SPORT FOR REFUGEE YOUTH IN A NEW SOCIETY: THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION IN SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE PROGRAMMING

Jae-Pil HA* & Alexis LYRAS**

*Department of Health, Human Performance and Sport Management, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Arkansas, United States of America
**Department of Government, Georgetown University, Washington DC, United States of America

ABSTRACT

With the growing recognition of sport as a vehicle for development and peace, there has been a considerable increase in the use of sport for development programs and initiatives targeting underprivileged youth in the most at-risk areas of the world (refugee youth in this study). Little evidence and information, however, is available on how sport can be utilised as a tool for refugee youth when they move to a host/or new society. As relocation projects for refugee youth continue to increase around the world, it is critical for stakeholders of the Sport for Development and Peace (SFDP) movement to understand the initial value of their programs for integrating refugee youth in a new society. Given that relocation of refugee youth is strongly associated with the process of acculturation, this article attempts to explain the construct of acculturation within the framework of the SFDP movement and how SFDP programs can be utilised as a vehicle for refugee youth in acculturating into a host country. Based on the acculturation literature, recommendations for SFDP programs for refugee youth in a new country are provided.

Key words: Acculturation; Sport for Development and Peace (SFDP); Refugee youth; New society.

INTRODUCTION

The belief that sport has a significant transformative power in addressing a wide range of social issues, including inter-group conflict, health challenge (HIV/AIDS, diabetes), gender inequality and poverty, is becoming popular today. In particular, over the last decade there has been a considerable increase in the number of sport-for-development programs and initiatives attempting to leverage the role of sport in reaching at-risk youth in the developing countries around the world (Lyras, 2007; SDP IWG, 2007; Levermore, 2008a, 2008b; Kay, 2009; Giulianotti, 2010; Sugden, 2010; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011). These programs have been primarily operated by civil society organisations that were supported by some international sport and humanitarian institutions, such as the United Nations (UN) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC, 2009).

The main foci of *Sport for Development and Peace* (SFDP) programs include initiatives that target women, refugees, people living with HIV/AIDS, people with disabilities and at-risk

youth (UN, 2003). For a long time, it was difficult to find empirical evidence for positive social outcomes of such programs (Coatler, 2010). In recent years, however, limited empirical and anecdotal evidence has found that sport can have a positive impact on development for the above target groups in the most disadvantaged areas in underdeveloped countries, particularly those in Africa and Southeast Asia (UN, 2003; Höglund & Sundberg, 2008; Schulenkorf, 2010). Indeed, Schulenkorf (2010) attempted to investigate how sport events play a critical role in contributing to reconciliation and inclusive social changes between disparate communities in ethnically divided Sri Lanka. Findings from Schulenkorf's (2010) work indicated that sport events can establish interpersonal friendships and play a role in the creation of inclusive social identities by creating 'moments of togetherness' for members of disparate ethnic groups. In addition, Gschwend and Selvaranju (2007) found that sport-related projects could be expected to be effective tools for trauma-relief among people influenced by disasters, civil war or unrest. Although such evidences are clear in the underdeveloped countries, there are limitations in the understanding of how sport can be utilised to facilitate the development of the target groups when they move to new countries with strong immigration histories.

One of the target groups for the SFDP movement is refugee children and youth. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is a representative UN agency that protects refugees and offers support to resolve their problems in their home country. More specifically, the UNHCR is in charge of offering protection for refugees' basic human rights and providing admission into a foreign country (Thachuk, 2007). In recent years, the UNHCR has recognised the potential power of sport to influence beneficial change in a society. The UNHCR worked with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and corporations to implement sport as part of their plan by partnering with corporate sponsors such as *Right to Play*, Nike, Microsoft, and others to grant access to sport and physical activities for refugee children and youth. With the support of partners, the UNHCR had successfully implemented sport and physical activity programs for refugee children and youth. For example, *Right to Play*, one of the premier partners of the UNHCR, has implemented sport and physical activity programs to enhance healthy development for refugee youth.

In over 20 countries, hundreds of thousands refugee youth have engaged in sport programs implemented by *Right to Play* (Right to Play Annual Report, 2011). In a 2010 evaluation assessment, 84% of children in Liberia were able to know how to solve a peer-related conflict peacefully. Similarly, teachers in Pakistan incorporating *Right to Play*'s programs in their schools reported a decrease in peer-to-peer school violence. Within Pakistan, *Right to Play* works primarily in Peshawar and Quetta, where the vast majority of Afghani refugees reside. Since the inception of *Right to Play*'s work in these communities in 2002, the staff reported a dramatic increase in school enrolment amongst refugees, as well as enhanced positive relations between the Pakistani and Afghan communities (Right to Play Annual Report, 2011). These sport programs sponsored by the UNHCR and their partners have primarily focused on refugee children and youth in the most underdeveloped and disadvantaged areas of the world, such as refugee camps and conflict zones (UN Office for Sport for Development, n.d.). However, little attention has been devoted to SFDP programs for refugee children and youth in the process of resettlement to a new society.

Given the fact that resettlement of refugees to a new society is a rapidly increasing phenomenon around the world, it is important for stakeholders involved in the SFDP movement to extend their programs to refugee children and youth in a new society. Youth in a new society, who are a relatively marginalised population of the SFDP movement, are more likely to experience difficulties during the process of adaptation to a new society when compared to general immigrants due to cultural differences (language, lifestyles, values), and traumatic life events they experienced before moving (political conflict, exposure to war-related violence, deprivation). In order for the stakeholders of the SFDP movement to better understand refugee youth in a new society, refugees' acculturation process should be conveyed clearly.

While a number of scholars have proposed recommendations for SFDP programming, special emphasis should be given in the context of the unique attributes that focus on a target population. The purposes of this article were: (a) to provide a brief overview and conceptual analyses of the challenges and issues faced by refugee youth in a new society; and (b) to provide linkages between two theoretical frameworks of acculturation literature (Berry, 1990, 1997, 2003), and the body of knowledge in *Sport for Development* (Lyras, 2007, 2009, 2012a, 2012b; Lyras & Welty Peachey, 2011), to advance the application of the SFDP's theory and practice in this context.

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES AND REFUGEE YOUTH: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

People from various countries are currently fleeing from their homelands to escape starvation, war, violence, prosecution, or continuous political threats. In 2008, the UNHCR reported that there were approximately 10.5 million refugees around the world, with almost half of them being children under the age of 18 years (UNHCR, 2009). Since the establishment of the UNHCR in 1951, the agency has contributed to protecting refugees and resolving many problems they were facing. The UNHCR is responsible for the protection of refugees' basic human rights, providing admission into a foreign country and at least temporary asylum, and providing protection from a forcible return (UNHCR, n.d.).

Typically, a person who has fled from their native country can apply for refugee status with assistance of the UNHCR. The UNHCR then determines if an individual is eligible for refugee status and, if so, the UNHCR provides three durable solutions for each refugee: (a) safe return to the home country (voluntary repatriation); (b) local integration in the country of asylum (the country to which a refugee fled); and (c) resettlement in a third country (UNHCR, 2009). Among the three solutions, the UNHCR's preferred long-term solution for most refugees is voluntary repatriation. During the process of finding the solutions, most refugees may live in refugee camps, which provide accommodation and services, such as shelter, sanitation and medical care. Although numerous people repatriate voluntarily every year, some refugees do not hope to return to their home countries because of the fear of persecution if they are to return or on-going political and civil turmoil in their countries. In cases where voluntary repatriation is a viable option, the UNHCR attempts to settle them in the country of asylum or a third country (UNHCR, 2009). At the worst case, however, some refugees are forced to return to their countries (forced repatriation) if they cannot find any lasting solutions.

Based on the three solutions above, approximately 251 500 refugees voluntarily repatriated during 2009 (UNHCR, 2010). However, repatriation figures have continued to decrease since 2004 (UNHCR, 2010). On the other hand, during the last decade, about 807 000 refugees were resettled in foreign countries and a total of 112 400 refugees were resettled in 19 countries in 2009, the highest recorded total since 2001 (UNHCR, 2009, 2010). Although international law, such as the 1951 UN Convention, related to the Status of Refugees does not require any country to accept refugees, more developed nations with traditionally strong immigration histories have accepted the largest number (Immigration Policy Centre, 2010). The United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, Sweden and Norway are acting as global leaders in offering resettlement options for refugees. The total number of refugees resettled in these six countries in 2009 were approximately 107 000, which was over 95% of the total number of resettled refugees.

Among refugees resettled in the US, 35% to 40% were estimated to be children and youth who were less than 18 years of age (Martin & Yankay, 2012). As almost all refugees have survived traumatic life experiences, including oppression, war or civil conflicts in their native countries, their experiences are often characterised by trauma, persecution, displacement, loss, and grief (Olliff, 2008). In addition, new arrivals from refugee backgrounds are more likely to face challenges and stressors when resettling in the US because of cultural differences (living environment, language) (Olliff, 2008). Those challenges are most frequent for refugee youth, since they are in the very critical period of adolescence.

While some scientific evidence and anecdotal information for the impact of SFDP on the target groups listed above were found in underdeveloped countries, there is little evidence on the impact when they move to host countries as refugees. Of the target groups of SFDP programs, this article focuses on discussing refugee youth in the resettlement into a host/new country.

In the process of refugees' resettlement in a new society, it is critical to consider the construct of acculturation. Acculturation refers to the process by which the behaviours, attitudes and values of individuals from different societies are altered as a result of continuous contact with a host society (Berry, 1990). Compared to general newcomers (international students, immigrants), refugees are known to suffer from more severe psychological (Berry *et al.*, 1986), educational (Rong & Preissle, 1998) and financial problems (Lusting *et al*., 2004), in the acculturation process. It is mainly due to the fact that refugees tend to move to a host society with involuntary motivation and traumatic life experiences in their homeland (McBrien, 2005), which are usually different from immigrants.

Previous studies have suggested that sport or physical activities can influence newcomers' (refugees and immigrants) adaptation process in a host society (Grey, 1992; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Doherty & Taylor, 2007), and play an important role in helping them better understand a new culture (Coakley, 2009). While these studies have primarily focused on unorganised and unstructured sport, various international institutions and sport organisations, such as the UNHCR, the IOC and the European Union (EU), have recently emphasised and organised sport programs as a powerful tool for minorities, including refugees, at-risk youth and children and people with disabilities within the SFDP movement. For example, *Right to Play*, one of the UNHCR'S important partners, is

actively using organised and structured sport to enhance refugee children and youth development. The UNHCR and *Right to Play* reported some benefits for refugee youth provided by well-organised sport programs (SFDP programs), such as reducing aggressive and violent behaviours and healing psychological problems (post-traumatic stress disorders, depression, anxiety) (UN, 2003). Despite its obvious influence on refugee youth, no prior studies have explored the relationship between the construct of acculturation and sport within the SFDP movement.

Considering that the resettlement of refugee youth is strongly related to the process of acculturation, an attempt is made to explain the construct of acculturation within the framework of the SFDP movement and how SFDP programs can be incorporated in the acculturation process of refugee youth in a host country. To contextualise the role of sport as a general tool for development and peace, existing studies on acculturation in several domains, including psychology, anthropology and sociology will firstly be reviewed briefly. This will be followed by a review of the acculturation literature that focuses on the effects of sport or physical activity on newcomers' lives (immigrants, refugees, sojourners).

ACCULTURATION LITERATURE

To date, the acculturation literature has shown that acculturation refers to a response to a new society and is seen as a process by which the attitudes, behaviours and values of newcomers from diverse cultures are changed as a result of contact with a new society (Berry, 1990, 1997; Phinney, 1990). According to Graves (1967), there are two levels of acculturation: (a) group level; and (b) individual level. The group level of acculturation refers to a group's structural, economic and other changes due to the group's contact with a new culture, whereas the individual level of acculturation, termed psychological acculturation, refers to changes in an individual's psychological changes, such as behaviour, values and attitudes (Berry, 1997). Although an individual's acculturation level contributes to, and is influenced by group-level acculturation, the two levels of acculturation do not always evolve in the same direction or in the same way. For example, an individual may be highly assimilated, whereas the group he or she belongs to may not be assimilated at all (Berry, 1997), while the reverse might also be true. In other words, different individuals may vary in the pace of the acculturation process to a new society even if they are from the same cultural group. With that in mind, it is important to examine a potential systematic relationship between the two levels of acculturation in order to fully understand the acculturation process (Berry, 1997).

Two acculturation approaches

Historically, the acculturation process has shifted from a uni-dimensional to a bi-dimensional perspective. The uni-dimensional approach of acculturation is understood by way of a single continuum: on the one end are newcomers who maintain the values, behaviours and attitudes of their original culture, and on the other are those who strive to accept that of the host culture (Berry, 1997; Nguyen *et al.*, 1999). The midpoint between the two ends of the continuum refers to bi-culturalism, which denotes a high involvement and participation in the values, behaviours and attitudes of both cultures (Nguyen & Von Eye, 2002).

One of the key tenets of the uni-dimensional approach of acculturation is that accepting

values and behaviours of the dominant culture is necessarily accompanied by a weakening of connections with those of one's original culture (Nguyen *et al.*, 1999). However, this model of acculturation is not capable of differentiating individuals with high involvement in both cultures from those with low involvement in both cultures.

To overcome such limitations of the uni-dimensional model, a bi-dimensional model has been formulated. Berry (1990), one of the most significant contributors to the body of research on acculturation, first proposed a framework regarding acculturation based on the bi-dimensional approach. Berry's framework is grounded in two major issues or dimensions: (a) maintenance of one's original culture; and (b) contact with and participation in other cultural groups in the host society. Berry (1997) took the two issues into consideration as independent attitudinal dimensions. Thus, this framework on the basis of the bi-dimensional model allows newcomers to report varying levels of adherence to their culture of origin and of acceptance to the dominant culture.

Furthermore, these two dimensions allowed for four possible acculturation strategies/patterns: (a) integration; (b) assimilation; (c) separation; and (d) marginalisation (Berry, 1990, 1997). Integration occurs when individuals maintain their cultural identity and values of their original culture while keeping contact with other cultural groups in the host society. Assimilation occurs when individuals tend to accept the values and identity of the host culture and reject or have very little interest in their original culture. On the other hand, when individuals place a value on holding on to their culture of origin and reject the values and identity of the host society, they are adopting a separation strategy. Lastly, marginalisation occurs when individuals maintain neither the values nor identity of their original culture nor those of the host culture. Marginalisation is regarded as the most problematic among the four acculturation strategies, because there is a lack of psychological and social contact with both cultures, and individuals do not relate well to others in general (Kim & Abreau, 2001).

The classification of the four acculturation strategies above were grounded in the assumption that newcomers in non-dominant groups can freely choose how they want to acculturate into the host society (Berry, 2003). However, this is not always possible. When certain acculturation strategies are forced on newcomers by the dominant society's policies and attitudes toward newcomers, different terms should then be used. For instance, if the host society has strong ethnocentric and mono-cultural orientations and does not favour the value of cultural diversity, newcomers are forced to be separated from or assimilated by the host society. In this case, it would be called 'segregation' or 'pressure cooker', respectively. Indeed, in spite of the increasing immigrant population, South Korea as a society still remains culturally homogeneous, which lead newcomers to being labelled as either 'segregated' or 'pressure cooker'.

Factors influencing the acculturation process

It is well documented that acculturation is a highly complex process because it involves more than one culture and there are multiple factors that are commonly believed to affect an individual's acculturation process (Berry, 1997). These factors can be approached via two categories: (a) individual; and (b) situational (contextual).

Firstly, an individual's acculturation process depends on a number of the following individual factors, such as: (a) age at time of migration (Beiser *et al.*, 1988); (b) gender (Beiser *et al.*, 1988; Carballo, 1994); (c) level of education (Jayasuriya *et al.*, 1992); (d) length of residence in a host country/generational status (Tsai *et al.*, 2000; Leao *et al.*, 2009); and (e) motivation for moving (Richmond, 1993).

The age factor in migration suggests that when people migrate to a host culture at an early age, they are more likely to adapt to the host culture. However, immigrant youth in the period of adolescence are likely to experience significant problems, such as identity confusion and emotional and behavioural disorders (Sam & Berry, 1995). For gender, females may generally have more difficulties in the acculturation process than males. This general finding, however, may depend on differential treatment and relative status of females in the host and native cultures where some differences may exist. In other words, females attempting to take on new roles available in the host country may conflict with their native culture. In terms of educational level, the higher level of education an individual has the fewer problems he/she has in the process of acculturation.

Length of residence in the host country or generational status is a commonly used personal factor associated with the acculturation process of immigrants. The general findings from the literature indicate that the longer an individual resides in the host country, the higher the level of acculturation is (Ghuman, 1997; Oh *et al.*, 2002). There are two broad types of motivations for moving: (a) pull motives; and (b) push motives (Kim, 1988; Richmond, 1993). These two motives are dependent on whether an individual voluntarily (pull motives) or involuntarily (push motives) moves to the host country. The former case includes immigrants and international students, while the latter includes refuges. According to Kim (1988), individuals with voluntary motivation are more likely than those with involuntary motivation to adapt to the host country.

Secondly, situational factors can be viewed at (a) society of origin and (b) society of settlement (Berry, 1997). To fully understand the acculturation process, the political, economic and demographic conditions of the non-dominant society (society of origin) should be considered. From the perspective of the settlement society, national policies of the host society toward newcomers are an important situational factor affecting acculturation. For example, while some host societies are accepting of cultural pluralism based on integration policies, others attempt to get rid of cultural diversity through assimilation policies. Cultural distance between the two societies can also be a situational factor for acculturation. Cultural distance refers to how dissimilar the two cultures are in terms of language, attitudes and values.

The increase of a cultural difference between a host and a native country leads to poor adaptation to the host country. For example, because immigrants from Asian countries have different cultures from those of North America, for instance collectivism in Asia and individualism in North America (Triandis *et al*., 1988), Asian immigrants might not adapt well to North American society because of the high value placed on individualism. Socialising agents (friends from their culture of origin, family members, media), can also affect one's acculturation (Penaloza, 1994).

In this regard, Korean youth may not adapt to the US society well when they are with friends from their culture of origin and prefer to use media in their own ethnic language (Ha & Park, 2012). Lastly, the extent to which an individual adapts to the host society can be varied according to contexts/locations where he/she resides. For instance, while people are likely to maintain their own cultural identity in private spheres or domains including home and ethnic communities, they tend to follow cultures of a host society in public ones, such as workplaces and schools (Berry, 1997).

Acculturative stress

Changes in cultural context may surpass a newcomer's capacity to cope with the magnitude, speed and some other aspects of the changes, leading to severe psychological stress, which is called acculturative stress. The concept of acculturative stress refers to "a particular kind of stress, that in which the stressors are identified as having their source in the process of acculturation" (Berry *et al*., 1988:74). Berry *et al.* (1988) listed an array of stress behaviours that may occur during the process of acculturation, such as feelings of marginality and alienation, identity confusion and lowered mental health status derived from anxiety, depression and others. These acculturative stresses are strongly associated with individual and situational factors discussed above. In integrated discussions of the general findings about acculturative stress, Berry *et al.* (1988) concluded that newcomers moving to a new society with involuntary motives (refugees) showed significantly higher levels of stress than those with voluntary motives (international students, immigrants).

In terms of the cultural distance, the greater the cultural distance, the higher the acculturative stress. Newcomers are likely to experience acculturative stress less in multicultural societies than uni-cultural societies, because the former societies are more willing to accompany newcomers by using integration policies (Berry, 1986). Besides these factors, Berry *et al.* (1988) suggest that educational level, prior cultural experiences, and social support variables have been identified as factors affecting acculturative stress.

In summary, acculturation refers to the changes in cultural attitudes, values and behaviours that occur when individuals come into first-hand contact with a new society (Berry, 1990; Phinney, 1990). Therefore, it is essential for the construct of acculturation to be considered in understanding how various categories of newcomers, such as immigrants, sojourners (those staying temporarily), refugees and native people adapt to a new society. Further, given that sport has been used as a useful vehicle to help newcomers adapt to a new society (Coakley, 2009), it should be incorporated in their acculturation process. On the basis of a detailed review of literature on acculturation, Figure 1 provides a conceptual framework for understanding a newcomer's acculturation process using individual and situational factors.

Once individuals move to a new society, they begin to enter the acculturation process by experiencing the new society (Figure 1). In this initial stage, their acculturation will be influenced by various individual factors, such as gender, age, educational level, and motivation for moving and situational factors including characteristics of both non-dominant and dominant societies, cultural distance between the two societies, socialising agents and contexts/locations.

Upon arrival, the initial acculturation experience leads to considerable acculturative stress associated with anxieties over security, housing, employment and a loss of familiar ways of doing things. To overcome such acculturative stress, newcomers will choose one of the acculturation patterns/strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalisation) suggested by Berry (1990, 1997, 2003). With regard to individual and situational factors, Figure 1 suggests that both factors can also directly influence newcomers' acculturative stress, as well as acculturation patterns.
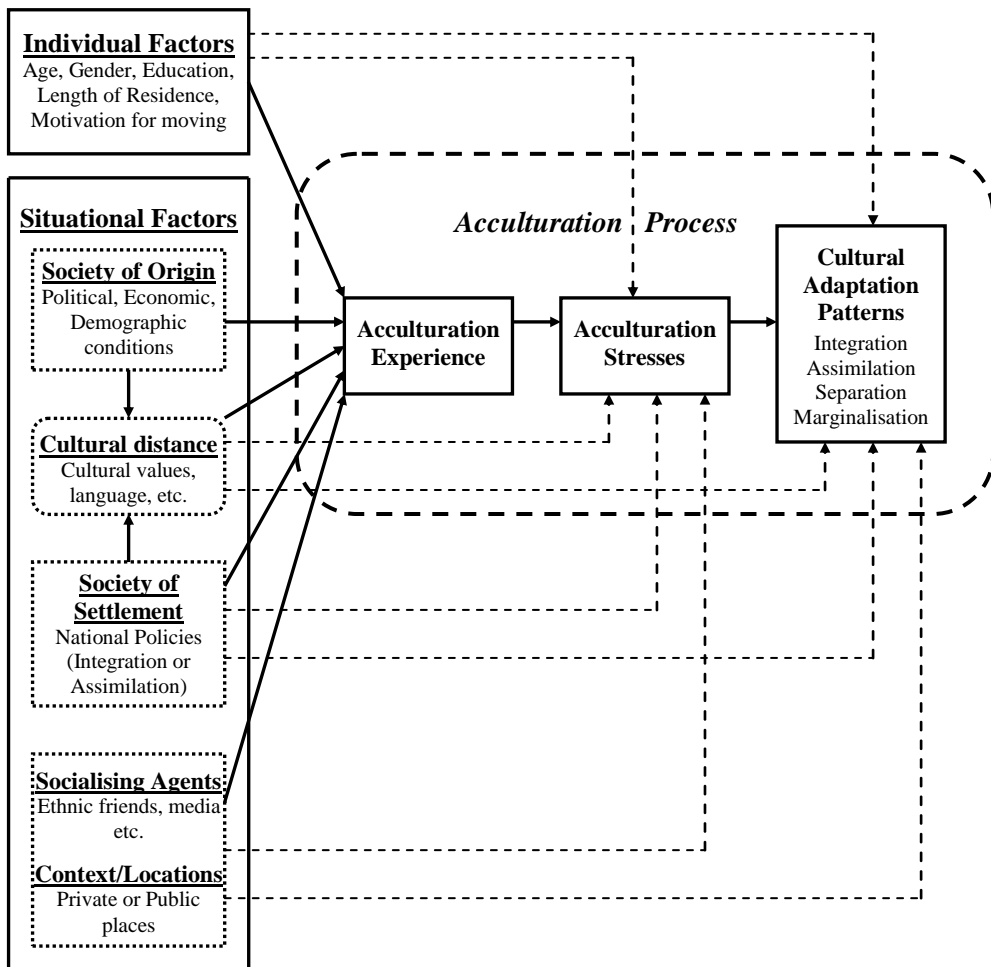

FIGURE 1:   **A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ACCULTURATION**

ACCULTURATION IN A SPORT CONTEXT: MAKING THE CONNECTION

Research on participation in sport and recreational physical activity of newcomers has increased considerably and evolved as a distinctive field of investigation. The general areas of research include: (a) the nature of newcomers' participation (what sport and activities they participate in, where and with whom they participate and changes in participation patterns after moving) (Stodolska & Alexendris, 2004); and (b) benefits of participation (facilitating settlement, enabling in the process of integration to mainstream society, building social capital and social inclusion), and constraints to participation (language, discrimination, resources, lack of parental support) (Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Olliff, 2008; Spaaij, 2013). These studies have primarily focused on how newcomers participate in sport in a host society.

Although the studies referred to do not directly employ acculturation as a theoretical framework, acculturation theory conceptually informed the aims of these studies. Since sport and acculturation have the power to bring about change for individuals and society, it seems intuitively apparent that the construct of acculturation may be a meaningful tool within the SFDP movement. Of groups targeted by the SFDP movement, the process of acculturation is particularly important and useful to refugee youth since they are faced with many challenges, such as traumatic life events they experienced in their native countries and cultural differences. Despite the substantial amount of research on the role of sport in understanding newcomers' adaptation using the construct of acculturation, little is known about how to take advantage of SFDP programs for refugee youth in a new society. Consequently, it is critical for SFDP researchers and practitioners to incorporate the construct of acculturation into SFDP programs and initiatives for refugee youth to address the problems with which they are faced in a host society.

Sport and physical activity for newcomers

It has been argued that sport and physical activity can assist newcomers' adaptation process in a new society (Coakley, 2009). Many studies have attempted to examine the role of recreational sport and physical activity in the newcomers' settlement process. For example, based on interview data collected from Korean and Polish immigrants, Stodolska and Alexandris (2004) found that sport participation facilitated inter-group contacts and broke barriers among immigrants, other ethnic group members and mainstream Americans. Moreover, some immigrants utilised sport participation as a vehicle to solidify their ties with their ethnic community and to preserve their ethnic values.

International students who are another type of newcomer were also widely examined (Yu & Berryman, 1996; Taylor & Doherty, 2005; Doherty & Taylor, 2007). These studies sought to identify the benefits and challenges of sport participation in a new society and found that a lack of language proficiency was the most widely reported challenge for sport participation. Feelings of social exclusion due to language difficulties, unfamiliarity with a host society and prejudice from American peers were also reported as challenges for sport participation (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). Spaaij (2013) attempted to explore barriers to sport participation for newly arrived people in a host society at the following three levels: intra-personal (individual characteristics, traits, beliefs); inter-personal (lack of parental support to participate in sport); and structural (language difficulty, financial cost, gender expectation).

Of the three barrier levels, newcomers were constrained to sport participation mainly due to inter-personal and structural barriers.

In terms of benefits, sport participation with people in a mainstream society was found to be helpful in the development of language skills (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). In addition, pursuing fun and improving physical health and psychological well-being were the main benefits. Lastly, newcomers' participation in sport also led to the accumulation of the following two types of social capital: bridging; and bonding social capital (Walseth, 2008). While bridging social capital refers to the process of getting to know individuals who have a different background from oneself (people from other ethnic groups), bonding social capital refers to the process of maintaining existing relationships with individuals who have a similar background to oneself. Indeed, Walseth (2008) found that young women from an immigrant background could build both bridging and bonding social capital through sport participation in local sport clubs.

The studies above, however, have some limitations that warrant discussion. First of all, these studies have primarily dealt with general newcomers (immigrants and international students), rather than refugees. Although the two groups have a number of characteristics in common as newcomers, refugees should be distinguished from general newcomers. Motivations for moving into a new society may be different between the two groups. Refugees have had to leave their home countries involuntarily because of violent and traumatic circumstances, whereas general immigrants leave their native countries due to voluntary motives, such as searching for better economic opportunities (Lustig *et al.*, 2003). Voluntary immigrants are also relatively well-educated (Rong & Preissle, 1998). They usually have sufficient time to think about their choice and may have previously visited the country of resettlement. Voluntary immigrants have enough financial resources to live in a host country and are aware of family members, friends or other people from their home country with whom they can settle in a community (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994).

Unlike voluntary immigrants, refugees have to move to a host country from poor living conditions in their home countries or refugee camps, such as lack of food and medical care. It is plausible that there are refugees who want to voluntarily move to a third country in order to escape from traumatic environments and there are immigrants who involuntarily move to the third country due to some reasons (family problems). The literature has shown that most refugees are likely to move based on involuntary motives, while most immigrants are motivated to move based on voluntary motives. It is clear that individuals with voluntary pull motives have fewer problems in the settlement of a host society than involuntary push motives (Kim, 1988). Further, since refugees have had more severe traumatic life experiences in their home countries than general newcomers, it is plausible that refugees are more naturally exposed to problems or stresses in the resettlement process than general newcomers.

Even though the studies sought to delve into the role of sport participation in the settlement of newcomers in a new society, most previous studies have primarily focused on highly individualised, unorganised and unstructured sport and physical activities. According to Burnett and Uys (2000), SFDP programs need to be measured on three levels: micro-; meso-; and macro-levels. The micro-level effects refer to psychological impacts such as personal development, life-skills, increased physical health, self-esteem, self-confidence, and

empowerment. The meso-level effects comprise changes in social networks, group cohesion, cooperation, respect, social inclusion and inter-group relationships. The macro-level effects refer to changes in infrastructure, economic resources, socio-economic indicators and systems that provide opportunities to underprivileged communities.

While individual-based participation may bring about some positive effects at the micro-level, effects at the meso- or macro-level necessarily derive from organised and structured sport programs. Strategically managed and organised sport programs can be an effective vehicle for social inclusion and the establishment of interpersonal friendships (Schulenkorf, 2010). In this regard, more studies are needed to examine the impact of organised and structured sport programs and interventions, such as SFDP programs on the resettlement of newcomers, particularly refugee youth.

Despite the fact that a newcomer's acculturation is influenced by various individual factors, such as gender, age at the time of migration and length of residence (Berry, 1997), most previous studies failed to take into consideration his/her sport participation in a host society. In other words, the patterns and tendencies of sport participation for refugee youth in the host society varies according to these individual factors (Spaaij, 2013). To fill this gap, it is necessary for the stakeholders of SFDP programs to consider them as potential moderators.

Sport for development and peace programs and refugee youth

In refugee camps, sport programs are extensively utilised as a tool for youth development (Serena, 2009). The sport programs in refugee camps aim to provide educational opportunities and attempt to offer support during the psychological healing process from violence, conflict and war. The implementation of sport programs may also help to address other issues, such as health issues (HIV/AIDS), gender inequality and the empowerment of refugee girls, sexual violence of refugee women and girls, and unaccompanied and separated refugee children (Thachuk, 2007).

Recognising that a sport program is a viable cost-effective tool to facilitate development of refugee youth, the UNHCR has cooperated with various partners, including the IOC, *Right to Play*, Nike, FC Barcelona and others to expand its sport programs in refugee camps. *Right to Play* is one of the UNHCR's significant partners and a leader in the world of refugee youth's sport and play. It is an international, athlete-driven NGO that uses sport and play to enhance the development of children and youth. Some anecdotal evidence from the UNHCR and *Right to Play* shows that sport programs in schools at refugee camps result in the following positive outcomes: (a) the rise of school attendance rates; (b) reducing aggressive and violent behaviours; (c) improving educational levels; and (d) healing psychological problems associated with war and conflict (UN, 2003:9).

Based on a partnership with the UNHCR, one of the first SFDP initiatives that Nike launched for refugee youth is "Together for Girls" in 2004 (Thachuk, 2007). This initiative employed sport as a tool for refugee girls' integration, education and development. As a result of the initiative, there has been a significant increase in girls' participation in sport and school enrolment. In addition, Ninemillion.org was created in 2006 by the UNHCR in partnership with Nike and Microsoft. This campaign aims to provide better access to education, sport and

technology for nine million refugee children (Ninemillion.org, n.d.). Lastly, *Sport Works Chad*, a partnership with the UNHCR, was a sport program designed to increase access to regular and inclusive sport and play activities that promote peace-building skills (e.g. fair play, teamwork), community cohesion and conflict resolution skills (SDP IWG, 2007).

There are a plethora of SFDP programs for refugee youth. However, almost all SFDP programs designed for them occur in the most disadvantaged areas of the world, such as refugee camps in under-developed countries. In recent years, SFDP programs have begun paying attention to those who moved to developed host countries, such as the US, Canada and Australia, by recognising the benefits of sport for refugee youth in the resettlement in host countries (Olliff, 2008). The benefits include, but are not limited to, providing capacity-building opportunities, promoting physical and mental well-being and building community understanding (Olliff, 2008). Given that a number of people in refugee camps are moving to the developed countries, stakeholders involved in the SFDP movement should pay more attention to SFDP programs for refugee youth in the developed host countries, one of the isolated target populations for SFDP programs, using the construct of acculturation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE PROGRAMS AND RESEARCH: REFUGEE YOUTH

According to Berry (1986), refugees are regarded as a special type of group undergoing acculturation. In contrast to immigrants, refugees move to a new society based on involuntary motives and, contrary to native people, there is no established territory or culture to support refugees in a host society. If it is assumed that acculturation is stressful, and if there is undesired and unsupported change, refugees may experience more challenges than any other persons undergoing acculturation.

Particularly, refugee youth in the US face further challenges, such as: academic difficulties, language acquisition, social isolation and alienation, social adjustment with peers, negative peer pressure, cultural misunderstanding and adjustment to a new educational system. Given that it is well recognised that sport can serve as a "good medicine" for refugee youth, several recommendations for future research and practice for the SFDP movement, specifically those related to refugee youth in a host society, are proposed in relation to the conceptual framework for acculturation provided in this article (Table 1).

Firstly, SFDP programs for refugee youth should be developed and implemented by considering a variety of individual factors affecting their acculturation process, such as age at the time of migration and current age, gender, educational experience and length of stay in a host society. Assessing these various individual factors can help to identify individual differences of refugee youth, which in turn provide refugee youth with appropriate sport and physical activities to meet their particular needs and desires.

In acculturation literature, an acculturation scale generally assesses these individual factors. Giulianotti (2010:208) pointed out that one of the main limitations within the SFDP literature is the failure to move beyond case studies and "produce more analytical and generalized work", which has led to a relative lack of scientific evidence regarding the outcomes of SFDP programs for specific target groups. This may inhibit policy makers and practitioners from

maximising various positive impacts including increased self-esteem, personal development, life-skills, self-esteem and so forth. Thus, investigating these individual factors for refugee youth in SFDP programs, along with the acculturation construct, may be an essential step in establishing a strong body of knowledge for the outcomes of SFDP programs.

TABLE 1: **CHALLENGES, ACCULTURATION FACTORS, AND SFDP PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFUGEE YOUTH IN A HOST COUNTRY**

Challenges faced by refugee youth in a host country	Factors affecting acculturation	Sport for refugee youth: Program recommendations
Traumatic life experiences in a native country (e.g. political conflict, war-related violence and deprivation)	Individual factors: (a) age at the time of migration, (b) gender, (c) educational level, length of residence in a host country, motivations for moving (pull motive vs. push motive)	Develop and implement programs that will respect and embrace individual differences of refugee youth
Lack of financial resources, food, and medical service in a native country	Society of origin (first situation factor): political, economic, and demographic conditions of a native country	Utilise Berry's (1990, 1997) four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalisation) to segment refugee youth and provide appropriate sport programs
Lack of educational opportunities in their native country	Society of settlement (second situation factor): a policy the host country has toward refugee youth	Foster an inclusive, collaborative environment (inter-group contact principles: equal status, potential friendship, common goals, institutional support, inter-group corporation)
Psychological stresses in the acculturation process (mostly caused by cultural distance between a native country and a host country)	Cultural distance between a native country and a host country	Enrich sport programs with other cultural activities (e.g. arts, music, poetry, theatre), along with a variety of sport activities
	Socialising agents: friends from their culture of origin, media, family members Contexts/locations: public or private spaces	Employ bilingual and bicultural instructors or coaches in program Translate outreach materials as a way of recruiting refugee youth

Four acculturation strategies developed by Berry (1990, 1997) (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalisation), might be useful tools to segment refugee youth participating in SFDP programs. In other words, different sport and physical activities can be utilised depending on their acculturation strategies/patterns.

For example, if individuals have an integration strategy (high levels of identity in both cultures), some sport reflecting characteristics of both their homelands and the host society should be utilised, while those exhibiting an assimilation strategy are likely to participate in sport reflecting the characteristics and attributes of a host society. For those in a separation strategy, some sport and activities they used to play in their homelands should be employed in SFDP programs. Although this seems in contrast to the idea of SFDP (facilitating social inclusion), it can be overcome by implementing the programs flexibly. For example, while implementers of the programs provide familiar sport activities in their home countries during a certain period of time, other activities based on the interests of refugee youth can be implemented later.

Finally, certain types of novel and creative sport and activities are needed for those in marginalisation. Therefore, practitioners in SFDP programs should provide a variety of sport activities for refugee youth according to their acculturation strategies. It is also very important for researchers involved in the SFDP movement to examine which sport and activities are most appropriate for refugee youth on the basis of the four acculturation strategies. However, it should be noted that, because the most preferable method of acculturation strategy has been found to be integration (Berry, 2003), sport activities reflecting attributes of both a native and host country, such as soccer, may be more effective. This is also in accordance with one of the main goals of the SFDP movement, social inclusion.

As suggested in the conceptual framework (Figure 1), situational factors derived from both society of origin (political, economic and demographic conditions in one's homeland), and society of settlement (policies toward refugees), and socialising agents (friends from their own ethnic group), and contexts (private spaces vs. public spaces), can significantly affect newcomers' adaptation to a new society. As such, practitioners involved in SFDP programs first need to understand various customs, values, identities and behaviours refugee youth bring from their homelands and camps, and then understand how they adjust to those of the settlement society. The increase in political and cultural distance between the origin society and the settlement society may lead refugee youth to more acculturative stresses. These acculturative stresses may be exacerbated by discrimination from their peers with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

To minimise their acculturative stresses, practitioners in SFDP programs need to provide inclusive sport teams that facilitate multicultural environments. Creating multicultural and inclusive sport teams in implementing SFDP programs is a critical part of building a sense of cohesion, inclusion and inter-group tolerance. It is important to note that these inclusive sporting environments can be fostered by understanding that "refugee settlement is a two-way process of mutual accommodation requiring adaptation on the part of both the migrant and the host society" (Spaaij, 2013:38). Aside from sport and physical activities, SFDP programs with other cultural activities, such as arts, music, theatre and poetry may also contribute to alleviating acculturative stresses. These are consistent with recommendations for effective sport-for-development programs suggested by Lyras and Welty Peachey (2011).

The literature on the role of sport for newcomers has shown that language difficulties were the most frequently reported challenge for sport participation in a host society (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). One of the practical solutions for the language barriers is to employ

bilingual/bicultural instructors or coaches. Involving the bilingual and bicultural staff and volunteers is critical in developing a sense of trust with refugee youth. In addition, translating outreach materials related to SFDP programs is also a good way to recruit refugee youth. Given that being well-trained and committed to the target population are keys to success (SDP IWG, 2008), the employed bilingual/bicultural instructors should go further through the proper training process provided by leading organisations.

CONCLUSIONS

The current study identified a variety of challenges faced by refugee youth in a host country and suggested recommendations for SFDP programs by utilising the construct of acculturation. Table 1 presented challenges that refugee youth face with various factors affecting acculturation, and recommendations for SFDP programs for these factors. In conclusion, despite the recent increase in the use of sport for development purposes in the world, refugee youth in the resettlement process represent a relatively marginalised population of the SFDP programs. Given that the movement of refugee youth is strongly associated with the acculturation framework, future SFDP programs and initiatives need to thoroughly consider the acculturation process within the programs and interventions. Furthermore, a variety of factors (individual factors, cultural distance between the origin society and the settlement society), influencing their resettlement to a new society should be incorporated in SFDP programs. This article hopefully made a contribution by providing a theoretical basis for SFDP programs that are still struggling with the absence of substantial scientific evidence and theoretical frameworks.

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Assistant Prof Jae-Pil HA: Department of Health, Human Performance and Sport Management, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Little Rock, AR 72204, United States of America; Tell.: 1 501 683 7317 (W), 1 551 795 0418 (H), Fax.: 1 501 569 3237, E-mail: physicalhjp@gmail.com

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