sport participation at a significantly greater frequency than only, youngest, and middle child adolescent girls of both immigrant and non-immigrant backgrounds.

Low-income and working-class families are particularly likely to experience barriers to childcare access and present a greater need for such services (Braveman et al., 2018), and factors such as precarious working conditions or single parenthood may exacerbate challenges. Given the age cut-off for afterschool recreational programs such as those offered by the community centres involved in the study coincides with school-age, parents must rely on private or public childcare services offered at an institution, by a babysitter, or family member to fulfill childcare needs for their pre-schoolers. Consequently, the realities of low-income living must be considered when planning programs as the user-base from these communities may be confronted with childcare responsibilities that limit their capacity for program involvement.

Examining the intersections of age, gender, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and religion as they relate to the challenges of – as well as opportunities available to – second-generation African Canadians girls in community-based sport enriches scholarly understandings of this diverse group's lived experiences as they navigate sport settings. Intersectionality theory contests additive notions of oppression and, as such, an important distinction must be drawn between identifying the overlapping (and constitutive) impacts of structural and systemic issues that effect second-generation African Canadian girls versus essentializing claims that macro,

meso, and micro-level social disadvantage can be neatly formulated (Bowleg, 2008; Lewis & Grzanka, 2016; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Second-generation African Canadian girls in low-income communities are exposed to vulnerabilities as a function of being female, Black, socioeconomically disadvantaged, and being faithful Christians or Muslims– all whilst navigating a challenging developmental period (i.e., adolescence) that can include mental health deterioration, increased parental conflict and health-risk behaviour, and negative body image (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2011). Adopting an intersectional lens for this research has revealed how the interactions of these structural challenges manifest in the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian girls to the CCBL

### **Conclusion**

My research provides four key learnings on the facilitators and barriers to the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls. The first relates to the CCBL coordinators' hiring approach, which contributes to an evidence base for employing representation-based hiring practices to bolster second-generation African Canadians engagement in community-based sport programs. The ability of CCBL coaches to relate to the program users through shared lived experience culturally and experientially enables greater understanding of the girls' needs and how to respond to those needs appropriately. A second takeaway from this research is the extent to which parental sentiments toward the CCBL program strongly influence second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls' involvement in the program. Notwithstanding CCBL coaches' and coordinators' tremendous efforts to shape the Girls' CCBL program according to the needs of their users, low rates of participation may persist unless first-generation immigrant parents are engaged in CCBL activities in meaningful ways due to their important role as gatekeepers to their daughters' participation. Organising events that

appeal to the interests of families in the community may serve as one strategy to reach first-generation immigrant parents more broadly (and particularly mothers) and increase opportunities for their interaction with program staff, which may in turn increase parental trust and program buy-in. A third takeaway from the study's findings is the impact of at-home childcare needs on the opportunities available to second-generation African Canadian girls to participate in community-based sport programs. Babysitting responsibilities frequently caused girl CCBL players to miss out on program, so introducing mitigation strategies such as concurrent programming for younger siblings could enhance program retention.

My research has also demonstrated that the overlapping effects of inequalities related to age, gender, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and religion must be taken into account to enhance CCBL participation for second-generation African Canadian girls. Adopting an intersectional approach to community-based sport program recruitment and participation is integral to providing the necessary supports to enable the ongoing involvement of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls. Overall, the findings from my study can be used to support sport program leaders, practitioners, and policymakers in improving decision-making around engaging ethnocultural minority adolescent girls. Through integrating intersectional considerations into all program development and implementation measures, community-based sport program leaders may be better able to promote second-generation African Canadian girls' long-term engagement in sport.

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### **Chapter Three: Conclusion**

To date, researchers who have examined the (dis)engagement of adolescent girls from sport have had the tendency to compartmentalize various forms of disadvantage when analysing the facilitators and barriers to sport involvement. Such conceptualisations misrepresent the challenges of adolescent girls who face multiple forms of social disadvantage simultaneously, and thus perpetuate essentialized ideas around the effects of inequality producing phenomena such as gender, race, and class, on their experiences with and in sport. Consequently, in my research, I used intersectionality theory, feminist participatory action research (FPAR), and reflexive thematic analysis (RTA) to understand how program coaches and coordinators address the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in low-income neighbourhoods in the City of Ottawa's Community Centre Basketball League (CCBL).

The aim of my thesis research was three-fold: 1) to contribute to the City of Ottawa's and CCBL staff members' knowledge and awareness around the factors involved in the recruitment and participation of adolescent girls to the CCBL program; 2) to influence future sport policy and program development such that the needs of ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girls in Ottawa (and Canada) are addressed; and 3) to contribute to an evidence base for the value of adopting an intersectional lens to assess the community-based sport program recruitment and participation barriers of girls who experience multiple forms of marginalisation. Therefore, in my concluding chapter I will describe my thesis research contributions at the program, policy, theoretical, and methodological levels. I will also describe the limitations of my research and discuss opportunities for future research. Finally, I will close the chapter with my concluding thoughts.

### **Program Contributions**

The findings from my thesis research contributed to increased knowledge and understanding of promising practices and program gaps related to the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in the City of Ottawa's CCBL program. In terms of promising practices, my research shed light on the representation-based hiring practices employed in the CCBL, whereby CCBL coordinators put forward concerted strategies to develop and hire CCBL coaches who share lived experience with program users. The City of Ottawa's approach demonstrates a commitment toward diversity and inclusion in the delivery of sport programs to girls who face multiple forms of social disadvantage. A second promising practice I identified through my research relates to the CCBL coaches' and coordinators' efforts to respond to the specific needs of their Christian and Muslim program users. The CCBL staff adjusted programs, including practice times and days, as well as environmental factors, to meet the needs of their Christian and Muslim players. The net result of such measures was more inclusive programming, which ultimately created more opportunities for adolescent girls of diverse experiences to join the CCBL. In addition to promising practices, the findings from my research contributed insights on two program gaps related to CCBL recruitment and participation.

The first program gap my thesis research exposed pertains to the importance of gaining parental buy-in and trust as a means to boost program user retention. There is a need to engage African Canadian parents in meaningful ways that acknowledge differences between how first-generation immigrants of non-Western heritage relate to sport and assign value to sport relative to the mainstream Canadian view. Where there exists low perceived value of sport by African Canadian parents, particularly for their daughters, program leaders may be faced with decisions to either modify programs to align with parental preferences, sway parents into accepting

existing (unmodified) program design, or take a hybrid approach. While a number of CCBL program staff members recognised the important role of parental buy-in and trust to improving CCBL program participation, the absence of a strategic engagement plan tailored to immigrant parents as part of CCBL program policy forms a notable gap that must be addressed to mitigate CCBL recruitment challenges.

A second program gap I identified through my thesis research speaks broadly to the established norms and assumptions driving community-based sport program value systems; namely, conceptual challenges arising from the status of community-based sport programs, such as the CCBL, being free and accessible. The rationale for offering cost-free extracurricular sport programs is due in part to beliefs that all people should have access to sport irrespective of economic situation, as well as evidence that points to the pervasive effects of income on impoverished children and youth's opportunities to participate in sport (Eime et al., 2015). However, driving such initiatives are implicit attitudes around the "guaranteed" positive impact of cost-free programming in enhancing program recruitment and participation outcomes, which I have shown is not always enough to attract participants.

By using intersectionality theory to illuminate the complexity of the needs and challenges of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls involved in the CCBL, I have made two contributions to the literature: a) dismantled assumptions that cost-free programs will automatically attract low-income or economically disadvantaged participants; and b) expanded sociocultural understandings of the multi-faceted challenges second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls encounter in attending programs. Informed by the aforementioned program opportunities and gaps, below I share four policy recommendations that highlight the CCBL's best practices and reify areas in which new practices can be introduced.

## Policy Contributions

Evidence gathered from my thesis research in conjunction with initial feedback from the community advisory board (CAB) has demonstrated that existing CCBL program design strategies have not produced desired outcomes in terms of increasing the low turnout to the Girls' CCBL program. Namely, making the program free of charge, staffing the CCBL program with coaches who share lived experience with the program users, and being sensitive to the needs of Christian and Muslim players have not resulted in strong participation numbers in the program. However, my thesis research has highlighted opportunities where community-based sport program policy can be enhanced to address the specific social and cultural needs of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls that, despite best effort and intention, are going unmet. In the following section, I share my policy recommendations on how to support the engagement of adolescent girls in this demographic grouping.

The policy recommendations I have developed to improve the recruitment and participation of second-generation African Canadian adolescent girls in community-based sport are four-fold. First, encourage program staff to communicate the advantages of sport participation to African Canadian parents to increase buy-in and trust. More specifically, sport leaders involved in the back-end planning of the program can look to staff involved in the front-end delivery to speak to parents about the benefits of enrolling their daughters in programs. Second, community sport providers should partner with Multicultural Health Navigators (MHNs) (Champlain LHIN, 2014) to support communication efforts with parents to bolster program buy-in and trust. MHNs can provide expert cultural and linguistic assistance to translate messages (written or verbal) to allophone first-generation African Canadian parents. As suggested by Biddle et al. (2005) conveying to parents the important benefits of PA for

adolescent girls may lead to increased involvement. Third, the community centres can consider strategies to address childcare needs by introducing concurrent programs to children under 6 years of age as a means to alleviate the childcare burdens placed on girls who often miss out on programming to babysit their younger siblings. Fourth and finally, sport program leaders may create a dedicated time for program users to play sports in an all-girls environment to foster a more enjoyable and barrier-free experience for those who wear hijab and/or feel less comfortable playing sports in the presence of their male peers (for reasons such low perceived competence (Balish et al., 2014), self-consciousness while playing, and body image issues (Craike et al., 2009), etc.). In the next section I will discuss the methodological contributions of my thesis research to FPAR.

### **Methodological Contributions**

My methodological contributions are two-fold. First, I contributed knowledge on the benefits and importance of including the voices of community-based sport program staff (and particularly coaches) in research on the recruitment and participation of ethnocultural minority adolescent girls. Second, I provided insights on how my engagement with a FPAR approach was shaped by my positionality as an investigator who shares lived experience with the project stakeholders. In the first instance, the centralization of the voices of the CCBL program staff contributed important insights on the schism between the operational staff and higher management. The rich and detailed knowledge of CCBL coaches and coordinators on the status of adolescent girl program recruitment and participation cannot be leveraged without knowledge translation up the organisational ladder to where changed can be tangibly affected. The representation in my thesis research of the voices of knowledge keepers like the CCBL coordinators and coaches offers invaluable information on the problem area through the lens of

these key players in the community-based sport sector. Furthermore, by interviewing CCBL coaches (rather than only CCBL coordinators who rank higher bureaucratically) I contributed to the centralization of voices that are less represented at policy decision-making tables.

My positionality as an outside researcher as well as being an insider with shared lived experience with the project stakeholders offers new insights on the application of a FPAR approach from the vantage point of holding tacit knowledge. My identity as a 1.5 generation African Canadian enabled me to navigate the dual role of investigator and insider due to my shared lived experience with many of the program users and program staff involved in the study. Given my use of a FPAR approach, it was necessary I committed myself to interacting with the study participants and community as partners, equals, and knowledge brokers. My position relative to the program users and staff, as someone who has also navigated challenges associated with my identity as an African Canadian Muslim woman allowed me to take on the role of partner more easily. Additionally, my personal and professional experience as a community-based sport program user, volunteer, and staff member at organisations such as the Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa, Somerset West Community Health Centre in Ottawa, and the City of Ottawa provided me with an additional layer of relatability to the participants and community. My employment with the City of Ottawa as a sport leader in the Girls n' Women and Sport Department (between 2010-2012) was particularly helpful for providing me the opportunity to learn about the sport branch of the organisation, including its culture and operating standards.

My status as an insider enabled me to relate to the program staff on professional as well as personal levels (e.g., discussions concerning strict parenting and parental prioritization of school over leisure resonated with my experience while growing up). There were also instances in which I found myself surprised by experiences that were very much unlike my own (e.g.,

given my position as the youngest in my family, I was surprised to learn that girls often miss out on program due to babysitting responsibilities). This challenge is linked to what Naples (1998) described as the dynamic state of insider/outsider status; for example, while I am an insider to the community in many ways, I am simultaneously an outsider to experiences unlike anything I am capable of living (such as being an older sibling).

Given my use of FPAR, which calls for participatory action research that is embedded within a feminist conceptual model (Langan & Morton, 2009), my methodological contributions include providing further evidence of the value of research by a person who closely shares lived experiences with research participants and stakeholders. As a methodological consideration, FPAR users may benefit from integrating knowledge from ethnographers on how to deal in-group versus out-group positionality in research (Gregory & Ruby, 2011). In my case, I was required to hold myself accountable to the various intuitions and subjectivities (most notably my personal experience navigating sport with strict African parents) that could lead my analysis down a path separate from the truths of the participants. In the next section I describe my theoretical contributions to intersectionality.

### **Theoretical Contributions**

Research on adolescent girls' sport attrition commonly examines the facilitators and barriers to sport participation along one or more independently operating dimension of analysis, which can lead to simplified assumptions about the nature of the challenges (Fleming, 2016; Flintoff et al., 2008). The compartmentalization of the identities of adolescent girls according to predetermined variables such as gender, race, or class, either in isolation or within a conceptual frame that does not account for the constitutive nature of each, cannot produce intervention strategies to address the low participation rates of adolescent girls in sport. Interrogating the

interpersonal, structural, and systemic contributors to social inequalities that produce complex challenges for low-income, racialized, religious minority, adolescent girls can be used to produce a thicker description of the sport experience of second-generation African Canadians.

Intersectionality theory offers a framework through which researchers can explore how identities and experiences shape and are shaped by both internal and external factors. Therefore, my theoretical contributions to intersectionality include pushing the boundaries of the framework by illustrating its applicability within the sociology of sport. In the subsequent section, I will share opportunities for future study.

### **Future Research**

While it is recognized that factors such as parental engagement influence the long-term athletic participation of youth in sport (Newman et al., 2020), further studies are needed to address the underlying experiences of African Canadian parents and children. Population-specific studies on the perceptions of first-generation African Canadian parents toward sport require much greater attention in sport sociology research to understand the role of cultural minority parents in persuading or constraining sport participation. Research on the interaction between childcare access and the opportunities for adolescent girls (or lack thereof) to enjoy sport and leisure activities requires closer examination. These two opportunities for deeper explanatory and exploratory research on first-generation African parents' perceptions toward sport and childcare needs constraining sport opportunities may be nested within an intersectionality framework in order to consider how multiple relations of power interact to produce divergent experiences for second-generation African Canadian girls compared to the mainstream Canadian population. It is critical to consider the reciprocal and constitutive nature of the challenges that girls who experience multiple forms of social disadvantage experience in

day-to-day life. Taking into account such differences will allow grassroots sport organisations and the Canadian sport sector as a whole to serve Canadian girls in a manner that is equitable, inclusive, and accommodating to all.

### **Limitations**

Upon completing a reflexive analysis of my research, I identified four limitations in connection to my methods (recruitment, data collection, and field work) and research design (study population conceptualisation). The first limitation I identified in my research pertains to the absence of program users and parents in the overall study design and in the CAB. Although interviewing CCBL coaches and coordinators created unique opportunities to centre the voices of this important stakeholder group, the project would have been even stronger with broader community representation. The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic impeded my ability to recruit or interview program users or invite program users and parents to the CAB. The city-wide restrictions related to health measures prevented me from connecting with any participants or stakeholders in person. Feminist intersectionality principles assert that bringing to the forefront the experiences and perspectives of those who have been excluded historically is salient to pushing social justice advocacy and deconstructing the matrices of social disadvantage that block opportunities for marginalised groups (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990; May, 2015). Therefore, the absence of the voices of adolescent girl program users is a limitation that must be addressed in future work. Additionally, the closure of City of Ottawa facilities meant I was unable to proceed with my fieldwork at any community centre beyond the McClaren Community Centre. Completing in-person research activities such as recruitment, volunteer work, and interviews at the other community centres and CCBL programs would have allowed me to develop an even

deeper and more intimate understanding of the operational context of the CCBL and day-to-day experiences of project stakeholders.

The third limitation tied to my research project relates to the generalisation of African Canadians as a collective subpopulation. African Canadians represent a vast and diverse population group; therefore, it is important to recognise the intra-categorical differences between African Canadians of Northern, Western, Central, Southern, and Eastern heritage. However, the treatment of second-generation African Canadians as a “grouping” has merit insofar as signalling the shared lived experience of being born and raised in Canada to African immigrant parents. Lastly, considerations of additional identities and lived experiences beyond that of gender, age, race and ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic and generation status would have strengthened the overall analysis. The intersections of diversity factors not that were not engaged in this study, such as sexual orientation and ability (among others), also require critical consideration to develop an even stronger understanding of the facilitators and barriers to the recruitment and participation of African Canadian adolescent girls.

### **Final Thoughts**

Through my research, I believe that I have broadened the City of Ottawa’s awareness around the factors driving the recruitment and participation challenges for the Girls’ CCBL program (through the lens of staff knowledge) and contributed ideas for policy and program development to enhance the sporting experiences of girls who face numerous forms of social disadvantage. In so doing, I illuminated the value of using intersectionality theory to assess the recruitment and participation of marginalised adolescent girls in community-based sport. In the end, I am also interested in spreading one central message that grand normative constructions that produce hegemonic ideas around how (all) girls are expected to participate in sport, as well

as one-size-fits-all sport policy, may lead to the othering of minority girls and their experiences whilst centring those of mainstream girls. Therefore, when reflecting on the kinds of environments that sport leaders wish to create for adolescent girls, it is important to consider what sport means to the program's users and their families and how they envision participating as opposed to forcing a particular structure that does not align with their desired engagement or outcomes.

During my adolescence and youth, participating in community-based and afterschool sport programs offered by organizations like Somerset West Community Health Centre (SWCHC), the Boys and Girls Club of Ottawa (BGCO), and the City of Ottawa allowed me to develop self-confidence and a sense of belonging. I perceived the afterschool programs offered by these organizations as safe and inclusive. The program leaders conveyed respect and mindfulness of my needs as a high school student, as a Muslim, and as a minority youth, which made returning to the community centres and program spaces a constant desire. The community-based recreational programs offered in my catchment neighbourhood allowed me to make new friends and strengthen existing friendships, improve my athletic skills, and develop the leadership necessary to land a job following a period of volunteer work. Furthermore, the program staff were my role models. Both the program leaders who shared my racial and ethnocultural background as well as those who did not greatly affected my life in a positive manner. Their contributions to my life in the way of supporting my scholarship applications, helping me improve my resume and apply for jobs, hiring me for jobs, nominating me for awards, and valuing my voice and ideas paved the way for where I am today. Additionally, the community centre context was one of the few settings where I distinctly remember feeling fully accepted, in sharp contrast to the marginalization I experienced at school and among the general

public growing up. The impact of community-based sport programs on my life is immeasurable. It is my hope that my thesis research may bring greater attention to this important sector of sport for ethnocultural minority and second-generation African Canadian youth in Canada.

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## Appendix A: Ethics Certificate

10/01/2020

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**University of Ottawa**

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

### CERTIFICAT D'APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE | CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

<b>Numéro du dossier / Ethics File Number</b>	H-12-19-4766
<b>Titre du projet / Project Title</b>	Examining second generation African Canadian adolescent girls' participation in a community sport program in Ottawa: An intersectional analysis
<b>Type de projet / Project Type</b>	Thèse de maîtrise / Master's thesis
<b>Statut du projet / Project Status</b>	Approuvé / Approved
<b>Date d'approbation (jj/mm/aaaa) / Approval Date (dd/mm/yyyy)</b>	10/01/2020
<b>Date d'expiration (jj/mm/aaaa) / Expiry Date (dd/mm/yyyy)</b>	09/01/2021

#### Équipe de recherche / Research Team

<b>Chercheur / Researcher</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Role</b>
Amina Ahmat HAGGAR	École des sciences de l'activité physique / School of Human Kinetics	Chercheur Principal / Principal Investigator
Audrey GILES	École des sciences de l'activité physique / School of Human Kinetics	Superviseur / Supervisor

#### Conditions spéciales ou commentaires / Special conditions or comments

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Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Le Comité d'éthique de la recherche (CÉR) de l'Université d'Ottawa, opérant conformément à l'*Énoncé de politique des Trois conseils* (2014) et toutes autres lois et tous règlements applicables, a examiné et approuvé la demande d'éthique du projet de recherche ci-nommé.

L'approbation est valide pour la durée indiquée plus haut et est sujette aux conditions énumérées dans la section intitulée "Conditions Spéciales ou Commentaires". Le formulaire « Renouvellement ou Fermeture de Projet » doit être complété quatre semaines avant la date d'échéance indiquée ci-haut afin de demander un renouvellement de cette approbation éthique ou afin de fermer le dossier.

Toutes modifications apportées au projet doivent être approuvées par le CÉR avant leur mise en place, sauf si le participant doit être retiré en raison d'un danger immédiat ou s'il s'agit d'un changement ayant trait à des éléments administratifs ou logistiques du projet. Les chercheurs doivent aviser le CÉR dans les plus brefs délais de tout changement pouvant augmenter le niveau de risque aux participants ou pouvant affecter considérablement le déroulement du projet, rapporter tout événement imprévu ou indésirable et soumettre toute nouvelle information pouvant nuire à la conduite du projet ou à la sécurité des participants.

The University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board, which operates in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement* (2014) and other applicable laws and regulations, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above-named research project.

Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and is subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions or Comments". The "Renewal/Project Closure" form must be completed four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval or closure of the file.

Any changes made to the project must be approved by the REB before being implemented, except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) only pertain to administrative or logistical components of the project. Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes that increase the risk to participant(s), any changes that considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project or the safety of the participant(s).

Riana MARCOTTE

Responsable d'éthique en recherche / Protocol Officer

Pour/For Daniel LAGAREC Président(e) du/ Chair of the Comité d'éthique de la recherche en sciences de la santé et sciences / Health Sciences and Sciences Research Ethics Board

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## **Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Guide**

### **Introduction (5 minutes)**

1. Who I am (i.e., University of Ottawa Master of Arts student)
2. Purpose of research project (i.e., studying second-generation African Canadian girls' experiences in and perspectives toward community-based sport programs)
3. Brief description of the discussion topic area (ethnoculturally diverse girls' participation in community-based sports)
4. Reminder that the interview will be audio recorded and assurance of confidentiality and rights (i.e., "the information you share will not be disclosed, you have no obligation to answer a question, and you can skip over a question or end the interview at any time")

### **Interview: Part A (10 minutes)**

#### **What can be done to mediate the constraining factors involved in ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girl's participation in community-based sports programs? (User centred)**

1. To your knowledge, what are some of the barriers young girls are facing accessing your sport programs?
2. In your view, what distinguishes the young girls actively involved in your sports programs (and in particular the CCBL) from the girls who forgo participation?
3. Among those challenges described, what would you identify as the greatest deterrent for young girls of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds?

### **Interview: Part B (10 minutes)**

#### **What challenges are being encountered in the delivery of sport programs, such as the CCBL, to ethnoculturally diverse adolescent girls? (Staff centred)**

1. What are some of the challenges you face recruiting girls to participate? (clarify the intent of this question is to understand the needs of staff versus program users)
2. What has been done to date to address the challenges staff are facing with respect to recruiting girls or increasing participation?
3. What has been done to date to mediate challenges around retention in the CCBL or other sport programs at the centre?

### **Break**

1. Invite participant to take a break
2. Ask participant if they feel comfortable continuing and inform them how much longer you expect the interview to take
3. Repeat assurance of confidentiality and rights (i.e., information shared will not be disclosed, no obligation to answer a question, can skip or end interview at any time)

### **Interview: Part C (10 minutes)**

**What are the strategies for addressing multiculturalism in the delivery of sport programs?**

1. What considerations have program staff and volunteers made to multiculturalism in the delivery of sport programs at the centre?
2. What accommodations have program staff and volunteers made to address the needs of program users (by request or based on professional discretion)?
3. What are some of the challenges you face in trying to integrate multicultural considerations?

**Interview: Part D (10 minutes)****What is the relationship between staff's lived experience as racialized/minority/second- or 1.5 generation Canadians and their understanding of multiculturalism in the community-based sport context?**

1. Discussion of staff's experience with sport.
2. Discussion of staff's identity as second- or 1.5 generation Canadian (where applicable).
3. Discussion of what elements of their lived experience they bring to their job.

**Conclusion (5 minutes)**

1. Ask participant if they have anything to add.
2. Thank participant for their time.
3. Give participant contact information for future follow-up.

### **Appendix C: Contributions**

Amina Hagggar completed the data collection, analysis, conceptualisation, and write-up of this thesis project. Dr. Audrey Giles supported the development and conceptualisation of the thesis research as well as the editing, proofreading, and strengthening of the final thesis product. The community advisory board assisted with the development of the research project including the research question, conceptualisation, and recruitment of participants. Canadian Women & Sport provided input on the recommendations that were developed based on my analysis of the semi-structured interview findings. Chapter two of this thesis will be published with Amina Hagggar as the first author and Dr. Audrey Giles as the second author.