Playing for the future:
Sport and the production of healthy bodies in policy and practice

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my late grandfather, Mooson Kwauk, whose lifelong dedication to the pursuit of knowledge for the betterment of society I will forever attempt to emulate.

Abstract

At the core of this dissertation is a critical examination of the disjuncture between the policy and practice of sport for development. Drawing on a vertical case study of gender, sport, and education in the Pacific Island nation of Sāmoa, the study illuminates how a healthy islands through sport (HITS) policy world centered around using sport to create healthier bodies for a thriving nation is discursively created in inter/national policy but effectively separate and detached from the gendered logics guiding already existing translocal practices of sport for development. This practice, as described to me by my interlocutors, observed through twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork, and quantitatively surveyed, includes ideas about development centered around the translocal 'āiga (family) rather than the territorial boundaries of the nation, tautua (service) rather than health behavior change, and alofa (love) rather than one's body size. Locally imagined sport for development also intricately ties together notions of transnational mobility and globalization with shifting practices of masculinity and muscularity, raises important questions about the purpose and kind of education needed for development, and highlights a local field of action that ironically coexists with a prescribed policy world focused on using sport to recalibrate unruly bodies into virtuous bio-citizens. Contrasting etic and emic constructions of sport *in* development, this dissertation makes two arguments. First, it highlights how many Samoans view sport as a roundtrip ticket off island toward economic opportunity and the imagined good life. In this case, it is not necessarily the quest to produce a healthy body that attracts Samoan youth, especially men, to sport but rather its potential to move bodies into more central locations within a

global economy of remittances that makes sport popular. Second, this study demonstrates how inter/national development policy does not drive local practice. Instead, development actors sustain policy through a strategic process of social interpretation and translation that serves to align practice with policy at the surface while concealing deeper disjunctures of practice below. By juxtaposing what sport for development policy in Sāmoa is intended to achieve with how it is actually practiced, imagined, and socially managed, this dissertation foregrounds a dialectic of development imaginations that multiply shape the ways "playing for the future" has been incorporated into the development imaginations of Samoan youth, educators, community leaders, and government officials.

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A Note on Samoan Orthography, Pronunciation, and Style

Gagana Sāmoa (the Samoan language) was first documented in written form by Christian missionaries who visited the islands in the early- to mid-19ᵗʰ-century. According to the orthography developed at that time, phonemic variations that lengthen the five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) are marked with a faʻamamafa (macron): ā, ē, ī, ō, ū. Words like Sāmoa are pronounced with a lengthened /a:/ sound, like S/a:/moa. In addition, the koma liliu (inverted comma) ʻ is used to represent the glottal stop, often referred to as the thirteenth consonant in the Samoan alphabet: f, g, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, ʻ . Words like faʻalavelave (important occasions of ritual exchange) and Savaiʻi are thus pronounced fa/ʔ/alavelave and Savai/ʔ/i. The macron and glottal stop are often omitted in writing by Samoan speakers unless the meaning of the word cannot be easily discerned through context. I use diacritical markings for Samoan words in order to help make clearer my intended meaning. However, I do not use them for Anglicized Samoan words, like Samoan (adjective) or Samoa's (possessive noun).

Recognizing that my most immediate audience includes those of the academic community who may not be familiar with the Samoan language, I include translations of Samoan words in parentheses—with the exception of names of people and places. I do not italicize Samoan words in an effort to acknowledge the sociopolitical nature of marking Samoan words as "foreign." A glossary appears at the beginning of the text to better assist the reader.

As a student of the Samoan language, I recognize that I lost much of the meaning, nuances, and subtleties underlying my conversations with interlocutors in the Samoan

language. For those conversations that I was able to record, if I did not have them translated by a native speaker of Samoan, I checked and cross-checked my own translations with Samoan-speaking mentors and friends. For those informal, unrecorded conversations, I relied on the crystallization of meaning through successive conversations with the same person or with others, and the triangulation of data collected through participant observation, surveys, and documents. In cases where my interlocutors chose to speak in English, quotations are minimally edited for ease of reading. If editing text risked altering the meaning of the quotation, I kept quotations (grammar, word choice, etc.) in their original transcription.

Glossary of Samoan Words

'āiga	family; kin group
'ava	kava
alofa	love
ā'oga faife'au	pastor's school
aualuma	village association of unmarried women
'aufaipese	choir
'autalavou	youth group
'aumāga	village association of untitled men
elegi	canned mackerel
esi (pawpaw)	papaya
fa'aāfu	literally, to make sweat or to get rid of sweat
fa'aaloalo	respect
fa'alavelave	anything which interferes with normal life and calls for special activity, including funerals, weddings, graduations, etc.
fa'alifu kalo (ufi)	boiled taro or yams with a coat of coconut sauce made with coconut milk, salt, and sometimes onions
fa'amamafa	macron (diacritic)
fa'asāmoa	the Samoan way
fa'i	boiled or baked green bananas
faife'au	pastor
fale	specifically, a Samoan thatched hut; also a generic term for house or building, depending on the context
fale kuka	kitchen, sometimes a building structure separate from the living quarters
faletua	pastor's wife
fasipovimāsima	corned beef and/or salted beef
fatu'āiga	literally, the heart of the family; family-generative activities; familial work
feagaiga	to stand apart; an agreement, treaty or contract
fe'au	chores
fika (fetaui)	fit
fono	council of chiefs
gagana Sāmoa	the Samoan language
ifafo	outside, there; overseas
i'inei	inside, here
kekepua'a	steamed or fried meat buns
kekesaina	a Chinese pastry made often with garlic and onions
kilikiki	Samoan cricket
kokosāmoa	a sweet drink made of Samoan cocoa and sugar usually served warm
koma liliu	inverted comma (diacritic)

komiti tūmama	hygiene committee
lāpoʻa	to be big or large in size
lavalava	a piece of patterned cloth worn by men and women as a wrapped skirt, usually over a pair of shorts
lumanaʻi manuia	blessed future
mālosi	strong
manuia	blessings
masomasoa	muscular
matai	chief
meaʻai ʻaʻano	starchy food; real food
meaʻai lelei	the accompanying item in a meal, usually meat
meaʻai paleni	balanced diet
meaʻai Sāmoa	Samoan (traditional) food
moasāmoa	Samoan chicken
nuʻu	village
ola soifua malōlōina	healthy living
ōlaga faʻamanuiaina	the blessed life; a life of blessings or prosperity
paʻeʻe	to be lean or scraggy/scrawny
pālagi	European
paleni	balanced
palusami (luʻau)	dish made of taro leaves, coconut cream, and onions cooked in the umu
panikeke	Samoan fried donuts
pese	to sing
pisupo	corned beef
popo (niu)	coconut
puaʻa	pig
pule	authority, power
puta	to be fat
sā	evening curfew set by the village fono and enforced by the ʻaumāga; a time during which most households engage in family prayers
sapasui	Samoan chop sui, usually made of cellophane noodles, chicken pieces, cabbage, and soy sauce
siva	dance
sosisi	sausage
talanoa	v. to chat, make conversation, have a talk; talanoaga, n. Discussion, conversation
tamaiti āʻoga	school children
taufolo	traditional Samoan dish cooked with breadfruit and coconut cream
tauleʻeleʻa	(pl. tauleleʻa) untitled man
tausi ʻāiga	taking care of the family
tautua	service

teu le vā	nurturing the social space
tino lāpoʻa	a large body
tino lelei	a good body
tino paʻeʻe	a lean/thin body
toʻonaʻi	the main Sunday meal
tulafono	rules
umu	stone oven
vā	social space
vā fealoaʻi	balanced social space; the balanced social relationships and connections within that space
vaitipolo	Samoan lemonade

List of Acronyms

ABD	Asian Development Bank
ASC	Australian Sports Commission
ASOP	Australian Sports Outreach Program
AUD	Australian dollar
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CCCS (also EFKS)	Christian Congregational Church of Samoa
EFA	Education for All
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FFS	Football Federation of Samoa
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GOS	Government of Samoa
HITS	Healthy Islands Through Sport
HPE	Health and physical education
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRB	International Rugby Board
INGO	international non-governmental organization
IWGWAS	International Working Group on Women and Sport
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MESC	Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture
MFAT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
MOF	Ministry of Finance
MOH	Ministry of Health
MWCSD	Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development
NCD	Non-communicable disease
NFL	National Football League
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NUS	National University of Samoa
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
OAS	Oceania Academy of Sports
PICTs	Pacific Island countries and territories
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PIU	Pacific in Union
PSSC	Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate
SAT	Samoan tala (dollar)
SBS	Samoa Bureau of Statistics

SDP IWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
SFA	Sport for All
SICA	Samoa International Cricket Association
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
SPECA	Samoa Primary Education Certification Assessment
SRU	Samoa Rugby Union
SSC	Samoa School Certificate
SSF	Savai'i Soccer Federation
SSfDP	Samoa Sports for Development Program
SSLC	Samoa Secondary Leaving Certificate
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace
USD	US dollar
USP	University of the South Pacific
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization

Part 1. Macro:Meso

Chapter 1. That Which Lies Beyond Sport: An Introduction

Introduction

Sport is righteous and good, or so we in the audience were meant to believe. Sport

is an effective tool for the development of nations, or so we were led to imagine. Sitting

with more than 700 suited delegates representing grassroots organizations, sport

governing bodies, and corporate organizations from around the globe—though mostly

from the global North—I listened to these messages of hope and inspiration during the

Beyond Sport Summit at the Palmer House Hilton in downtown Chicago (see Figure 1).

We watched awe-inspiring film clips of unexpected young heroes overcoming

impoverished circumstances, looked at heart-warming photos of laughing and smiling

children at play, and listened to panel after panel of passionate celebrity speakers praise

the power of sport to transform the lives of the disadvantaged, to help nations achieve the

United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and in essence, to change

the developing world through the production of stronger, healthier, empowered bodies. It

was fall 2010, and this event was the second high-profile international *"praise-sport"*

gathering I had attended in four months.[1] Yet the Summit is only a single illustration of

how sport has become an "instant fashion" (Chambers, 1994, p. 1441) within the larger

institution of international development (cf. Kidd, 2008; Levermore & Beacom, 2009).

Since the UN officially recognized the role of sport in the development of nations in 2003

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[1] The first event I attended was the World Conference on Women and Sport in Sydney, Australia

(UN Res.58/5, 2003),[2] hundreds of governments, development agencies, businesses, politicians, celebrities and social entrepreneurs around the world have jumped on the sport and development bandwagon (Beutler, 2008; SDP IWG, 2008a, b).[3]

Figure 1. Former professional women's soccer player Julie Foudy facilitates a panel of celebrity speakers at the Beyond Sport Summit. Photo credit: Christina Kwauk, 2010.

One of the most popular discursive platforms to emerge out of this "sport for development"[4] movement is that of achieving national economic development through

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[2] In fact, sport has regularly been on the radar of international development agencies since the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport in 1978, and again for example in 1993 when the United Nations General Assembly and the International Olympic Committee revived the Olympic Truce (UN Res.48/11, 1993; UNESCO, 1978; see also UNESCO, 1989). The International Platform on Sport and Development reports that sport has been used to meet development objectives dating as far back as the 1920s when the UN International Labor Organization signed an agreement to collaborate with the International Olympic Committee. Nevertheless, it was not until UN Resolution 58/5 that the popularity of using sport in development took off.

[3] Currently there are nearly 484 registered organizations and 102 registered projects with the International Platform on Sport and Development (sportanddev.org, 2013).

[4] I use the term "sport for development" to refer to what Bruce Kidd (2008) calls a "new social movement" in international development and humanitarian aid where sport is used as a tool to achieve a wide range of goals, including the elimination of poverty, the prevention of HIV/AIDS, or the

the production of healthy bodies, especially those of women (cf. International Working

Group on Women and Sport [IWG WAS], 2007; Secretariat of the Pacific Community

[SPC], 2010; SDP IWG, 2008c). Anchored to this strategically positioned global

platform, international health and development experts hand out "silver bullet" (Jeffery &

Jeffery, 1998) sport for development policies targeted at women and other marginalized

communities in the global South, presumably arming them with the self-esteem,

confidence, and life skills to tackle cultural barriers, socioeconomic conditions, or gender

norms that have prevented them from freely moving their bodies and thus from achieving

their full health and development potential.[5] Yet as this global big "D" discourse of sport

for development is increasingly inscribed upon and re-produced by the local, it

simultaneously threatens to crowd out alternative little "d" discourses of sport for

development (cf. Gee, 2005). These little "d" discourses have emerged from local

experiences of sport, conceptualizations of health, and visions of development that

complicate international commonsense assumptions about the role that sport plays in

improving people's lives.

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empowerment of women. For ease of reading, the term will appear without scare quotes. However, this dissertation study seeks to complicate and in turn (re-)localize this term by distinguishing sport for development policy and practice as it is conceptualized and implemented internationally from how it is conceptualized and practiced locally. In doing so, the term is released from the dominant assumptions, frameworks, objectives, practices, and discourses of the international movement (driven by the global North) and relocated in those of the communities (predominantly in the global South) that employ it.

[5] The UN defines sport as "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction, such as play, recreation, organized or competitive sport, and indigenous sports and games" (SDP IWG, 2008b, p. 5). Sport sociologists, however, would problematize this lumping of distinct forms of physical activity under the single rubric of *sport*, calling into question the structure, function, and social significance underlying each form as they relate to contests and competition (Guttmann, 1978). Because this study seeks to unsettle the commonsense rationalization and assumptions behind the use of sport as a universal category in development, I use the UN's all-encompassing definition of sport as an analytical category with the critical understanding that a physical practice such as Polynesian wayfinding is not often categorized as sport by its participants.

While this dissertation study critically investigates the "inter/national"[6] (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2009; Vavrus, 2005) big "D" discursive platform that sees sport as a mechanism for producing healthy bodies, this study also focuses on illuminating the little "d" discourses that ultimately shape local thought and action around sport for development in unexpected ways. For example, in the Pacific Island nation of Sāmoa, where roughly 68% of women are obese compared to 48% of men (WHO, 2009), local practices and articulations of sport for development link women (but more so men) to healthy development futures in ways that often do not correspond with the biomedical health outcomes proclaimed by inter/national development actors to lie beyond participation in sport. In fact, local practices of sport and development are more often removed and disconnected from inter/nationally prescribed policy, even though the discourse used to describe local practices are infused with sport for health and "development speak" (cf. Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006). For example, Sefa[7], a Village Sports Leader in a rural community on the outer island of Sāmoa, explained to me the importance of sport for development in his village: "Because we want to keep the kids, y'know, in good health." After a brief pause, he continued, "And also to get them, y'know, fit to play for their future."[8] Echoing the praise-sport language I heard at the Beyond Sport Summit, Sefa's initial talk about sport nearly convinced me that dominant sport for development discourse drove his active pursuit of helping village youth use

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[6] In following Lesley Bartlett and Frances Vavrus (2009), I use the term inter/national to "draw attention to the difficulty in separating 'national' policy and practice […] from the 'international' institutions that fund or provide other support to federal institutions" (p. 12).

[7] All names of my interlocutors included in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

[8] In order to preserve the original meaning, quotations drawn from transcribed interviews have been minimally edited in brackets. Omitted texts are marked with bracketed ellipses and dashes indicate sudden shifts made by speakers themselves.

sport to overcome local health challenges plaguing the population. After continued

ethnographic observation, interviews, and grounded surveys conducted in Sāmoa (see

Figure 2), it became apparent that getting youth fit to play for their future was not a

reference to getting youth biomedically fit and healthy for the nation (a dominant sport

for development policy model). Rather, Sefa's reference was to preparing youth,

specifically young men, to enter transnational professional sport-based pathways to

economically productive futures for the betterment of the 'āiga (family) and nu'u

(village) in an increasingly uneven globalizing society (a local practice of sport for

development). For young women, in spite of their alarmingly high rates of obesity, their

place in this sport for development imaginary was relegated to afterthought, recalled by

local actors for the strategic purpose of cohering local practice with dominant policy

models.

Figure 2. Malae, president of the Lalomalava Village Sports Council, explains to a group

of Samoan youth the purpose of the day's sport for development programming. Photo credit: Christina Kwauk, 2012.

Juxtaposing the two images of sport for development above (Figures 1 and 2)—the first, an image of a high-level sport for development gathering; the second, an image of a grassroots sport for development gathering—one can begin to imagine the vast chasm between policy discourse and practice. Not only do actors located in different geopolitical and socioeconomic spaces *do* sport for development differently; they also talk about, imagine, and experience the potential of sport to manifest healthy development futures in very different gendered and material ways. This space of difference raises important questions about the presumed coherence between inter/nationally prescribed policy and locally emergent practices of sport and development, as well as the taken-for-granted cohesion between all powerful silver bullet solutions and their wide-ranging social (and health behavior) change outcomes. Yet, in spite of these disjunctions, sport for development as an international system of actors, ideologies, resources, and institutional structures remains a compelling, influential, and increasingly lucrative development industry.

In the midst of the emotion and passion that animate this system of sport for development at both inter/national and local levels, this dissertation has two overarching purposes. First, it aims to complicate dominant narratives of sport for health development by highlighting an assemblage of the sociocultural and material conditions, ideologies, and imaginations that set in motion local practices of sport and development and contour an alternative "healthy islands through sport" policy world in Sāmoa. Second, it aims to

disrupt commonsense assumptions about the relationship between policy and practice by

illuminating how development actors play an active role in sustaining policy coherence

for the strategic purpose of preserving their own community's sphere of autonomy and

the constitutive sociocultural and economic logics organizing their fields of action. In this

way, the study emerges from and moves translocally within the spaces of policy-practice

disjuncture observed over the course of data collection between 2010 and 2012 in Sāmoa,

American Samoa, Hawaiʻi, and various international gatherings of sport for development

practitioners. Guided by two interrelated problematics, this study traces the voices,

politics, and ideas of sport for development as they are circulated, reconfigured, and

translated across and between inter/national policy discourse and practices in Samoan

localities.

Problematic 1: Sport Produces Healthy Bodies for a Thriving Nation?

> Healthy human development is a necessary foundation for all development
> progress. Without healthy populations, the achievement of development
> objectives will be out of reach. (Sport for Development and Peace International
> Working Group [SDP IWG], 2008b, p. 25)

As a long-time athlete myself, I do not deny the positive health benefits studies

have shown to be associated with participation in sport and physical activity. Instead, I

am critical of the neoliberal assumption that sport can bring about the economic

development of nations vis-à-vis the biomedical recalibration of their "unhealthy"

populations into a strong and healthy (i.e., productive) workforce. I am also critical of the

general lack of awareness by sport for development policy and actors of the biopolitics

(the politics of population) and biopower (power over the body, life, and populations)

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underlying such an assumption (Darnell, 2012; Fairclough, 1992; Harwood, 2009). Specifically, framed within a neoliberal discourse of self-improvement, an individual's participation in sport is presumed to develop within them certain positive attributes associated with the healthy individual, including modern scientific health knowledge about the relationship between one's body, food, and physical activity, and the moral behaviors of the publicly-minded, socially-responsible virtuous bio-citizen (cf. Halse, 2009). This healthy living literacy gained through a "physical" education[9] has been taken up by inter/national development and health experts to be the key foundation upon which unhealthy populations can transform themselves into the strong and responsible subjects of modernity who engage in healthy behaviors for the economic well-being of self, family, and nation (Halse, 2009, p. 54). The co-articulation of sport, health, and development is not merely the rhetorical slogan of a few "sport evangelists" (Giulianotti, 2004, p. 356). Rather, it has become "the discursive building blocks of a new cultural policy" (Greene, 1999, p. 226) that has produced a series of norms, expectations, and body techniques for defining the fit and productive bio-citizen and governing unruly population.

In 2008, for example, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDPIWG, now the United Nations Office of Sport for Development and

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[9] I use the term "physical" education to distinguish this form of education from traditional health education classes that occur in classrooms with textbooks from which students (presumably) learn about subjects like hygiene, nutrition, or the reproductive cycle; and to distinguish it from traditional physical education—or P.E.—classes that usually occur in school gyms or on school sports fields and involve equipment and a pre-defined curriculum. The term "physical" education is meant to convey a more generic form of embodied education in which ideologies about health, gender, and development are inscribed and ascribed upon the body through physical practice. For ease of reading, I will use physical education (spelled out) to refer to embodied education, and P.E. (acronym) to refer to classes that occur at school.

Peace, UNOSDP) published *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace*, which outlined a conceptual framework for governments, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and individual stakeholders using sport to achieve a wide range of development goals. In this framework, the SDP IWG contends that health is:

> […] a crucially important economic asset. Low levels of health impede people's ability to work and earn a living for themselves and their families. When someone becomes ill, an entire family can become trapped in a downward spiral of lost income and high health-care costs. On a national scale, poor population health diminishes productivity and impedes economic growth, while investment in better health outcomes is generally seen as an investment in economic growth. (SDP IWG, 2008b, p. 25)

By depoliticizing health and transforming it into an economic asset, the SDPIWG firmly grounds its framework on the assumption that progress (or development) is measured by the economic productivity of one's population. Those who are not healthy cannot be productive, and therefore are a heavy burden on society. By establishing the relationship between health and economic growth in this way (i.e., health is an economic asset that nations need to achieve economic growth), nations are not only rated in terms of their economic indicators. Their populations are also evaluated according to a moral rubric of being either: 1) weighty subjects who consume unsustainably their nation's already stretched social resources and thus impede economic progress, or 2) active, responsible bio-citizens who make rational choices and engage in productive behavior that contributes to economic development.

In this context, sport takes on a formulaic silver bullet status as a universal tool capable of treating a diverse set of issues no matter the social or political context and no

matter how the tool itself is perceived by targeted populations (Jeffery & Jeffery, 1998).

As a panacea, sport not only helps nations achieve healthier populations, but also helps

individuals become better bio-citizens. The SDP IWG (2008b) describes sport in this

way:

> Because physical inactivity is a primary risk factor driving the global increase in chronic disease, sport can play a critical role in slowing the spread of chronic diseases, reducing their social and economic burden, and saving lives. While physical activity includes a broader range of activities than sport alone […] direct participation in sport is one of the most enjoyable, and therefore powerful, means of motivating and mobilizing people to become physically active. (p. 28)

Accordingly, sport is not just a pastime but also an enjoyable and powerful means of

motivating people to transform their own lifestyles for the sake of society. Sport, cast as a

universally fun and easy way of changing behaviors and body size, is thus the ultimate

neoliberal antidote to the weighty ills of modernity, leaving the onus of change on

individuals. Those who choose to participate in sport and physical activity are lauded as

virtuous bio-citizens choosing the right thing to do for themselves and their nation; those

who choose not to do it (or those who do not find it enjoyable) are positioned as being

failed bio-citizens for continuing to be a social and economic burden.

In Sāmoa, the rise of sport for development programs is officially premised on

such a notion that healthier bodies create economically thriving nations (cf. Australian

Sports Commission [ASC], 2012a, p. 13; Secretariat of the Pacific Community [SPC],

2002). This idea—healthy bodies, thriving nation—is reflected in the Samoan Ministry of

Health's position that "the health status of communities is both a function of and a

reflection of development in those communities" (Ministry of Health [MOH], 2010, p.

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23). It is also captured by the vision of Samoa's National Sport Policy "for every Samoan to be physically active, participate and reach their full potential in their chosen sport, resulting in a healthy and thriving country" (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture [MESC], 2010, p. 9). The assumption here is that as Sāmoa, like many other Pacific Island nations, has become more integrated into the modern global economy, its population has shifted away from being primarily agriculturalists to a society of convenience centered on automobiles, refrigerators, and processed foods (cf. Bindon, 1995; Curtis, 2004; Ulijaszek, 2007). As such, Samoan lifestyles are represented in inter/national public health and development policy discourse as being mired by the unhealthy habits of moving too little and eating too much (cf. Secretariat of the Pacific Community [SPC], 2002; WHO & SPC, 2007a, 2007b). The rational solution is thus for Samoans to increase their levels of physical activity—notably an approach that overlooks diet-related changes and contexts such as the increased importation of canned and processed foods from Australia, China, New Zealand, and the United States. Development programs like Glowing in Samoa (a US Peace Corps program), Just Play (a FIFA-funded sport development-turned-sport *for* development program), and the Sāmoa Sports for Development program (an Australian-funded sports outreach program) are positioned as assisting in the "physical" education of Samoans by making physical activity, exercise, and sport "easy, exciting, enjoyable, and everywhere" (ASC, 2012b, p. 1).[10]

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[10] Implied here is the intentional setting aside of time during the day to make the body active: going to the gym to "work out" or participating in a community-led jazzercise program, playing a game of soccer after school or "training" early in the morning. Recently, however, international development partners in the health sector have tried to encourage islanders to increase the amount of incidental activity

Given this inter/national policy context, I argue that sport for development as understood in the literal bio-economic terms of "healthy bodies, thriving nation" is a highly unstable problematic whose impassioned formulation as a silver bullet approach by inter/national actors—like those at the Beyond Sport Summit—is supported by a slippery discursive scaffold that attempts to universalize the experience of sport and institutionalize the development imagination. The universality and institutionalization of sport for development, however, as well as the social milieu in which it is narrowly constructed, are immediately destabilized upon examining the discursive and ethnographic disjunctures between its policies and practices—or, the space of the social imaginary where something critical and new emerge (Appadurai, 1990; Rizvi, 2006). As hinted at by Sefa above, sport for development takes on varied meanings, oftentimes completely unrelated to the achievement of health development goals, the production of healthy bodies, or the economic development of nations. This disjuncture thus brings to light a social space separate from policy in which a complex and deeply local ensemble of logics, desires, expectations, and ideas comes together to shape a sphere, or field, of practice that manifests in unexpected and surprising ways. Pulling together (and sometimes apart) heterogeneous elements like migration, service, masculinity (Chapters 4 and 5), and education (Chapter 6), this sphere enables actors within it to imagine and set in motion sport-based development pathways to "healthy" development futures for self and family—rather than the nation—in culturally pragmatic ways that have been

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throughout the day: walking to the store instead of driving, doing chores around the house, etc. (AUSAID, personal communication). These initiatives, however, do not appear to have taken off, as illustrated by my host parents who demonstrated a preference for driving or sending a younger child to run an errand on foot or to complete a chore.

informed by their own readings of an ever shifting global landscape of opportunities and

barriers. Following critical scholars of sport in development (cf. Coalter, 2010; Darnell,

2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst, 2009), this dissertation explores the contexts,

relations of power, and politics behind the dialectic of development imaginations that

multiply shape the concept of playing for the future in order to better discern the role that

sport *can* play in development.

Problematic 2: Policy's Discursive Hegemony Over Practice?

The second problematic guiding this study, one that emerged as I compared

fieldnotes taken in Sāmoa with those taken at events like the Beyond Sport Summit, is the

assumed linear relationship between sport for development policy and practice:

specifically, the assumption that policy (models, frameworks, program designs, etc.)

informs practice, and that *better* policy informs *better* practice and thus the achievement

of prescribed outcomes. As conceptualized by policymakers, program officers,

governments and sport evangelists, sport for development policy is what educational

scholars Bradley Levinson and Margaret Sutton (2001) call a tool of (benevolent)

governance that functions to direct, harness, and normalize the behaviors, values, and

practices of targeted populations. As I illuminate in more detail in Chapter 3, policy

conceptualized in this functionalist manner becomes hegemonic; it is a monolithic

governing apparatus employed over problem populations (Greene, 1999). Creating

healthier islands through sport (HITS) is therefore about discursively constructing the

right policy environment that leads these populations to adopt and internalize the

ideologies, values, behaviors, and practices of the HITS policy world—or, the specific ways of thinking about policy problems and solutions that exclude other possibilities.[11] In this way, policy is assumed to directly shape (best) practices. Policy discourse—as well as other material incentives—plays a large role in making this happen.

Indeed, policy discourse is an important "hidden" element of a functionalist framework that tightly couples policy and practice. As I have written elsewhere (Kwauk, 2012), language is political; the narratives, ideologies, images, storylines, and assumptions triggered by language are both ideological and evaluative (cf. Gee, 2005). According to communications scholar Ronald Greene (1999), it is the strategic use of policy discourse and its constitutive strategies that problematizes a way of life and constructs a population as problematic and in need of recalibration (cf. Crawford, 1980, 2006). Likewise, it is the strategic use of policy discourse that valorizes particular ways of being and particular ways of conducting oneself as healthier, more virtuous, more productive, more responsible, and therefore more powerful (Greene, 1999; Halse, 2009). Discourse, then, serves an important function of pulling together and holding together the norms, habits, and ways of being that constitute a sport for development policy world, or in this case a HITS policy world. The hidden power behind policy discourse thus makes policy a powerful influence *over* practice (Fairclough, 2001).

This well-ordered linear, top-down relationship between policy, discourse, and practice, however, as well as the notion that policy takes on hegemonic status, are things

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[11] I use the term "sport for development policy" to refer to the broader policy frameworks in which sport is employed to achieve development goals, and the term "HITS policy" to refer to the more specific policy framework in which sport is employed to achieve health development goals of the larger island nation.

that I scrutinize in this dissertation. According to critical scholars of development policy, specifically, and policy discourse studies, in general, policy is at once an authoritative mandate *and* a contested cultural practice (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; see also Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Fairclough, 2001; Mosse, 2005; Sharma, 2008; Shore & Wright, 1997). That is, policy may legitimate institutionalized ideologies and assumptions about sport, health, and development through strategic employment of discourse, but there is space for local appropriation as people interpret, engage with, and make new meaning out of policy discourse. Policy discourse, while still political and powerful, is no longer viewed as the "property" of the elite or dominant, ruling class; rather, policy discourse is a messy site of a continuous struggle for power (cf. Fairclough, 1992, 2001). In this manner, policy does not merely influence practice; policy *is* (contested) practice that is both situated in shifting relations of power and enabled by an ever-evolving logics of the sociocultural, political, and economic activities of policy actors (Levinson & Sutton, 2001). Recognizing the agency of actors, this more Foucauldian-inspired poststructuralist framework views the sociocultural study of policy-as-practice as the study of productive power and of policy appropriation, or how policy differs in practice from that which is conceived by policymakers (Fairclough, 2001; Levinson & Sutton, 2001).

While the two frameworks above (policy is hegemonic and influences practice top-down, versus policy is contested practice and a site of struggle) highlight contrasting views on the relationship between policy in/as/and practice, both views imply that policy is in some way "present" and operational on the ground. That is, policy and its discourse hold some degree of hegemonic status in the consciousness of target populations and

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local actors in order to be adopted or appropriated in the first place. During my field research in Sāmoa, however, I found myself at times to be under rather confounding circumstances as it appeared a different relationship between policy and practice was unfolding. While HITS policy was clearly a part of the discursive registers of local development actors and community leaders, what I observed was not simply a misunderstanding, appropriation, or even localization of a hegemonic HITS policy. Rather, it was as if HITS policy was entirely absent, removed, or disconnected from the frameworks of action described and demonstrated by my interlocutors, even though its discourse was fully employed (see Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006 for a similar case in Mongolia).

For example, during a sports equipment handover ceremony I attended in Samata, a rural village on the western shore of Savaiʻi, a series of speeches were given by matai (chiefs), a faifeʻau (pastor), and an Australian government representative. The pastor's speech was particularly noteworthy, as it clearly illuminates a more complicated relationship between HITS policy discourse and practice. Standing behind a short wooden podium in front of a spread of new sports equipment (including barbells, rugby balls, volleyballs, soccer balls, ping pong paddles, swim noodles, and kick boards), and about a dozen blue and white uniformed children who had been plucked out of school to attend the ceremony as token recipients of the equipment, the pastor said:

> These [equipment] are things to help us implement sports for our children so that they can achieve their dreams and hopes. Perhaps one or two or many of them will be our representatives in sports competitions, any sports competition not only here in Sāmoa, but perhaps some of them will be our representatives for our dear country in international sports outside of Sāmoa. The highest hope is that these things may be useful to your health as you grow up and that your bodies be strong

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because if your body and mind are strong, well, that is the future of our village, church, and especially to our districts and our service to our country. […] Use these sports equipment well for the future of our country in good health and sports so that we may find representatives in the Manu Samoa [the men's national rugby team] and netball for girls, especially for our own satisfaction with our health in our village. Let us be the examples for other villages nearby who will say that boy or that girl who has excelled in sports, whether it is baseball or weight lifting or rugby, comes from Samata. (Emphasis added)

In this excerpt, the pastor makes three references to health that officially link the handover ceremony to the HITS policy objective for which the distribution of sport equipment was intended. These references, however, were embedded in such a way that warrants pause. Was the prospect of implementing HITS policy and achieving healthier and stronger bodies, villages, and country really the underlying motivation for consenting to a HITS policy world (and accepting the donation of equipment)? Or was it the prospect of providing hope to the children, identifying future professional athletes, showing off to other villages, and engaging in service to the village, church, and country that was the more immediate incentive? While listening to the pastor's speech, I found myself asking what was driving practice (and its constitutive discourses, imaginations, ideas, and beliefs) if not HITS policy, particularly since my Samoan and Australian interlocutors claimed events like this to be sport for development policy in action. Clearly, a set of locally pragmatic logics disconnected from a HITS policy world were at play.

Research moments like the one above led me to critically question assumptions I held not only about policy, discourse, and power, but about the hegemony of policy discourse itself. Restless in this theoretical and conceptual chasm, I echo development scholar-practitioner David Mosse (2005) and ask, "What if, instead of policy producing

practice, practices produce policy, in the sense that actors in development devote their energies to maintaining coherent representations regardless of events?" (p. 2). Put another way, what if policy is not so much hegemony in action, but rather a rationalizing ideology used by actors to legitimate, explain, and make sense of practice, especially to powerful stakeholders like the Australian government representative at the handover ceremony (cf. Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Steiner-Khamsi & Stolpe, 2006)? This question informs the overarching structure of this dissertation on the disjuncture of sport for development policy and practice. Briefly, the dissertation begins with a critical analysis of HITS policy discourse, explores ethnographically the sociocultural, economic, and gendered logics informing local practice, and ends with an analysis of how development actors rationalize this disjuncture.

Given the questionable hegemony of policy discourse, I argue that viewing policy as a monolithic entity is problematic because it assumes that policy has a coherent relationship with practice and that recipients of policy have consented to its larger policy world. Indeed, in the case of sport for development in Sāmoa, there appears to be little cohesion, coherence, or compliance, let alone a single, unified understanding of HITS policy. As such, notions like 'policy governs populations', or 'populations resist policy via practices of appropriation or subversion' are valid ways of conceptualizing relations of power in policy contexts, but they sustain leaky notions of policy hegemony while overlooking the importance of disjuncture. As illustrated by the pastor's speech, there is a great amount of social work and numerous political acts of composition that must be performed by policy actors (development officials, field officers, program recipients, etc.)

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in order to conceal a highly disconnected and fragmented policy world but to present it as cohesive, coherent, and, in a way, hegemonic (Mosse, 2005; Sharma, 2008). As will become apparent later in this study, it is in the interests of all policy actors, both powerful and subordinate, to work to sustain such representations of coherence, rather than actually connect policy and practice more tightly. Following Mosse's (2005) analytical framework, this dissertation explores this social work enacted in this space of disjuncture in order to better grasp how the "public" and "hidden transcripts" (Scott, 1990, pp. 4-5) of development policy and practice are socially managed, enabling multiple sport for development policy worlds to coexist simultaneously (Mosse, 2005).

Delimitation and a Point of Departure

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1991) insightfully notes that identifying a chronological baseline from which to "begin at the beginning" (p. 209) is a self-defeating strategy for the researcher in an era where phenomena of the present are intricately embedded and unfold in historical webs of particularity and imagination. In response, I follow noted scholar Edward Said's (1978) suggestion that when formulating a study, it is methodologically critical to identify a point of departure, a first step, through a careful yet highly subjective act of delimitation. Said writes that the act of delimitation is that "by which something is cut out of a great mass of material, separated from the mass, and made to stand for, as well as be, a starting point" (p. 16). Although I have outlined the two problematics underlying this dissertation study (first, the assumed relationship between sport, health, and development; second, the assumed relationship between policy

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and practice), I delimit my study here with a snapshot of the sport for development

"policyscape," or the deterritorialized configuration of interconnected policy worlds,

from which this dissertation study begins (cf. Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Carney, 2008). The

following excerpt from my fieldnotes comes from a Sāmoa Sports for Development

Program (SSfDP) training session in Palauli, a rural southern coastal village on the outer

island of Savai'i in Sāmoa.

> I had just finished collecting some of the paper drawings that a handful of the 80 or so middle-aged adult participants had scribbled on the floor while sitting in rows on woven pandanus mats in the middle of the fale *[in this case, a Samoan thatched hut]*. One of the older women *[there were fewer than 10 women]* who had raised her hand to explain to the group what she had drawn, but was not selected, had rubbed an imprint of a few sene *[coins]* onto her paper and had written nothing down. Curious, I handed my stack of papers to Iona *[the head sport for development officer from the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) office in the capital of Apia]* who had just facilitated the group's sharing of drawings. To summarize the participants' presentations, Feleti *[a MESC field officer from Apia]* went to the white board standing in front of the participants and wrote three things in a single column under the heading, What is sport?: fale *[in this case, a house]*, ta'avale *[car]*, and $, the last entity in a larger font size than the previous two. Pointing to the dollar symbol first and then to the other words, he told the participants that sport can give you tupe *[money]* that can "maua ai ta'avale" *[get you a car]* and then a fale. Pointing again to the dollar symbol, he repeats, "maua tāua lea" *[get this important thing]*, and then pointing to the word ta'avale he says, "maua malie lea" *[get this satisfaction]*. Surprised, I glanced at the older woman who had rubbed the sene into her paper, but she remained expressionless as she listened to Feleti.
> During a break later, I asked Feleti about the dollar symbol he had drawn. He says that sport offers communities something. "You don't have to know English; you can still do something." He points out a man in a green elei *[traditionally printed]* shirt and tells me that the man is the father of the number three player in the Manu Samoa Sevens team that is currently playing in Las Vegas. "See?" he asks me rhetorically. "They're local." He says that sport offers unemployed youth the chance to play at an international level. I mention that I have noticed a lot of the players on the Sevens team are local boys and ask whether it is true that the Fifteens team has a lot of international *[expatriate]* players. Feleti answers that there are "academic players" on the Fifteens team, and that they are from overseas. He re-emphasizes that local youth can get something out of sports. Smiling, he tells me that you do not usually see the players being asked for

interviews after the games—only the coaches—because the players often do not understand the questions.

This fieldnote excerpt delimits the dissertation study by (loosely) bounding its scope to sport for development policy and practice as imagined by both project implementers located in inter/national development institutions and project recipients located in "local" sport for development policy spaces like villages. Sport for development as practiced in Sāmoa by competitive athletes or by urban "middle class" Samoans therefore lies beyond the scope of this study—although heavily influence the sport for development imaginaries of those within this study's scope (like Feleti above) and remain invaluable points of comparison for the analysis, nonetheless. This fieldnote also offers a preview of the themes that will be discussed in this study, including the significance of money, material signals of the good or blessed life (e.g., a car, a house, etc.), overseas travel, and the ability to speak English as part of a local sport for development imaginary. It also foreshadows the ways in which Samoan actors navigate an ambiguous policyscape based on their own readings of its uneven terrain and their own understandings of what it and the other actors located in it have to offer.

Thus, as a point of departure, I highlight how many Samoans view sport as a roundtrip ticket off the island toward economic opportunity and the imagined good life made possible by a "circular mobility" (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009, p. 10) between Sāmoa and Australia, New Zealand, or the United States. In this case it is not necessarily the quest to produce a healthy body that attracts Samoan youth, especially men, to sport but rather its potential to *move* bodies into more central locations within a global economy of remittances that makes sport popular. The local logics of economic migration and

reciprocal obligation create expectations of tautua (service) to the family for young adults who have been chosen—by their families or by luck—to enter into an "informal family financial market" (Poirine, 1998, p. 75), expanding what New Zealand scholar Cluny Macpherson (2004) calls a "transnational kin corporation" (p. 168). Sport for development, from an emic point of view, is not about improving personal health; rather, developing skills in sport prepares young Samoans for modern-day trans-Pacific voyages to places where athletic skills might be leveraged for economic benefit for self and family. In this sense, sport *is* part of development, but primarily for its instrumental rather than for its professed intrinsic (i.e., health) benefits.

In a way, sport for development can be likened to an industrial complex intent on sustaining itself rather than challenging structures and relations of inequality or achieving social change (cf. Maguire, 2006). Policy becomes a site of social and political manipulation enacted by local and inter/national development actors in order to legitimate practice while preserving local spheres of autonomous action. Whether appropriation, subversion, resistance, or a kind of cultural pragmatics, in the process of translation what gets overlooked is the tenuous, short-lived, and happenstance nature of calculating one's future based on the possibility rather than the probability of becoming a professional athlete. As a result, young Samoans—more often young Samoan men—are caught in a precarious politics of hope where disappointment and exploitation are more likely to manifest than millennial success and mobility promised in return for their athletic labor (Besnier, 2012; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000).

Nonetheless, embedded in the fieldnote excerpt above is the notion that a local

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sport for development practice in Sāmoa is characterized by a different set of logics, values, and goals than those advocated by official sport for development policies, which tend to be strategically focused on the achievement of the MDGs or a subset thereof, like health. This disjuncture brings to the forefront the important possibility of alternative visions of sport for development than those homologous visions imagined by suited delegates or celebrity activists and funded by international NGOs or multinational corporations. Following, sport scholars Iain Lindsey and Alan Grattan's (2012) critique of the emerging sport for development literature, I caution against overgeneralizing and essentializing the hegemony and power of policy worlds created by institutions and actors in the global North, while ignoring the agency, negotiation, and agendas of actors in the global South. Like Simon Darnell and Lindsay Hayhurst (2012) and Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom (2012), I attempt to distinguish between global and local levels of stakeholders and to take into account that each is driven by their own agendas. As follows, my study moves back and forth between understanding "the local" in the context of larger geopolitical, socioeconomic, and gendered structures and processes and understanding "the global" in relation to local spheres of autonomous action.

Combining a critical analysis of HITS policy discourse and an ethnographic exploration of sport for development practice, this dissertation study illuminates the various contexts, relations of power, and ideologies informing both a HITS policy world and a local sport for development assemblage. In doing so, I make two arguments. First, and primarily, this dissertation illustrates how Samoan youth, education administrators, community leaders, and government officials pursue divergent sport for development

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futures that they themselves have imagined. Second, and relatedly, this dissertation

demonstrates how inter/national development policy does not drive local practice—

although it does indirectly inform a different kind of practice than what is expected.

Instead, development actors sustain policy through a strategic process of social

interpretation and translation that serves to align practice with policy at the surface while

concealing deeper disjunctures of practice.

Overview of Chapters

In this dissertation I explore a policy-practice disjuncture within a healthy islands

through sport (HITS) policy world by illuminating how "playing for the future" has been

incorporated into the development imaginations of multiple social actors located in

different interacting "levels" of a sport for development policyscape. I focus on how a

HITS policy world centered around using sport to create healthier bodies for a thriving

nation is discursively created in inter/national policy, but effectively remains separate and

detached from the logics guiding an already existing translocal practice of sport for

development in Sāmoa. This practice, as described to me by my interlocutors, observed

through twelve months of fieldwork, and quantitatively surveyed, includes ideas about

development centered around the translocal ʻāiga (family) rather than the territorial

boundaries of the nation, tautua (service) rather than health behavior change, and alofa

(love) rather than one's body size. It also intricately ties together notions of transnational

mobility and globalization with shifting practices of masculinity and muscularity; it raises

important questions about the purpose and kind of education needed for development;

and it highlights a local field of action which ironically coexists with a prescribed policy world focused on using sport to recalibrate unruly bodies into virtuous bio-citizens. The overall objective of this study then is to contrast etic and emic constructions of sport *in* development, especially that which is imagined to lie beyond sport. Divided into three parts, this dissertation emerges from the space of disjuncture and traces vertically (and horizontally) the multiple imaginaries of sport for development as they are created, experienced, and strategically sustained by inter/nationally and translocally located actors.

Part 1 (Chapters 1-3) begins at the macro:meso level where I lay out some of the overarching ideas and problematics about sport for development as they are envisioned and unfurled at the inter/national level. While Chapter 2 details the context in which the study was conducted and the methodological approach that guided the study, Chapter 3 lays out the policy context from which disjuncture, and thus the core of the dissertation study, emerges. Through a critical analysis of HITS policy discourse, I illustrate how policy is constructed by powerful inter/national actors in order to direct collective attention among Pacific Island governments like Sāmoa to a specific way of thinking about policy problems (NCDs), their populations (unruly Pacific Islanders), and solutions (sport and multisectoral partnerships)—in essence, to invent or imagine a social world around policy. In this chapter, I demonstrate how policy makers employ specific discourse strategies of doom to discursively connect a health "crisis" to specific modifiable behaviors and specific tools to assist in this modification. I also discuss how HITS policy discourse invents subject identities for Pacific Islander populations and

governments that serve to sustain its own actors (the ASC, WHO, etc.) as organizations

of authority while locating the former in positions of subordination, ultimately

perpetuating a history of neocolonial geopolitical relations between countries like

Australia and the Pacific Islands. Creating healthier islands through sport is therefore

about recalibrating island nations into the image of its neo-colonizers. As one high-

ranking Australian official put it to a group of Samoan schoolchildren in rural Savai'i:

"Healthy lifestyles is the message that we [Australians] like to promote in Samoa. We

also like to promote it in Australia. What it means is being active through playing sport

through going for a run, riding a bike, walking instead of driving to the shops, and eating

well. Not too much lollies [candy], not too much soft drink [carbonated soda]. Lots of

fruit and vegetables." The irony here is that these schoolchildren he was speaking to were

already highly active, already walking to the shops—as many of their families did not

own cars—and likely engaging in more physical labor than the average Australian youth

from whose experiences he was drawing. Yet, despite these disjunctures, for policy to

function effectively as part of a governing apparatus, it along with an ensemble of

institutions, technologies, and practices must circulate and regulate the ideologies,

assumptions, worldviews, and practices of its policy world (Greene, 1999). As the

remainder of the dissertation illuminates, this circulation and regulation remains

superficial in Sāmoa and the object of social interpretation by local development actors,

calling into question the hegemony of policy not only in practice but over populations.

Part 2 (Chapters 4-7) shifts "down" into the micro:meso level, exploring

ethnographically the sociocultural logics and socioeconomic contexts shaping an already

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existing translocal practice of sport for development in Sāmoa, and thus "blocking" the successful circulation of HITS policy. Contrasting the development imaginations of my Samoan interlocutors with the imagined policy world from Chapter 3, the chapters in Part 2 serve to raise "a critical dialogue between world pictures" (Appadurai, 2000, p. 8) that helps deepen an analysis of the social imaginaries shaping the space of policy-practice disjuncture. Chapter 4 begins with an overview of the main themes raised by my interlocutors: sport is imagined to be a ticket ifafo (overseas), a viable career alternative to a "blessed life," and a means of tautua (service) to the 'āiga, not necessarily a path to becoming biomedically healthier or more virtuous bio-citizens of the nation-state. As part of a migratory logic that propels many young Samoans to look beyond the shores of Sāmoa for opportunity, the idea of pursuing sport as a development pathway can be understood as a grassroots response to Samoa's rapidly shifting location in a changing global political economy. It is what authors Susan Maiava and Trevor King (2007) call "a survival tactic in a world where the playing field is not level" (p. 88), or what Cindi Katz (2004) described as a strategy for navigating the "countertopographies of globalization" (p. 179) in which some communities find themselves marooned by the transformations of uneven development and fragmented globality. Preparing oneself through sport to enter transnational voyages to remittance economies is thus, as Hau'ofa (1993/2008a) writes, running "along ancient bloodlines invisible to the enforcers of the laws of confinement and regulated mobility" (p. 156). The creation of healthier islands through sport is therefore about the mobilization of alternative visions of health rooted in teu le vā (nurturing social relations), reciprocity and the distribution of resources, and the

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importance of prestige and social status.

Chapter 5 explores these themes in more detail as they come together in a crisis of masculinity set in motion by the uneven processes of globalization, modernization, and urbanization. Highlighting how sport for development is imagined as an alternative pathway to adulthood for Samoan men, rather than a route to empowerment for marginalized women, this chapter illuminates how traditional notions of masculinity and pathways to pule (authority or power)—as signaled by the conferment of a matai (chiefly) title—have been dislodged by an increasing expectation to tautua overseas vis-à-vis remittances. Yet as young men find themselves increasingly "stuck" by limited opportunities to migrate, sport not only pushes young men into a politics of hope rooted in the athleticism of their bodies; it also reconstitutes a new, muscularized identity that they imagine will help them maneuver an unevenly globalizing world. Introducing the idea of the muscularization of globalization, this chapter locates sport for development practice within a rapidly changing gender order that has put the bodies of Samoan men on the line.

Chapter 6 takes the analysis deeper into another layer of factors shaping local sport for development imaginaries, this time highlighting how the plight of boys and the emergence of sport-as-solution is nested in a more systemic issue about the nature and purpose of education for development. The chapter first illustrates how young Samoan men have systematically trickled out of the education pipeline as: 1) women's educational achievements have come to position men as unsuited for school, 2) the transition from schooling to employment has become more of a risk of failure than

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opportunity for mobility, and 3) the conflation of success with migration has made

schooling less attractive. The chapter then shows how young men have come to be

tracked back into the education pipeline but through a different kind of "development

education" (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991). That is, sport has come to be viewed as school

"outside" of classrooms, and thus a different, more suitable venue for boys who are

academically "unfit" to prepare themselves for engaging the global political economy.

Chapter 7 provides a brief interlude of sorts, summarizing the main themes of a

local sport for development practice and the logics shaping the sport for development

imaginaries of youth, community leaders, educators, and government officials. Together,

Chapters 4-7 take on the first problematic guiding this dissertation study by drawing

attention to a local sphere of autonomy in which sport for development is deeply rooted

in the processes and demands of locality, rather than the ideological world of prescribed

policy. These chapters strategically set up the dissertation's overarching engagement with

the second problematic: the disconnect between local practice and the official HITS

policy world illuminated in Chapter 3.

Part 3 (Chapters 8-9) thus returns the focus of the dissertation back "up" to the

meso:macro level, drawing again on ethnographic insights, but this time to relocate the

analysis in the policy-practice disjuncture. Set in contrast to the discussion in Chapter 3,

Chapter 8 problematizes the assumption made by inter/national policy actors (as well as

some policy researchers) about the hegemony of policy in practice. Specifically, I

illustrate ethnographically how local development actors actively manage this disjuncture

and effectively disrupt what could have been the command of HITS policy discourse over

populations. But rather than resisting, subverting, or appropriating policy—as this implies the active governance of the policy world—local actors act as policy brokers, or bilingual translators, who simultaneously sustain dominant policy models for their international stakeholders by endorsing the "public transcripts" (Scott, 1990, p. 2), or the hegemonic discourses and "global speak" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p. 468) of a HITS policy world. In the process, these actors also preserve the sphere(s) of autonomy in which Samoans are busy navigating global socioeconomic change in the pursuit of the "blessed" life. In essence, these actors are engaged in a social process of policy stabilization in which they and their collaborators "tacitly conspire in misrepresentation" (Scott, 1990, p. 2). On the one hand, they work to conceal the "hidden transcripts," or the "offstage" (Scott, 1990, p. 4) discourses, practices, and "local speak" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, p. 468); on the other hand, they perform official policy discourse—sometimes quite tenuously—in an effort to maintain the semblance of policy circulation and regulation (and therefore policy's hegemonic facade) and to guarantee the continued flow of development resources.

In an ideal policy world where policy informs practice, this dissertation would have taken the form of a critical analysis of invention, circulation, and regulation (Greene, 1999). But as the chapters in Part 2 illuminate, the governing power that created a HITS policy world goes little beyond invention (Chapter 3). Disjuncture emerges in the space of policy-practice intersection, and the circulation and regulation of policy is muted. Chapter 9 thus offers a few concluding thoughts reconceptualizing the relationship between policy and practice. In particular, it builds off of Mosse's work on rural development in India to challenge the notion that policy discourse, as one element

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of a larger government apparatus, actually drives practice. Instead, this chapter along with Chapter 8 puts the chapters in Parts 1 and 2 in conversation, suggesting that policy serves as a legitimating framework which development actors use to interpret and explain local practices in order to conceal disjuncture and to create the appearance of policy coherence. In this way, two very divergent imagined policy worlds—one informed by HITS policy objectives and the perpetuation of neo-colonial relations of power between states, and the other informed by the logics of faʻasāmoa and the urgent need to navigate an uneven global playing field—can coexist simultaneously. As Chapter 8 illuminates, it is in the interest of local development actors to both sustain dominant policy models *and* maintain the autonomous spheres of action in which they too are socially and politically immersed.

Following the principles of public interest anthropology (Sanday, 2001) and the call to decolonize research (Mutua & Swadener, 2004; Sunseri, 2007; Smith, 1999), this dissertation is at heart a critical analysis of sport for development policy and practice that aims to "unsettle and dislodge the certainties and orthodoxies that govern the present" (Shore & Wright, 1997, p. 17). By problematizing universalizing, etic categories and emboldening multiple, emic understandings of sport and the "blessed" life, this study expands conceptual frameworks for understanding the role that sport *can* play in development. It also responds to the "lack of evidence" discourse among sport for development scholars who are critical about the heavy reliance by practitioners and advocates on anecdotes to "prove" the effectiveness and impact of sport for development programs (cf. Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2011). As such, this study also responds to the

urgent need to shift the epistemological privileging of "scientific" (read: positivist) evidence gained through short-term engagement and culturally untranslatable evaluation tools to the centering of voices, unheard stories, and subjugated knowledges of those who sport for development targets and neglects (cf. Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2011). This dissertation thus attempts to render legible the "cross-talking" (Sharma, 2008) of sport for development discourse by interlocutors located at multiple positions within the sport for development policyscape. In particular, it highlights: 1) the young Samoan men who are unexpectedly overlooked in favor of women by inter/national development campaigns, yet whose struggles are muffled by normative claims about the power of sport; and 2) the local development actors whose social work of interpretation and translation serve both to subjugate and to sustain an increasingly institutionalized sport for development complex. By placing "what is happening" as described and experienced by my interlocutors directly next to "what ought to be" as proclaimed by inter/national policy, this study deliberately attempts to destabilize mainstream assumptions by development experts that producing healthy (non-obese) bodies will produce economically thriving nations. Through a discursive and ethnographic vertical case study of sport for development imaginaries in Sāmoa, this study weaves together the incoherent, disjunctive, and oftentimes ironic policies and practices into a multilayered assemblage of sport in development.

Chapter 2. Research Context and Methods

Reconceptualizing the Field

This dissertation study is a sociocultural exploration of the disjuncture between sport for development policy and practice. Given the deterritorialized nature of studying disjuncture (Appadurai, 1990), this study adapts Shore and Wright's (1997) lead on reconceptualizing the field of study and the field in which one studies (see also Carney, 2008). In this case, by focusing on disjuncture, the field is no longer viewed as a "discrete local community or bounded geographic area, but as a social and political space articulated through relations of power and systems of governance" (p. 14). Rather than "studying in" or "studying up" (Nader, 1969; Demerath, 2009), I focused on "studying through" (Shore & Wright, 1997) and juxtaposed the sport and development experiences of Samoans in rural, peri-urban, and urban communities in the independent nation of Sāmoa.[12] I followed the webs of meaning that link together sport, health, and development for Samoans as they tack back and forth between imagined futures off-island and gendered socioeconomic realities on-island.

Taking this approach, I view the field as inherently multi-sited and intensely translocal. By translocal, I mean to highlight how locales come into being through the

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convergence of multiple localities. That is, translocalism is how one's sense of location is created through a constant and simultaneous negotiation of multiple places, oftentimes of places beyond "the local." For example, rural youth in the outer island of Savai'i travel between 20 minutes to several hours, one to two times a week by bus or car to go to Salelologa (the equivalent of "downtown" where the wharf and larger shops are located) to do chores like shopping, buying cash power, or going to the bank for their families; to go to the library to do homework or complete their internal assessments (IAs); or to hang out with friends. Youth in Savai'i also travel one and a half to two hours, one to two times a month by boat to go to Apia to visit with family or friends, to do chores (again), or to participate in and/or deliver family contributions to fa'alavelave (in this case, ritual exchanges like weddings, funerals, or church functions). In addition, rural youth have access to cable television with networks streaming from New Zealand and Australia, and increasingly rural youth are gaining access to mobile phones and SMS texting services, if not to things like Facebook and Google. Also, returning or visiting family members and friends from overseas bringing gifts, books, clothes, stories, and gossip from and about life off-island expose youth to ideas, behaviors, and tastes beyond the confines of their own village. To talk about locality for rural youth in Savai'i without taking into consideration the intense interconnectedness between different layers of local and global, as well as the varying degrees to which one is plugged into these layers, is to impose false and romanticized notions of the local onto these youth. Talking about locality in terms of translocalism helps reorient the discussion in ways that account for the multiplicities of experience as they are shaped, constrained, and made possible by one's socioeconomic

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and political status, gender, and geographical location.

Furthermore, a translocal perspective lends itself to this study's more de-centered approach, allowing me as the researcher to move away from dominant paradigms in sport for development and international development and education research that privilege nation-states toward investigating the multiple social constructions, meanings, realities, and processes of sport for development as they played out simultaneously in multiple scales across a wide range of actors (cf. Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson, 2002). As follows, this dissertation study adapted Frances Vavrus and Lesley Bartlett's (2009) "vertical case study" approach by combining multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork (Marcus, 1995; Teaiwa, 2004; Wolcott, 2005) with discourse analysis (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990; Fairclough, 2001; Pennycook, 2010) to examine the multi-sited production of healthy bodies through sport. Specifically, I "followed" the concept of sport for development to compare the meanings of healthy living and development as they were (inter)discursively formulated and constructed by actors at the translocal (micro:meso) and inter/national (meso:macro) rungs of a sport for development policyscape. Each of these levels and the actors within them, while geographically spread, are in an ongoing relation with each other, creating fluid, hybrid, and evolving chains of ideas, terms, and images of sport and development (Appadurai, 1990, 1991, 1996; Carney, 2008). I use the terms "micro:meso" and "meso:macro" rather than micro, meso, and macro in order 1) to highlight both the inter-activity and the inter-discursivity between the different porous vertical intersections of society, as well as 2) to "horizontalize" or squash the vertical structure so as to better see the fluidity of

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movement as ideas and bodies are circulated up, down, and out (see Figure 3). These terms enable me to follow the spirit of anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's (1991) call for ethnographers to highlight divergent interpretations of locality by "find[ing] new ways to represent the links between the imagination and social life" and by "embedding large-scale realities in concrete life-worlds" (p. 199). My interpretation of these artificial categorizations of space, place, and scale (cf. Nagar, Lawson, McDowell, & Hanson, 2002) also serve as the organizing framework for the dissertation.
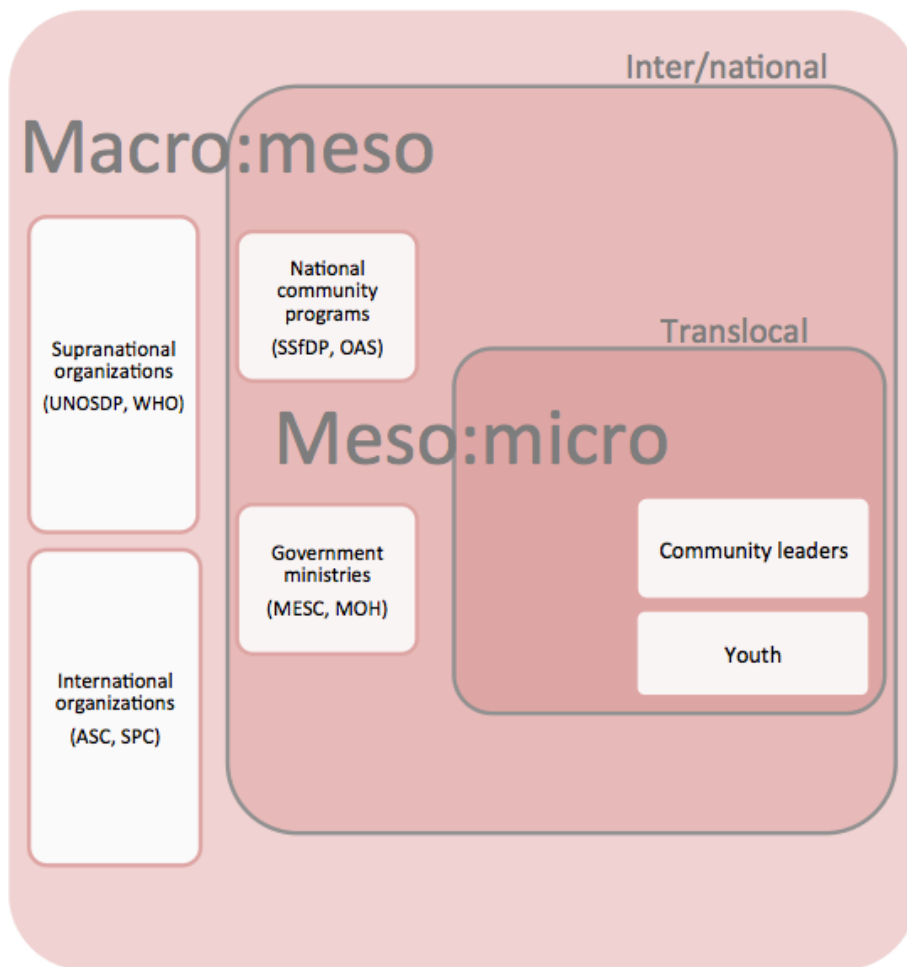
Figure 3. Actors in a sport for development policyscape.

At the *micro:meso level*, or the meso:micro level, were the translocalized discourses and practices of Samoan men and women who participate in sport, their family and village networks, local actors involved in village committees (e.g., the ʻautalavou [youth group], ʻaumāga [group of untitled men], aualuma [group of unmarried women], or the Village Sports Council) and community development programs (e.g., Women's Committees and local Ministry-run initiatives like the Sāmoa Sports for Development Program). Formal and informal interviews conducted, small- and large-scale grounded surveys administered, and ethnographic fieldnotes recorded from systematically "hanging out" with my interlocutors not only provided me with qualitative and quantitative insight into how inter/national policy was (and was not) being circulated and experienced at the local level. It also provided me with insight into how sport for development practices (and hence, a sport for development "policy" world) were already local (Pennycook, 2010).

At the *meso:macro level*, or the macro:meso level, were the official inter/national discourses on sport, health, and development (re-)produced by institutions and actors located in organizations such as the Samoan Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC), the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), the Australian Sports Commission (ASC), or the United Nations (UN) and the World Health Organization (WHO). Interviews conducted, unofficial and official documents gathered, and participant observations at forums like the Beyond Sport Summit or the Annual Health Sector Forum provided discursive data from which to garner not only a sense of how inter/national discourse on sport in development is interpreted, appropriated, or made

distinctly "Pacific," but also, to use Kirin Narayan's (1993) term, provided a "textured" sense of how geopolitical relations, political-economic forces, socio-cultural structures, and gendered practices intersect with the sport for development imaginaries of actors across levels.

This translocal, vertical, and relational reconceptualization of the field provided me with a conceptual framework for seeing how "local" articulations of sport, health, and development in Sāmoa were situated within broader inter/national and translocal flows of material, money, and bodies (cf. Appadurai, 1991). Although, un-grounded and de-centered in this way, I relied a great deal on the imagined futures and real experiences of my interlocutors to cast much of the social and geographic landscape of the field for me. In this way, my interlocutors effectively "sutur[ed] locations of cultural production that had not been obviously connected" (Marcus, 1995, p. 93), which I would not necessarily have seen on my own. My role as the researcher in this, borrowing from Shore and Wright (1997), was to "grasp the interactions (and disjunctions) between different sites or levels in policy processes" (p. 14), which I actively pursued by enabling multiple sources of knowledge, values, and ideas that emerged in different locations in society and geography to speak to each other.

Contextual Landmarks of the Field

In reconceptualizing the field as a translocal landscape, I provide a brief overview of the social, political, and economic contexts in which this dissertation study is nested. The primary data corpus from which this study draws was collected over the course of

two research trips (twelve months in total) between 2010 and 2012 in the Independent

State of Sāmoa. Sāmoa constitutes the western group of islands in the Samoan

archipelago south of the equator roughly halfway between Hawai'i and New Zealand in

the Pacific Ocean (see Figures 4 and 5 below). Now lying just west of the international

dateline—a change made in 2011[13]—Sāmoa is comprised of two primary islands

('Upolu, the main island, and Savai'i, the outer, bigger island) and eight smaller islands,

four of which are inhabited. The capital, Apia, is located on the north central coast of

'Upolu and is the country's only urban center. At roughly 3,000 square kilometers,

smaller than the size of Rhode Island, about 37% of its total land area is covered by dense

rainforest, 20% of its land is arable, and the rest is either mountainous or volcanic,

covered in black volcanic lava fields and difficult to cultivate (MESC, 2007; Samoa

Bureau of Statistics [SBS], 2012). About 81% of land is held under customary ownership,

15% by the government, and 4% freehold. Sāmoa has an equatorial climate (hot, wet, and

humid) with a rainy season between November and April and a dry season between May

and October. The islands are vulnerable to cyclones, the most recent was in December

2012, and the country was hit by a devastating tsunami in September 2009.

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[13] in 2011, the Prime Minister pushed for legislation that moved Sāmoa from the east side of the international dateline to the west side (leaving behind its neighbor American Samoa just 64 kilometers away) in order to align its work week with its Asian-Pacific trading partners, particularly Australia, New Zealand, and China. The move reflected the government's desire to keep pace with the shifts in economic power in the Pacific region. Seemingly radical, this move was part of a string of historic changes inspired by geopolitics and economics. In 2009, for example, the same Prime Minister was responsible for pushing a government mandate that switched driving on the right side of the road (left-hand drive cars) to the left side of the road (right-hand drive cars) in an effort to encourage expatriate families in New Zealand and Australia to send more affordable, used right-hand drive cars to family members in Sāmoa, releasing Sāmoa from its dependence on expensive, left-hand drive cars from the US.
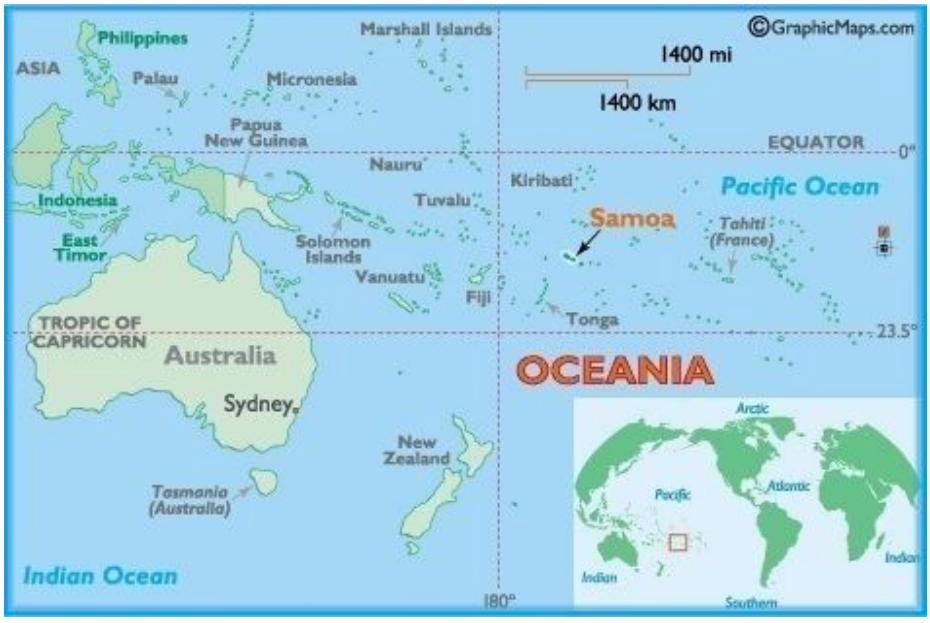
Figure 4. Map of Oceania. Source: GraphicMaps.com

Figure 5. Map of Sāmoa. Source: GraphicMaps.com

The country's 362 villages and towns are divided into three regions: the urban villages (those within 14 kilometers of central Apia), peri-urban villages (those on the northwest coast of 'Upolu), and rural villages (all other villages on 'Upolu and Savai'i). Approximately 75% of the population lives on the island of 'Upolu (with 20% in Apia), and 25% live on the outer island of Savai'i. Most of the peri-urban and rural population lives in coastal villages linked today by the country's major roads. Family plantations are primarily located inland, where mostly traditional crops like taro, yams, bananas, and coconut are cultivated and cattle are raised. Most families also raise pigs and chicken, although not necessarily for daily consumption but for the purposes of contributing to fa'alavelave (in this case, ceremonial gift exchanges or other cultural obligations).[14] With a population of less than 190,000, nearly 40% is younger than 14 years, with a median age of 21 years (SBS, 2012).[15]

According to the SBS (2012), approximately 34% of Samoa's economically active population is employed in subsistence work (43% of economically active men, compared to 7% of economically active women), and approximately 61% of Samoa's economically active population is employed in non-subsistence work (51% of economically active men, compared to 86% of economically active women).[16] While

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[14] Sāmoa also produces cash crops, but they are few and limited, including coconut oil, coconuts, copra, fruit juices, and others totaling less than USD $5 million in 2011.

[15] The population census conducted in 2011 indicated that the birthrate has been rising in recent years, reaching about 30 births per population of 1,000 at the time of the census. However, with a high out-migration rate (the CIA World Factbook estimates nearly -11 migrants per population of 1,000), Sāmoa not only experiences inconsistent population growth rates over time but also inaccurate estimates of its total population.

[16] While the gender differences in occupation may be an accurate reflection of Samoa's workforce today, the data on subsistence versus non-subsistence employment should be interpreted with caution, as subsistence agriculture remains the primary economic activity in Sāmoa, even though its share of the GDP has declined over time (MESC, 2007). Moreover, due to the nature of subsistence work, it is incredibly

Samoa's economy is small, it is one of the better performing economies of the Pacific region with an estimated GDP per capita (PPP) of USD $6,300 in 2012 (CIA World Factbook, 2013; MESC, 2007). Agriculture (10%), industry (27%), and services (64%) are its primary sectors—although many Samoan government officials like to cite foreign aid, remittances, and tourism as the three unofficial sectors of the economy. At the time of field research, Samoa's economy was in the midst of reorienting itself after experiencing the compounding effects of a rough economic recession from the 2008 global financial crisis and the 2009 tsunami. In 2010, the Government of Samoa reported not only an increase in local fuel and food prices, but also the downsizing of its biggest manufacturing company, Yazaki Samoa,[17] which witnessed a 52% reduction in women employed in the manufacturing sector, and the closure of several fish canneries in American Samoa, which largely employed staff from Sāmoa.

While many Samoans would describe Sāmoa as a classless society and say there is no poverty in the country—because of an abundance of land and the social safety nets embedded in the fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way)—wealth, status, education, mobility, and social and financial capital are unevenly distributed.[18] Nearly 8% of Samoan households (approximately one in thirteen families) fell below the national Food Poverty Level (FPL), which was SAT $24.68 (approximately USD $10.58) per capita per week in

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difficult to gain an accurate estimate of the number of Samoans engaging in subsistence work as part of their lifestyle versus under the rubric of "employment."

[17] Yazaki is an Australian subsidiary of a Japanese-owned manufacturing company that processes wiring harnesses for Australian vehicle manufacturers and is one of Samoa's major employers.

[18] Because Samoans consider Sāmoa a classless society, I do not use class as an analytical category, although I will discuss notions of class in discussions where it helps explain specific observations or comments made by my interlocutors.

2002.[19] At the same time, about 20% of Samoan households had a per capita expenditure below the national Basic Needs Poverty Level (BNPL), which was SAT $37.49 (approximately USD $16.06) per week.[20] (Asian Development Bank [ABD], 2002; MESC, 2007). The ADB estimated that the highest degree of financial hardship is experienced most in the peri-urban villages of northwestern 'Upolu (about 12%) and least by families in the urban and rural areas of the country (ABD, 2002; MESC, 2007). Of the sources of hardship, church and cultural obligations rank among the top. According to an impressive study conducted by Cluny and La'avasa Macpherson (2011), Samoan families collectively contributed at least SAT $54.7 million (approximately USD $23.4 million) annually to the church, a conservative estimate that exceeds annual government expenditures on health (SAT $39.6 million), education (SAT $52.4 million), and social development (SAT $7.3 million). This estimate does not even include financial or in-kind contributions made to non-church fa'alavelave like weddings, funerals, graduations, title conferment ceremonies, or other village obligations.

With over 99% of the population belonging to a church (primarily the Christian Congregational Church of Samoa) and nearly all Samoan families nested within a web of cultural networks, financial responsibilities and obligations are a daily burden for many— although a disproportionate demand based on one's status and location in society. While most households aim for "family sufficiency" (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, p. 174), a large proportion of goods produced at home, and increasingly income generated through

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[19] Food Poverty Level (FPL) is an indication of the poorest of the poor, measuring the amount of money an individual is estimated to need each week to acquire a basic minimum diet.

[20] Basic Needs Poverty Level (BNPL) measures the bare minimum additional income required to meet essential non-food expenditures (e.g., cost of essential housing, transport, utilities, school fees, clothing, church donations, and cultural obligations/fa'alavelave).

formal employment, are used or exchanged to meet cultural obligations. Indeed, what

may be deemed economic activity may actually be perceived by families in terms of its

social value. Samoan scholar Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) explains:

> Economic good is perceived, by the families, to be achieved through migration
> and waged jobs, that is, "outside the village." Achieving economic security
> through agricultural development is not perceived to be possible […] On the other
> hand, social "good" and identity are located "within the village" and are achieved
> in family status maintenance activities. People may migrate, but someone will
> remain at home to keep the family name known. The migrants will send
> remittances for this purpose, in preparation for their "return home." (p. 185)

The distinction between inside (social) and outside (economic) the village may help

explain how many Samoan families have come to perceive remittances from overseas as

one of the best sources of income, while agricultural activities and even waged

employment in Apia have become increasingly classified as inadequate pursuits, a topic I

explore more deeply in Chapters 5 and 6.

While Samoa may be physically isolated from global financial metropoles, its

historical and contemporary cultural, geopolitical, and economic climates have been and

continue to be intricately intertwined with its distant neighbors (cf. Meleisea, 1987a,

1987b). As the first Pacific Island nation to gain independence in 1962, its political and

economic ties with Australia, self-proclaimed regional leader of the Pacific, and New

Zealand, its former colonial administrator, have been strong[21] although not always

smooth. Not only are these two nations' cultural influences felt in many aspects of

Samoan society (e.g., food, clothes, haircuts, television programming, styles of English,

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[21] Although first colonized by Germany in 1899, Samoa's present geopolitical and economic
partners remain its more recent colonizers and its closer, distant neighbors. In the last decade, Samoa's
growing ties with China have given both Australia and New Zealand a new competitor in terms of
international influence and regional power.

etc.), they are also home to Samoa's largest diaspora—hence, two of Samoa's largest

sources of remittances—and serve as the primary destination of imagined and real

mobilities.

In terms of Samoa's place in the political imaginations of these two nations,

especially Australia's, Sāmoa has been subject to a number of unfavorable identities,

along with its Pacific Island neighbors, as Australia's and New Zealand's own political

and economic climates changed with shifts in elected governments. These prescribed

identities are significant for a critical discussion of inter/national sport for development

policy because they signal how long-standing relations of power and domination in the

region get recycled into and hidden behind increasingly benevolent policy frameworks

like "healthier islands through sport." While I turn to this in more detail in Chapter 3, a

brief illustration here of some of the forceful discourse helps to contextualize this

discussion later.

During Australia's post-Cold War Labor government in the early 1990s, Sāmoa

became absorbed into a "doomsday" imaginary, destined to "fall off the map" once Cold

War superpowers fully departed from the region (Fry, 1994). Then Australian Minister

for Development Cooperation and Pacific Island Affairs Gordon Bilney warned that the

only way to avoid the impending fall to oblivion—as well as the potential political

instability that this would create for Australia—was to begin immediately implementing a

series of structural adjustment reforms that not only would confront the "failure of island

governments" to adequately "prepare their countries for the changing global conditions,"

but would also reinstate the Pacific's role in a transforming global political economy by

creating a "dynamic private sector" capable of developing "niche export markets within the new global trading structure" (Fry, 1994, pp. 3-4). According to Bilney, there was "no realistic alternative to competition and the pursuit of comparative advantage, no matter how daunting these concepts may appear" (p. 5). However, following a neoliberal economic rationalism would not be easy for island nations; it would require island governments to "jettison the plea for special treatment based on small size" and to make the necessary "hard decisions" that Australia had done in the past (p. 3). Given this hard stance, rather than motivate widespread economic reform among Pacific Island nations, what Bilney actually accomplished was to create a new regional economic order based on a new neoliberal development orthodoxy. At the center of this order was Australia, the natural economic and political leader; encircling it—or perhaps further drifting and sinking—were its island dependents anchored to it by a lifeline of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) from which they had to pull themselves up in an attempt to "climb back on the map" (Fry, 1994, p. 1).

No longer destined to this doomsday scenario, Sāmoa and its Pacific Island neighbors are now en route to another doomsday in Australia's latest development imaginary. Fueled by high-level meetings and increasing global attention by the United Nations, the World Health Organization, the World Bank, and even the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, this time the doomsday is rooted in a non-communicable disease (NCD) crisis and an impending NCD epidemic. Employing similar forceful discourse as before, Australian actors and institutions prescribe for Sāmoa the same failed state identity—although on the verge of failing due to economic

collapse rather than political collapse—by citing the inability of island governments to financially sustain rising healthcare costs or to provide the necessary treatment and services to suffering patients and their families. In this way, already struggling island nations like Sāmoa are positioned as falling further into financial instability, threatening to rely even more on economic assistance and healthcare resources from Australia, unless Samoans begin to make important lifestyle changes and to take responsibility over their own changing health. Low-cost, "fun" solutions like sport and physical activity therefore have become the latest tool of a well-established neoliberal development orthodoxy. It is from this landmark that my dissertation study begins.

Living Translocally in Sāmoa

To "follow" sport for development in Sāmoa, my dissertation field research unfolded across urban, peri-urban, and rural sites in which the Sāmoa Sports for Development Program (SSfDP) was operating. Briefly, the SSfDP is part of the Australian Sports Commission's (ASC) Australian Sports Outreach Program (ASOP), which operates in seven Pacific Island countries, India, and the Caribbean. ASOP is funded by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), which has allocated AUD $35 million (approximately USD $33 million) to the program for 2009-2014. Of these funds, AUD $1 million (approximately USD $950,000) has been allocated to the SSfDP for the 2011-2014 period. Since commencing in 2008, the SSfDP has been managed by the Sports Division of the Samoan Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC), and has been partnering with the Ministry of Health (MOH), Ministry of

Women, Community and Social Development (MWCSD), the National University of Samoa (NUS), and national sports federations like the Samoa Rugby Union and the Samoa Netball Association. During the time of my fieldwork, the SSfDP was operating in four villages in peri-urban ʻUpolu and five villages in rural Savaiʻi with three additional villages in the middle of consultation processes. The objective of the SSfDP is to "assist the Government of Samoa to facilitate increased youth leadership and improve the health related behaviours of villagers" (ASC, 2012c). While targeted at all members of villages, the SSfDP focuses on unemployed youth. It works closely with the village fono (council of chiefs) and claims to support village-level governance and self-determination through the establishment, training, and support of Village Sports Councils and Village Sports Leaders.

Saleʻimoa

For about three months, I lived with a family in Saleʻimoa, a peri-urban village on the northwestern coast of ʻUpolu about 15 kilometers west of Apia (roughly 20 minutes by car), or about midway between Apia and the Faleolo International Airport. Saleʻimoa was an ideal starting point for my study, as it was the first village in which the SSfDP was implemented in 2008 and arguably the first program, or rather village, to "fail." Many of SSfDP officers believed the reason behind this was the close proximity to sport facilities, clubs, and leagues in Apia, and the relative urban lifestyles and schedules of the villagers. Since the SSfDP was primarily a village-based program, the facilities and activities in Apia ultimately competed with the SSfDP for villagers' time and

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participation. In fact, like many of the peri-urban villages, Salepouaʻe, one of eight sub-villages in Saleʻimoa and where my host family lived, was highly translocal with much of its school children schooled in town and its economically active population either employed in town or overseas. Many of its families were relatively affluent, owning a car and other modern amenities like laundry machines, microwave ovens, propane stoves, and other household appliances. Lining the main road were several faleʻoloa (family-owned general purpose stores selling non-perishable food items like tinned meats, crackers, snack foods, and other processed foods, sometimes even bread, butter, and ice pops, and other sundries like soap and toilet paper) and the occasional vegetable stand where families with surplus crops would sell to other villagers or to people passing by in cars. There was also a Farmer Joe food store, the third outpost of the larger food retailer located in town and the last major food retailer outside of Apia; it sold a wide variety of imported food and consumer items, baked goods, processed snacks, frozen and tinned meats, and both imported and locally produced vegetables and fruits. The sub-village also boasted several large-scale rural agriculture development grants, including a tilapia fish pond intended to bring income into the village, funded by various international development agencies like the ADB or the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Unlike most traditional villages in Sāmoa, the Salepouaʻe sub-village of Saleʻimoa had three churches: the Christian Congregational Church of Samoa (CCCS, known locally as EFKS), the Roman Catholic Church, and the Methodist Church. This particular characteristic is significant as the SSfDP is typically run in villages through the village fono *and* the village church. Poor communication, inadequate coordination, and

an excess of leaders across the three denominations was often cited as the reason why the SSfDP failed, or was short-lived in Sale'imoa.

My host family was one of the more affluent families in the village with three personal cars *and* a coveted government vehicle to show for it. For some time, the SSfDP van was also housed at the family's home after work hours, its colorful logo advertised for any passerby to see. My host father, Kainano, who wore multiple hats as he once told me, was a high-ranking government official in the Sports Division at MESC, as well as one of the highest ranking matai (chief) of the village and a deacon in the CCCS. In his past, he had studied in India on a scholarship, returning to Sāmoa as the first Samoan with a post-baccalaureate degree in physical education and introduced the sport of judo to the country. Together, he lived with his family in his parents' pālagi (European-style) home on customary land. His wife, Mareta, was formerly employed at Yazaki but for many years had been busy taking care of their five children (one daughter) while running the household. As the wife of a high-ranking matai and church deacon, Mareta was also constantly involved in village committees and church affairs, including helping with the village and church 'autalavou (youth groups) or organizing Bingo fundraisers. The children in the family ranged from 17 to 2 years; other than the baby, the children spoke English with each other, a mix of English and Samoan with their parents, and Samoan to Fetu and Mataio, whom I introduce momentarily. The three eldest, including the daughter, attended three of Samoa's most prestigious government and private schools in Apia, while the second to youngest child lived temporarily with Kainano's mother and father in New Zealand, where the father was receiving long-term treatment for

complications from diabetes. They returned home to Sale'imoa for about one week during my stay with the family, bringing home a cooler full of chilled foods, including yogurt and a whole fish wrapped in several plastic bags, and two suitcases full of snack foods, toys, sports equipment, and electronics. On the weekends, the family was constantly visited by overseas guests and family from Apia and other rural villages, times during which food (like bread and butter, or bread and pisupo, corned beef) and tea (usually kokosāmoa, a sweet drink made from Samoan cocoa and sugar) were inevitably served.

Living with the family was also a young female cousin, Fetu, in her twenties from the neighboring sub-village, with whom I spent most of my time when I was at my family's home, and a 20-year old male cousin, Mataio, from another village. Fetu suffered from a physical deformity and had not completed secondary school; she served as my host family's "house girl," taking care of the youngest baby while also doing the family's fe'au (chores) like cooking, cleaning, and buying white bread, milk, Milo (a chocolate and malt powder drink mix) and meats at Farmer Joe. When I helped Fetu with her daily chores, I learned about her wish to be able to speak English and to get a job in town. Everyday she would see people walking by the family's house on their way to work in Apia and she would think about her own mother in the neighboring sub-village and how difficult it was for her to pay the cash power (electricity) and to get water. She wished to be able to join the morning commuters so she could get more money to support and serve her own family. Mataio, named after Kainano's brother who lived in the Cook Islands, had been taken into the family several years earlier after his own parents had

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separated. Also an early school leaver, he served as my host family's fatuʻāiga (literally, the heart of the family), tending the plantation, performing much of the family's outdoor physical labor, preparing the family's daily starchy staples and other traditional foods prepared by men, and occasionally looking after the baby. When he was not busy doing the family's feʻau typically performed by men—as the family's biological boys were all school children and heavily involved with after school sports programs or studying for national exams—Mataio was busy participating in the village and church ʻautalavou (youth group) or outside on the malae (village green) playing rugby.

During the weekdays, I would go "to work" in Apia with the rest of the morning commuters from Saleʻimoa, usually helping Mareta drive the children to their schools (oftentimes while listening to the English-language radio station that played the latest hits from the US), or catching a lift along with my host siblings with one of the Sports Division employees on their way into town. When Kainano was not traveling overseas for work, I would ride with him and the children in the government car, chatting about the SSfDP and other related matters. In Apia, I conducted archival research in the national library and conducted formal interviews with competitive and/or elite athletes, working women, health professionals, sport federation administrators, education administrators, government officials, university students, and local and expatriate development practitioners. I also conducted participant-observations in forums and events like the annual MOH Health Sector Forum, National Healthy Lifestyles Week, several Australian High Commission sponsored healthy lifestyle fun runs, the Women in Leadership Advocacy group's Summit on Women's Health, the National Youth Forum,

and the National Youth Parliament.

During the evenings and weekends, and occasionally during the weekdays when I stayed home, I would help Fetu with her fe'au, help Mareta with her village and church responsibilities, accompany one of the children to deliver an evening food gift to the faife'au (pastor), hang out with the children and visit neighboring relatives around Sale'imoa, or attend church with the family and other village events (such as Bingo, 'autalavou siva [dance] practice, or fa'aāfu [evening] rugby or volleyball). During my last few weeks in Sale'imoa, after Kainano and I had discussed the status of the SSfDP in the village on multiple occasions, Kainano mobilized the Sale'imoa Village Sports Leader (who was also heavily involved in the church, an organizer of the Salepoua'e 'autalavou, and employed in town) to re-start the jazzercise program. I participated in these sessions, held every other evening during the fa'aāfu period before sā (evening curfew, which is set by each village's fono [council of chiefs] and enforced by the village 'aumāga [group of untitled men]), and on the weekend in the morning. The program's revival lasted one week before the sports leader and his jazzercise "committee" resumed their regular day-to-day tasks and responsibilities. Jazzercise participants were members of my family (including Fetu who looked after the baby weaving in and out of dancing participants), Mareta's closest female friends from the church, a handful of young women who were in the midst of evening errands, and a host of young men who, to their initial confusion and resistance but later turned amusement, were commanded by Mareta to cease their fa'aāfu rugby game and come jazzercise.

For about four weeks, I spent part of my workdays in the Sports Division office at

MESC getting to know the Apia-based SSfDP staff (as well as some of their children who would wait in the office after school for rides home to the peri-urban villages), chatting to them about the program and their other work in the Division, learning from the Australian Youth Ambassadors who had been posted in the office for their one-year volunteership, and observing the day-to-day office life behind the SSfDP—a life which many of my interlocutors in Savaiʻi often criticized for being detached from village life. I accompanied the SSfDP team to the peri-urban villages when they had programs to administer. For example, I participated in a two-day soccer training session in Leauvaʻa where the SSfDP officers facilitated introductions between the Village Sports Council and the Football Federation of Samoa (FFS). The first day of such sessions was usually held in the receiving chief's fale talimālō (in this case, a traditional Samoan house for receiving guests built without walls and now usually with a corrugated tin roof supported by wooden posts surrounding the house). There would be much sitting on the floor as cultural protocols, greetings, and speeches would be made by both hosting and visiting parties, followed by several hours of presentations by the sport federation representatives introducing the rules of the game, the equipment, and other sport-specific information. Participants on the first day tended to be senior village matai along with members of the Village Sports Council, a handful of younger adult men (who often were busy fetching things demanded by the matai), and perhaps a few adult women. Presentations were usually made via PowerPoint in which the representatives used either their own or SSfDP laptops, projectors, and extension cords, and projected the image onto a white bed sheet (usually belonging to a family in the village) that had been jerry-rigged to hang in

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between posts of the open fale talimālō. Plastic tarps that have replaced many thatched "blinds" to keep out the elements would be pulled down to keep the sunlight from drowning the projected image. Food would inevitably be served; however, as representatives of the Government of Samoa and an official development program, the SSfDP officers would have pre-ordered styrofoam boxes of take out, usually white rice, fried chicken and sausage, and a small vegetable garnish like sliced cucumbers. The village would provide drinks, usually tea or kokosāmoa, and perhaps a traditional dish like taufolo (made with breadfruit and coconut cream). The second (and sometimes third) days of such training sessions would be practice-based outside on the village malae, or if the village had one, on the village rugby or soccer pitch. Typically on these longer workdays the SSfDP officers would stand in the shade or run program errands (like fill coolers with ice water, pick up lunch, etc.) as the sport federation representatives taught village sports leaders how to implement training drills, referee matches, and play the game according to official rules. Participants on these days were almost always an entirely different group of people: mostly young untitled adult males, some of whom were present on the first day, and a handful of women. Participation would also increase as the day progressed, perhaps as news spread around the village that a sport program was in session. These days would provide me with ideal opportunities to engage with a wide range of people, and to compare village reception to the SSfDP and sport for development in general.

When I was not with the SSfDP team, I spent parts of my workdays traveling from gym to gym and athletic field to athletic stadium in Apia participating in a number

of exercise classes and sports leagues (primarily cricket) in order to get to know urban

Samoan men and women—who are typically not targets of development programs like

the SSfDP—and how they have come to understand and experience the sport for

development idea of "healthy bodies, thriving nation," if at all. One program in

particular, CultureX (also known as Samoan Dance Aerobics), became a tertiary research

site for me after the leader invited me to be part of her core team of instructors. While I

do not include the data collected from this "field" in the dissertation study, CultureX

became an invaluable space for thinking about the connections between spirituality and

sport for health and development that is absent from the sport for development literature.

CultureX also became an important source of one of my researcher identities, "zumba

Tina," ascribed to me by my interlocutors. Becoming instantly popular among the urban

elite in Apia, CultureX became the local version of a rapidly globalizing health and

fitness trend, Zumba.[22] Its participants for many months even used the term zumba

interchangeably with CultureX while the leader attempted to legally incorporate her

unique island brand—and some participants continue to call it zumba today. As I became

associated with CultureX (and zumba), an identity embodied by the nickname Tina, and

as news rapidly spread into the rural areas of Sāmoa about a new and better kind of

"jazzercise" being offered in Apia, my research fields quickly began to intersect. For

example, my interlocutors in peri-urban and rural village sites, wanting the same

programs available in Apia, often talked about "bringing" zumba from Apia to the

villages but not knowing how to do so. The SSfDP had not yet begun to offer zumba as

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[22] I use the capitalized Zumba to refer to the trademarked health and fitness program that has become increasingly popular across the US and other parts of the globe, and lower-case zumba to refer to the multiple visions of dance aerobics that my interlocutors in Sāmoa came to imagine as "zumba."

part of their village sport programs—during my field research MESC had sent one of its field officers overseas to Australia to become a certified zumba instructor—nor had the MOH begun to outreach to villages with zumba as they had done with jazzercise in the past. As SSfDP officials in Apia learned about "zumba Tina," they would introduce me to my interlocutors as someone who knew how to zumba, which oftentimes served to help break the ice. In my rural village site in Savai'i, being "zumba Tina" gave me a way (at least in the eyes of my interlocutors) to be useful: I could help "bring" zumba for those interested in starting, or rather improving, a village zumba program—something which I elaborate upon in Chapter 8.

Lalomalava

For about five months, I stayed with a family in Safua, a rural sub-village of Lalomalava, about 7 kilometers north from the Salelologa wharf (about 20-30 minute by bus) on the southeastern coast of the outer island of Savai'i. Lalomalava served as an excellent comparison to Sale'imoa in terms of geography (rural versus peri-urban), lifestyle (more "traditional" versus increasingly "urban"), and state of the SSfDP (successful versus on indefinite hiatus). As one of the first villages in Savai'i to take on the SSfDP, Lalomalava was often lauded by both the Apia office of MESC and the Canberra office of the ASC as one of the greatest successes of the SSfDP. In fact, Lalomalava's program was featured in several ASC ASOP reports and press releases commenting on the status of the Sāmoa program. For example, together with neighboring SSfDP villages, the Lalomalava Village Sports Leaders and Sports Council had

coordinated several inter-village soccer tournament series and had even spearheaded the first Savai'i Soccer Federation (SSF), which on several occasions had sent selected athletes to Apia to represent Savai'i on various youth development teams or to receive further refereeing training and certification. Not only were sport programs "active" in Lalomalava, the village was eager for the Apia office to "bring" more sports—a desire which often served as a point of tension between the Lalomalava Village Sports Leaders and the Apia-based SSfDP officers. That is, the village's enthusiasm for and initiatives with the soccer program were often misinterpreted by the Apia office as a preoccupation with soccer that was slowing down the delivery of other sports to the village. Nonetheless, Lalomalava remained a model SSfDP village. It was also the first SSfDP village in both 'Upolu and Savai'i to implement zumba, although my coming, as mentioned earlier, brought hopes to community leaders that the program could be drastically improved—a point which I come back to in Chapter 8.

The village of Lalomalava itself was more spread out than the peri-urban villages of 'Upolu. About 40 to 50 families lived in the village (with a total population of approximately 400 people), organized along the main road that circled the island and two plantation roads that went inland. Family residences (usually comprised of a fale pālagi or a hybrid Samoan-European style home, a fale talimālō, and/or a more modest fale kuka [outdoor kitchen]) were spread from the ocean side of the road to about half a kilometer inland. Safua's women's committee's house was located just behind the covered bus stop next to the freshwater swimming holes near the ocean. Its wooden sign carrying the emblem of the foreign country that had donated funds had long faded and chipped away.

Four or five family-owned fale'oloa and several roadside vegetable stands were also spread out along the main road. Although common to see around Sāmoa, the vegetable stands in Lalomalava were tied to the village's story of development and its shift from depending on the sea to living off the land. As a coastal village, many of the families had fished as part of their livelihood. Prior to the 1960s and 1970s, family lands toward the center of the island were not cultivated; instead, most families grew staple crops around their homes. In the 1970s, when my host father Malae's older sister, Akenese, returned with her European husband to Safua, her maternal village, she initiated a village application for a loan from the Samoa Development Bank. The funds they received were distributed to all the families in the village to use however they pleased, as long as they were used to help develop the family. Most families used the initial funds to replace thatched roofs with tin roofs, to build toilets, and other home improvement projects. Most importantly, families used their remaining funds to purchase weed killer needed to clear and cultivate lands toward the center of the island. Since then, family plantations have become a core part of village life, with many families growing not only for own consumption or for fa'alavelave, but also for sale on the side of the road and in the market in Salelologa.

My host family's circumstances were slightly unconventional, although by no means out of the ordinary in Sāmoa. Banned from the village due to a dispute over a chiefly title raised between Akenese and the village fono, the family was technically isolated from the political affairs of the village. However, the family remained living on their mother's land (rather than leaving the village), and Malae's important position as a

deacon in the CCCS, his fundraising skills, and his leadership in village sports gave them a significant social role to play in the village regardless.[23] Moreover, prior to the ban, Akenese and her European husband had opened on their mother's land Savai'i's first hotel, a once thriving hotspot in the late 1980s and 1990s for international tourists seeking to get a feel of traditional Samoan village life away from the beachside resorts and the hustle and bustle of Apia. After Akenese's husband suddenly passed away in the 1980s, Malae and his then young family (then living in his paternal village on the north coast of Savai'i) cancelled their plans to emigrate to Australia and returned to his maternal village to help his sister and mother manage the hotel. As Akenese began to pursue her career more vigorously in Apia as a well-known tourism developer and an outspoken political advocate for women's and children's rights—and as her own children moved to Apia and overseas for education—Malae and his family became the primary caretakers of the hotel and, as described by Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) in the previous section, "remain[ed] at home to keep the family name known" (p. 185).

During my research in Lalomalava, Malae and his wife, Sina, were managing the hotel and its small staff on their own. Malae's mother had passed several years earlier and his sister was in the midst of deciding, from Apia, whether to close the hotel permanently, as it was now struggling to attract tourists as newer hotels around the island competed for business. I stayed with the family in my own separate fale adjacent to where the family slept, and when visitors arrived I helped the family and their staff in the kitchen and with

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[23] Malae once shared with me a Samoan proverb, "A man has more roots than a tree," to describe how Samoans have more than one place of belonging, more than one home. Had the village fono completely banned them from Safua, they would have likely returned to another village where they have roots, whether by blood or by matai title.

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other hospitality matters. Three of Malae and Sina's four children lived with them: the eldest son, Atini (25 years old), who helped around the hotel when his parents commanded; the third son, Mikaele (19 years old), who was studying at the National University of Samoa when I first arrived but then dropped out in order to pursue alternative pathways overseas—which I will discuss more in Chapter 4; and the youngest daughter, Lea (12 years old), who attended Year 8 at the village's primary school. Their second eldest (a daughter about 21 years of age at the time) was working in New Zealand as a hotel chef and sent bi-weekly remittances to the family. The family also housed a long-term resident Australian expatriate who lived on the other side of the family's property and gave occasional day-tours to visitors in his 15-passenger van, which the family used occasionally to run errands in Salelologa or to drive to church twice a day on Sundays. The hotel's long-term staff included two women, Litia and Taimane. Litia, about 26 years of age, had studied at the local Polytechnic and had even completed a semester-long practical in Fiji. After working in Apia for a few years, as well as other hotels in Savai'i, she finally moved back to Lalomalava as a single mother-to-be to take up her current position at Malae's hotel. Taimane, in her early 50s, was born and raised in American Samoa, had worked for the tuna canneries there for over 20 years, and had lived in the US for about 10 years before moving to Sāmoa with her husband to his village of Lalomalava. Her six grown children were spread out across the US and Savai'i, and she and her husband took care of one of their grandchildren. Taimane's husband, who does not work because of his diabetes and high blood pressure, always complained that she was doing "man's work" at the hotel, like husking coconuts, preparing the umu

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(stone oven), cutting the grass, and occasionally helping Malae with his plantation.

Holding several matai titles, Malae was also heavily involved with the CCCS as a deacon and in his village's sport activities. In the 1990s, he coached Lalomalava's rugby team and coordinated international trips to American Samoa and New Zealand for them—which I discuss more in Chapter 6. While he no longer coordinates such trips, he continues to coach the young men of the village, oftentimes unemployed school leavers, and is a passionate advocate of giving them a second chance at making something of themselves for their families and for the village. Staying with Malae's family was thus ideal for my study not only because he was the president of Lalomalava's Village Sports Council—which was formally set up after the village accepted the SSfDP—but because he granted me privileged access to much of the village's activities, conversations, and imaginations around sport for development, both past and present. His close relationship with the faife'au (pastor) of the CCCS, whose blessings (approval) bestowed on the SSfDP were critical for its long-term success, also meant that much responsibility for the program's activities and operations were given to Malae. Working closely with him was Sefa, Litia's adopted father, an avid and versatile sportsman with a history of passing on his knowledge of sports to the village youth and to schoolchildren in the district, and one of Lalomalava's Village Sports Leaders. Also occasionally helping Malae organize inter-village sports events was Pili, one of the last remaining members of the Village Sports Council who did not abandon the project after it became clear that members would not be compensated by MESC for their time. Pili was also named the first president of the Savai'i Soccer Federation (SSF), and held important positions in both the village and the

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church. Finally, there was also Viliama, a former school teacher now employed by MESC as a SSfDP field officer based in the Salelologa office. Although he lived with his extended family on the land next to Malae's and worked for the SSfDP, his involvement with village sports was minimal—much to Malae's constant displeasure. I spent time with Viliama and his small team of field officers in the Salelologa office and around Savai'i during SSfDP training sessions and events, as well as participated in his Sunday school classes for older youth.

Unlike my days in Sale'imoa, I spent most of my time either in Lalomalava with my host family or with the Salelologa-based SSfDP team. I did, however, occasionally travel one and-a-half to three hours by boat (depending on the boat) and another one to one and-a-half hour by bus to Apia to attend forums and meetings, and to keep up appearances in CultureX. Being transitory in this way also provided me with insights into the lives of translocal Savaiians who made frequent trips to Apia. Sundays were spent almost entirely at church, either with the family at service or with different age groups of village youth at Sunday school. Saturdays were variable: during soccer "season" when I first arrived, Saturdays were the days of inter-village tournaments; afterward, I spent Saturdays with the family shopping for Sunday to'ona'i (the main Sunday meal), cleaning the church, or practicing with the village's 'aufaipese (choir) for Sunday service. During the weekdays, if I was not hanging out with the family, helping them with hotel guests, or with the Salelologa-based SSfDP team in "town" or around the island, I engaged in other research activities. For example, I hung out with the village's women's committee in their fale next to the swimming hole as they wove fine mats, administered a

large-scale grounded survey in several secondary schools on the island, and conducted

informal and formal interviews with youth, community leaders, pastors, and educators in

Lalomalava and neighboring villages (mostly through introductions by my interlocutors).

Many of my interlocutors appeared eager to learn about what I was doing in Sāmoa, as

they had seen me running past their villages during my morning runs—a topic which

often helped lessen the initial awkwardness and discomfort of the experience of being

interviewed. During the evenings before sā (a brief curfew period during which families

often engage in prayers together)—during the fa'aāfu period—I usually spent my time on

the primary school's athletic field where the young men of the village played rugby.

When soccer was in session, I participated in the girls' practice with Sefa running drills,

although these sessions were often brief and quickly supplanted by the boys. During the

school and Christmas holidays when the general ban on village sports by the village fono

was lifted, I spent the fa'aāfu period walking around observing and participating in the

impromptu volleyball games in front of different family residences.[24] Evenings after sā

were generally spent with the family at pese (singing) practice, village fundraising events,

or, when in session, with my host siblings on the pastor's lawn participating in zumba.

During my brief time in Lalomalava, I also had the fortunate and unfortunate

opportunity to participate in several village fa'alavelave: one wedding, one birthday, and

three funerals, the latter of which would bring scores of overseas relatives to the village.

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[24] Typically, villages have "closed" and "open" periods for sport that follow the school year. When school is in session, many village fono will effectively ban sports in order to prevent school children from being distracted from their studies or from attending ā'oga faife'au (pastor's school, supplementary education). When schools are on holiday, the ban is lifted and communities seem to come alive with impromptu volleyball and kilikiki (Samoan cricket) among young adults and adults, and spontaneous games among younger children with whatever sports balls are remaining.

Not only did these sometimes two-week-long events give me a glimpse of how families are pressured to mobilize transnational resources and to participate in rituals of exchange. They also helped illustrate for me and opened conversation with my interlocutors about some of the core values of the fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way), or more specifically, the sociocultural logics of the 'āiga (family), alofa (love), and tautua (service), as well as the importance of teu le vā (nurturing relationships), the distribution of resources, engaging in reciprocity, bringing prestige to one's family and village, and raising the status of the collective (cf. Slatter, 2006). These values, as I demonstrate in Parts 2 and 3 of this study, intersect closely with Samoa's shifting economic and geopolitical landscape to contour a sport for development practice that is uniquely driven by the translocal demands of locality rather than the prescribed objectives of inter/national policy. The disjuncture that emerges, and the social work involved in concealing it, serves as the focus of Chapter 8.

Finally, while participating in the day-to-day activities of my host family showed me how sport competes with the demands of the church, village, and family for people's time, and observing special events like funerals illustrated how village fa'alavelave can put a halt to nonessential activities like sport; I also spent my time learning from the Salelologa-based SSfDP officers and other initiatives promoting sport for health and development in Savai'i. For example, I attended SSfDP rural training sessions, Samoa International Cricket Association (SICA) development programs, Special Olympics Samoa outreach events, Oceania Academy of Sports (OAS) training sessions, and an OAS equipment handover ceremony. These research moments demonstrated for me how sport for development, and in particular a HITS policy world—discussed in more detail

in Chapter 3—is *supposed* to unfold, at least in the imaginations of inter/national

development actors. In particular, participating and observing these events highlighted for

me the policy world—oftentimes quite removed from the everyday—from which SSfDP,

MESC, and ASC program reports and press releases would draw their "evidence" about

the power of sport to change communities. As I discuss in Chapter 8, it is this evidence,

or the successful performance of policy and the successful interpretation of practice, that

helps circulate and perpetuate the world of sport for development as evangelized on

international platforms like the Beyond Sport Summit.

A Note on Researcher Positionalities

> I believe that a major part of the problem [for anthropologists] is the disjunction
> between people's expectations of us […] and of our special social scientific aims.
> At times this arises from the fact that when we explain our purposes to those
> among whom we conduct our fieldwork, we feel unable to explain fully to them
> our real aims. This is so partly because of the problems of communication that we
> all know. What we often end up saying is that we are there to learn their customs
> and to write books about them. They cooperate with us thinking that we are going
> to tell their stories taking their points of view into consideration. When we
> produce our articles and monographs and they and their children or grandchildren
> read them, they often cannot see themselves or they see themselves being
> distorted and misrepresented […] When we distort the realities with which we are
> concerned, we not only offend the people who have given us their hospitality and
> confidence; we also bring into question the validity of our science.
> (Hauʻofa, 1975/2008b, p. 4, 7)

Speaking from the perspective of an anthropologist, the late Tongan scholar Epeli

Hauʻofa points to the dangers of a research practice that provides incomplete or distorted

representations of Pacific Islanders. Not only do these misrepresentations perpetuate

stereotypes, they also deny the voices, diversity, and humanity of the people who share

their worlds with researchers, perpetuating a power-relationship between those who can

know and those who are known. This dissertation study adds an additional layer to the moral conundrums of decolonizing research practice (cf. Mutua & Swadener, 2004; Smith, 1999; Sunseri, 2007), specifically one in which being multiply located and multiply positioned not only can threaten to offend or to question a study's validity, but also to expose worlds which actors intend to keep separated or concealed. A multi-sited ethnographic vertical case study of policy and practice lends itself to a broad and simultaneous perspective of the "flows of influence, ideas, and action" (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2009, p. 11) linking multiple levels of actors, experiences, and imaginations. But "comparatively knowing" (p. 10) also puts the researcher in a rather privileged and sometimes tricky position between differentially located actors who participate in the policy-practice disjuncture from different spaces, different moments in the policy process, and with different motivations. Recognizing that researchers are uniquely located in the multiple sites in which policy and practice manifests, Levinson and Sutton (2001) suggest that researchers have a unique duty and obligation to both policy designers and those for whom policy is intended to open channels of communication otherwise nonexistent. However, in raising awareness of the multiple meanings and spaces in which policy inhabits, one must also "[be] mindful of the dangers of speaking for others" (p. 15).

For example, since my interlocutors in MESC were aware that I was staying with host families in SSfDP villages and learning about the program from the perspectives of participants and leaders, they expected—rightfully so—that I would provide them with feedback that could help improve the program. However, as I came to learn about the

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politics behind socially maintaining interpretations of policy coherence and the underlying agendas and points of leverage of differentially located actors (Chapter 8), I found myself in an awkward place of potentially disrupting productive relations of power, intruding on the autonomy of local spheres of action, and exposing the "hidden transcripts" of sport for development practice produced for local audiences (Scott, 1990) by providing program officers in Apia and Canberra with feedback that did not match the discourse and images of glossy program reports and press releases. Protecting the confidentiality of my interlocutors, especially key interlocutors who were critical of the program, as well as being wary of misrepresenting my interlocutors were my utmost priorities. At the same time, I also found myself in a difficult position between wanting: 1) to illuminate and challenge the "politics of hope" (Besnier, 2012, p. 502) and the "unseen silences" (Jarvie, 2007 p. 411) of sport for development policy that put young men's bodies and futures on the line (Chapter 5), and 2) to recognize the social importance of translocal practices and local imaginaries of sport for development as a "resource for hope" (Jarvie, 2007, p. 411) for young (unemployed and unacademic) men otherwise deemed a problem in and by society (Chapter 6). The comparative view provided from being multiply positioned may have granted me a uniquely comprehensive perspective of the policy-practice disjuncture, but it also created for me an unexpected responsibility to multiply located communities. What I offer in this dissertation is thus my humble attempt to balance the social acts of research and writing, and to respect and nurture the relationships of trust formed with my interlocutors, while remaining cautious of claiming to have conducted this study the "right" way (Wolcott, 2005).

Methods, Data, and Analysis

      This dissertation study combines qualitative and quantitative data in order to help crystallize a comparative knowledge of sport for development in Sāmoa that emerges across multiple layers of data sources, perspectives, and localities. It also combines discourse analysis with multi-sited ethnographic insights gained through twelve months of field research in Sāmoa in order to put in relief the disjuncture between policy discourse and translocal practice. Field research in Sāmoa was supplemented by: 1) approximately six weeks of ethnographic research conducted in American Samoa; 2) semi-structured interviews conducted with Samoan athletes on college football scholarships at the University of Hawaiʻi and sport for development program administrators in Canberra, Australia; and 3) participant observations at international forums like the Beyond Sport Summit in Chicago, Illinois. Research conducted in American Samoa granted me a comparative perspective through which to think about emerging trends, patterns, and contradictions in Sāmoa, while research in Hawaiʻi offered me a greater understanding of what is expected of and experienced by those who have succeeded in making it "off the rock" through sport. While I have saved the American Samoa and Hawaiʻi data corpora for future analysis and writing and thus do not include them in this dissertation, the themes and concepts that emerged were invaluable to the analysis, and served as important points of reference and comparison during conversations with my interlocutors in Sāmoa.

Document Collection

Documents such as inter/national policies, local newspapers, political cartoons, health campaign advertisements, social media like Facebook, program reports, and magazine stories were included in the data corpus in order to provide a trail of the flow of inter/national ideas, influence, and power in which my interlocutors were immersed. Images were also collected in an attempt to capture a broader visual and sometimes visceral experience of sport for development and its constitutive elements like health and gender as they were imagined and practiced by my interlocutors. These images also served as excellent props to help spark discussion or to probe further a particular line of thought during interviews. Documents and images were later analyzed for their discursive and interdiscursive content, relations, and subjects, or more specifically for the commonsense ideologies, relations of (hidden) power, and social identities embedded within and constructed by their modalities (Fairclough, 2001). Where possible, I have included images throughout the dissertation to help illustrate specific themes and to highlight points of policy-practice disjuncture.

While the second line of argumentation in this study problematizes the assumption of policy hegemony, this is not to say that the critical analysis of discourse (text, images, narratives, storylines, etc.) does not matter. Indeed this kind of analysis is a necessity, as discourse has real influence on relations of power, social practices, the production of knowledge, the circulation of unexamined assumptions, and the perpetuation of stereotypes. Discourse is a social practice, and its critical analysis is useful for rendering visible the disjuncture between development policy and practice.

Following Crewe and Harrison (1998), Mosse (2005), and Sharma (2008), I simply caution against a strict focus on discourse (textual) analysis alone, as the "word" often gets prioritized over the shifting identities, material conditions, and system of ideas and values that shape and influence practice. Combining analysis of policy discourse with an ethnography of practice thus enable me to show how development policy and organizations, as well as the communities in which they are implemented and with whom they work, are not monolithic, but, borrowing from Shore and Wright (1997), are "contested political spaces" (p. 15).

Interviews

In order to gain a broad perspective of the multiple and simultaneous layers of a translocal sport for development policy world, and to help determine which questions and themes to explore more deeply, I formally and informally interviewed a wide range of individuals across government, non-governmental, sport, education, and community-based localities. Interviews with program-level individuals focused on their perceptions of the role of sport in development, especially pertaining to helping youth migrate overseas, as well as their perspectives on gender and health issues. Conversations with participant-level individuals (primarily youth and working women) centered on their experiences with sport, their imagined futures, and their perspectives on healthy living (see Appendix A for sample interview protocols). As my study progressed, however, interviews began to shift toward topics like the relationship between sport and education, the significance of transnational mobility, and the "problem" with boys.

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While Table 1 provides an overview of individuals formally interviewed in this study, my analysis focuses primarily, although not exclusively, on those interviews conducted formally and informally with youth, community leaders, educators, and government officials. This allowed me to put in conversation the sport for development imaginaries of those actors located immediately within the bounds of the study delimited in the previous section. Moreover, the experiences of these specific interlocutors enabled me to focus my analysis explicitly on the two problematics identified earlier: the assumed relationships between sport, healthier bodies, and thriving nations and between sport for development policy and practice.

Table 1. Formal Interview Matrix

	Youth		Community leaders		Educators		Government officials		Working women		CultureX participants		Fitness leaders		Athletes		Sport administrators		International actors		Total	
	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i	Upolu	Savai'i
Male	0	5	2	5	1	2	8	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	0	9	1	6	0	35	15
Female	2	3	3	5	3	1	9	0	6	0	8	0	4	0	4	0	7	0	6	0	52	9
Total	10		15		7		19		6		9		5		11		17		12		111	

Individuals were selected using a combination of the snowball method and maximum variation sampling in order to seek out confirming and disconfirming (negative) cases. Most of the youth in my study were approached after spending much time with them in social situations like Sunday school or sport training sessions. In the end, 111 formal semi-structured interviews were conducted in English and Samoan, depending on the comfort of my interlocutor, and in the spirit of talanoaga, or discussion or conversation (cf. Halapua, n.d.; Nabobo-Baba, 2006).[25] Three of my Samoan interviews with village youth were conducted alongside my host brother, Mikaele, as my translator and ice breaker since his presence as their friend helped relieve some of the initial social embarrassment of the formal interview experience. All other English and Samoan interviews were conducted by myself.

Formal interviews were audio-recorded when permission was granted, and then later transcribed and translated with the help of two research assistants attending the National University of Samoa. Standard transcription conventions were observed (e.g., short pauses marked with commas, longer pauses marked with ellipses, sudden breaks marked by dashes, etc.). However, given limitations in my Samoan language skills and the varying degrees of comfort in English for my interlocutors, detailed analyses of syntax, pauses, word choice, and other micro-level discourse components were dropped

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[25] The process of talanoa embodies the information-sharing protocols of several Oceanian societies in which two or more people engage in dialogue, 'talk story', share, hear, and learn together "absent concealment of the inner feelings and experiences that resonate in [their] hearts and minds" (Halapua, n.d., p. 1; Nabobo-Baba, 2006). The process acts as a mediator between the worldviews of the conversationalists, providing them with the opportunity to "consider anew [their] own perspective of the stable, complementary 'way'," and to shape and reshape their "pre-understandings" and new perspectives of the subject matter (Halapua, n.d., p. 2). Talanoaga, however, is achieved only when the conversationalists come together with open-agendas established through relations of trust—something which I humbly strived for through long-term engagement with my interlocutors.

as a methodological approach of the study. Instead, transcripts were initially analyzed in the field so that emerging patterns, trends, themes, and concepts could be explored further (or not) in successive interviews. More detailed analysis of interviews, as well as fieldnotes (see below), documents, and images, was conducted using a combination of deductive and inductive coding in Nvivo, drawing on predetermined/etic and emergent/emic codes related primarily to sport, health, development, education, and gender (see Appendix B for codebook). Codes were then synthesized into broader themes and propositions that allowed me to compare the "vertical" and "horizontal" constructions and experiences of sport for development across multiple localities.

Transcripts of interviews were returned to individuals when possible; on only a few occasions, however, did this actually create space for further conversation and elaboration of points raised during the interview. In an attempt to solicit feedback from individuals with whom I did not engage long-term (e.g., government officials, sport administrators, etc.), I invited them to a public presentation summarizing my preliminary analysis at the National University of Samoa, an invitation that many accepted and to which many did actively comment.[26]

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[26] In this discussion, the audience appeared most interested in learning more about the actual economic impact of remittances sent home by Samoa's growing cadre of professional overseas athletes—a number which I unfortunately could not possibly estimate—and the scope of funding available and already allocated by international sport for development organizations to recipient countries. Several members of the audience also spoke to me privately afterward about how my preliminary findings confirmed for them their beliefs about how processes of globalization and development mixed with fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way) had led many Samoans in important decision-making positions to misplace their development priorities on pipe dreams like professional sport instead of focusing on improving basic education and the creation of market-relevant jobs.

Participant-Observations

As discussed earlier, I supplemented interviews with participant observations in a range of activities throughout my multiple field sites. These activities included official SSfDP training sessions, as well as other organization-sponsored, village-run, and informal sport events and programs; health forums; youth forums; village faʻalavelave, and much more. Fieldnotes were reconstructed on a nightly basis based on a variety of headnotes, scratch-notes, and jottings taken throughout the day (cf. Emerson, Fretz, & Shawn, 1995; Sanjek, 1990). Not only did this nightly ritual facilitate ideas and new ways of seeing; participant observations and the fieldnotes these engendered became the bedrock of my data corpus, essentially enabling me to do field*work* rather than just be in the field (Wolcott, 2005). Furthermore, self-reflexive notes grounded in "hot and cold" (Peshkin, 1988) moments (in which one's subjective "I"s mediate one's understanding and experience of a research moment) allowed me to document my ethnographic decision-making, to become aware of my own assumptions and self-deceptions filling in or concealing gaps, and to be my own devil's advocate as I attended to the ordinary and the everyday (Wolcott, 2005).

Surveys

Toward the end of fieldwork, I administered a large-scale grounded survey to 1,360 secondary school students and ʻautalavou (youth groups) between the ages of 15 and 39 years in Savaiʻi, ʻUpolu, and Tutuila (see Appendix C for a sample grounded

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survey).[27] These surveys were intended to help provide contextualized understanding of

emerging trends and patterns established through conversation and observation.

Specifically, the objective of administering a survey was to get a better sense of scale, to

explore relationships among variables, and to provide quantitative data to supplement

qualitative findings. Surveys were crafted during preliminary field research and then

revised during dissertation research as themes were generated upon preliminary analysis

of interview and observation data. Surveys included closed- and open-ended quantitative

and qualitative items exploring sport participation (i.e., number of hours participating in

sport), conceptions of health (i.e., images of 'healthy' people), food preferences, desired

futures (i.e., occupation, location, etc.), and transnational mobility. The instrument given

to students and youth in Sāmoa was translated into Samoan by myself and then checked,

revised, and back translated for accuracy by a MESC official. The instrument

administered in American Sāmoa was given in English. Surveys administered to youth

groups in a peri-urban and rural village in 'Upolu (N=80) were used to pilot questions

and to check the 'translatability' of concepts and terms used. Survey questions were

revised again before distribution to secondary schools in Savai'i and Tutuila. Final

surveys were approved by both the Samoan Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture

and the American Samoan Department of Education. As mentioned earlier, results from

surveys administered to secondary schools and youth groups in Savai'i and 'Upolu

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[27] While the Sāmoa National Youth Policy legally defines "youth" in Sāmoa as anyone between the years of 12 and 29 (later revised to 18 and 35 in 2011), "youth is more than just a developmental phase pertaining to age and hormonal change. In the *faaSāmoa*, status within the extended family is also very important" (MYSCA, 2001, p. 3). 'Autalavou members can thus include a large age-range, including unmarried and untitled men and women who are well into the 30s, 40s, and even 60s.

(N=760) are discussed in this dissertation; results from American Samoa have been secured and saved for future comparative analysis and writing.

Basic statistical analysis was performed on survey data after responses were translated, coded, and organized in Microsoft Excel. After my own initial translations, selections of the data were double checked by a native Samoan speaker for translation accuracy. The response rate for the 760 surveys administered was 87%, resulting in a sample size of N=659 (380 females, 268 males, and 11 unreported).[28] This sample consists of 519 secondary school students (average age, 17 years) from five schools in the outer island of Savaiʻi and 140 youth from ʻautalavou (youth groups; average age, 22 years) in three rural and peri-urban villages in Savaiʻi and ʻUpolu. Schools in Savaiʻi were identified by MESC. After introduction by a MESC official and an explanation of my study, principals were asked to distribute surveys to their Year 11 through 13 classes. Survey packets included a letter of introduction as well as survey instructions. Like interviews, youth groups associated with my host villages were asked to participate in my survey after several months into my stay, and after attending several youth group sessions as a participant observer. Permission was sought from the village pastor and youth organizer leading each group. The pastor also selected the time and day for me to conduct the survey, often during or immediately following an evening Bible study session.

Based on preliminary research experience as well as conversations with other seasoned researchers in the Pacific, my intention was to administer surveys in smaller, more informal social group settings where my participants could feel more relaxed and in

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[28] Self-reported faʻafafine (men who act like women) were counted as male for the purposes of this study.

control of the research moment. However, given the unexpected access to secondary

schools, as well as MESC's arrangements to administer surveys through principals and

teachers, I was unable to administer surveys in my preferred method and had to adjust to

a more conventional and impersonal dissemination of surveys. When possible, I spoke to

classrooms and youth groups about the purpose of my research and then stayed to answer

questions or to clarify instructions while students completed the surveys. In these cases, I

was often asked by the teacher or pastor to give a short lecture or to say a few words of

encouragement afterward to the youth. These informal talks usually concluded with a

discussion and a question and answer session about the topics and themes in my study,

which the teacher or pastor would then weave into that day's class lesson or Bible study

session. During these survey administrations, I was able to observe youth working on

their surveys together in small groups, oftentimes sharing writing utensils and making

jokes about the questions. It is therefore important to view survey findings as a reflection

of socially constructed realities and of socialized norms of what should or should not be,

what is and what is not, rather than as a measurement of individual perspective, behavior,

belief, or truth. It is likely that surveys administered independently by principals and

teachers may have created similar group work environments as well, with varying

degrees of involvement by teachers co-constructing their students' responses.

A Note on Cross-Cultural Research and Transferability

Reflecting on the challenge of using research instruments designed and developed

from a background of Western cultural understandings, Fairbairn-Dunlop (1983) offers

an enduring discussion on the cross-cultural transferability of not only research

instruments but also the very concepts that drive one's research questions. Similar to

Harold Conklin's (1964) realization about the salience of categories of meaning,

Fairbairn-Dunlop discusses the epistemological issues around validity and reliability in

the context of conducting research in settings such as Sāmoa. Specifically, she reminds us

that one method of testing the construct validity of research instruments—and therefore

their applicability in cross-cultural contexts—is to translate instruments into the

indigenous language and then to back-translate them into the original language to

determine whether the original meaning of the items remain intact. She questions,

however, whether the validity that emerges is more than "face validity" (p. 24). That is,

do concepts have more than a familiar quality about them? Do their content, meaning, or

causation differ? Even if using the right terminology, are the two terms measuring or

even referencing the same phenomena?

Over the course of interviewing participants and developing a grounded survey, I

found myself asking similar questions about whether I had reached a truly cross-

culturally transferable research instrument, or whether I had merely achieved some

degree of face validity that helped preserve the performance or appearance of a good

research moment between participant and researcher. While there were often cases where

an immediate response by an interlocutor would signal to me that my question did not

translate well (linguistically and/or contextually), it was more often the case that I would

make these discoveries over time as responses trended in one or many different and/or

conflicting directions. For example, in the beginning of my research I was interested in

learning how Samoan youth perceive and understand how to achieve the "good life,"

which I (and a few of my Samoan speaking colleagues) translated as ola lelei. I would ask my interlocutors questions to try to discern the connection between participation in sport and realization of ola lelei in Sāmoa, only to find that the responses I received or the discussions we entered were not what I had expected. After much reflection (oftentimes during nightly fieldnote construction), I concluded that my interlocutors understood my question completely; it was actually I who was asking the wrong question and probably not making much sense to them in the process. That is, while ola lelei translates literally in Samoan to "the good life," from my American cultural upbringing I thought I was asking Samoan youth about their idealized (secular) depictions of an imagined future of comfort, luxury, and desire. Instead, I was asking them what they thought about a lifestyle marked by virtuousness, morality, goodness, and rightness—and how participation in sport could or could not help bring this about. After hearing more about the way Samoans depicted the good life in everyday contexts and discussions with my Samoan interlocutors and colleagues, I learned that a more accurate way of talking about the good life was by using the term ola manuia or ōlaga fa'amanuiaga (a life of blessings or prosperity) or even lumana'i manuia (a blessed future). While in Sāmoa these terms carry religious significance, it was my unlearning of the secular American good life and re-learning the Samoan delineation between good and blessed lives that led me to realize the causation of a good life in Samoa is intricately tied with one's relationship with God. That is, receiving blessings like a car, a television, or other material goods in life that Americans may consider as part and parcel of "the good life" is also a marker of the good life for Samoans; however, for Samoans, achieving this "blessed life" is a sign that one is

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in God's favor and that God is blessing him or her with the "good" things in life.

Understanding this connection not only helped me discern how to ask my questions, but

also alerted me to a different possible relationship between sport and development than I

was prepared to think about.

Chapter 3. Healthy Islands Through Sport: The Invention of a Policy World

Introduction

> The Pacific is in crisis—We cannot do business as usual! (Healthy islands through sport outcome statement, Australian Sports Commission, 2012d)

In March 2012, while I was conducting research in Sāmoa, the Australian Sports

Commission (ASC) and the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID),

in collaboration with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Secretariat of the

Pacific Community (SPC), convened the first Healthy Islands Through Sport (HITS)

forum in Brisbane, Australia. The forum brought together over fifty Ministry of Health

and Ministry of Sports officials from fourteen Pacific Island nations and nearly twenty

officials from the organizing organizations. The objectives of the forum were to:

1) establish a regional platform outlining a partnership between Pacific Health and Sport Ministries;
2) share and disseminate information and evidence of existing initiatives that successfully use sport and physical activity to help prevent non-communicable diseases (NCDs);
3) establish priorities and action for Pacific Island country health and sport sectors to work together and implement their national NCD strategies, particularly in the context of increasing physical activity for the whole population; and
4) identify strategies to engage effective partnerships between sport, health and other relevant sectors in addressing NCDs and achieving healthy Pacific Islands (ASC, 2012e).

Over the course of three days, Pacific Island delegates listened to a number of regionally

and internationally recognized technical experts representing the ASC, AusAID, WHO,

SPC, and sport for development non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from Australia

and African nations. Presentation and case study topics included the challenges presented

by the emerging NCD crisis and the urgent need to address and tackle key risk factors:

poor diet, inadequate physical activity as well as excessive tobacco use and alcohol

consumption. Speakers emphasized that the main constraint in the battle against NCDs

and its sister obesity epidemic is not money, but rather the need to "identify sound,

evidence-based proposals that could absorb resources and use them efficiently and

effectively to deliver measurable outcomes" (ASC, 2012e).

The policy solution that emerged most often from the HITS call for efficient and

effective action involved multisectoral collaboration and cooperation between sport and

health sectors in each Pacific Island government, an increasingly popular policy approach

circulating among sport for development circles (cf. Lindsey & Banda, 2011).

Interspersed between presentations, participants worked in small groups to develop a

clear and robust theory of change for improving working relationships between sport and

health officials in their respective governments and ultimately to reduce the prevalence of

NCDs in the Pacific through sport. According to this supply and demand model of

change, supplying more well-constructed partnerships along with well-planned sporting

activities would lead to increased demand for high quality, accessible, organized sports;

increased government, NGO, and church support; and, consequently, increased mass

participation in sports across the Pacific Islands. Additionally, sport participants and

spectators would have gained increased awareness and knowledge of NCDs and NCD

risk factors from well-coordinated healthy lifestyles advocacy campaigns, which would

then supposedly, based on evidence-based interventions implemented elsewhere, lead to

positive changes in health behavior and ultimately the aversion of impending catastrophic

effects on Pacific Island populations and governments caused by uncurbed NCDs and

obesity. Following the forum and the publication of the HITS outcome statement,

delegates returned to their home countries to sustain the momentum of the forum and to put in action their collectively constructed theory of change.

In this brief introduction, I have summarized the emergence of a "key element," the HITS forum, in Australia's response to the growing burden of NCDs in the Pacific region (ASC, 2012e). Framed in terms of crises, contemporary health challenges require solutions that discard a "business as usual" approach in favor of more innovative, cutting edge, outside the box approaches. In this context, sport—or, more specifically, the strategic contributions of national sport sectors to the efforts of national health sectors—offers such an extraordinary approach. With traditional public health campaigns often cast as ineffective, owing to current crisis-level trends in obesity, diabetes, and other lifestyle diseases, sport enters the inter/national development imaginary as the "silver bullet" solution (Jeffery & Jeffery, 1998) capable of curbing a wide range of problems with populations. Furthermore, employing sport-based development to the Pacific NCD crisis not only makes logical and creative sense to these inter/national development actors; it also shifts regional development activities toward internationally recognized strategies, aligning the Pacific Islands with the latest "best buy" in public health interventions. Having emerged from several international meetings focused on the health and economic risks posed to populations by NCDs,[29] the HITS forum signals the official adoption of international sport for development policy discourse in the Pacific region.

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[29] These meetings include the United Nations Global Ministerial Conference on Healthy Lifestyles and Non-Communicable Disease Control (April 2011), the 9th Meeting of the Ministers of Health for the Pacific Island Countries (June 2011), the 2nd Pacific Islands Sports Ministers' Meeting (August 2011), the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum (September 2011), and the United Nations General Assembly: Summit to Prevent and Control NCDs (September 2011).

From a policy perspective, the HITS forum offers a timely example of sport for development policy formation in action. It also illustrates the strategic maneuvering involved in the process of policy borrowing and transfer, as well as policy change (cf. Mosse, 2005; Steiner-Khamsi, 2006). More importantly, and for the purposes of this chapter, the HITS forum also highlights the important role policy discourse plays in the construction of a policy world—which I define here as the social world organized around policy, including the actors, their practices, and their ways of thinking about the problem of and solution to NCDs that excludes other possibilities. Through a political and discursive process of invention, circulation, and regulation (Greene, 1999), HITS discourse assembles together the elements of a sport for development policy world: an NCD crisis and highly disruptive national consequences, an innovative yet common sense sport-based solution, key agents of change, and a sickly target population.

This chapter focuses on the macro:meso level actors, discourses, and policy world of the sport for development policyscape outlined in Chapters 1 and 2. In particular, it provides an overview and deconstruction of the inter/national policy context from which later ethnographic chapters on the policy-practice disjuncture unfold in Part 2. The goal of this chapter is to analyze and interpret the invention of a HITS policy world in order to illuminate 1) the ideological work performed through HITS policy, and 2) the political discourse through which its creators maintain this world as real and thereby normalize specific kinds of development activities and relations of power.

Policy Discourse as Political Activity, Cloak of Neutrality, and Governing Apparatus

For the purposes of this chapter, I view policy as the collection of official policy documents (texts) as well as the publications produced in reference to them (including images, visuals, soundbites, etc.). Policy is an instrument that serves to identify problems and frame rational solutions that help guide decisions and actions toward mitigating those problems. Policy is thus a central component to defining, sustaining, and evaluating development projects, funding schemes, partnerships, and approaches. In this way, policy creates specific social worlds which policy actors (inventors, circulators, regulators, and targeted recipients) are meant to believe as real. Policy and its larger policy worlds then drive actions of individuals, institutions, and partnerships and provide an orienting framework from which to judge whether actions and approaches have been successful or not.

I also view policy from the perspective of critical health and development scholars who see policy as a mechanism of control and governance (Crawford, 1980; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Evans, Davies, & Wright, 2004; Hayhurst, 2009; Markula, 2008). This framework often focuses on the role of policy discourse and discourse strategies in not only privileging one policy world while marginalizing others, but also in sanctioning specific human interests and regulating human actions (Sage, 1993). According to scholars like Lila Abu-Lughod and Catherine Lutz (1990), Colette Chabbott (2003), Gill Seidel and Laurent Vidal (1997), and Simon Darnell (2012), policy discourse is fundamentally a social practice; it is a political activity that involves un/naming and

un/classifying the world, setting the conditions of im/possibility in society, and institutionalizing socially constructed reality, identities, structures, and behaviors. Discourse, therefore, is not merely language or text, but it is also the models, images, theories, ideologies, storylines, and taken-for-granted assumptions which help simplify and normalize the way phenomena are understood (Gee, 2005; Sage, 1993). Discourse lays down the lines that constitute a grid of intelligibility—or the system of elements that render intelligible objects of shared or different properties (Foucault, 1966)—that organizes policy worlds. As Gayatri Spivak (1996) writes, "if these lines of making sense of something are laid down in a certain way, then you are able to do only those things with that something which are possible within and by arrangement of those lines" (p. 151).

Thus, the political activities of discourse are not merely symbolic but have very real material consequences on people's daily lives. Investigating HIV/AIDS policy in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, Seidel and Vidal (1997) observed ways that culturalist discourse—which portrays culture as the primary explanatory factor of, in this case, disease—affects power relations between sexes, perpetuating the stigmatization of marginalized women in the local ethnoetiology of HIV/AIDs. The assumptions embedded in culturalist discourse, they argue, not only freeze cultural practices in time, framing them as immutable and uniform; they also characterize the at-risk Other as incapable of change and, in essence, doomed (see Fabian, 1983/2002 for a discussion of time and the making of the Other). The policy implications abound in terms of how

discourse shapes the way decision makers think about and design solutions to policy problems—or in essence create policy worlds.[30]

Cris Shore and Susan Wright (1997) remind us that policies are political technologies whose politics and power are masked under a cloak of neutrality. Not only is policy discourse characterized by the objective, neutral, and rational idioms of science, it also disguises the political identities, ideologies, and agendas of those who speak it. In this light, promoting health through sport (and sport through health) may be about aligning two logical policy partners: sport and health. But once the surface layers of cooperation, rationality, and universality of objectives are peeled back, a complex landscape of subjectivities, ideologies, and relations of power constantly negotiated between and within local and global actors emerges. What at once appeared to the policy reader as scientific, objective, and static are in actuality political, subjective, and fluid. When controlled by those in power, however, policy discourses can function as an effective strategy for international governing powers to discipline and survey a population without being noticed. Viewing policy discourse in this fashion makes an analysis of HITS policy necessary to understanding policy as a mechanism of control and governance, especially in terms of how its discourse strategies invent a policy world that sanctions the subjectification of Pacific Islanders' bodies to international standards and measurements of healthy living.

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[30] Indeed, using terms like "non-communicable disease" and "lifestyle disease" to describe metabolic and weight disorders like obesity already carries with it the assumption that these disorders are caused by individual choice and risk, ignoring the complex interaction between colonialism, globalization, economics, food environments, and culture (cf. Rock, 2003; Yates-Doerr, 2012). As such, increasing one's participation in sport and physical activity seem a "natural" and rational solution as it addresses individual choice/lifestyle while decreasing risk, again ignoring the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts. Unfortunately, a critical discussion on this topic is beyond the scope of the study.

Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, Shore and Wright (1997) write that "the birth of the modern era […] is marked by the onset of a new regime of power in which the 'problem of population' (its health, wealth, fertility, education, moral conduct) and control over the human body become central foci of state discipline and surveillance" (p. 30). Modern government is thus the art of managing populations—their manner, their choices, and their levels of productivity. Shore and Wright continue that the effectiveness of this new regime of power relies on whether its subjects reconstitute themselves—their identities and, in the case of Samoa and other Pacific Islands, their bodies—by internalizing the policy norms through which they are governed and meant to be made more governable. Policy discourse is thus the most critical element of a modern governing apparatus—which Ronald Green (1999) defines as "an ensemble of practices, technologies, discourses, programs of action, institutions, and procedures dedicated to improving the security of a population" (p. 4). The primary function of this governing apparatus is to invent, circulate, and regulate problems of population (Greene, 1999).

In his work on population policy, Greene (1999) explains that the invention of a public problem entails making visible an object, behavior, or phenomenon like NCDs, as well as the problem's solution and the unruly population in need of recalibration. The circulation of the problem (and the identities of its primary perpetrators) deals with the methods and mechanisms through which the governing apparatus mobilizes networks of actors and institutions to intervene and monitor the behaviors of this problem population. And, finally, the regulation of the problem centers on the political processes that at once seek to resolve the problem while simultaneously turning it into the object of controversy,

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contestation, and competition. These processes, while each distinct, are closely

interconnected and iterative. Regulation of a problem, for example, entails stabilizing and

sustaining the legitimacy of a problem-solution pair, just as the process of invention does.

And the circulation of a problem and its solution requires the constant (re-)invention of

the problem-solution pair, as well as the re-negotiation of the (invented) subject identities

of those being persuaded to get involved. What makes this framework useful is how it

brings to light the social work that must be performed in order to make policy ideas come

to life.

     While I apply Greene's (1999) framework of invention, circulation, and

regulation as an organizing narrative of the larger dissertation, in this chapter I focus on

the process of invention in order to illustrate how discourse strategies construct a HITS

policy world as real. The processes of circulation and regulation are more effectively

illuminated through examples that highlight the disjuncture of policy in practice (see Part

2), and will be discussed and challenged in more detail in Chapter 8. In this chapter, I

follow Shore and Wright (1997) in an attempt to unsettle and dislodge the certainties and

orthodoxies from the inventedness of the HITS policy world as well as the larger project

of sport in development. That is, by highlighting the arguments and hidden assumptions

in HITS policy, as well as the groups in power and the groups to be governed by the

sport-based health interventions of a HITS social world, I aim to demonstrate how this

specific policy world is a discursive "assemblage" (Sharma, 2008) that is not as logical or

natural as its advocates purport. This is important for scholars in both policy studies and

international development and education because it what cannot be fully understood or

concretized in policy. and for practitioners because it helps discern the grid of intelligibility shaping the actions, behaviors, and arguments of a sport for development policy world. This kind of analysis is productive in that it helps explain how the basic categories of thinking about and realizing healthy living and development have been strategically (re-)configured and articulated, and its subjects subjected into new relations of governance. The remainder of this dissertation will continue to explore the messy relationship between policy and practice, especially the disjunctures, disconnections, and divergences that characterize sport for development on the ground.

In this chapter, excerpts from key documents drawn from the HITS forum as well the ASC's Australian Sports Outreach Program (ASOP) serve as examples of the kinds of discursive strategies employed 1) to enroll and persuade supporters about the NCD crisis and its antidote, 2) to stabilize this policy world as real, and 3) to structure specific relations of power among actors.[31] Before turning to the analysis, however, I want to note that in problematizing HITS policy discourse I do not intend to deny the very real physical effects of NCDs on bodies, the emotional suffering NCD causes individuals and their families, or the urgency with which the rapid rise of NCDs must be addressed. Rather, I raise issue with the ways in which sport for development policy strategically directs one's attention to specific biomedical problems and technical solutions while distracting one's attention from other issues, including food inequality, medical

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[31] The primary audience for a majority of HITS forum documents and ASOP program documents analyzed here include national delegates attending the HITS forum, government officials from various Pacific Islands nations, and sport for development officials representing various government- and non-government organizations. A few documents were prepared for the purposes of accountability and transparency to various ASC and AusAID departments, as well as interested members of the public. I extend my thanks to the development officials who supplied me with copies of these documents and to those who took the time to share with me their experiences and observations at the forum.

healthcare inequality, as well as the political interests of those holding the purse, postcolonial legacies of discrimination, and the unequal leveraging power by smaller island states. The analysis that follows aims to open critical debate on the role of international development policy (and policy discourse) in creating more contextually relevant and transformative approaches to addressing NCDs. Policy not only reproduces dominant ideologies through its discourse, but also contours subjectivities and experience through the embodiment of its ideas, commonsenses, assumptions, and ideologies. As I have said elsewhere (Kwauk, 2012), reading policy text is not a neutral activity. Rather, as one reads one actively engages in the circulation of the worldview of the authors; one negotiates the authors' and one's own socio-cultural, political, and epistemological worlds. Being able to recognize when hidden ideologies and underlying assumptions attempt to re-norm one's mind and body enables one to become a more critical reader of policy and resist, challenge, and transform the commonsenses of those who seek to perpetuate relations of dominance and marginality through policy (Fairclough, 2001).

The NCD Doomsday: Inventing the HITS Problem-Solution Pair

As briefly discussed in Chapter 2, post-Cold War development orthodoxy has often framed the Pacific Islands within a doomsday scenario. Characterizing the region as a ticking Malthusian time-bomb, the Pacific Islands were expected to "self-destruct" if its leaders did not quickly adapt neoliberal economic rationalism to adequately prepare their nations for changing global conditions. Nearly two decades later, with the vestiges of structural adjustment still flowing through the political tradewinds, the setting for a new doomsday scenario in the region has been identified.

In their pre-forum publications, authors of HITS documents bring attention to the rapid spread of NCDs in the Pacific Islands in the last decade. They note especially that rates of NCDs in the region have recently surpassed those of industrialized countries in the global North. Additionally, as the leading cause of death in the region, an overwhelming 75% of all deaths in the Pacific can be traced back to NCDs, with some island nations facing rates as high as 80%. Reminding their readers of the immediacy of the threat ("NCD related mortality and morbidity are rising at an alarming rate," ASC, 2012f, p. 2), and the urgent need for immediate action ("It is now critical that Pacific Ministries of Health and Ministries responsible for Sport work together," ibid.), HITS authors employ a discourse strategy of crisis creation sanctioned at previous health and development forums.[32] Painting a picture of impending doom, the authors continue to build off the policy formation momentum established at these earlier meetings, rallying and persuading readers to become committed supporters of their policy agenda.

Making the problem of NCDs an even more visible and potentially debilitating crisis, HITS authors make note in several of their publications that the majority of NCD-related deaths across the region are within its economically active population. For example, in a forum brief circulated prior to the HITS meeting, authors emphasize how "these diseases place a significant burden on health systems already struggling to cope, and they reduce workforce productivity and household income—keeping poor people poor" (ASC, 2012g, p. 2). In this doomsday scenario, not only do NCDs pose a serious

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[32] Including the regional and international meetings in 2011 referenced in the previous footnote. The 9th Meeting of the Ministers of Health for the Pacific Islands held in Honiara marked the official declaration of an obesity epidemic and NCD crisis in the Pacific region, setting the stage for a new doomsday scenario for development policymakers and government officials to employ.

health crisis; they also bring economic losses for the island nation-states on par with those created by the 2008 global fiscal crisis (ASC, 2012e). If left to 'business as usual', Pacific Island nations may be unable to continue financing rising health care budgets and could face a future of immeasurable debt and financial bankruptcy. NCDs could thus be the precursor to failing island nation-states, threatening both the security and economic development of the region—an issue of particular concern for their industrialized neighbors like Australia and New Zealand. In fact, as speculated throughout the HITS forum documents, NCDs could be the underlying reason why the region fails to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), potentially derailing the development project entirely.

If this doomsday scenario is not enough to mobilize supporters into immediate action, speakers at the forum made sure to note that there are no visible signs of relief in the near future. Not only are economically active adults afflicted with NCDs, but childhood obesity in the islands is also becoming a health, social, and economic burden (Waqanivalu, 2012). In fact, as one speaker suggested, the Pacific Islands is currently raising its most obese generation in history and may be facing a time where its children will die before their parents. In these terms, the NCD crisis has surely reached epidemic proportions, threatening to affect multiple generations of Pacific populations in ways Western-introduced communicable diseases like influenza did in the not-so-distant colonial past.

The (Preventable) NCD Doomsday: Science, SNAP, and Experts

The economic dramatization illustrated thus far, in conjunction with a discourse strategy of crisis and impending doom, function to make visible (and normal) the problem and consequences of NCDs in the Pacific and international public imagination. Yet equally important to the narratives of health risk, economic burden,[33] and population collapse is the cautionary narrative of prevention and control (see Figure 6) (see Van Leeuwen, 2007, pp. 105-107 for further discussion of the significance of storytelling in legitimating policy discourse).

Figure 6. Image of a slide taken from Dr. Temo K. Waqanivalu's presentation on the NCD crisis in paradise on day one at the HITS forum. Source: WHO, 2012, slide 33.

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[33] See Kwauk (2012) for a discussion on the discursive significance of the term "burden" as a strategic metaphor within the healthy living governing apparatus.

That is, the problem is not simply that an unabated NCD crisis foreshadows the collapse of the Pacific Islands, but that this gloomy future is also fully explainable, reversible, and preventable if Pacific Islanders conform to the norms of healthy living. Infusing morality with responsibility, this image, for example, claims that the NCD crisis can be systematically managed by calling its audience to action (e.g., "EXERCISE DAILY! Run from Satan Walk with GOD").

Complementing the discursive normalization of doom and gloom, then, is the political neutralization and legitimation of the policy problem through the discourse strategy of scientific objectivity. For example, employing the technical language of results, hypotheses, and biomedical equations, HITS discourse points our attention to the "fact" that the causes of NCDs are clearly known or knowable: "PICTs [Pacific Island countries and territories] now have the highest rates of obesity in the world as a result of new dietary habits and sedentary lifestyles," and "The dramatic increase in the prevalence of obesity in most PICTs suggests that an imbalance between energy intake and energy expenditure is occurring" (ASC, 2012h, p. 1). According to Mosse (2005), in order for policy ideas to persuade a range of stakeholders to "buy" a problem-solution, policies must meet certain criteria, including being perceived to be technical rather than political. Mosse argues that while policy is driven by political support, it is never openly political; rather, it "hides" behind the technical language of empirical and scientific facts. Technical language not only conceals the political nature of development project ideas, choices, and goals, but it also functions to de-author those who claim the inevitability of these threatening changes and to elide tougher debates that need further negotiation. So,

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even though the NCD crisis is fueled by highly charged political and economic changes, addressing these challenges is cast as merely a matter of listening to what science and rationality dictate, which often ends up placing the onus of change on the behaviors of individuals rather than the politics or socioeconomics of globalization, for example.

While HITS discourse focuses our attention on an objective reality underpinning NCDs, it simultaneously directs policymakers' solution-seeking minds to the controllable behaviors that have been associated with decreasing one's risk of developing NCDs. These behaviors, which the WHO identifies as "modifiable behavioural risk factors," are Smoking, poor Nutrition, excessive Alcohol consumption, and lack of Physical activity, or the SNAP risk factors. These factors are identified in nearly every major HITS publication, and usually immediately following references to the severity of the NCD crisis and the scope of its economic burden. As modifiable behavior and modifiable risk, SNAP factors become a significant measure of a population's health—second, perhaps, to measurements of Body Mass Index (BMI)—and function to reveal truths about ab/normal and un/healthy bodies (Evans & Colls, 2009; Halse, 2009).[34] When HITS discourse explains that high NCD rates in the Pacific are correlated to high levels of SNAP factors in Islanders' lifestyles, HITS authors are making evaluative statements behind a cloak of neutrality about Islanders' ways of being. 'Pacific Islanders do not exercise enough' translates, for example, into neocolonial constructions of 'Pacific Islanders are lazy,' 'Pacific Islanders are mal-adapting to modern conveniences like cars,' or other derivatives of what have been categorized as unhealthy behaviors. As Greene

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[34] The use of the term "risk factors" also functions to support and reinforce the ideological authority and interpretive work of governing institutions like the WHO, further stabilizing what is "known" about the problem (Kwauk, 2012).

(1999) and others (cf. Van Leeuwen, 2007) have noted, discourse *is* evaluative. In order to legitimate the ideology of the governing apparatus, discourse strategies must demonstrate that the behaviors, practices, and ways of being that it is promoting are constitutive of the right way of being (read: rational, evidence-based, scientific, and objective). In this light, SNAP risk factors become a significant element defining the HITS policy problem by individualizing risk, functioning as an anonymous mechanism for discerning who is living right way and who is living the wrong way. High occurrences of SNAP behaviors indicate a population in need of discipline and control—lest the NCD doomsday become reality. In order to reduce this risk, efforts are required to modify these risky behaviors through lifestyle changes. HITS policy discourse therefore implicitly grants biopolitical authority over Pacific Islander bodies to those (experts) who attempt to control and discipline their abnormality.

This point brings me to another way that HITS policy discourse achieves the discursive act of evaluation and discernment under the guise of political neutrality: the employment of expert knowledge by sport, health, and development experts. Employing experts not only helps to legitimate the ideology of the governing apparatus; it also helps stabilize what is known about the problem, its solution, and the way of life of the problematic population. In the examples above, citing WHO evidence that NCD rates have increased rapidly across the Pacific and that SNAP factors have been closely correlated with NCDs functions to legitimize the foundational arguments of the doomsday scenario constructed by HITS policy discourse. Co-articulating WHO evidence about the health risk of SNAP factors with WHO evidence about the health

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benefits of regular physical activity and a good diet serves to legitimate the notion that

the doomsday can only be averted if certain behaviors of the individual are changed,

regardless of what these behaviors might mean to target populations that define health in

terms of the social Self rather than the individual Self (cf. Hardin, forthcoming a, b). And,

finally, referencing WHO, UN, and other international organizations' claims about

incorporating sport into the development agenda in order to increase healthy behaviors

effectively locks HITS policy discourse into linear logic of a rational problem-solution

pair. Employing expert knowledge thus enables HITS policy discourse to create an idea

of what healthy living is by stabilizing narrowly defined realities about the relationship

between health and physical activity.[35] In the process, it functions to unequivocally

organize SNAP behaviors and those populations that engage in them into the category of

unhealthy while labeling sport and those populations that participate in sport as healthy.

The Healthiness of Sport

While there are four SNAP risk factors, physical inactivity is the risk factor

targeted in a majority of HITS publications. Smoking, alcohol consumption, and poor

diet are mentioned when providing context to the NCD crisis or when making reference

to comprehensive strategies for combating NCDs, but they are often case as lesser

problems. The selective attention paid to physical inactivity and sport may not seem at all

surprising considering the primary organizer of the forum is the Australian Sports

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[35] For example, HITS experts, as well as general sport for development experts, rarely raise negative discussions about sport. Rather, they focus primarily on research that demonstrates a positive and natural relationship between health and physical activity, ignoring studies that may suggest otherwise (for critiques of this tendency, see Coalter, 2010; Donnelly, 2011). These experts also focus on studies conducted in the global North among populations that are very different from those that HITS policy targets (for critical discussions on the production of knowledge and evidence in sport for development practice, see Lindsey & Grattan, 2012; Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2011). Finally, HITS experts often ignore other aspects that may contribute to one's health, including diet.

Commission (ASC). However, it is this normalization of the benefits of sport that I would like to problematize in this section. Sport is assumed to be the natural solution to the NCD crisis. There is rarely a question of whether sport can reverse NCD trends, or whether alternative or complementary strategies should be explored. Rather, the policy question asked in HITS documents is how sport can be disseminated more widely and immediately—a point I will return to momentarily. In order to build sport to this unquestionable status of champion of healthy living, HITS authors must first build discursive layer upon discursive layer of symbolic images that position sport as a powerful tool for influencing people's health behaviors in positive ways (cf. Van Leeuwen, 2007).

For example, throughout HITS documents and ASC project documents, authors circulate global ideologies about the inherent qualities of sport, describing it as "socially engaging," "a convenor of people," and an "effective tool for empowering youth and older women in developing countries" (ASC, 2012a, p. 12; 2012g, p. 3). Furthermore, it is "easy, exciting, enjoyable, and everywhere," among a range of other things (ASC, 2012b, p. 1). Locating their discourse within the specific health context of the Pacific, HITS authors also characterize sport as having "unique attributes" as a "tool for health," especially for resource-constrained countries in the region (ASC, 2012a). Providing recognized health benefits, sport is framed as one of the WHO's "best buys" for preventing NCDs,[36] thus playing "a powerful role in addressing the risk factors causing

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[36] The WHO distinguishes between its "best buys" and its "good buys" by their cost-effectiveness. On the one hand, best buys are those things, presumably interventions to prevent and control NCDs, that are highly cost effective, effective, feasible, and affordable in any resource setting. On the other hand, good buys, are "other interventions that may cost more or generate less health gain but still provide good value

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NCDs," and as being "one of the most cost-efficient and effective ways to tackle NCDs" (ASC, 2012g, p. 3; 2012a, p. 3). Sporting organizations themselves are also positioned by HITS authors as ideal settings for promoting healthy behaviors—"in no small part because of the healthiness of sport" (WHO, 2012, p. 10). Finally, sport is positioned as "creating potentially powerful partnerships," enabling development organizations to "reach groups of people who do not usually participate [in activities] that support the achievement of the MDGs" (ASC, 2011a, p. 1).

In his work on the social role of sport, Fred Coalter (2007) points out that there is a tendency by policy stakeholders to build the concept of sport to mythopoeic status in policy debates. Such mythopoeic concepts, he argues, are based off of popularized, idealized, and overgeneralized ideas produced outside of critical analysis, yet nonetheless highlight relationships between variables (like health and physical activity) while excluding others without justification. While myths contain some elements of truth, these elements become "reified and distorted and 'represent' rather than reflect reality, standing for supposed, but largely unexamined, impacts and processes" (p. 9). The political strength of these myths, or as discourse scholar Theo Van Leeuwen (2007) might put it, the "language of legitimation" is fueled further by mobilizing metaphors that evoke vague yet powerful images. One such metaphor employed by HITS discourse is sport as a cost-efficient best buy. For example, HITS policy describes sport as a "modest investment" in public health intervention "so low in cost that a country's income levels

for money" (WHO, 2012, p. 10). Interestingly, the WHO states that "promoting physical activity in communities is identified as a good buy and, along with walking, cycling and other recreational activities, sport is central to community-based physical activity promotion" (p. 10, italics mine). In ASC-authored HITS publications, however, terminology slips and sport becomes the WHO's "best buy" intervention (see for example, ASC, 2012h, p. 5).

need not be a major barrier to successful prevention" (ASC, 2012a, p. 11). In other words, no (developing) country will be left behind in the global fight against NCDs if they invest in sport. These sorts of economic arguments function to rationalize the use of sport to achieve health goals, focusing policymakers' attention on the high cost of inaction and the low cost of action. According to Coalter (2007), such economic calculations about the associated economic effects of health and the economic benefits of sport serve a dual purpose: 1) to "dramatize the nature of the issues and their broader, collective, consequences," and 2) to "act as part of the lobbying process for greater public investment in sport" (p. 133).

Indeed, economic metaphors are used to circulate HITS policy and lobby support by tapping into the "neoliberal imaginaries" (Rizvi, 2006) of Pacific Island governments, where the notion that healthier bodies create not only healthier nations, but more importantly, economically thriving nations has already justified a plethora of isolated sport for development initiatives around the region, including those implemented by the US Peace Corps, FIFA (soccer), and the IRB (rugby). This idea—healthy bodies, thriving nation—is reflected in Samoa's Ministry of Health's position that "the health status of communities is both a function of and a reflection of development in those communities (MOH, 2010, p. 23). With cash-strapped Pacific Island governments characterized as 'shopping' around for cost effective NCD interventions, selling sport to Pacific Island governments as a modest intervention and best buy help to align a HITS policy world with the neoliberalized operations of a Foucauldian "modern" government—that is, a government that disciplines and controls unruly populations less as a sinister agent

masked as a social service provider working on behalf of the interests of the people, but more as a collection of development policy entrepreneurs (Hayhurst, 2009). Sport is not just an instrument of mythopoeic status granting its advocates a cloak of humanitarianism, it is also an ideal, or authorized (Van Leeuwen, 2007), hands-free tool that requires the state only to "create and preserve an institutional framework" in which human action can be brought into the domain of the (free) market (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). Sport is thus "a means for governments to cut social and health costs and save on government programmes related to these areas" (Hayhurst, 2009, p. 221), while maintaining their governing power.

For example, during the case studies portion of the HITS forum, Tongan representatives from the ASC/ASOP's prized program[37], Kau Mai Tonga Netipolo, gave a presentation about its Strategic Health Communication (SHC) approach, which the ASC has planned to roll out in its other operating countries like Sāmoa. According to its publicized documents, the ASC explains that the SHC strategy behind Kau Mai Tonga's success enabled local actors in Tonga to develop (in collaboration with outside consultants) effective health messages through a consumer focused approach to market research (ASC, 2012a). By contracting private sector partners, ASOP Tonga was able to create a supportive and creative environment to conduct focus groups, communications pre-testing, and run brand tests on its slogans, messages, and celebrity spokespersons (see Figure 7) to better "understand the perspective of the target audience" (p. 2).

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[37] The ASC was awarded in July 2013 the WHO's best practice award for its contributions to improving the physical activity of women in Tonga.

Figure 7. Kau Mai Tonga Netipolo phase 1 campaign outdoor poster-visual, brand and call to action. Source: ASC, 2012a.

Promoting physical activity as "easy, exciting, enjoyable, and everywhere," Kau Mai Tonga was a success not just for the ASC and ASOP, but also for the Tongan government, whose "forward-looking, profit-maximizing agents" (Romer, 1986, p. 1003) creatively mobilized their knowledge and skills to take on the country's health challenge from a business-not-as-usual approach.

Based on these descriptions of sport as a cost-effective silver bullet, HITS discourse creates the illusion that communities with sport are healthy communities where

members are and can (choose to) be healthy.[38] By this nature, the antidote to the NCD

crisis reads simply: add sport and stir. Yet, HITS policy discourse does not stop here.

Indeed, the HITS forum was convened months after the series of meetings that declared

an NCD crisis in the region. At these meetings, ministers of health, ministers of sport,

and other leaders of Pacific Island nations declared their commitment to begin

strategizing how to collaboratively address the risk factors that cause NCDs, especially

physical inactivity. While sport is the obvious (read: rational) policy solution to the NCD

problem from the perspective of sport for development actors, the question remains how

to implement sport as policy and how to increase its demand by the problem population.

To build up this policy agenda, HITS authors draw on the sense of urgency within NCD

crisis discourse to turn the need for an immediate and coordinated response into an

economic and political necessity. This translates into HITS policy discourse as

multisectoral partnerships—also known in Sāmoa as whole of government, whole of

society approaches—both of which have become health policy buzzwords across the

Pacific Islands, especially in Sāmoa (cf. MOH, 2010). The purpose of these partnerships

between sport and health ministries—as opposed to the whole of government—would be

to reduce the fragmentation of sport and health-related aid to the islands; to review cost-

effective, population-wide interventions; to strengthen coordination and integration of

existing sport-based NCD intervention programs; to generate global momentum,

commitment to, and investment in global NCD strategies; and to develop and accelerate

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[38] This illusion echoes a statement made by Australian Minister for Sport, Senator Kate Lundy: "We all know that a sporty nation is a healthy nation" in response to the opening of the Pacific Sports Partnerships grant scheme funded by AusAID and managed by the ASC (ASC, 2013).

the efficient delivery of national NCD policy and action plans (ASC, 2012g). Essentially, government sectors must be primed into better teams of entrepreneurs.

Under this "whole of government" arrangement, sport and health sector partners are given equal weight in the relationship; promoting health through sport is made to be just as important as promoting sport through health. Nevertheless, HITS policy discourse, through its emphasis on increasing physical activity and highlighting the positive qualities of sport, places the bulk of this weight on promoting and developing sport. Although HITS organizers attempted to help delegates see the value of partnership and collaboration through extensive group work activities, in the end a health promotion agenda serves to legitimate the promotion of sport instead of becoming a program objective of the sport sector. HITS forum participants even noted that it was more difficult brainstorming ways for partners to "sell" a health agenda to the sport sector than it was for partners to sell the benefits of sport to the health sector (ASC, 2012e). At first this is rather ironic, considering the organizing theme of the HITS forum is grounded in changing health outcomes through sport. Yet when one reflects on the stance that the ASC and AusAID have taken on sport for development, the heavy emphasis on multisectoral partnerships that emphasize sport development over health development becomes less surprising:

> For the purposes of the ASOP, AusAID and the ASC have started with the premise that quality sport for development must be based on quality sport development and that in order to maximise the chances of sustainable sport for development outcomes, the long term sustainable development of sport must be a key objective. This means that programs will be based on undertaking quality sport development, rather than on other sector interventions that somehow incorporate a sporting component. (ASC, 2007, p. 4)

In other words, the ASC and AusAID are more focused on promoting the development of sport rather than the promotion of a health agenda that uses sport to convey health messages. If placed on a spectrum of sport for development with one end more focused on sport development and the other end more focused on social development, the ASC would fall on (and self-position itself on) the sport development side (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Sport for development spectrum. Source: ASC, 2007.

In fact, it seems as though HITS authors are taking issue with the fact that the health sector has been the primary leader of healthy lifestyle promotion in the last decade and that sport has not been prioritized by these initiatives. The authors write, "the emphasis of most of these programs however has been broad promotion of healthy lifestyles and encouraging individuals to meet physical activity recommendations," but "none of the programs however aimed specifically to increase participation in sport and only one of the programs specifically mentioned sports groups as a setting for physical activity programs" (WHO. 2012, p. 9). The repeated use of the word 'however' signals that there is some evaluative absence in the existing health sector response that the HITS authors are interested in pointing out.

Sport, as a universally fun and cost-effective way of averting the NCD doomsday, is not only an attractive policy solution; it is the ultimate neoliberal antidote to the

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weighty ills of modernity. That is, promoting sport for development—or, really sport development—positions governments in an ideal position as leaders of a multisectoral movement whose only task is to simply promote mass participation in sports. By raising awareness of its health benefits, government officials can effectively relinquish themselves from any responsibility for change since the onus of change rests on the individual. Those who choose to participate in sport and physical activity are lauded as virtuous biocitizens choosing the right thing to do for themselves and their country. Those who choose not to do it (or those who do not find it fun) are positioned as being at fault (or backward) for continuing to be a burden on society in the form of a voracious consumer of resources. This brings me to part two of this chapter where I explore the discourse strategies employed to identify a problem population and to valorize those that adhere to norms.

Empowering Bio-Citizens and Bio-Powering the State: Inventing the Problem Population(s) and Governing Institutions

Referenced earlier in the dissertation, when popular media features health stories about Pacific Islanders, the dominant narratives and images center on the large and expanding body sizes of Islanders: "Pacific islanders are world's fattest" (BBC, 2001; Rees, 2010) or "Why are Polynesians so BIG?" (Samoa Online, n.d.). While HITS policy discourse stays away from explicitly naming Islanders as "fat," it nonetheless conjures the same narratives and images of Islanders as failed bio-citizens through its emphasis on a lack of discipline and responsibility. As illustrated in the previous section, strategies of discursive normalization and political neutralization enable HITS policy discourse to

implicitly identify Pacific Islanders as having a "problem of population" by making their conduct (lack of physical activity, poor diets, etc.) visible as both a public problem and the cause of a much larger problem (the NCD crisis). Yet at the same time, HITS policy discourse infuses the ideological and moralistic neoliberal undertones of employing sport to combat NCDs into another subject identity: the virtuous bio-citizen. In this sense, following Greene (1999), the policy discourse of the HITS governing apparatus "distribute[s] a population around a norm valorizing particular forms of conduct as healthier, more productive, and more responsible" (p. 6). In turn, Islanders are "materialized on the terrain of a governing apparatus" (ibid.) as a population in need of recalibration, but—as we will see—left essentially to perform this work on their own.

Greene (1999) also notes that a governing apparatus produces a grid of intelligibility through which particular arguments, relationships, and concepts are made possible and articulated through policy discourse. Part of this grid, too, is a network of institutions responsible not only for circulating and regulating these ideas, norms, and techniques, but also for managing unruly populations. Driving the HITS policy world both through and throughout its discourse are organizations of authority like the ASC and WHO. As I will demonstrate later in this section, HITS policy discourse strategically locates these organizations within positions of power that perpetuate their authority. Yet, as Greene (1999) suggests, governing institutions do not act alone. Rather, they are assembled together as an ensemble of social actors for the purposes of governing. Here, Levinson and Sutton's (2001) reminder of the rise of the nation-state as the central political unit in international development policy is useful for locating additional policy

actors embedded in HITS discourse. As part of a "new social movement" (Kidd, 2008)—

one that involves an unprecedented range of moral entrepreneurs, sport evangelists,

celebrity athletes, youth volunteers, as well as the traditional NGO—a HITS policy world

could not operate solely as an ensemble of transnational organizations, multilateral

institutions, and government aid agencies located in the global North, but must also enroll

individual nation-states, as well as regional institutions, in the global South as both

supporters of its policy discourse and as co-governing agents. Yet, as constructed by

HITS policy discourse, the present state of financial desperation, technical insufficiency,

and logistical inefficiency found in most Pacific Island nation-states puts these agents in

compromised circumstances in which to adequately govern their own populations. Policy

solutions like "multisectoral collaboration" and "harnessing the power of sport" therefore

become lucrative approaches to ensuring domestic political and socioeconomic obstacles

do not jeopardize international HITS policy success.

　　　In addition to identifying "unhealthy" Pacific Islanders, HITS policy is further

legitimated by discursively locating supranational institutions in positions of authority

and power, and positioning Island nation-states as victims of rapid globalization and

modernization. Borrowing from Van Leeuwen's (2007) framework for analyzing the

way discourse constructs legitimation, the remainder of this section lays out examples of

how discourse strategies of moral evaluation, instrumental rationalization, and

authorization are employed in HITS and ASOP documents to create the identities (the

people and institutions) that help to legitimate a HITS policy world.

Identity 1. Inventing Failed Bio-Citizens and Neoliberal Subjects

Although the NCD doomsday applies to the Pacific region as a whole, risk is individualized to Pacific Islanders and their communities. Through discourse strategies that make public the NCD crisis, Pacific Islanders are discursively normalized as risky and unhealthy individuals: they smoke, have poor diets, consume too much alcohol, and are inactive. The communities where they live are framed as "risk cultures," exhibiting specific cultural traits (e.g., gendered orientations toward physical activity, food preferences and taste, food-centered practices of ritual exchange) that act as obstacles preventing members from adopting healthy behaviors (Seidel & Vidal, 1997). Additionally, risk cultures encourage unhealthy habits by promoting unhealthy environments that further compound the negative effects of rapid globalization. In this sense, the Pacific Islands are portrayed as uniform; their cultures are immutable and toxic, and their people as in urgent need of intervention. Although this discourse draws on colonial representations of Pacific Islanders as lazy, gluttonous, and without self-discipline, when infused with the language of scientific objectivity and a crisis discourse it effectively erases its historical roots and masks its colonial undertones. Consequently, the HITS governing apparatus creates an Other-subject of risky Islanders who live in risky cultures, who are incapable of change, and who are therefore fated to an NCD doomsday—if not for sport interventions.

HITS and ASOP policy discourse helps the governing apparatus achieve this subjectification by strategically characterizing Pacific Islanders as vulnerable and in need of assistance. For example, Pacific Islanders are positioned as being poor as a

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consequence of living in a developing country that is experiencing high levels of NCDs. Furthermore, they are kept poor because they do not participate in income-generating activity due to illness or NCD-related disability, perpetuating the economic narrative of a HITS policy world. When HITS authors break down Pacific Islanders into specific groups, they cast Islanders as children, unemployed youth, the elderly, the disabled, or women, groups that we as readers are intended to recognize as increasing the nation's risk of falling ever more toward the projected doomsday, lest appropriate intervention is implemented. Unemployed youth, for instance, are positioned as exacerbating the country's NCD burden because they engage in risky behaviors out of boredom and a lack of social activities, including sport.[39] Children also pose a risk as they, too, will inevitably pick up these behaviors as they grow into unemployment. Women are targeted as an especially vulnerable group since they are believed to be more sedentary than men due to cultural factors that discourage them from participating in sport. Faced with the "triple challenge" of gender discrimination, age discrimination, and poverty, women are cast as being excluded from experiencing the economic and emotional benefits of sport, as well as the physical self-determination it offers (ASC, 2012a). Through these representations, or perhaps abstractions (Van Leeuwen, 2007), Islander bodies are discursively moralized as lazy, irresponsible, and/or abnormal—by their own volition or as a result of circumstances beyond their control. Their social identities as well as histories as people are erased; they are reduced to their behaviors, body size, and biophysiological indicators like weight, BMI, and blood sugar levels (Halse, 2009).

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[39] This is an imagined reality, however, at least for men, since unemployment is a tricky category in many Island societies where a large percentage of the population is "employed" in subsistence farming, and where often times it is the young (men) who are in the best physical shape.

Lindsay Hayhurst (2009) suggests that such individualization of problems of development (e.g., blaming the victim for being underdeveloped and incapable) allows sport for development programs to target these populations as at-risk and changeable through programs framed by international goals and norms like Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). I would add that individualization of the problem also enables policy discourse to technicalize problems and hence subject individuals to expert knowledge and expert solutions. This ultimately diverts the attention of policymakers away from viewing policy problems as the product of intersecting forces of globalization, social change, neocolonialism, as well as shifting gender orders, all of which I will elaborate on in succeeding chapters.

In contrast to the image of the sickly, immobile, and disempowered Pacific Islander, the HITS governing apparatus simultaneously attempts to inscribe a new (healthy) persona onto the bodies of Islanders: one that is productive, disciplined, and responsible. Strategically converging with its discourse on the power and goodness of sport, HITS discourse constructs an image of what Pacific Islanders could be like if they participated in more sport and physical activity: they will "increase their ability to organise, lead, network, communicate, cooperate, self-determine, become more active and develop a sense of responsibility and fair play" (ASC, 2011b, p. 1). Islanders who play sport also become more globally oriented, cosmopolitan citizens, and their communities become committed, pro-active grassroots drivers of change (and of HITS programs). By collocating sport and positive behaviors, HITS policy discourse positions healthy Islanders as those who not only know about sport and good living, but those who

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make the right healthy choices by participating in sport. Never mind local perceptions of

sport, health, and development; participation in sport in a HITS policy world irrevocably

leads to the internalization of specific and desirable healthy behaviors, ways of thinking,

and ways of being by unruly populations (see Figure 9). After all, in this policy world

sport is a powerful tool against NCDs, and the athlete "represents the pinnacle of bodily

discipline and virtue and thus stands far removed from visions of the corpulent, diseased

body" (Uperesa, 2010, p. 137). By extension, the athlete's body comes to stand as the

epitome of the right way of being.

Figure 9. Group work during the HITS forum: "How? Sport & fitness programs to help
people lose weight." Source: ASC, 2012e.

This last point has great significance for understanding the way HITS policy

employs a discourse of moral authority that subjects Pacific Islanders into compliance.

By doing what Christine Halse (2009) calls "moral mischief," HITS policy discourse uses

a "virtue discourse" that defines health in terms of right and wrong in order to differentiate and sort Pacific Islanders into its own moral schema of who qualifies as an acceptable human being. In this sense, it attempts not only to reshape the bodies and bodily practices of Islanders, but also their relationship to the state. According to Halse (2009):

> citizenship was based on a set of relations between the individual and the state that involved a conscious contribution by the citizenry to improving the life and well-being of the community by actively demonstrating the moral virtues of the citizen—wisdom, temperance, justice and courage. The 'good' citizen is therefore an 'active' citizen, and active citizenship is the means by which one both commits to and becomes immersed in and part of the social world of a community. (p. 50)

In today's Foucauldian modern era, however, and especially in the midst of the Pacific Islands' obesity epidemic and NCD crisis, citizenship is no longer organized along the lines of nationality. Instead, (bio-)citizenship is tantamount to the bodily practices of Islanders and is a direct reflection of the quality of a well-ordered Pacific Island society (see also Crawford, 2006). The HITS governing apparatus thus employs a virtue discourse to create a moral universe in which Pacific Islanders can be viewed and judged as virtuous or failed bio-citizens. While the virtuous bio-citizen is publicly minded and socially responsible, demonstrating a moral orientation toward the interests of those in her community, the failed bio-citizen ignores the common good. That is, the virtuous bio-citizen takes active physical care of her own weight (and other biophysiological measurements) in order to take care of the weight of others in her family and community. By renouncing irresponsible behaviors like physical inactivity, the virtuous bio-citizen actively demonstrates her care for the health and economic well-being of self, family, and nation (Halse, 2009). In contrast, a failed bio-citizen fails to maintain her weight, thus

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threatening the welfare of her community and placing an unwarranted financial strain on her nation's already overburdened health care system (Halse, 2009). Taking advantage of the moral work performed by this virtue discourse, the HITS governing apparatus discursively creates its problem population and invents its governable subjects.

In order to legitimately move Islander bodies along this narrow spectrum of failed population to virtuous population, the HITS governing apparatus must first enroll Pacific Islanders into its policy world as "fat subjects" who self-identify as abnormal and irresponsible (Greenhalgh, 2012). As discussed earlier, HITS authors employ health statistics and the language of crisis, locating Islanders and their behaviors as the source of a region-wide problem. Discourse strategies then help normalize HITS ideologies by leading Islanders to perform the ideological work themselves, thereby assuming as commonsense the experiences (sick and doomed), identities (poor, risky, vulnerable), and moral schema (failed) that are being ascribed to them by the governing apparatus. To manage Islanders, however, the HITS governing apparatus must also simultaneously inscribe onto Islanders a new identity that empowers them to become bio-citizens capable of (self-)transformation through an ethics of self care. By emphasizing the organizational, communication, and networking skills associated with participation in sport, HITS policy discourse conveys a message that Pacific Islanders can become savvy entrepreneurs who are not only fit to contribute to the economic development of Pacific nations, but can produce development results with minimal state intervention or resources (see Figure 10). These "responsibilized" citizens come together, as James Ferguson (2009) describes, "to

operate as a miniature firm, responding to incentives, rationally assessing risks, and prudently choosing from among different courses of action" (p. 172).

Figure 10. Delegates participate in an optional early morning walk, organized as part of the HITS forum in order to provide participants with an opportunity to engage in light physical activity. Source: ASC, 2012e.

In short, a HITS governing apparatus functions to subject Islander bodies to a modern-day panopticon and project of neoliberal rule. I follow David Harvey's (2005) and James Ferguson's (2009) conceptualization of neoliberalism as a "regime of practice" in which dominant groups use "neoliberal arguments to carry out what is in fact a class project" of rule, domination, and marginalization (p. 170). By characterizing Islanders as failed bio-citizens, HITS policy discourse paints a picture in which specific kinds of people (e.g., unhealthy Islanders) "lack the requisite attitudes and means to become rational, economic agents" (Sharma, 2008, p. 27). Empowering them with the

skills to lead, network, and communicate, for example, and encouraging them to participate in their own empowerment—or, by helping them help themselves out of poverty—HITS discourse effectively hides patterns of hierarchy, control, and subjectification behind a mirage of virtuosity (Hayhurst, 2009; Rossi, 2004). That is, the project of transforming failed bio-citizens into virtuous bio-citizens through sport is as much about creating a new moral universe as it is about maintaining the status quo between the global North and the global South. By positioning sport as an activity accessible to and enjoyable by all, HITS policy discourse helps to create the illusion of a healthy environment (or healthy island) in which empowered Islanders can choose to be healthy (and virtuous) if they wish. In the end, HITS policy discourse, through what Van Leeuwen (2007) calls a "rationality of means and ends" (p. 101), shifts the onus of change to the responsible, entrepreneurial, choice-making individual, effectively relieving its international network of governing institutions of responsibility and accountability. On this note, I turn to examine the identities of the HITS governing institutions.

Identity 2. Positioning the Organization(s) of Authority

Although the HITS governing apparatus aims to invent a self-regulating population of healthy Pacific Islanders, it must simultaneously employ a "functioning network of power" that is responsible for "reanimat[ing] the conduct of population," as successful governance of a problem is not always guaranteed (Greene, 1999, p. 4). An important element within this network of power are the governing institutions assembled together to manage populations and to help perpetuate the ideology and practices of the

governing apparatus. As mentioned earlier, HITS organizing bodies like the ASC, AusAID, WHO, and the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) are unequivocally at the top of this network of institutions as they are structurally and discursively located in positions of authority. While Van Leeuwen (2007) theorizes this as a kind of "personal authority" to describe the legitimate authority that is "vested in a person because of their status or role in a particular institution" (p. 94), I would call this a kind of geo-institutional authority where authority is vested in an institution because of their geopolitical power or influence. As international, regional, and supranational organizations, the political power, economic status, and access to resources and technical expertise of the ASC, AusAID, and other such HITS institutions outmatch any of the Pacific Island nations alone. And, as key players in the HITS policy world, their stakes in improving the security of Pacific Island populations are closely tied to improving the security of their own populations and to sustaining the legitimacy of their own organizations. Examining HITS and ASOP policy discourse, it becomes obvious how power and agency between policy drivers and policy receivers are different (Levinson & Sutton, 2001)—and also how equality among partners is a matter of convenience. In this section, I illuminate three ways in which the geo-institutional authority of governing institutions, especially the Australian Government, is discursively constructed as legitimate and legitimizing, as well as how this authority is strategically maintained.

First, the Australian Government, as represented by the ASC, ASOP, and AusAID, appears in the HITS policy world as its de facto leader. HITS authors are not shy about documenting the leadership role played by Australian agencies in developing

and funding the HITS forum. For example, in the majority of HITS publications, HITS authors give the Australian Government the lead subject/actor position: "[…] a 'Healthy Islands through Sports' (HITS) forum was organised by the Australian Government, in collaboration with the Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) and World Health Organization (WHO) […]" (ASC, 2012d, p. 1, italics mine); or "The HITS forum was a key element in Australia's response to the growing burden of NCD in the Pacific region" (ASC, 2012e, p. 1, italics mine). In only one HITS publication (ASC, 2012j) do the authors use a simple conjunction word 'and' to position the Australian Government as an equal partner with its collaborators, the WHO and the SPC: "The forum, an initiative of the Australian Government, the Secretariat of the Pacific Communities [sic], and the World Health Organizations […]" (p.1, italics mine).[40] Australia's special treatment in HITS publications may come as no surprise considering the Australian Government, through the ASC, is the self-appointed Secretariat of the HITS forum—and therefore authors of all official HITS publications. Yet, these subtle nuances in discursive positioning are enough to grant power and control of representation to Australian agencies in ways that frequently go unnoticed.

Second, the Australian Government is discursively positioned as the ambassador of the Pacific Islands—a vestige, perhaps, of Australia's longstanding practice of claiming this role through its strategic framing of its Pacific Island neighbors (Fry, 1997). Australia also appears as the leader of NCD-combatting sport initiatives in the Pacific region as a whole. In HITS publications, for example, key moments highlighting

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[40] While the position of the SPC and the WHO appear to be interchangeable between second and third, the Australian Government always appears first in this list of collaborators.

Australia's role in HITS history are not left out: 1) At the 42nd Pacific Islands Forum in 2011, then Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard gave a speech announcing that the Australian Government would increase its assistance to address the "growing challenges presented by NCDs in the Pacific" (ASC, 2012e, p. 1); 2) By the time of the PIF meeting, the ASC was already working off the momentum from previous meetings and in the midst of exploring avenues for organizing sport for development workshops to help encourage Pacific Island governments to act on their commitments and adopt recommendations on issues regarding sport and health (ASC, 2012i); and 3) As the concept of HITS became reality, the ASC organized a working group of key partners (read: a network of power) to ensure policy outcomes were relevant and meaningful to the region. What is interesting about these representations of Australia's role in the Pacific is that they function not only as an exercise of political and economic power, but they also project an image of their willingness to work with and assist others. In fact, throughout HITS and ASOP documents, Australian organizations are characterized as concerned neighbors working in partnership with Pacific Island governments, building Pacific communities through sport, bringing together key decision makers needed to combat NCDs, and providing "unparalleled, instant access between the Australian sports sector and organizations overseas" to deliver "mutually beneficial outcomes and sporting opportunities for all" (ASC, 2012i, p. 2). With this track record of collaborative leadership, Australia seems poised to achieve its goal of becoming the chair of the Sport and Health Thematic Working Group and the Oceania representative on the United Nation's Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG),

arguably the leading political authority on sport in development in the world (ASC, 2012i).[41]

Third, as mentioned earlier, the Australian Government is strategically positioned as a team player in a larger network of organizations concerned about the Pacific NCD crisis. While identifying the WHO and the SPC officially brings together the main governing institutions of the HITS network of power, whether these institutions are given equal governing status is another issue. A closer examination of the language of partnerships in HITS and ASOP documents reveals that partnership discourse works to soften the neocolonial and paternalistic undertones of the HITS policy world where Islanders are subordinated into positions of inferiority. A discourse of partnership also masks Australia's own political agenda as the lead governing institution of unruly Pacific Islanders beyond the HITS policy world. By including the WHO and SPC, Australia's representations of Pacific Islanders as a security threat in need of immediate mitigation becomes not just the concern of Australians but the concern of the international community. Furthermore, Australian sports agencies like the ASC and ASOP gain legitimacy as development specialists by associating with organizations like the WHO and SPC. I use the term 'associating' because it is not clear, based on HITS forum proceedings and publications, just how a partnership between these organizations is actually enacted, or how these partnerships are supposed to facilitate the achievement of

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[41] The ASC is also a financial contributor and chair of the steering committee of the International Platform on Sport for Development and Peace, currently the world's only centralized e-repository and resource hub on sport for development for practitioners, policymakers, funders, and researchers. It also received a WHO best practice award in July 2013 for its contributions to improving levels of physical activity among women in Tonga.

health development goals.[42] Relying entirely on anecdotal evidence and inconclusive statistics, ASC's CEO makes an argument for why collaboration between sport and health sectors is "good" without mentioning what collaborations specifically entail—i.e., who does what kind of work when and how much. Even in the HITS concept note the authors claim that "it is critical that the proposed event [the HITS forum] is conducted in partnership with key Pacific organisations involved in health and sport, specifically, the WHO Western Pacific Region (WPRO) and the Secretariat of Pacific Communities [sic] (SPC)" (ASC, 2012g, p. 4), but they do not offer an explanation for why these specific organizations should be involved or what they bring to the collaboration.

As discussed above, while the WHO and SPC are identified as organizations of authority, Australia is positioned as the lead organizer while the WHO and SPC (or SPC and WHO) are positioned as passive secondary agents. In some cases, the inclusion of the WHO and SPC merely function to rubber stamp Australia's HITS initiative. For example, the only official time given to the SPC representative to speak at the HITS forum was during the formal welcome, where the representative expressed thanks to the ASC for funding the forum and highlighted the challenges of NCDs and the need for immediate action (ASC, 2012e). Given its official title as HITS forum collaborator, but its relative absence as a driving agent in HITS publications and its minimal involvement in the forum, the SPC's contribution to the HITS network of power appears to be nominal at most. Its inclusion, one could argue, merely provides strategic continuity (and therefore

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[42] The Theory of Change Model prepared by HITS forum participants provides slightly more detail regarding collaboration and partnership between national sport and health sectors. These details include things like co-owning initiatives, cooperative planning, incorporating both sport and health goals into sector workplans, ensuring that each partner understands how the other contributes to their own sector's goals, and delivering consistent health and physical activity messages (ASC, 2012e).

legitimacy) between the HITS forum and previous regional and international meetings

where calls to action against NCDs in the Pacific were sanctioned.

The WHO's role as a collaborating partner is slightly more active than the SPC's,

albeit minimally. When referenced in HITS publications, the WHO is positioned as

providing evidence-based health claims: "WHO estimates that," "WHO has identified,"

"WHO calls for," etc. As a source of scientific authority, the WHO provides the HITS

policy world with the cloak of neutrality and the necessary research evidence to stabilize

HITS policy discourse as commonsense. In fact, the one HITS publication that the WHO

contributed to as lead author is the background paper, "Promoting health through sport

and sport through health" (WHO, 2012). This publication includes a four-page literature

review of a narrow range of studies that demonstrate why a lack of physical activity is a

growing cause of death globally, the relationship between physical inactivity and chronic

disease prevalence in the Pacific, and correlations between physical inactivity and

childhood obesity. It also includes seventeen pages of discussion on the link between

health and sport, or more specifically on how the sport sector can promote health, how

the health sector can promote sport, and how Pacific governments can collaboratively

implement and fund these initiatives and recommendations. One could argue that the

inclusion of the WHO as a partner functions to reinforce the ideological claims made by

the HITS initiative and thus to legitimate the problem-solution pair of the HITS policy

world.[43]

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[43] No doubt the recent best practice award given to the ASC by the WHO for its role in promoting physical activity among women in Tonga works to sustain further this partnership of (reciprocal) legitimization.

While other organizations are also identified in the HITS network of power, including the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP), the Commonwealth Secretariat, and the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) Secretariat, their governing power and participation in the HITS forum remain peripheral. In the end, we are left with the implicit understanding that the HITS policy world and governing apparatus is largely a construction of Australian interests and agendas. The other organizations of authority are conveniently assembled to add legitimacy to the movement. Ironically, Pacific Island actors like officials in sport and health ministries, presumably key stakeholders in the HITS initiative, do not appear in HITS documents as organizing and/or collaborating partners, but rather as attendees of the HITS forum. Identified as recipients of knowledge, Pacific Islanders are not given a place at the policymaking table—a point I turn to in the next section.

What is also ironic is that at the surface Australian organizations of authority seek to improve the health of Pacific Islanders by assisting Island nation-states overcome obstacles of resources and expertise. More specifically, Australian agencies seek to strengthen nations by replicating their own operations (their institutional structures, objectives, policies, processes, and values) in the operations of Island states (see ASC CEO Simon Hollingsworth's speech, "Why collaboration is good for sport: an Australian example," given at the HITS forum for an illustration of this discourse strategy). Yet by discursively locating Australian agencies as purveyors of knowledge and technical expertise, holders of the sport for development purse, gatekeepers to key stakeholders and resources, and evaluators of progress, the HITS governing apparatus carves out a self-

perpetuating social space and social role for the ASC, ASOP, and AusAID in the future

of sport for health initiatives in the Pacific Islands. In this sense, Pacific Island nations

seem destined to a future of dependence on Australia; the development of self-sustaining,

indigenous or grassroots approaches to NCDs do not appear to be the priority.

Moreover, real improvements to Pacific Islanders health are left to take place

within the black box of sport. Whether Pacific Islanders come out of the box healthy is a

matter beyond Australia's control—a notion perhaps best depicted by the Samoan health

campaign message, O lou soifua malōlōina oloʻo i lou lava lima ("Your health is in your

own hands"). In other words, Australian agencies have done their duty by bringing

together the necessary resources, funding, and expertise to create environments

conducive for Islanders to choose healthier lifestyles. Health behavior change, however,

is entirely up to (virtuous) Pacific Islanders themselves. Under this model of change, the

assumptions about and logics tying together sport, health, and development are left

unchallenged and become further entrenched as the HITS policy world. In turn, HITS

policy discourse continues to (mis-)represent, (mis-)assemble, and stabilize what is

known about Pacific Islanders, their way of life, and what should continue to be done to

transform them into the right kind of bio-citizen. Without understanding how change in

health behaviors comes about, change not only seems rather elusive, but the perpetuation

of status quo relations of power seems to be the more likely outcome of the HITS

initiative.

Identity 3. Supporting Victims and Avoiding Failed States

The final population identified by HITS policy discourse are the local governing institutions in the Pacific Islands. As Levinson and Sutton (2001) remind us, studying—and one could also add, implementing—international development policy today requires simultaneous consideration of the rise of the nation-state as the central political unit. Without the support of and approval by local governments, international development initiatives can take on an air of neocolonial imposition and be seen as an infringement on the sovereignty of Island nation-states—many of which have not yet reached 50 years of independence, if they have achieved independence at all. But, as I will demonstrate in this section, the HITS governing apparatus manages to elide this issue entirely by employing discourse strategies that minimize the political need to grant governing authority to local governments. That is, while HITS policy vests geo-institutional authority in its network of governing institutions through specific discourse strategies, it simultaneously divests authority from Pacific Island nations by "naturalizing" a new geopolitical order (cf. Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 99).

Throughout HITS and ASOP documents, Pacific Island nations are framed as struggling developing countries unable to cope with their escalating health burdens. Not only are they resource-constrained; their ministries are also weak and under-staffed. They lack qualified health and sport professionals with the necessary core competencies and technical expertise to design, deliver, and commit to the long-term programs needed to address long-term problems like NCDs. As a result, according to HITS policy discourse, "services are not universally available and countries have low ability to absorb or

implement development initiatives" (ASC, 2012b, p. 1). National governments are thus "naturally" the true victims of the NCD crisis. Not only are their citizens feeding into this burden by being unhealthy and irresponsible; they are also ill-equipped with the resources, knowledge, and capacity to address their own problems. In essence, Pacific Island nations are on the verge of becoming failed states—a term that is itself highly controversial as it suggests the political collapse, rather than the financial independence, of a nation-state often in the context of Africa or the Middle East (see Kabutaulaka, 2004, 2005, for discussions of this discourse in the case of the Solomon Islands).

In contrast, one could consider the work of Senior Lecturer at the Fiji Institute of Technology Claire Slatter. She suggests that the failed state misnomer reflects a modification of the "postcolonial social contract" in which the developed country (Australia) no longer accepts the responsibility for the development of developing countries, but rather forges a relationship based on the neoliberal free market idea that "nobody owes anybody else a living" (2003, p. 1). Framing this neoliberal "ideology of development" within the context of globalization, globalization scholar Stewart Firth (2000) argues that the trouble with the "new rules of a globalizing world" (read: neoliberal development orthodoxy) is that they are "set by people who have little interest in small places or special cases" (p. 191). He goes on to suggest that the logic behind neoliberal economic rationalism puts island governments in a double bind: on the one hand, the preoccupation with "making the cut" on international competitiveness diverts the attention of island leaders away from the interests and needs of their own people. On the other hand, if island leaders were to remove their attention from the international

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market to address the needs of their people through locally appropriate means, they would harm their international standing and potentially ostracize their country (falling further off the map). Slatter (2003) argues further that neoliberal logic redirects the blame for any of the potential negative side effects of neoliberal policies (e.g., economic marginalization, gender discrimination, the exacerbation of poverty) away from developed countries (and their multilateral institutions), and instead "blames the victim" for bad governance practices and corrupt elites.

Framed in this way, it would be irrational to expect full participation by local governments in the successful regulation of their own populations, let alone in the successful circulation and regulation of HITS policy. Instead, these local governing institutions must first be brought up to a certain level of governmentality. Rendering Pacific Island governments as impotent, HITS discourse strategies then direct one's attention to the measures needed to achieve their transformation: Local governments "need to build greater internal capacity and strengthen systems to allow for a more efficient roll-out of strategic health communication programs to reduce NCD prevalence" (ASC, 2012a, p. 11). In other words, local governments need simply to build their organizational capacity, their commitment and competencies, and their transferrable skills—as combatting NCDs is hardly the last of the development issues they will face. One way governments can do this is by working together. According to HITS policy discourse, the challenges facing governments make it even more critical that individual sectors, especially ministries of health and sport, work together to draw on the combined strengths of their organizations and thus deliver sport for health initiatives more

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effectively than they could in isolation (ASC, 2012a, 2012f, 2012g). Since sport creates powerful partnerships (see discussion above), the HITS initiative could not have come at a more opportune time to help bring together government sectors on a common platform.

In the meantime, because national governments are currently facing a series of unfortunate circumstances, another set of governing institutions is needed to help reanimate the conduct of Pacific Island populations. Conveniently, the HITS network of power discussed in the previous section are prepared with the knowledge, technical expertise, and funds to do just the job. Presumably as governments develop the capacity to design and deliver initiatives on their own, they will be given more governing authority in the HITS policy world—although this remains to be seen.

Taking a momentary step back from the analysis, what we see HITS policy discourse achieving here is the repositioning of what one would assume to be a governing institution (local government) into a problem population in need of its own transformation. As Levinson, Foley, and Holland (1996) point out, policy discourse constructs a particular kind of public, a particular kind of citizen, and in this case a particular kind of governing institution. This practice of invention is not just political; it is biopolitical. It is a matter of creating and governing unruly populations. In today's world of supranational organizations, international communities, and failed states-model states, labeling an entity a governing institution versus an unruly population is as much a vestige of colonialism as it is a product of contemporary global politics. According to Greene (1999), though, "what is important concerning the relationship between

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government and population is that government is never simply targeted at a population but rather moves through a population, inventing that population as an object of/for judgment" (p. 5). This implies a constant process of ideological negotiation and renegotiation, as well as the possibility of dismantling elements of a governing apparatus entirely—albeit to be replaced with new ones.

As we can see with the HITS governing apparatus, its discursive acts of 1) framing Pacific Islanders as failed bio-citizens and outlining a (sport-based) pathway for them to become virtuous bio-citizens; 2) positioning Pacific Island governments as victims of the NCD crisis and on the verge of becoming failed states; and 3) locating Australia (and its partners) in the forefront of an international battle against NCDs all function to create subjects of subordination and subjects of domination in a HITS policy world. Yet, reviewing Fry's (1994, 1997) work on Australian representations of the Pacific Islands during the post-Cold War era (see Chapter 2), one could argue that the HITS apparatus is merely a contemporary permutation of Australia's longstanding governing apparatus moving through the Pacific Islands. (Re-)Inventing Pacific Islanders as an unhealthy population headed towards their own NCD doomsday is an exercise of biopower; just as framing Islanders as doomed to "fall off the map" was an exercise of post-Cold War political and economic power. This begs the question of how such representations, how such policy worlds, can gain such ground, given the history of subordination between Australia and its Pacific Island neighbors.

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Dismantling a HITS Policy World: Concluding Remarks on the Problem of Policy Hegemony

In this chapter, I examined the political discourse through which HITS policy drivers reify and normalize a HITS policy world. I demonstrated how HITS discourse strategically lays a grid of intelligibility that names this policy world's problem, solution, and actors; makes possible and natural a discourse of self-transformation through sport; and institutionalizes specific social realities, identities, and behaviors as right or wrong. In general, by revealing the basic categories of thinking about and realizing sport for health, I illuminated the key role HITS policy discourse plays in supporting and legitimating the sport for development project. Analysis of policy discourse is thus an important method for granting policy researchers insight into whose interests are being sanctioned and whose behaviors and ways of being are ultimately being regulated.

It is important to note that while my analysis characterizes HITS authors, policy, and governing apparatus with intentionality, I do not wish to suggest that any person or thing "enters" a HITS policy world with the intent to manipulate, control, or govern Pacific Islanders through relations of domination or subjugation. In fact, the development officials with whom I communicated throughout my research expressed a genuine desire to help Islanders become healthy. Rather, in order to demonstrate how a HITS policy world is made ideologically, politically, and materially real, positioning myself within the language of agents who act and agents who are acted upon is a necessary and useful analytical tool. That is, treating policy as simple, bounded, and understandable enables me to locate my analysis in a policy world which aims to configure and articulate

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problems, solutions, and identities in similarly simplified ways. More importantly, approaching policy in this manner allows me to discern more clearly the hidden from the public transcripts of HITS policy.

Although my analysis is critical of the discourse strategies employed by HITS policy, it is also not my intent to present the HITS governing apparatus as a hegemonic, top-down world order. Rather, I follow Mosse (2005) in his caution against monolithic representations of policy, and attempt to problematize the notion of policy hegemony by offering in the remainder of this dissertation examples of the polytheistic practices of sport for development as they are scattered below. In this way, I explore another possible relationship between policy and practice, one that is messy, scattered, fragmented, and oftentimes disjointed entirely. Instead of beginning and ending in the assumption that policy drives practice, which I have done in this chapter, I begin my analysis of sport for development policy and practice with the assumption that practices produce policy. That is, actors involved in sport for development (e.g., project consultants, government officials, local development officers, village leaders, etc.)—in order to maintain their policy world as real, their work as legitimate, and their resources as justified—must perform a great deal of social work to promote notions of policy coherence and cohesion (Mosse, 2005). This kind of analysis implies that there is a disconnect between what happens on the ground and what is purported to be happening in reports, communication, and evaluations circulated among policy stakeholders.

Indeed, over the course of field research in Sāmoa, I had the opportunity to combine discourse analysis of policy frameworks with multisited ethnographic fieldwork.

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In comparing my policy notes with my fieldnotes, however, I noticed a significant

disconnect between policy and practice. In fact, policy and practice were so often

disjointed that it appeared as though policy was entirely absent from local development

practice. Yet, in development publications, newspaper articles, television spots, and even

in select formal interviews, the official discourse of sport for health was reproduced

fluently, illustrating that local actors were fully aware of the inconsistencies,

fragmentations, and contradictions in discourse and practice yet seemingly untroubled by

them. Rather than interpret this collection of research moments as indicators of policy

failure, these policy and practice gaps illuminated for me the possibility of an alternative

relationship between policy and practice—one in which policy and practice inform and

shape each other in complex multi-directional ways that require a high degree of strategic

cooperation and regulated interpretation between policy actors. This orientation towards

policy puts into perspective alternative experiences of policy and alternative meanings

behind practices that focus one's analysis on local agents and on understanding their

"policy" worlds. For example, what social, cultural, political, economic, or historic

factor(s) have contoured this particular expression of this policy? Mosse (2004) suggests

that these expressions are not necessarily acts of resistance against imposition from

outside, but rather acts of coexistence in which multiple layers of actors (e.g., Samoan

youth, educational administrators, local and international development officials, etc.) are

"constantly engaged in creating order and unity through political acts of composition" (p.

647, italics original). The new ethnographic question, then, "is not whether but how

development projects work; not whether a project succeeds, but how 'success' is produced" (Mosse, 2005, p. 8).

While Part 1 introduced the macro:meso sport for development policy environment and this chapter specifically deconstructed the policy discourse supporting its emergence in Sāmoa and the Pacific region, Part 2 moves to the micro:meso level and begins a process of dismantling entirely what Shore and Wright (1997) describe as the coordinates of one's starting point. Specifically, I destabilize the starting coordinates of a study on sport for development policy by illustrating how, for example, viewing policy as hegemonic erases the experiences, desires, priorities, and worldviews of the policy's target audience. Sport for development can mean something entirely different to a target population than policy ever imagined, meaning no amount of tweaking will help better align policy inputs and policy outputs. In order to understand sport for development as it manifests locally, then—and perhaps how it can more effectively contribute to development—requires one to understand how its local formation emerges from its sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical context. Starting from different coordinates opens the possibility for alternative understandings of NCDs, its etiology, and its solutions. Following David Mosse's (2005) call for a new ethnography of development, I undo my starting point and explore different coordinates of policy experience in order to chart an alternative understanding of the policy and practice of sport in development.

Part 2. Micro:Meso

Chapter 4. 'No Longer Just a Pastime': Sport for Development in Times of Change

Introduction

> As you know, what we are giving out to the villages: Sports for developments. Not only for the health, for the good health of the villages. But also to get some, in the long term, we also want to get some, some, sportsmen. Some good sportsmen from the, from the villages. (Viliama, male community development officer)

In describing sport as "not only for the good health of the villages" but also for identifying "some good sportsmen," Viliama, a Sāmoa Sports for Development Program (SSfDP) community development officer, captures the dual life of sport for development policy as it is practiced, re-localized, and re-presented in Sāmoa. I use the term duality not to reify a rigid order of development (cf. Lewis & Mosse, 2006), but to highlight the simultaneity between two distinct yet competing imagined sport for development policy worlds embedded within a larger collage of ambiguous agendas, purposes, and visions (Appadurai, 1990). The first of these imagined worlds is set within the context of a region-wide non-communicable disease (NCD) crisis and obesity epidemic seen in the HITS policy world described in Chapter 3 (cf. SPC, 2011; UN, 2010). Conjuring images of discipline and control, Viliama draws on an inter/national framework that sees sport as an efficient, cost-effective tool to help Samoans adapt healthier lifestyles and to make healthier choices (cf. ASC, 2012e). Through this adaptation, Samoans are expected to move from unhealthy, inactive lifestyles that place heavy economic burdens on limited state resources to healthy, active lifestyles that contribute to the economic growth of society. It is expected that sport will facilitate this adaptation and release the nation from

its burden by enhancing the individual's fitness level and thus their ability to reach their full economic, wage-earning potential (cf. SDPIWG, 2008).

Viliama's statement also points to a second imagined world in which Samoan communities on the edge of the global (Besnier, 2011) give life to sport in their own development imaginations (Appadurai, 1990, 2000). Set within the context of an increasingly integrated but unevenly globalizing world in which opportunities for social mobility and the attainment of "the blessed life" are often located on distant shores, sport is seen as an alternative pathway to place young Samoans (and their families) on transnational voyages to economic prosperity (cf. Horton, 2012). Through this movement, young Samoans, especially men, are expected to enter global kinship networks of reciprocity and exchange, ultimately contributing to the development of the ʻāiga (family) back home through remittances (Uperesa, 2010). It is expected that international sport will facilitate this movement and set families on a course to prosperity by strengthening transnational ties of tautua (service) and thus the full potential of a family's resource base.

The interplay between these two imagined policy worlds of health development and socioeconomic mobility is also evident in the Sāmoa National Sport Policy:

> On an individual level, sport enhances and improves general health and wellbeing by reducing the likelihood of Non Communicable Diseases (NCD's [sic]) such as heart disease and diabetes. It also promotes positive physical, psychological and social development. It is instrumental in the development of individual and behavioral traits such as fair play, ethical behavior, honesty, respect for authority, and leadership. In essence, sport is no longer just a past time [sic]; it is now recognized as a means of personal and professional advancement. (MESC, 2010, p. 10, italics mine)

While the policy emphasizes globally recognized health and social benefits of sport, the last sentence marks an abrupt and ambiguous shift. In both the English and Samoan translations, it is unclear to what "personal and professional advancement" refers or how it is connected to the previous points about health. This chapter attempts to explain this ambiguity by highlighting the local subjectivities, meanings, and practices that breathe life into the second imagined world of sport for development.

According to Mosse (2005), ambiguity is a requirement for concealing ideological disjunctures between different actors—in this case, between the "public" and "hidden transcripts" of international donors and local recipients (cf. Scott, 1990). Furthermore, ambiguity is necessary to sustain an autonomous space in which local actors can work in the interests of their own communities while maintaining the appearance of inter/national policy coherence. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mosse (2005) argues that the ethnographic question is not *whether* sport for development projects succeed despite the ambiguity, fragmentation, and disjuncture embedded in their policy and practice. Rather, the question is *how* heterogeneous entities (people, ideas, interests, events, and objects) are brought together to create a material and imagined world of development success. Examining how sport is reassembled in the imaginations of Samoans, this chapter, and the ones that follow, employs an ethnographic approach to generate insights into how Samoans use sport to achieve a different vision of development centered around the 'āiga rather than dominant paradigms of health and development.

This chapter shifts the dissertation to a micro:meso exploration of the disjuncture in sport for development policy and practice. Focusing on the perspectives of Samoan

youth, school administrators, community leaders, and government officials, I illuminate how these actors have relocated sport as a health development tool within a political economy of translocal migration rooted in service to the family, church, and village. In this way, I begin to unpack the social lives of sport for development, introducing an ensemble of elements that have made sport "no longer just a pastime" but also a "means of personal and professional advancement." Specifically, I illustrate 1) the notion that sport is perceived as a "ticket" ifafo (overseas) and 2) the rationale that sport is a viable alternative pathway to "the blessed life" (o le ōlaga faʻamanuiaina), especially for those youth not excelling in school.[44] I also demonstrate 3) how these elements have been strategically brought together within the logics of tautua (service) to help young Samoans (especially men) navigate a rapidly changing and uneven global society (Appadurai, 2000). By ethnographically illustrating a Samoan "assemblage" of sport (Collier & Ong, 2005), one can better envisage how sport, rather than a tool that transforms unhealthy bodies into healthy ones, has come to shape a politics of hope animating a development agenda imagined and driven by the ʻāiga, the central social unit of the faʻasāmoa (the Samoan way). Through this alternative life of sport for development, Samoans circumvent inter/nationally defined paradigms of health and development, ultimately redefining in their own ways what it means to use sport to become fit and productive citizens.

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[44] As mentioned in Chapter 2, I use the term "blessed life" rather than "good life" to highlight the religious connotations often reflected in my interlocutors' constructions of their ideal imagined futures. See Macpherson and Macpherson (2011) for more on the significance of religion in the worldviews and social and economic practices of Samoan society.

The Plurality of Sport: Sport for Something More

In my conversations with youth, village leaders, school administrators, and government officials, sport was often framed unsurprisingly in terms of something to do for fun and enjoyment, a social activity to pass the time. Benefits of participation were often referenced in terms of health and social development themes similar to those promoted by official project models. Yet, these references were never the stopping point in our conversations but almost always a stepping stone to what my interlocutors believed were more important motivations, like promoting the country overseas, thinking about the future welfare of one's family, and participating in a remittance-based economy.

In a grounded survey administered to nearly 600 students (boys and girls) at five secondary schools in Savai'i, a similar pattern emerged, illustrating the degree to which elements of a Samoan sport for development assemblage permeate local discourse and the collective imagination. I asked students to respond to four open-response questions: What is the usefulness of sports for 1) you, 2) your family, 3) your village, and 4) your country? As expected, students reported a wide range of uses for sport in their own lives and for their communities, including health purposes, to have fun with friends (to socialize), for achieving specific career goals (for the future), to develop their talent or leadership skills (youth development), and for service to the family, village, and country (see Table 2).

Table 2. Percentage of Student Responses to the Question, "What is the Usefulness of Sports for You, Your Family, Your Village, and Your Country?"

	…for you %	…for your family	…for your village	…for your country
Health reasons	61	20	16	9
To socialize	7	21	23	6
For the future	24	20	6	3
Youth development	17	5	12	12
To serve	0	38	49	75

Sixty one percent (61%) of students reflecting on the usefulness of sport for themselves referenced health reasons like, "You don't get sick because you sweat out the bad/poison while playing," or "Brings down the [high blood pressure] of the [obese] body." Notably, as students shifted their focus to the larger social units (to the family, the village, and the country), their responses are less about health—representing 20%, 16%, and 9% of students for each category respectively—and more about how sport allows them to fulfill acts of service (tautua) to the larger collective—at 38%, 49%, and 75% respectively. These acts of tautua ranged from earning money to help their families with financial obligations (especially contributions to cultural activities of exchange) to achieving recognition and fame for their family, village, and country. For example: "When you travel [to play sports] the first question people ask is where do you come from and then you will tell others the name of your village."

The shift away from health-related responses as students reflected across larger units of analysis is particularly illuminating considering the dominant inter/national discourse around sport's role in addressing metabolic disorders faced by communities and nations in the Pacific. While students reported that sport is a means of exercise and a way to strengthen one's body and obtain good health, they also saw sport as a means to

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personal achievement and a blessed future by way of opening pathways to fulfill obligations to tautua, echoing the shift displayed in the National Sport Policy. As the health and "something more" plurality becomes more pronounced across social units, it is apparent that participation in sport has come to signify a vision of success and achievement very different than the vision of instilling healthy lifestyles initially imagined at the inter/national level. I now turn to the elements that help to contextualize this plurality as well as the indigenous logics stitching together a distinctly Samoan assemblage of sport for development.

Sport as a Ticket Ifafo: Mobility From Here to There

At the core of a Samoan assemblage of sport for development is the notion that sport is now an avenue that youth can pursue for their future. Iosefa, a government school principal in Apia, framed youth participation in sport as a way to ensure they develop useful skills while at school. I asked him what was significant about sport skills, and he quickly pointed to the international arena of professional sport: "Sports can take you places. And I think that's, that's what's happening now. That's where the target is now for a lot of the youngsters who play sport: to earn a place overseas, too—or as we said—to gain a ticket overseas. Once you get that, that's very much the climax of our part [as teachers]. And as I've said, they earn a lot of money! That's a lot of money, compared to what they could have got here. There's nothing here."

While it may strike the inter/national development community as alarming that Iosefa paints the ultimate climax for teachers as sending their students overseas, what is even more telling is his final point that "there's nothing here." Embedded in this gloomy

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statement is a common representation of the quality of life my interlocutors and close

informants (both those who had lived overseas for a period of time and those who had yet

to leave Samoa's shores) perceived to permeate life in Sāmoa compared to life overseas.

The dearth of opportunities cast a shadow on the future for many young Samoans

negotiating their options as they entered adulthood (cf. Macpherson, 1990). For, Mikaele,

my host brother in Savai'i and the son of a village rugby coach, the anxieties he faced

about his future were best illuminated by his struggle to decide whether to return to

university in Apia at the start of his second term. While the enrollment fee (SAT $265, or

USD $117.40) and tuition (approximately SAT $1,300, or USD $575.90) would have

been prohibitive for most families in Sāmoa, the burden weighing heavily on his mind

was not a matter of cost but rather the long term opportunities that continuing university

(and thus staying in Sāmoa) would close. He explained:

> When we were younger, you always get asked, What do you want to be when you grow up? Y'know? At the time you think you can become anything. But as you grow up in this country you start to realize that there are so many limitations. You start thinking, I wanna be a lawyer. But when you grow up, studying law here is really [impossible]. If you wanted to be a pilot, you can't become a pilot in Sāmoa. Like there's so many limitations. So you start to realize like, reality kinda hits you. And then you realize that living in Sāmoa is like, your options in life are really limited compared— And so you kinda think like, so, if [you] want to achieve this, do you wanna stay in this country? Or do you opt to take another thing which you didn't wanna take? So you're kinda forced to change your course of life, to change your ambition in life.

For Mikaele, returning to the university meant tempering his ambitions to a less

than desirable future. The prospects of spending several more years doing schoolwork to

earn a diploma that might give him an entry-level government job in Apia for SAT $8 to

$10 per hour (USD $3.51 to $4.39) did not compare to the idea of leaving university and

moving to Australia to work part time without a university degree for AUD $13 to $15 an hour (USD $13.54 to $15.96).[45] Furthermore, the limited employment opportunities in Apia also meant higher risks of "failing" to achieve social mobility through education and thus returning to the village to work on the family plantation. A future confined to "the bush," however, merely perpetuated the view that there is no hope on the island.[46]

In the end, not returning to university proved to be more attractive for Mikaele. Staying at home in his village in Savaiʻi meant waiting for a "ticket" to follow his older sister to New Zealand. Although this wait could potentially be indefinite, the chance to go overseas outweighed the risk of long-term confinement to the bush as well as the more immediate stress of dodging village gossip for returning to the village instead of schooling in Apia.[47] For Mikaele and many of Samoa's increasingly educated youth, the imagined life overseas shapes their negotiation of where the "target" destination lies and the pathways they deem worth pursuing. Their readings of an uneven terrain of opportunity and risk—textured by stories told of/by and observations made of returned overseas relatives—are further recast in their projections of possible futures. As Appadurai (1991) put it, "more persons throughout the world see their lives through the prisms of the possible lives offered by mass media in all their forms" (p. 198). Whether

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[45] At the time of writing, the national minimum wage in Australia was AUD $15.96 per hour (USD $16.64); for junior employees 19 years of age, the minimum wage was AUD $13.17 (USD $13.73). In Sāmoa, the national minimum wage for employees over 18 years of age was SAT $2 per hour (USD $0.88).

[46] This view contrasts greatly to what Andrew Robson (1987) found over 20 years ago in his study of formal schooling and the alienation of students from village life. In his study, he concluded that much of the concern about student disenchantment with village life was unfounded and overgeneralized, arguing instead that students viewed schooling as a means by which they had a reasonable chance to achieve their aspirations.

[47] Within seven months of our conversation, Mikaele received an opportunity to join his sister in New Zealand on a temporary work visa sponsored by his uncle.

through television, radio, the "coconut wireless"—and now also through SMS texts and Facebook posts—this collection of possible lives contours the "mythographies" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 6) of migration and become increasingly attractive against a backdrop of less than ideal futures. No longer a singular course of fantasy or escape, the social imaginary now functions as "a staging ground for action" (p. 7) and a place for self-creation, especially in a context of structural constraint and disparate power (cf. Demerath, 1999).

Indeed, the prospects of life overseas overshadow if not mark a point in the horizon of many youth's imagined futures. Although 63% of youth surveyed in my study have not yet visited or lived outside of Sāmoa themselves, over 90% have family currently living or working overseas, mostly in New Zealand, Australia, and the United States. When asked where they themselves wanted to go to live and work in the future, nearly 75% of students reported a country outside of Sāmoa (about 52% said New Zealand and/or Australia), while only about 20% said they wanted to stay in Sāmoa. Never mind the hardships or realities of the migrant lifestyle awaiting them overseas; the primary pull factor is the migration itself, highlighting what Niko Besnier (2011) calls a "migratory disposition," or "a logic of life strategies and organized action in which migrating is desirable, possible, and inevitable" (p. 40). As globalization increases Samoa's integration into the global political economy, pathways overseas have also increased (education, seasonal work schemes, military, sport, etc.), heightening the desirability, possibility, and inevitability of transnational movement. Yet as global integration deepens, local access to transnational opportunities have become increasingly

uneven across Samoan society, what Cindi Katz (2004) describes as a simultaneous process of time-space compression and time-space expansion (see also Stromquist, 2002). Although opportunities to participate in the global political economy are greater, those who have the economic resources, social networks, and human capital within their immediate kin relations are more likely to seize these opportunities than others, pushing global shores just beyond reach for those in positions of less privilege. Earning, or rather winning a ticket overseas on merit or skill alone renders the appearance of a level playing field, creating a mirage of equal opportunity for those in positions of relative disadvantage.

Mikaele's dilemma thus points to the anxieties many Samoan youth face as they wait on the periphery for their entry ticket to the expanded shores of the development imagination. Traditionally, educational scholarships to overseas institutions functioned as the conduit of mobility and thus the measure of one's success (Macpherson, Bedford, & Spoonley, 2000). Today, though, with increasingly fewer opportunities on-island, educational scholarships overseas are not enough. Teuila, an executive official of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC), explained to me that scholarships were once a measure of success and achievement, highlighting individual intelligence among largely undifferentiated youth. Today, scholarships represent the first step for the individual's lifelong entry into an expanded sphere of economic productivity. Without the first ticket, youth are left struggling at home changing their course and ambitions in life.

With the increasing globalization of international sport and, in particular, the increasing tendency for professional teams to contract (male) athletes from the Pacific

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Islands (Grainger, 2009; Horton, 2012), sport pathways have become popular for Samoan

(male) youth looking for alternative ways overseas and alternatives ways to success. The

media, billboard advertisements, and television commercials highlighting Polynesian

athletic prowess help reproduce the notion that Samoans and other Pacific Islanders have

a special place in the making of international sport history, feeding further into the allure

of sport (for example, see Figure 11).
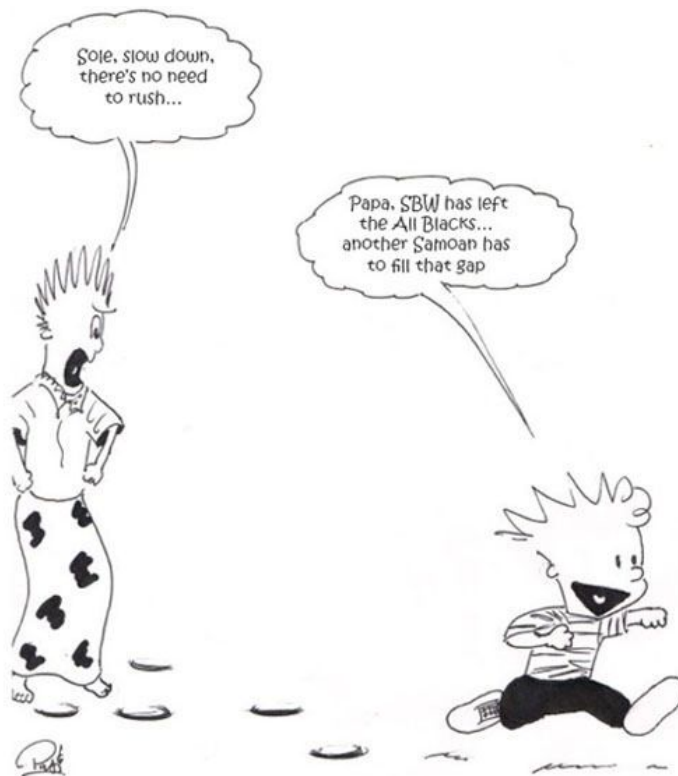
Figure 11. Another Samoan has to fill the gap. Source: *Samoa Observer*, August 27, 2012. Note: SBW refers to Sonny Bill Williams, a rugby footballer of Samoan descent who played for the New Zealand All Blacks squad during the 2011 Rugby World Cup.

In the cartoon above, Sole's enthusiastic rush to fill Sonny Bill Williams's spot on the

New Zealand All Blacks team illustrates the place of international professional sport in

the imaginaries of many young Samoan men.[48] Yet it is important to note that sport

pathways out of Sāmoa and other Pacific Islands are made possible and/or constrained by

a host of context-specific factors that lie outside the mere expansion of the sport industry

(Besnier, 2012). For example, Samoa's colonial history under New Zealand and their

special political and economic relationship today; the absence of a tight link between

one's academic achievement and one's eligibility to participate in intercollegiate and/or

professional sport; and the heavy presence of international sporting bodies all come

together to shape, contour, and color the local sporting context in Sāmoa. As a result,

sports like rugby and netball have become more widespread, migration to countries like

New Zealand and Australia have become more attractive, and pathways to the future

independent of schooling have become more plausible for youth in Sāmoa. Sport

pathways out of other islands like American Samoa, a place socially and culturally

similar to Sāmoa, can thus look entirely different depending on the particularities of

locality (cf. Uperesa, forthcoming).

Through successive conversations with youth, ministry officials, and village

leaders in Sāmoa, it became apparent that the prospects of global sport combined with the

anxieties of a future confined on the island have created a new politics of hope for

Samoan youth. Not only are these politics grounded in the physicality of their bodies;

they are also perpetuated by the material promises advertised by the industrialized world

in return for their labor (Besnier & Brownell, 2012). Sport contracts with international

clubs or sport scholarships to schools in Australia or New Zealand have been

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[48] The two main characters, Papa and Sole, feature regularly in the *Samoa Observer*'s political cartoon series, providing social and political commentary on a pressing issue featured in the day's paper.

inadvertently absorbed into a development logic where scholarships facilitate one's entry into a lifecycle of "circular mobility" (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009) and remittances to the ʻāiga. Many of my interlocutors expressed their belief that it was right for the youth to view sport as a ticket, especially those for whom sport was their "only way out" of Sāmoa. Not only did this represent an entrepreneurial way of expressing one's "natural" God-given talent; it was also viewed as a means of "putting to work" those youth who could not be productive through traditional (academic) routes of mobility (cf. DeJaeghere, 2013). Sport has thus become a ticket overseas in the minds of many Samoans, setting in motion new pathways of productivity and practices of development.

Sport as a Viable Pathway: Alternatives for the Academically 'Unfit'

Talking about his perceptions of the role of sport in the development of Sāmoa, the Honorable Tuilaepa Lupesoliai Sailele Malielegaoi, prime minister of Sāmoa since 1998, did not point to the role sport played in instilling healthier lifestyles among the population. Rather, he spoke to the productive opportunities it gave youth whose chances of upward mobility and service to the family were constrained by their poor performance at school: "Look, sport is very, very important. For us, we have a huge population of unemployed youths. And of course many would not make it to academic eh, to the academic world. So, instead of dropping out of school and go back to the villages, sports provide an avenue for them to, eh, find a way to support a family in the future." In other words, sporting success provides a viable alternative for those youth destined to return to the village. This sentiment, I found, was not confined to the stately walls of the prime

minister's office; it also emerged in many of my conversations with interlocutors located in different levels of society and in different regions of Sāmoa.

Lupe, for example, a secondary school student in Savai'i and one of her village's most talented female soccer players, explained to me: "A lot of people— children in Sāmoa are talented in different ways. Some children are good at school while others are good at sports. [These are] different talents. Most students who are not good in school should pursue a career in sports to help them get an income in the future. Sports is a job, a career, because it's a way of getting money to help the family." In recognizing the different talents with which the children of Samoan are blessed, Lupe pragmatically positions athletic talent on the same grounds as academic talent. One is not better than the other; they are merely different. And just as education caters to those who are good at school, sport can cater to those who are good on the pitch. Although Lupe's categorization of talent may function to stratify and "track" Samoan youth, it helps to illuminate how sport has been catalogued into a contemporary selection of imagined futures. Sport, like schooling, is something to pursue if you are talented at it—and, at least according to inter/national media coverage of Samoan athletes, raw athletic talent is something with which Samoans have been well-endowed.[49]

While education has traditionally been the primary means of upward mobility in Sāmoa, these opportunities were generally limited to those with the "educational capital" (including social, cultural, and financial capital) needed to obtain coveted scholarships to

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[49] The racialization of Samoan athletic talent is a point to be problematized further, especially in terms of how it perpetuates the perceived viability of sport as an alternative pathway to the good life and the further "deskilling" or "deschooling" of Samoan youth (cf. Hokowhitu, 2003; Tengan & Markham, 2009). I discuss the issue of deschooling in Chapter 6.

pursue education overseas (Macpherson et al., 2000). Despite the selectivity, education-based mobility carved specific pathways to prestige in the Samoan development imagination; it also created specific ways of thinking about and preparing youth for such transnational futures. Yet in recent years, as it has become apparent that not all Samoan youth can successfully pursue education-based pathways—and that not all pathways are contingent on one's educational achievements—identifying other student talent has become a strategy for youth, educators, and community leaders to maximize success, a topic I explore further in Chapter 6. Sione, a secondary school principal on the outer island of Savai'i, elaborated further on the rationale behind this de facto identification system: "I think not all the students are academically, you know, academically fit for getting jobs, you know? But maybe 5 or 10 of the, the school leavers here, maybe [get] a chance to go into, you know, a selected team, or a national team in the future. So we usually teach them to think of which suitable way, which suitable pathway that he or she is fit to take in order to get uh, to get a blessing for him. A chance for him or an opportunity for him to get a job in the future, or a career. 'Cause we usually [tell] the students, sports now is a career!"

Sione's emphatic final point "sports now is a career!" summarizes the ways in which sport for development has been put to local productive use, becoming what robin kelley (1997) has described as an entrepreneurial strategy intended to enable, in this case, academically "unfit" youth to avoid "dead-end, [no-]wage labor while devoting their energies to creative and pleasurable pursuits" (p. 45). In the context of high youth unemployment where education does not guarantee success, students are encouraged to

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think of the fit between their talents and suitable careers.[50] Couched within this discourse

of "fitness" (both in terms of physical strength and alignment between talent and career),

sport makes possible for those who are academically unfit the blessings and opportunities

from which they would otherwise have been excluded—something of which I elaborate

in Chapter 5. This "inclusive" vision of development puts into sharp relief not only an

unexpected relationship between education, productive labor, and development; it also

demonstrates how the identification and strengthening of one's "fitness" (either in the

classroom or on the pitch) is essential for youth to enter an expanding field of work (see

Chapters 5 and 6). The incorporation of sport into a local development agenda thus

functions to create access to an increasingly uneven global political economy.

In fact, the promotion of sport as a viable career alternative goes beyond

individual rationalizations about the changing global economy. During the 2011 National

Youth Forum development officers from the Sāmoa Sports for Development Program

(SSfDP) encouraged nearly 230 youth attendees to volunteer for SSfDP programs in

order to gain valuable sport skills that would make them more employable. And, under

the theme, "Breaking employment barriers through sport," over 50 youth representatives

of each district in Sāmoa participating in a mock parliamentarian debate discussed a

report proposing legislation to the Government to actively support the development of

sport in Sāmoa. Policy propositions two and five in the report were: "Promote the

importance of sport for youth in order to be one of the job opportunities to earn money to

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[50] Because of Samoa's large informal and subsistence economy, it is difficult to determine
Samoa's "real" unemployment rate. In 2012, the Samoa Bureau of Statistics (SBS) reported an
unemployment rate of 5.7 percent for 2011, and that 35.6 percent of its economically active population
above the age of fifteen were employed in subsistence work. I discuss this topic further in Chapter 4.

take care of their families," and "Promote sport as one of the ways to decrease the lack of job opportunities." At the real policy level, the National Sport Policy (MESC, 2010) and MESC's Strategic Policies and Plan (MESC, 2006) identify the promotion of sport as a career as a specific policy objective. It appears as that on a national scale, sport has become an increasingly popular strategy for addressing Samoa's rising youth unemployment and not necessarily the nation's rising rates of non-communicable disease.

From the perspective of educational administrators, including high-level officials at MESC, Samoa's integration into the global economy, despite its unevenness, has put Samoan youth at a great advantage compared to their parents' generation. To these officials, the idea of using sport as a career alternative and as a way to address unemployment is a reflection of their imagined expanding sites of employability, productivity, and opportunity (cf. kelley, 1997). According to this vision, youth are no longer constrained to the traditional pursuits of teacher, doctor, or lawyer—although youth like Mikaele would argue differently. Instead, in the officials' perspective, youth can pursue careers like sport that are believed to be easier (and more pleasurable) pathways to a good life with better (and more immediate) financial returns. The fact that there have been others who have set this precedence in heroic proportions adds further weight to the belief. Indeed, the visibility of successful Samoan athletes has transformed the notion of "sport is a career" into development commonsense. One representative at the Youth Parliament, lamenting the inadequate education of Samoan youth, even commented: "There are many families in Sāmoa who are blessed, but not all families of our country. Why is this? Because many youth do not see the importance of sporting

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opportunities to be able to choose a better future through sports." Here, not only is sport

an alternative pathway; it is an obvious pathway that a "smart" youth would have noticed

and chosen to follow.

Sport as Tautua: Redefining the Fit and Productive (Male) Citizen

While conversations with my interlocutors often referenced a migration and

development narrative in which sport featured as the conduit to a life of financial

betterment, Samoan scholar Saʻiliemanu Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) cautions against

situating Samoan migration strictly within dominant frameworks of economic

development (cf. Poirine, 1998). She argues that seeing Samoans as "passive actors in a

game of global labor exchange" and their movement as motivated by economic

rationalizations "renders migrants and their communities mute, and the beliefs, values,

and attitudes they hold irrelevant" (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009, p. 3). Rather, drawing on

the late Tongan scholar Epeli Hauʻofa's notion of "world enlargement," she argues for a

shift in perspective by examining Samoan migration within the indigenous logics of iʻinei

(here, local) and ifafo (there, abroad), whereby "circular mobility" between iʻinei and

ifafo foregrounds the social space (vā), and the maintenance of relationships and

connections in that space (vā fealoaʻi) between people as they move. As Samoan circles

of kin and their connection to resources expand beyond the territorial shores of Sāmoa,

one can envision a "sea of islands" (Hauʻofa, 1993/2008) overlaid and interconnected by

a modern-day global political economy (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009a). Describing

Samoan migration as a "culturally informed, historically grounded response to modernity

and globalization" (2009, p. 1), Lilomaiava-Doktor frames development in Sāmoa as a

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translocal endeavor transcending national boundaries yet rooted in the development of the ʻāiga.

Extending Lilomaiava-Doktor's framework to an analysis of a Samoan assemblage of sport for development, one can see how a larger sociocultural tapestry informs Samoan responses to the spatial and social reverberations of a rapidly changing world. The recurring references to increased economic benefits, enhanced financial resources, higher incomes, and strengthened assets do not mean Samoans literally participate in sport-based development pathways solely for economic motivations. Rather, these economic achievements enable Samoan youth, especially males, and their families to participate more fully and prestigiously in an increasingly translocal (re)production of faʻasāmoa (the Samoan way). Many of my younger interlocutors located sport within a logic of tautua (service) to the ʻāiga, epitomized by acts of reciprocity, love (alofa), and respect (āva ma le faʻaaloalo). As one young man described it, a rugby scholarship would enable him to save money from his allowance to help his family fulfill financial obligations to the church or to village faʻalavelave (like funerals or weddings). He could also support younger sibling through school, and later in the future pass on his knowledge of rugby to other village youth so they, too, could pursue sport as tautua to their families. As Sāmoa becomes more integrated into the global economy and as families continue to become interconnected globally, Samoan youth are caught trying to negotiate pathways overseas that enable them to help strengthen the "transnational kin corporation" (Macpherson, 2004; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009a) while allowing them also to fulfill cultural obligations of tautua in an increasingly cash-based economy

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and cash-oriented system of ritual exchange at home. The millennial success promised by sport thus makes it an ideal form of translocal tautua, where personal success can be translated into material and financial expressions of alofa (love) for one's family, church, and village.

In this context, the rise of sport as tautua must also be viewed in relation to perceived diminishing opportunities for meaningful tautua through traditional activities located within the borders of Sāmoa, a landscape that has become increasingly gendered. While feminine spaces of social reproduction in the home have remained relatively unscathed by processes of globalization, urbanization, and modernization, traditional masculine institutions of production like agriculture have been framed as undesirable and inadequate by youth for meeting the needs, demands, and desires of their translocal, cash-dependent families today. Indeed, only two (male) students who participated in my survey reported a desire to pursue an agricultural occupational future. Furthermore, because educational achievement no longer promises a white collar job in the capital (let alone overseas), especially for young men who have been labeled "academically unfit" for school (see Chapter 6), pathways of social mobility at home have become even more limited. As a result, many Samoan male youth drop out of school in hopes of pursuing work overseas to send remittances home, only to find that these opportunities, especially sport-based ones, are equally in short supply. Like the young Rwandan men, chronicled by scholar Marc Sommers (2012), who find themselves unable to complete the building of their houses—a social symbol of Rwandan boys' entry into manhood—many young Samoan men find themselves in parallel circumstances where traditional pathways to

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adulthood, status, and authority have been stifled, and alternative pathways through urban and/or overseas migration do not necessarily bode well either (see Chapter 5). Rapid socioeconomic and geo-economic changes have thus created new detours and roadblocks to manhood, holding young Samoan men indefinitely at bay from fulfilling expectations of their families. Like their Rwandan counterparts, Samoan male youth find themselves in an economic landscape that destines them to become "failed adults" (Sommers, 2012, p. 193): unproductive and unable to contribute to the welfare of their 'āiga and thus unaccepted as adults—a status symbolized by the conferment of a matai (chiefly) title. And, as development imaginaries continue to shift overseas, these men face increasing prospects of unemployment, failure to tautua, and a future "stuck" both in Sāmoa and in youth (ibid.).

The rise of sport as tautua in Sāmoa is thus a uniquely masculine response to changing social and economic landscapes and changing notions of successful tautua and adulthood. For women, although they are often discursively assumed by inter/national policy and inter/national actors to be included in this sport for development imaginary, gendered realities have not only created different possible lives for them, but have also located sport differently in their present and future selves. The uneven terrain of opportunity and risk—and I would add limitations—is read through gendered lenses that often lead young women *not* to consider alternative pathways like sport, even if they believe sport can help propel one into transnational futures and translocal forms of tautua. Manumea, a 20 year old female university student, helped put this in perspective when she explained to me why she had temporarily put her netball aspirations on hold: living in

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Sale'imoa (a peri-urban village outside of Apia), transportation to netball facilities and competitive leagues in town was a financial "burden for my parents." She continued:

> We're not really good with money terms, so I figured like if I get a job, like, take school now, get a job, [then I will] be able to provide for my family and everything. I will be capable—like, you can do anything with money coming in and having a lot of money to help out with [the family]. So, yeah, I have three years for my BA, probably get a job afterwards and then everything will be easier. Yeah, so probably by the age of 23 I can start playing [again], taking netball seriously. Once I finish my BA.

Here, like the young man quoted earlier about the rugby scholarship, Manumea sees one of her primary duties as a daughter to help her family meet their financial needs. But unlike the young man, completing her university degree and, as she described it, "holding [off] all my dreams" with netball, is how she has imagined herself as a young woman to appropriately fulfill this obligation. Sport is something to save for later; education is something to do now, as it promises a (more gender appropriate and traditional) pathway of tautua. No doubt, a global landscape where professional international sport careers for women are sparse combined with gender stereotypes about sport and misperceptions about female biology have discouraged young Samoan women like Manumea from actively pursuing sport.[51] Nonetheless, what is important here is how the notion of using sport as a means of engaging in tautua to the 'āiga is not part of her development imagination, despite the fact that she is an aspiring young sportswoman.

Given this gendered nuance, most of the ethnographic discussions that follow in the remainder of this dissertation gravitate toward the sport for development imaginaries and practices of young Samoan men. Sport in the lives of Samoan women, although

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[51] There are several exceptions of prominent locally born and locally raised Samoan sportswomen, like weightlifter Ele Opeloge, who have not only excelled at their sport at the international level but have also successfully entered the transnational flows of tautua and remittances.

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critical to the overall assemblage of sport for development in Sāmoa, remains peripheral

and oftentimes a reserve for more elite and/or urban women—a topic I save for future

analysis. As such, when Samoans frame sport as an expression of tautua, they are not

only responding to an enlarged world in which to fulfill social and cultural obligations to

the 'āiga; they are redefining standards of masculinity and acceptable pathways to

manhood in an increasingly uneven and translocal Samoan social world. While sport as a

ticket ifafo (overseas) and sport as an alternative pathway illustrate contemporary

strategies to connect Samoan youth to global shores, sport as tautua helps clarify how the

fitness and productivity of the body are ultimately anchored to a de/masculinized i'nei

(here, local). In this landscape, sport has emerged as an alternative means of achieving

success that not only allows young men to reconstitute masculine domains of productivity

but also to fulfill their roles as healthy and fit "citizens" of their 'āiga. Dominant

inter/national frameworks of sport for development may view women as the primary

beneficiary and health behavior change as the development priority; in a Samoan

interpretation, though, the practice of sport for development is located in the realms of

men, employment, and families. A healthy body—and by extension, one's fitness and

productivity—is reinterpreted through the social logics of relationships rather than

viewed as an objective, measurable state. Participation in sport itself is thus not the goal;

rather, what is important is (the possibility of) using one's earnings, fame, and social

networks gained from one's successful career in sport towards the development of one's

'āiga or village, church, or country (cf. Uperesa, 2010). Predicated on the muscularized

strength of the body, success in sports affords young men the ability to actively

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participate in the maintenance of social relationships (teu le vā), to express their respect (āva ma le faʻaaloalo) to the larger kin group through meaningful tautua, and to contribute to the collective health and welfare of the ʻāiga in a time where opportunities to do so are limited.

Conclusions

Compared to the narrowly defined prescriptions of a Healthy Islands Through Sport (HITS) policy world focused on creating responsible, disciplined individuals who make healthy choices (Chapter 3), this chapter unpacks an alternative social life of sport for development policy as it is already practiced. Rather than changing bodies to improve an individual's contribution toward the economic growth of the nation, sport has been absorbed within a Samoan development practice that is oriented around the ʻāiga within an expanded world of work. This local subjectivity was best illuminated during the sport for development training session that I referenced in Chapter 1. Responding to the trainer's question, What is sport? (see Figure 12), an elderly male participant explained that sport is like "kiʻekiʻe le vaʻa" (riding a boat). If ridden and guided with strength, it can take you from "i itu o le sami" (one side of the ocean) to the other "i itu o le sami." His metaphor conjures Hauʻofa's description of Oceania as a sea of islands where the sea is a "highway between places [rather] than a barrier" (White, 2008, p. xv). It also illustrates the way sport is viewed as a vehicle useful for "transporting" one from point A to point B in an expanding world. While strength and presumably one's health are important components of this journey, maintaining vā (the social space) and the relationships in that space are critical. The fit and productive citizen is thus the individual

who is fit for transnational voyages into productive markets, engaging in income-producing activities ifafo to contribute to development i'inei.

Figure 12. What is sport? Photo credit: Christina Kwauk, 2012.

Running through and tying together a Samoan assemblage of "sport as ticket," "sport as alternative pathway," and "sport as tautua" is not the goal of becoming biomedically healthy—a problematic expectation itself—but rather a sociopolitical reconstitution of success, achievement, and development. In an increasingly globally oriented development imagination, translocal kin groups not only reorient the (geo-economic) pathways youth must navigate to become economically productive; they also delineate a nebulous boundary that separates success from mediocrity and those who are

considered successful from those who are not. What once was dependent on educational achievement has now become possible through alternative venues like sport (Chapter 6). Not only does this expanded vision of development re-shape the way participation in sport (and education) is conceived and expressed locally; it also highlights how Samoans and other Pacific Islanders see development itself as part of a broader borderless framework centered around the ʻāiga rather than the nation. These "hidden transcripts" (Scott, 1990) of development further entrench Samoan bodies in the interstices of what Besnier (2012) refers to as the "global condition." Samoan youth, like Māori or Solomon Islanders, are caught in the ebbs and flows of sport mobility (or exploitation) and diasporic dispersal while anchored in the expectation to provide worthy contributions to the ʻāiga and its resource base (cf. Lakisa, Adair, & Taylor, forthcoming; Mountjoy, forthcoming). Sport is more than just fun and games; it holds meaning for Samoan youth and their families in relation to its professed ability to bring prosperity to those located on the fringes of globality (cf. Clément, forthcoming). Families redefine the blessed life (o le ōlaga faʻamanuiaina) in relation to larger processes of cultural change and shifting social and material relationships to global shores. As a result, the pressure placed on youth to enter into occupations that bridge families to transnational localities is heightened. These pressures, along with gendered processes of social change, ultimately go on to influence and shape what Samoan men and other Pacific Islander youth imagine for themselves both in terms of possibilities and limitations.

On a global level, a sport for development narrative in Sāmoa echoes the "hoop dreams" narrative of innercity America where underprivileged African American (male)

youth dream to move out of poverty and the margins of society vis-à-vis basketball

(Dubrow & adams, 2012). The overrepresentation of Samoans and other Pacific Islanders

in professional sports like rugby union and American football no doubt feeds these

dreams. In Sāmoa, sports like rugby, with its clear (but leaky) pipeline from the village to

the international stage, promise to move individuals not only physically, but also socially

and economically. Yet it is important to recognize that not all Samoans are able to excel

in this sport-reserve—something of which my interlocutors like Mikaele were keenly

aware. In fact, during the course of field research, less than a handful of Samoans actually

succeeded in securing paid employment as a result of their sport skills. Despite the long

odds of success, sport heroes like Sonny Bill Williams or the Tuilagi brothers, whose

achievements are memorialized in the media or by their family's new television, car, or

house, continue to shape a politics of hope (and disappointment) with real implications

for young men and women marooned by globalization.

The insights highlighted in this chapter, made possible through long-term

ethnographic engagement with Samoan youth, educators, government officials, and

community leaders, stand in stark contrast to the rather monolithic and hegemonic policy

world deconstructed in the previous chapter. Revealing not only the plurality of sport or

the social life of policy ideas, this chapter has laid out the context and themes of a deeper

ethnographic analysis of the heterogeneous elements and scattered practices that

constitute a Samoan assemblage of sport for development. Before analyzing this

disconnect between HITS policy and practice or discussing the implications of such a

large policy-practice gap (Chapter 8), I take the ethnographic analysis of sport for

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development in Sāmoa further by exploring the micro:meso space of disjuncture as it collides with Samoan constructions of gender (Chapter 5) and education (Chapter 6). More specifically, in the next chapter, I examine sport as tautua as it emerges from a "crisis of masculinity" (Kimmel, 1987), creating a space and a set of globally-oriented body techniques in which young Samoan men can reconstitute a masculine domain of tautua while embodying the muscularized image of transnational success. I then contextualize this further in Chapter 6 by examining how sport as a viable alternative pathway emerges as a grassroots response to rising youth unemployment and the trickling of young Samoan men from educational pathways, issues fundamentally tied to both a crisis of masculinity and a crisis of education. As Samoans negotiate the meaning of education, and "education for all," sport emerges as a unique solution for ensuring young men are adequately prepared for productive transnational futures, albeit not without controversy or contradiction.

Chapter 5. 'The Path to Authority is Through Service': Sport, Muscularity, and Adulthood in a Crisis of Masculinity

Introduction

> The good life is making your family happy, because if the family is happy, then that means your work is good and you are getting good money. (Year 12 male)

> The meaning of the good life is being able to get whatever things your family wants. (Year 13 female)

> We know there are many families who migrate out of Samoa in search of blessings because other countries are richer than Samoa. [They go in] search of money to take care of their families. (Year 13 female)

> In my opinion, Samoa has many families that are disadvantaged. The pathway overseas brings them much wealth, while there is little wealth in our country. (Year 11 female)

According to secondary school students surveyed in Savai'i, the good life (o le ola lelei)—the life marked by virtuosity and goodness and rewarded later with material blessings from God—means being able to take care of oneself, one's family, and by extension one's village through one's own hard work and not through the assistance of others. These themes of care and self-sufficiency, or tautua (service) to the 'āiga (family, kin groups), are important elements in Samoan youth's imagined futures and in their idealized image of their present and future selves. Scholars of Oceania have already written much to illuminate the centrality of the 'āiga and tautua in Pacific Island cultures (for example Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991; Lee & Francis, 2009; Simanu-Klutz, 2011; Tengan, 2002; Uperesa, 2010; Va'a, 2005). They suggest that the 'āiga is the root of one's identity, sense of self, and self-worth. Yet, as Lilomaiava-Doktor puts it, simply "'[b]eing kin' is not enough—one has to *live* it through participation, reciprocity, and

obligation, whether one resides in one's birth village or away from it. One may be part of a kindred, but if not maintained and expressed in *tautua* (service) and *vā fealoaʻi* (balanced social space), the *ʻāiga* loses legitimacy" (2009, p. 8).[52] Continued maintenance of social relationships, continued expression of service to the larger kin group, and continued contribution to the collective welfare of the ʻāiga thus form an important basis of one's identity. And as remittances reorient and relocate village life and cultural practices of exchange within translocal spheres, migration—as the secondary students point out above—has become an increasingly necessary prerequisite for engaging in meaningful tautua at home (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009a; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009b). Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009a) describes this relationship between migration and tautua as "the paradox of mobility": while individuals may be incredibly mobile and move ifafo (there, overseas), they continue to be rooted iʻinei (here, home) through their expressions of service and fulfillment of obligations and responsibilities at home.

Yet while this paradox helps situate the social significance of a ticket overseas in the imagined futures of Samoan youth, it does not help explain the contemporary gendered anxiety created by this simultaneous process of time-space compression and world enlargement (Katz, 2004). Nor does it consider the barriers of access created at the intersections of marginality, including gender, rurality, and socioeconomic status. Framing, for example, Mikaele's dilemma from the previous chapter within Samoan indigenous concepts of teu le vā (nurturing the social space) or tausi ʻāiga (service to the

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[52] Although, see Gershon (2012) for a discussion of how Samoans in the diaspora strategically opt out of these networks of obligation, reciprocity, and exchange.

family), one can understand how the economic rationalization fueling Mikaele's desires

to leave school and take his chances to go overseas are mediated by a culturally informed

logic to contribute to the development of his 'āiga. However, these concepts do not reveal

how these imagined futures, possibilities, and alternatives create new gendered identities;

re/structure existing gender orders (Connell, 1998); or further stratify Samoan society

into those (girls and boys) who can and should pursue certain futures from those who

cannot and should not. Even though my interlocutors often carefully chose gender-neutral

language when discussing the role of sport in the lives of Samoan youth, in practice their

consistent references to rugby and to the international salaries made by professional

Samoan rugby players made it clear that they saw sport as a ticket overseas and as an

alternative career not for girls but for boys who have been squeezed out of the

educational pipeline.

In the previous chapter, I explored the ways sport for development policy is taken

up—or, rather, is already local (Pennycook, 2010)—in practice in Sāmoa; its multiple

lives best illustrated in the ways Samoan youth and adults locate sport in an ever

expanding horizon of the development imagination. In this chapter, I attempt to deepen

my analysis of this process of relocalization by examining the gendered sociocultural and

sociopolitical practices that have helped shape sport for development as a development

pathway especially for Samoan men. More specifically, I analyze Samoan sport for

development practice within a "crisis of masculinity" framework (Kimmel, 1987), which

views the incorporation of sport into a local development agenda as a means of granting

men a pathway of service to manhood where traditional pathways have been eroded by

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processes of globalization, modernization, and urbanization. A focus on changing masculinities is meaningful here because it helps put in perspective the dynamic relationship between socioeconomic change, shifting gender roles, and changing development opportunities (cf. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo & Francis, 2006). It also helps to explain the view that sport can serve as a means of repositioning Samoan men, who have been displaced from traditional roles in the village, back on a pathway to achieving authority. This kind of analysis is especially relevant since sport for development programs are typically promoted as a means of empowering girls and women, not necessarily boys or men, and can help illuminate the limitations of existing gender and development agendas in Sāmoa—not to mention the role Samoan men can play as allies and partners in addressing Samoan women's development issues (Cleaver, 2000). A focus on masculinities also helps highlight where sport for development in Sāmoa is situated in the larger, dominant international development paradigm in which the (biomedical) health of bodies is expected to affect the (economic) health of nations. That is, as the strength and fitness of male bodies becomes central to local practices of sport for development, the health of male bodies becomes an important instrument for navigating global political economies, rather than the expected instrument to strengthen the economic (and agricultural) agenda of the nation. This discussion also fills a gap in the literature, as most gender studies in Sāmoa have focused on women (cf. Mead, 1928; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, 2003; Simanu-Klutz, 2011), while few studies have investigated the issues, anxieties, and crises faced by Samoan men in contemporary Oceania

(although, see Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, pp. 219-221; Tengan, 2002; Jolly; 2008; Besnier 2011; 2012, for examples of discussions on masculinities in Oceania).

The goal of this chapter then is to bring to light the multiple layers of complexity, ambiguity, and contradiction enmeshed within a gendered sport for development world in Sāmoa. First, I lay out the context in which young male Samoan school leavers find themselves "stuck" (Sommers, 2012). That is, with growing pressures to be globally mobile yet opportunities for migration increasingly limited, young Samoan men find themselves stuck in Sāmoa where failure to achieve manhood and therefore adulthood is both likely and difficult to avoid (ibid.). I then closely examine the gendered logics and translocal practices of tautua that both contribute to the dislodging of Samoan masculinities as well as the reconstitution of new, muscularized identities. Here, building off of Michael Messner's (2007) work on muscular masculinity, I introduce the idea of the muscularization of globalization as an analytical metaphor to describe the centering of one's level of fitness (e.g., academic 'un-fitness', physical fitness) in calculating one's ticket into and engagement with the global economy. Unlike the concept of muscular Christianity where the body is nurtured, strengthened, and shaped as a reflection of one's faith (for example, Besnier 2011; MacAloon 2007), I suggest that a muscular globalization is about strategically strengthening and specializing one's (physical) fitness as a means of navigating and maneuvering an unevenly globalizing world. In this context, I argue that Samoan (body) practices of sport for development are not only a gendered response to a changing gender order, but also an extension of traditional notions of masculinity rooted in tautua, yet directed toward an increasingly muscularized path to

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power or authority (pule). Next, I highlight the stories of several Samoan youth in order to locate the idea of sport for development within a larger politics of hope fueled by a myth of mobility. Finally, I offer some concluding thoughts on reframing international development and education discussions on school leavers, unemployment, and social deviance.

Gender in Sāmoa: A Brief Interlude

Before moving on with a gender analysis, however, the concept of gender as it is understood in Samoan society must first be unpacked.[53] While in no way comprehensive, this brief interlude attempts to situate my analysis within the larger literature on gender and development by way of anthropological discussions of the concept of gender in Sāmoa. Penelope Schoeffel (1978), a scholar of gender and development issues in Oceania, suggests that a focus on gender classification can be analytically misleading, as gender duality in Sāmoa is made less on the distinction of biological differences between sexes and more as an expression of the opposition between moral/secular, ideological/utilitarian aspects of society. From a Western-oriented gender perspective, implementing development programs like sport for health that target women and girls makes theoretical and operational sense, since development goals, activities, and outcomes are organized around the assumption that life is experienced along two distinct gender orders: men and women. That is, social constructs of gender are tightly linked to the biological construct of sex. Understanding gender and development (GAD) is a thus matter of understanding how relationships of dominance and subordination between

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[53] For a more comprehensive discussion of gender in Samoan society, see Schoeffel (1978), Shore (1981), or Tcherkézoff (1993).

men/masculinities (ways of being a man) and women/femininities (ways of being a woman) create health inequalities, for example, and how these inequalities can be addressed through changes in gender relationships (Bannon & Correia, 2006; Connell, 2005). This gender framework, however progressive, overlooks alternative conceptualizations and experiences of gender that entail understanding how status and power are expressed as dimensions of social relationships and context rather than of biology (cf. Tengan, 2002)—although more critical postcolonial and multicultural feminist scholars have attempted to complicate dominant GAD frameworks by discussing the intersectionality of discrimination and inequality, including gender, race, socioeconomic status, and geography (cf. Browne & Misra, 2003; DeJaeghere, Parkes, & Unterhalter, 2013; Schulz & Mullings, 2006). Nevertheless, programs (and policy) have remained largely focused on empowering women or addressing issues of gender inequality on the basis of biologically-defined social constructs of gender, and risk being too narrowly conceptualized, logistically impractical, programmatically ineffective, and/or culturally irrelevant.

Scholars of Sāmoa and the broader Pacific suggest that Samoan constructions of gender illustrates how hierarchical relationships in Sāmoa are based on the opposition between two principle aspects of regulating or ordering power: the sacred and the secular, each sanctifying and dignifying the other (Schoeffel, 1978, 1995; see also Gershon, 2012; Shore, 1981; Tcherkézoff, 1993). This regulating power can best be described as the concept of feagaiga (to stand apart; an agreement, treaty or contract), which these scholars argue forms the basis of Samoan social philosophy. According to Schoeffel

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(1978), feagaiga "expresses a special relationship between two parties who interact in a defined, reciprocal manner and who represent opposed concepts which regulate their interaction" (p. 69). Feagaiga is thus the moral authority that imposes order on society at all levels and structures relationships between sister and brother, husband and wife, as well as relationships between a church minister and his congregation or between the two orders of matai (chief), the aliʻi and the tulāfale. In this framework, women and men are not identified as isolated beings but always in terms of their dyadic relationship: as sister or wife, brother or husband—a testament, too, to Samoan conceptualizations of the social self (cf. Gershon, 2012; Shore, 1982). A sister is thus the feagaiga of her brother just as her descendants are the feagaiga of her brother's descendants, or as the minister is the feagaiga of his congregation. Gender, then, is not based on a contrast between women and men, but rather on a contrast between the sacred and secular parts of a whole, or between husband and wife, sister and brother. Understanding GAD in Sāmoa is thus a matter of understanding how relations of dominance and subordination manifests in the intersections of social relationships as defined by feagaiga, a concept of which gender in the Western sense is merely a single dimension alongside other organizing principles like rank, place, and birth order (see Tengan, 2002).

For the purposes of this discussion, I would point out how feagaiga structures the construct of gender in ways that do not map neatly on Western gender frameworks. For example, Schoeffel (1978) and Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) explain that in every household and village, there are two unequally ranked female status groups: the sisters and the wives—insiders and outsiders. This status differential not only structures hierarchies

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among women (sisters higher than wives), but also shapes relationships between sisters and brothers differently than between wives and husbands. A sister, who is the proverbial "inner corner" of her brother's eye, is attributed with a higher rank than her brother, demonstrated by giving her a separate and more comfortable sleeping quarter, precedence in seating arrangements as well as in the serving and eating of food. This higher status is also extended into the division of labor, with the sister allocated the light, "clean" indoor work and the brother given the heavy, "dirty" outdoor work (Schoeffel, 1978). Furthermore, because "a sister represents her brother and is honoured by him because she represents his own honour," she is subject to the watchful eye of her kin, her actions closely monitored and close to home, while her brothers may roam about, constrained only by the demands of their labor. As such, sisters are a symbol of moral authority who exhibit this authority with expressions of grace, dignity, reserve, and control. Despite this higher ranking, though, brothers are seen as holders of pule (secular power) and are usually given the rights of inheritance of matai titles, while sisters are seen as holders of mana (sacred power) whose participation in village decisions remains consultative (Schoeffel, 1978; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991). Contrast this relationship with that of the husband and wife, where wives who move to their husband's village become subordinate to their husbands as well as the lowest ranking adult in both the household and the village (Schoeffel, 1978). A wife would even be expected treat her husband's sisters with the same respect and deference that her husband does (ibid.). Yet, as Schoeffel points out, "females of all ranks […] spend a good deal of their lives moving from one set of attributes to another, depending on the social context of their status as member of a

descent group or their status as wife and affine" (p. 79). While this discussion draws mainly on literature that equates gender studies with women's studies, I include this as an illustration of how the larger concept of gender in Sāmoa is defined by context and is not fixed.

Further, given these nuances in Samoan understandings of gender, status, and power, a development program that includes all women regardless of their status and power in the village may only reach a few women; specifically, those women who have rank by blood rather than by marriage.[54] I would add that these programs may also inadvertently exclude women who do not fall in either of these social groups; for example a female cousin from Savai'i or a distant village in 'Upolu who has been sent to a relative's home in Apia to perform domestic labor in return for some financial assistance to her own family. So while a program may be deemed successful in engaging women of the village, without taking into consideration the status and power of these women, the program may actually work to further stratify women of privileged status in the village (sisters) from those with less privilege (wives, other female kin, and even young men). With this understanding, I approach a gender analysis of Samoan sport for development practice both cautiously and fully aware that some of the frameworks and assumptions I carry bring a Western bias to the analysis. Nonetheless, I believe that a gender analysis is still necessary, especially as a culturally relevant understanding of gender relations does not erase structural inequality; nor does it mean women or men do not experience

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[54] Although, institutions like Christianity and modern, secular government have done much to give lower status groups of women (specifically, wives) greater public roles and positions of secular power to the extent that traditional structures of village power have had to accommodate their rise in authority (Schoeffel, 1978).

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discrimination or other social injustices on the grounds of their sex or social status. And, as development initiatives justified and implemented along gender lines continue to be pursued by inter/national actors in Sāmoa, it becomes even more essential to understand how concepts like feagaiga, secular and sacred power, or status create limitations and/or opportunities for a gender and development agenda.

The Problem with Boys

> Yeah the focus of the [Youth] Parliament is if the labor market is limited in Samoa, and opportunities, y'know, sports is, it's another avenue. It's not just agriculture, and if you tell a young person, Yep! You're done with your schooling? Then you go and, go and work on the plantation! You go and fai fa'ako'aga! [Work the plantation] But like you saw in Savai'i, they're not going to the plantation. They're playing rugby!

One of the primary conundrums of development and modernization in Sāmoa, as in many other contexts facing rapid socioeconomic change, is the question of what to do with the country's youth, especially those (young men) who "fail" to fit through the education to employment bottleneck (see Sommers, 2012, for an example in Rwanda, and Amuyunzu-Nyamongo & Francis, 2006, for an example in Kenya). Penina, a young, high-ranking female government official in the Ministry of Women, Community, and Social Development's (MWCSD) Division of Youth, explained to me in the epigraph above how the 2011 National Youth Parliament on breaking employment barriers through sport was a response to the increasing numbers of (male) school leavers, growing youth unemployment[55] and a simultaneous erosion of traditional agricultural forms of

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[55] In 2007, MESC estimated that 88% of unemployment in Sāmoa is experienced by youth between the ages of 15 and 34, with urban male youth more likely to be unemployed.

productivity.[56] In a single tone of exasperation, "they're not going to the plantation;

they're playing rugby!" she captures a dilemma that her government ministry and others

are juggling: for which development future should Samoan youth be prepared and

trained: local agriculture, or global industries? Within a framework of un/employment—

itself a tricky notion in a nation where the opportunity for formal employment is low—

the Samoan Government aims to push Samoan youth, specifically those young men who

have left school and are "unemployed," toward agricultural futures.[57] As part of the

nation's strategy to revitalize its agricultural and export sectors (MOF, 2012), the Samoan

Government aims to put to productive use those youth whose chances of contributing

meaningfully to society have waned. Yet, while this is one government strategy for

school leavers—and perhaps the least ambiguous—it seems clear that many Samoan

youth have chosen not to follow this agricultural path and to instead "play rugby."

According to school officials, government workers, community leaders, and even

youth themselves, the increasing number of male school leavers presents a social problem

(see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion on the numbers of school leavers). While

discourse about these young men has yet to assemble what Pitter and Andrews (1997)

call a "social problems industry," or a revolving door of privatized solutions to social

problems spurred by urban decline, popular discourse in Sāmoa about boys has brought

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[56] Although, some feel that the issue is the false assumption that youth who are in the villages are economically active by engaging in subsistence farming when in reality they are getting involved in petty crime (Brown, 2013).

[57] Other government and non-government programs include the TALAVOU project implemented by the Youth Division of the MWCSD, which run a range of programs from retail skills workshops to sewing classes to ICT training; a Women in Business program that runs skills training workshops in beekeeping and coconut oil production; and a two-week vocational workshop on carving, weaving, and textile printing run by MESC officials in the villages as a way to "equip unemployed youths with the necessary skills and knowledge to assist them in seeking employment or to become self-entrepreneurs" (MESC, 2007, p. 77).

to light the need to strategically address a set of undisciplined and unproductive

behaviors spurred by rural (less to an extent urban) decline.[58] Sione, a school official in

Savai'i, described these behaviors as "loathing around, roaming around, doing nothing.

Wasting time in the community and around the villages." He explained that "once they

can't get a chance to enter the National University, they can't get a chance to get a job.

Then they just waste their time, you know, bus riding." Penina elaborated further on the

consequences, saying that these youth who "just exist in communities doing nothing"

pose a huge concern "because the more they get inactive, the more they get affiliated with

a lot of other social problems […] [like getting] involved in criminal activities."[59] She

laments that these young men are not engaging in agricultural activities or other income-

generating activities in their villages. In fact, an oft-cited remark made by my

interlocutors is that many of these young men do not even know where their family

plantations are located.

Commentary aside, at the heart of these characterizations of Samoan school

leavers is an image of a disintegrating social system (see kelley, 1997, for a parallel

transformation of innercity urban America). While chatting over an evening cup of

Kokosāmoa (Samoan cocoa), Malae, my host father in Savai'i, reiterated to me that

village life dictates that everyone in the village plays a productive, contributing role to

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[58] This can be partly explained by the fact that social deviance has traditionally been a matter to be handled by village-led processes. State-led or large scale social services targeting social issues has only recently emerged with the development of modern, democratic institutions of government. While limited in scope and resources today, it would be interesting to see whether these programs ever manifest to a scale warranting the moniker of "social problems industry" as it has in the global North.

[59] The sentiment that there has been an increase in crimes committed by youth is held by many Samoans (cf. Lesa, 2013; Ta'ateo, 2013), and supported by criminal statistics maintained by the Samoan policy (Noble, Pereira, & Saune, 2011). Most Samoans blame cultural change influenced by Western media, globalization, and rural-urban migration, as well as a more general social breakdown in long-standing relations of obedience and respect by youth toward their elders (cf. Noble, et al., 2011).

the larger collective. A young male school leaver should thus be prepared to take on his role as a taule'ale'a (non-titled man) and join his village's 'aumāga (a group of taulele'a) to fulfill his duty of service to the village chiefs.[60] Traditionally, if a young taule'ale'a did not respect the duties of his role, he could be banished from the village if not heavily reprimanded with a fine. Yet, as Malae questioned, with so many school drop outs going to the market,[61] "hanging out" (tafao), and doing nothing—not even knowing where to go if they wanted to go to the plantation—what is the village supposed to do? As the village sports leader, he sees his duty to the village as helping to teach these young men through sport valuable lessons in respect, discipline, and service. By training these young men to compete for the honor of their village or by gathering them on a hot afternoon to collectively "mow" the village malae (village green), he sees himself as playing an important part in not only rehabilitating these young men into taulele'a, but also restoring fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way) itself.

Returning to "the problem with boys," these young school leavers have been deemed not "academically gifted" and thus not likely to follow the expected path from school (and sometimes to university) to wage-earning employment. Furthermore, they are viewed by parts of society as lacking entrepreneurial skills and as being unwilling to take the initiative of finding ways to make themselves productive members of the village.

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[60] Typically, older school boys, while technically untitled, are usually exempt from performing the duties of taulele'a until they finish school. This does not mean, however, that they are excused from performing the oftentimes physically demanding labor of family chores, like preparing cattle and pig feed, going to the plantation to collect coconuts, or even harvesting taro. Furthermore, on occasion, especially during school holidays, during fa'alavelave, or when a matai (chief) or faife'au (pastor) is completing a special building project, older school boys are expected to contribute their labor just as taulele'a.

[61] The apparent retention rate for Year 9 through 13 in 2013 was 48%, meaning up to 52% of any cohort of secondary school aged youth has dropped out of secondary school at some point. This rate, although fluctuating yearly, has remained roughly the same for at least a decade.

Without an occupation or a role, these young men are framed by government officials, educational administrators, and community leaders as socially and culturally deviant and in need of intervention. But rather than interpret these young men's behaviors and choices as an indicator of irresponsibility or laziness—itself a socially and politically significant discourse—or, moreover, as an indicator of whether Samoa's unemployed youth should be "saved" by sport, I suggest taking a step back and examining the sociocultural and economic logics influencing young Samoan men's decisions not to go to the plantation. Once the layer of social issues highlighted by youth unemployment is pulled back, what emerges is a matrix of intersecting forces of socioeconomic change and cultural continuity challenging a cohort of young men who have returned to village life only to find themselves even more stuck.

Tautua in a Crisis of Masculinity

As Samoa continues to integrate into the global economy and as families continue to become interconnected globally, Samoan youth (both boys and girls) are caught between two kinds of expectations: the first is the expectation to maintain traditional roles in the 'āiga (family) and practices of tautua (service) by contributing to an increasingly cash-oriented system of ritual exchange at home. The second expectation is to participate in the formal global economy, or what Macpherson (2004) and others have called the "transnational kin corporation," in order to help strengthen the connections between their families and overseas socioeconomic and political resources. Yet, as the norm for family contributions (both financial and in kind) to fa'alavelave like weddings, funerals, and church fundraisers grows exponentially and as these compete with other

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growing cash needs, including food, school fees, cash power, phone credit, and petrol, some youth face even greater pressure from families to locate means, preferably overseas, for contributing regular income (cf. Macpherson, 1990). To meet either of these expectations, though, Samoan youth must secure formal employment in the public or private sector, which means at least completing Form 5 (year 11), if not passing the Sāmoa Secondary Leaving Certificate exam (SSLC), formerly the Pacific Senior School Certificate (PSSC).[62] As such, traditional forms of productivity (i.e., agricultural service) have not only been deemed by youth as insufficient for gaining access to a rapidly changing political economy, but they are also seen as second rate for procuring the necessary amount of financial and material capital needed by their families. Furthermore, successfully completing school does not always guarantee a wage-paying job, let alone social mobility—a topic I will turn to in the next chapter.

Back in the village, male school leavers not only shed their identity as tamaiti ā'oga (school children), they are also 'reassigned' their village identity as taule'ale'a, neither of which promises them the imagined good life. As mentioned earlier, these young men find themselves in a "crisis of masculinity" where the structures, relationships, roles, and meaning that once constituted the traditional gender order have been challenged, eroded, and/or rendered irrelevant by modern institutions and processes (Kimmel, 1987). As a result, masculinities scholar Michael Kimmel explains, men feel "besieged by social breakdown […] as 'the familiar routes to manhood [have become]

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[62] A casual wage work driver in 2013 with a Form 5 level education with demonstrable skills in English and Samoan can expect to earn between SAT $6,560 and $8,072 per year, or roughly USD $2,800 and $3,400 per year. Compare this to a high level position in a government ministry that pays between SAT $114,240 and $116,280 (or USD $48,895 to $49,768) for someone with a postgraduate degree among other qualifications and achievements. Samoa's estimated GDP per capita for 2013 was USD $6,300.

either washed out or roadblocked'" (p. 266). In the context of Sāmoa, Samoan scholar

Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) suggests that the rationale supporting much of traditional

Samoan social institutions have begun to disintegrate, especially for men as their domains

of production and authority have been replaced by machinery, democratic laws, foreign

aid, formal employment, and social services. I would add that as migration becomes a

more inevitable part of the lifecourse and increasingly associated with success and the

good life, pathways of migration have become increasingly occupied by more privileged

Samoan youth living in urban and peri-urban areas of 'Upolu. Fairbairn-Dunlop argues

that while Samoan women have been able to adapt to the changing social and economic

circumstances—a topic I elaborate upon in the next chapter—Samoan men have yet to

identify suitable roles and alternative pathways for themselves. As a result, many young

men have become socially alienated, losing traditional avenues for establishing authority,

status, and power.

In this way, dilemmas about what to do with male school leavers, unemployment,

and social deviance should thus be better contextualized as an issue of identifying

meaningful ways for young men to become productive, contributing members of their

'āiga in an ever-shifting global society. Nonetheless, drawing on traditional notions of

masculinity, tautua, and productivity, government officials like Penina from above

believe that the future for these young men lies in showing them the potential in

agricultural work beyond being stuck in the taro plantation. Trying to make small-scale

commercial farming an attractive alternative, she told me a story about how she

transformed her cousin's outlook on agriculture by giving it new meaning for him. She

described her cousin, Filipo, as a young man with a green thumb who dropped out of

school when he was about 13 years old (around Form 2 or 3). He was making do tending

to his family's plantation with only a knife and spade, selling surplus crop occasionally at

the market whenever he needed to purchase something. But one day their aunty from

New Zealand was visiting and mentioned New Zealand's seasonal work scheme for

Pacific Islanders. After hearing this, Filipo wanted desperately to go overseas, begging

Penina to help him fill out his application and to speak to their aunty about sponsoring

him.

Penina, however, attempted to persuade him otherwise, asking him if he were to

go overseas for three months what would become of his family's plantation. Other people

would steal his crops and animals would eat his fruit; he would return to a plantation full

of weeds and have to start all over again. Plus, as she put it, "if you really concentrate on

your land, you'll get mālosi!" (You will get strong!). These scenarios that Penina raised

are of no small consequence; in fact, they are quite significant in two ways for a

discussion aimed at convincing her cousin to stay home to work his land. First, she draws

on the connection between agricultural productivity and notions of (de-)masculinity.

Based on the survey I administered in Savai'i, working the land, keeping the plantation

free of weeds and pests, and yielding a healthy crop of taro—the staple of the Samoan

meal—are still intricately tied to socialized notions of wealth and what it means to be a

good person (i.e., man) (cf. Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, pp. 75-81). If Filipo goes overseas,

the poor state of his plantation will be a direct reflection of his demasculinization; that is,

of not being a good man. Second, Penina's reference to the strength he will gain from

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working the plantation draws on implicit notions of what it means to be a taule‘ale‘a: a source of physical strength for the village. This is itself closely tied to what his body should look like as a member of the ‘aumāga: young, fit, active, and muscular.[63] A strong body is thus an indication of the quality of one's tautua to the ‘āiga, illustrating that one is a good provider and that one's family has ample resources. By reminding Filipo that he will become strong, Penina is reminding him that he will achieve and embody ‘aumāga masculinity if he performs his duty in the plantation with diligence. Whether these appeals to traditional Samoan masculinity eventually convinced Filipo to stay in Sāmoa remains in question. In the end, Penina offered to give her cousin a better knife and other tools, to solicit their other male cousins to help him, and to lend him her car whenever he was wanted to take his produce to sell at the market. He would see, she assured him, how much he could earn off of his own land and labor in the long run.

For Penina and many others in government, it is a real concern to have Samoan youth aspire to leave Sāmoa—although government officials, including the Prime Minister, and educational administrators like Iosefa from the previous chapter are far from consensus on this matter. Penina's strategy, as well as those of some government agencies, has been to concentrate their efforts on developing school leavers in and for village life, providing them with "employment" by fitting them into locally available jobs. One could argue that this strategy of rural development attempts to reclaim masculinity for these young men by restoring agriculture-based paths of tautua. Yet, even

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[63] Typically, for this reason, taulele‘a can easily be distinguished from matai in the village, who tend to be more still, delegating to untitled men to perform whatever physical labor needs to be done, and they tend to be larger around the waistline. By extension, for older untitled men, the "ideal" lean, muscular body can become a source of shame as it is a telling sign that one is not yet titled and therefore still performing one's own work, particularly one's own agricultural labor.

with prospects of small-scale commercial farming, the impossibility of earning enough money to attend to all the financial needs of the family—plus one's own needs—is not lost on Samoan youth. In fact, only two (male) students who completed my survey reported wanting to become a farmer in spite of the connection mentioned earlier between agricultural productivity and notions of masculinity. Rather, more Samoan youth placed higher value on working overseas and sending home remittances, with over 75% of youth surveyed desiring to work in a country outside of Sāmoa. But with little hope of gaining mobility through education combined with the fear of being 'confined to the bush,' some young men have turned to alternative means of drawing on the strength and fitness of their bodies to fulfill their roles as members of their 'āiga. Pursuing sport as tautua is merely one of these muscularized and masculinized alternatives.

Redefining Tautua and Samoan Masculinity

In my survey of secondary school students, boys were on average 25% more likely than girls to describe the usefulness of sport in terms of tautua for their family, village, and country. Boys were also less likely to report wanting to stay in Sāmoa to live and work in the future. This suggests there is a deeper, gendered logic at play shaping Samoan youths' perceptions of what it means to "live" kinship and to engage in tautua in an increasingly translocal world.

Figure 13. Anything for you and my country. Source: *Samoa Observer*, November 30, 2012.

The cartoon above (Figure 13), appearing in the *Samoa Observer*, astutely illustrates how

this logic entangles male youth in a 'new' translocal Samoan social structure of sport and

tautua. In the cartoon, Papa and his son, Sole, are positioned along with three professional

rugby players performing the haka, the war dance usually displayed before the start of a

rugby match by professional teams representing different Pacific Island nations.[64] Papa

encourages Sole to practice the haka—and presumably the rugby that follows—in order

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[64] The haka was made popular by the New Zealand All Blacks; coincidentally, the team on which many young Samoan boys aspire to play. While it is not uncommon to see young Samoan boys performing the Manu Samoa's haka in the villages, or a male youth group performing some derivative during a fundraiser, many scholars of the Pacific would argue that this display of warrior "culture" is a reinvention of a reified Polynesian prototype and an example of indigenous (Māori) cultural appropriation that ultimately serves the interests of white-controlled corporations (Besnier, 2011; Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002).

for Sole to develop the 'goods' demanded by overseas markets. In this case, the goods are athletic skills. Implicit in Papa's comment, "I think you're my best shot at exports," is not only a subtle critique of Samoa's repeated and relatively unsuccessful attempts at establishing a stable export (agricultural) crop through which to stimulate economic growth; but also reflects the reluctance of many Samoans today to engage in agricultural export activities as a primary means of income generation. Papa's conflation of rugby and exports demonstrates how athletic skills and sport are perceived to be a more viable export commodity. It is also a legitimate means through which Sole, his son, can be productively put to use for the family.[65]

Sole's response, "I don't mind Papa… anything for you and my country," provides an additional layer of commentary on sport as tautua. At once, Sole's comment illustrates his desire to serve and develop the family and country by raising its status, even if this means being exported or "tracked" overseas (Uperesa and Mountjoy, forthcoming).[66] In fact, as pointed out in the previous chapter, leaving home to tautua is almost expected if not desired. Participation in professional sport is framed as a

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[65] It also provides, perhaps unintentionally, political commentary on the oft-cited exploitive "farming" relationships where athletes, reduced to their physical abilities and body size, are 'sold' to rich consumer countries in the Global North by poorer producer countries in the Global South (see Klein, 1991, for an example about baseball in the Dominican Republic). Scholars like Besnier (2012) point out that sport is the only legal sector in the global market in which workers can be bought and sold for their bodies and the (athletic) labor that they perform. While Papa sees Sole's participation in international sport as key to his own access to and participation in the global economy, this arrangement comes at the expense of his son.

[66] Following Uperesa and Mountjoy's (forthcoming) discussion, I use the term "tracking" rather than "trafficking" to describe the sport migrations that take place in the Pacific today. While some scholars like Horton (2012) and Field (2013) use the term trafficking to liken the movement of Pacific labor across global stadia today to the "blackbirding" of Pacific labor across plantations of the past, Uperesa and Mountjoy remind their readers that Pacific Islanders do not face the kinds of extreme exploitation that trafficking entails. Nor do their circumstances of sport migration compare to those of players from other parts of the world, like Africa or the Caribbean. The term tracking, they argue, is more appropriate in this context as Pacific Islanders are under no threat of force or violence by clubs or schools to continue to play.

significant expression of tautua based on its purported ability to move its (male)

participants and their families into the transnational flows of resources that can be put

towards the development and prestige of the ʻāiga (family), lotu (church), and nuʻu

(village) (see also Tengan, 2002; Uperesa, 2010). Kali, a university student who recently

played on the Manu Samoa under-19 development team, explained to me during a late-

night conversation how his participation in rugby falls within this paradox of mobility:

> I know it [rugby] helps a lot with families. Like, uh, if I can go overseas, if I can
> get a scholarship with rugby I can get paid and I'll use the money to help out my
> family. […] I can use the allowance to help my parents or for family obligations.
> Help out with the church, especially the village.

Like Sole from the cartoon, Kali sees clearly that his immediate future is rooted in his

ability to tautua from overseas. Yet, ironically, the pathway he has identified (a rugby

scholarship) allows him to fulfill social expectations (to use his allowance for family,

church, and village obligations) through a vessel (international sport) created by the very

same global forces that have dislocated him and many other Samoan men from their

traditional pathways to manhood. Additionally, in the cartoon, Sole's dutiful response to

Papa reveals a sense of angst rooted in maintaining his identity as a young male in a

changing Samoan society. He not only performs the haka (and rugby) in an expression of

his commitment to his ʻāiga; but his submission to Papa's request is meant to uphold a

certain set of values, norms, and relationships that further entrenches his identity as a

young Samoan man (or tauleʻaleʻa) using the fitness and strength of his body toward the

betterment of his ʻāiga.[67]

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[67] It is important to recognize that even though my interlocutors talked much about the ways in
which sport would afford them opportunities to tautua more effectively overseas, many also revealed their
desire to participate in sport recreationally in order to escape the daily grind of domestic chores and to

As mentioned earlier, young Samoan men traditionally belong to their village 'aumāga, a group of taulele'a (untitled men) whose responsibilities are linked to their physical strength (Clément, forthcoming). Upon command by village matai, the 'aumāga provide much of the village's physical labor, including construction projects and especially agricultural production and food preparation. In inter-village events, the 'aumāga, through their performance in siva (dance), sport, or cultural protocols of hospitality, are even further a reflection of the strength of the village (Meleisea, 1987b). For these men, their identities are enmeshed in their practices of tautua, the strength and fitness of their bodies, and their embodiment of an idealized Samoan masculinity (see Figures 14 and 15).[68]

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leave Samoa in order to get away from the rigid structures of the fa'amatai (the chiefly system) and excessive obligations of fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way).

[68] This masculinity of youth, however, should be contrasted with the masculinity of matai, whose large (not necessarily muscular) bodies represent their power and status, as well as their right not to perform physical labor. This has great implications for a sport for health agenda: If becoming fit and healthy is associated with 1) participating in physical activity (or physically demanding labor) and 2) transforming one's larger (overweight) body into a lean and muscular body—both of which are closely associated with youth—it becomes harder to participate in these "healthy" activities as an adult or matai without being ridiculed as participating in inappropriate "childish" behavior, or being marked as crazy. In fact, this fear of ridicule is often used by development agencies to frame Samoan culture as a culprit in the rapid rise of obesity and NCDs, and as further justification for why sport for development programs are urgently needed to change cultural misperceptions about sport and health.

Figure 14. A siva performed by a group of young men during the Teuila Festival. Photo credit: Christina Kwauk, 2011.

Figure 15. A group of young men waiting to perform their siva during the annual independence celebrations. Photo credit: Leah Stucky, 2010.

Over a lifetime of service to the ʻāiga and the matai of their nuʻu, the men of the ʻaumāga would typically be rewarded with authority, power, prestige, status, and the right to represent the honor of their family through the conferment of their own matai title (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009b; Uperesa, 2010). A matai title thus marks the official transition between youth and manhood. Because of this, an untitled man could be 40 years old and still considered a youth and member of the ʻaumāga. A matai title also marks a time when Samoan men shift their body practices: specifically, they can now be served, rather than serving others. This change in status highlights the temporality of the relationship between ʻaumāga, tautua, and masculinity. As such, tautua is central to the (temporal) identity of young men and their perceived pathway to adulthood, and is encapsulated by the Samoan proverb, O le ala i le pule o le tautua (The path to authority/power is through service). Yet globalization and its siblings modernization and development have begun to redefine much of the logic tying together the ʻaumāga and tautua. Anthropologist Bradd Shore (1982) explains:

> Traditionally such service has consisted of providing one's own chief with labor and food, as well as contributing work to family and village projects. In recent times, the concept of 'service' has been expanded considerably to allow for the contributions of money and other material goods from those descent group members who may reside far from the village, perhaps overseas. At times, more abstract qualities such as fame and prestige of family members who have gained distinction academically or in professional careers also may be considered as service to the family. (p. 65)

While "living" kinship for men was once displayed through muscular acts of agricultural service to the matai and to the ʻāiga, these traditional forms of tautua are no longer deemed attractive, worthy, or sufficient in an age of globalization and formal (office) employment. Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) argues, "Providing community services today is

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an extremely costly business, especially since […] asset provision has become a form of tautua to the village. The new rule appears to be "the bigger the asset, the bigger the tautua" (p. 156). As the village economy becomes increasingly translocal, and as expressions of tautua become increasingly entwined with global material and financial resources accessible through cash, engaging in meaningful tautua has become dependent on one's ability to malaga ifafo (travel overseas), obtain educational degrees overseas, and enter formal labor markets. Indeed, as more matai titles are conferred on those who have distinguished themselves with their wealth (i.e., money) and status overseas, notions of the good life for Samoan men, once rooted in the fruits of one's labor on one's own plantation, have shifted to offshore activities.

Viewing sport as tautua thus takes one deeper into both the gendered and embodied contexts of social change in which 'sport for development' has been introduced (or, rather, re-localized) in Sāmoa (cf. Uperesa, 2010). As the National Sport Policy adeptly states, sport is no longer just a pastime, but a means of personal advancement. As discussed in the previous chapter, this idea has been given life in more than one way: International sport[69] offers not only a new possibility for migration, but also an additional platform on which young men can redefine traditional notions of participation, reciprocity, and tautua in the contemporary, transnational family (Tengan, 2002). In turn, masculinity itself is renewed and redefined.

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[69] And specifically international sport, not traditional or indigenous sports and games. As the Prime Minister explained, young Samoans should be encouraged to develop their skills in international sports like British cricket, not Samoan kilikiki (cricket), because it is the international sport that offers an international stage and the promise of millennial rewards.

The Muscularization of Globalization and the Muscularizing of Masculinity

Core to the idea of sport as tautua—just as it has been for the 'aumāga—is the persisting relationship between the strength and fitness of one's body and the strength of one's 'āiga and nu'u. However, influenced by a multi-billion dollar international sport industry where strong, athletic bodies are made globally visible and globally mobile, the strength and fitness of the 'aumāga has been symbolically re-configured into a contemporary form of hegemonic "muscular masculinity" (Connell, 1987; Messner, 2007).[70] That is, one might characterize the effects of globalization—and particularly the globalization of international sport—during a crisis of masculinity in Sāmoa as reconstituting Samoan male identities vis-à-vis the (hyper-)muscularization[71] of their bodies in service to the 'āiga and nu'u. By centering the strong and fit athletic body in this way, the path to pule (power and authority) through tautua is restabilized. The following images, taken from a pan-Pacific magazine published in New Zealand and circulated in (urban) Sāmoa, illustrates the construction of this muscular masculinity by juxtaposing the athletic rugby body with the body praxes of tautua characteristic of the 'aumāga (see Figure 16).

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[70] See Uperesa (2010) for a discussion on how sports like American football create spaces for the expressions of hypermasculinity among American Samoan youth.

[71] However, I would contrast the vitality of Samoan masculinity as embodied by the young, fit, and muscular body of the untitled Samoan man with the vitality of Samoan masculinity as embodied by the older, often times overweight, "fat" body of the power-full Samoan matai (or pastor; cf. Hardin, forthcoming a).

Figure 16. A "league of men" who put their "bodies on the line." Source: *Spasifik Magazine*, July/August 2010.

Featured on the front cover (left image) of the magazine is Ruben Wiki, former professional rugby league footballer in New Zealand of Samoan and Maori heritage, dressed in traditional Samoan siapo (bark cloth) and performing a traditional Samoan ʻava (kava) ceremony. This image is particularly illustrative, as the term ʻaumāga literally means "kava chewers," referencing a now obsolete task of the ʻaumāga.[72] Nonetheless, by transposing Wiki's muscular body into the role of the village youth who prepares the ʻava for ceremonial drinking, Wiki's globalized masculinity is transported into a Samoan locality. His muscular body is put in service to his nuʻu; his international, athletic body becomes a cultured, ʻaumāga body. Inside the cover story (right image) are two

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[72] ʻAva (kava) is a drink made from the root of the *piper methysticum* tree, and was usually served ceremoniously at important gatherings and especially during meetings of matai (Shore, 1982). For a more detailed elaboration of this ceremony and the preparation of the ʻava, see Grattan (1948) or Shore (1982).

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additional professional New Zealand rugby league footballers.[73] The one on the left is

Dene Halatua of Niuean descent, and on the right is Nigel Vagana, of Samoan descent.

Ornamented in traditional clothing and by traditional objects of war, Vagana's athletic

body is transformed into the masculine body of the Polynesian warrior, another pre-

contact role played by members of the ʻaumāga before the arrival of Christianity—and

increasingly the archetype of the Polynesian athlete[74]. But unlike the hypermasculine,

aggressive, and untamable warrior often characterized in racialized discourses of the

"savage Other" (cf. Hokowhitu, 2004; Tengan & Markham, 2009), Vagana's image,

similar to that of Wiki's, casts his muscular body as the "noble savage," both masculine

and subservient, flattening the differences between professional rugby player and servant

of the Samoan nuʻu.[75]

    While these images work to bring together ideas of global sport, muscular

masculinity, and translocally performed tautua, other images circulating around Sāmoa

help illuminate more clearly the mobility and globality of these muscular bodies. Figure

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[73] The story featured in *Spasifik* Magazine promotes the publication of a calendar featuring thirteen former and current National Rugby League (NRL) players "transformed by traditional ornaments and body art into Pacific warriors" (NRL.com, 2010). The calendar was produced by photographer, Greg Semu (of Samoan heritage), and Casula Powerhouse Arts Centre, and was launched ahead of the 2010 Four Nations tournament. Proceeds from calendar sales were donated to the NRL's Pacific Islands Community programs and the Body Pacifica exhibition and festival.

[74] See Tengan and Markham (2009), Hokowhitu (2004), and Uperesa (2010) for excellent discussions on empire, colonization, and the de-masculinization of Polynesian male bodies, and their contemporary re-masculinization as the Polynesian athlete-warrior. See also Besnier (2011, p. 192) for a discussion of the double-edged nature of this warrior stereotype.

[75] Other images on the next page of this cover story (not included here) feature photos of rugby stars Frank Puletua (Samoan descent) cradling a small infant in his arms, Jarryd Hayne (Fijian descent) holding a conch shell, and Manu Vatuvei (Tongan descent) holding a traditional Tongan fan. All three men are dressed similarly to the men in Figure 16, bare chested and ornamented with traditional tattoos and body adornments. Vatuvei is even wearing a lei around his neck and a hairpiece made of feathers, a stark contrast to the hardened image of his body. These men embody what Messner (2007) describes as more "sensitive forms of masculinity" (p. 466), an "emergent hybrid masculinity" (p. 467) characterized by a mixture of toughness, hardness, compassion, and vulnerability.

17, for example, is an image of Manu Sāmoa star, Mikaele Pesamino, moving at the

speed of high-speed internet while showing off the latest model of the Blackberry phone.
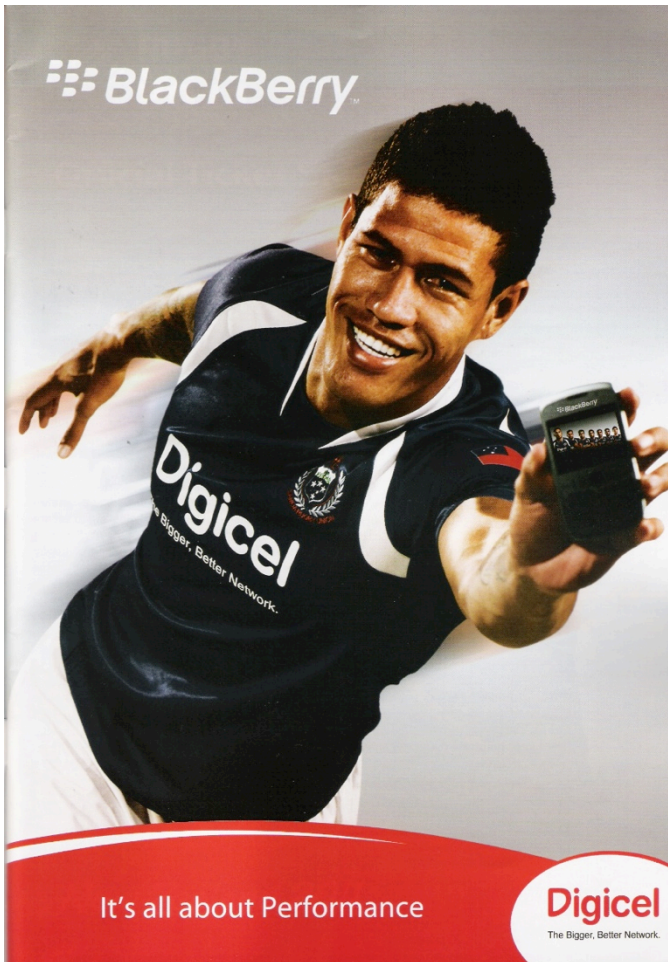
Figure 17. Mikaele Pesamino in a Digicel advertisement for the latest Blackberry phone.
Source: Ikale Tahi vs Manu Samoa, Official match program, Pacific Nations Cup 2010,
June 12 2010.

This image of masculinity not only places front and center Pesamino's high level of

physical fitness, it also marks his ability to enter and engage the global economy.[76]

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[76] It is also important to note that displaying the bodies of fit Samoan rugby men as models of
masculinity (and, in the case of Figure 16, as sexualized objects of desire) and as harbingers of
globalization (in the case of Figure 17) contrasts sharply with global images of obese, poor, and violent
Samoans often featured in New Zealand and even in the US.

Contrast Pesamino's image with the following image taken from a story in *Foreign Policy* magazine (see Figure 18).

Figure 18. Large bodies as immobile island bodies. Source: Keating, *Foreign Policy*, February 8, 2011.

Here, our gaze as readers is drawn immediately to the man's large waistline as he engages in an act of consumption. His medicalized body is the central feature of the article's headline, "Why do the world's fattest people live on islands?" Not only are we, as readers, complicit in medicalizing his body by associating his large body size with fatness, obesity, and NCDs like diabetes and heart disease; we are also involved in

locating and confining his body to the "tiny" space of islands. Thus, his body is not only evaluated as inactive; it is also geographically immobile—a stark contrast to the image of Pesamino "flying" above. Moreover, the author of the article leads us, as readers, to narrowly view bodies confined to such islands as victims in need of assistance against hegemonic forces of globalization, industrialization, and development, rather than as active agents capable of engaging globalization, like Pesamino. Nevertheless, images featuring medicalized Islander bodies set in contrast to images featuring muscularized, masculine Islander bodies play a significant role in communicating the values, behaviors, orientations, and geographic locations desired of "good" Islanders who have adapted well to global change. While on the one hand, objects like a Blackberry phone are obtainable if one can muscle through obstacles like rurality, poverty, or unemployment; disease, on the other hand, is inevitably on the horizon for those who cannot. In this sense, the body becomes both instrument and marker of im/mobility, while its muscularization becomes a proxy for globality.

What is interesting here, and often unspoken, is how the muscular bodies of professional athletes are products of strategic body practices (daily training, rigorous workouts, strict diet, etc.) aimed at developing the body and building muscle. This kind of muscularity must be contrasted with the muscularity of the 'aumāga, whose muscular bodies are gained through rigorous physical labor in the plantation and around the village and thus a product of one's circumstances rather than one's choice. While achieving both forms of muscularity may be a reflection of one's tautua to one's 'āiga, the body work needed to achieve these two kinds of muscularities/masculinities are based on two very

different kinds of (classed) body praxes, or body techniques (Mauss, 1934/1992): one rooted in the land; the other oriented overseas. Penina's attempt to persuade her cousin Filipo to stay in Sāmoa to get mālosi (strong) from working the plantation may not have appealed to Filipo because she was referencing a kind of strength and image of masculinity that reflects a body praxis associated with being "confined to the bush," rather than as a reflection of his ambitions of upward and outward mobility. Echoing Pierre Bourdieu's (1978/1991) discussion of body habitus,[77] Penina's appeal failed to recognize that the ideal muscularity/masculinity entails a struggle over the definition of both the legitimate masculine body as well as its legitimate body practices. That is, muscularity/masculinity is something achieved purposefully through a set of highly distinctive, modern, cosmopolitan and thus non-agricultural activities.

This intentionality of a reconstituted masculinity raises another dimension of a Samoan sport for development practice that makes participation in sport a uniquely gendered (male) response to Samoa's changing geopolitical and socioeconomic landscape. That is, if successful achievement of masculinity is determined by one's ability to be globally mobile and if becoming globally mobile is largely dependent on the strength and fitness of one's body, then for those young men who cannot move around the globe, they can at least look like they can. In other words, by embodying the image of

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[77] Bourdieu (1978/1991) suggests that the body habitus is the "basis from which life-styles are generated" (p. 367); it is a system of dispositions, values, tastes and preferences—a particular way of relating to the body—that stratifies and (re-)structures the spaces of practice as well as the meanings and functions attached to those practices. The body habitus can thus help explain the distribution of body practices across social classes. Bourdieu discusses at great length how sporting practices are an excellent field on which to examine the expectations, interests, and values of their agents, as these practices "have the aim of shaping the body" (p. 367). Furthermore, with the body centered as "the visible manifestation of the person," sporting practices provide a glimpse into the "idea [the body] wants to give of itself" (ibid.)— as in its character, capabilities, and virtues. After all, it is the effect of sporting practices on the body, he argues, that epitomizes "an aesthetic and an ethic in the practical state" (ibid.).

success, masculinity, and globalization; by working on 'oso le maso (literally, jumping the muscles) of their bodies; and by engaging in specific kinds of muscle-building body practices, young Samoan men "stuck" in the villages can *be* global. My host brother, Atini, serves as an illustration of how young taule'ale'a view engaging in these global body praxes. As the son of the Village Sports Leader, Atini has full access to the sports equipment donated to the village by international organizations or returned overseas kin and stored at their family home. On my way in or out of the family compound, I would often walk past the open shed with the corrugated iron roof that houses the village's bench press and see Atini and sometimes other village boys lifting rusty barbells and weights. One evening after dinner, Atini told me that he was concerned about his training regime and wanted to build his muscles more quickly. Knowing that I run in the mornings, he asked me whether there were any specific warm up activities or exercises that he should be doing. This led him to share with me a conversation he had with a friend who had just returned from overseas. His friend had given him a container of protein powder and a "program" to do for a month: weight lifting exercises and one cup of protein powder after working out. Pushing his chair back, extending his arms out and flexing his biceps for me, Atini prided himself in what his friend later told him, "See, you have muscles now!"

This vignette is made even more telling when contrasted with a passing comment made by my host sister a few weeks later. During a three-day visit by a team of Australian volunteers from a local (Samoan) non-profit sport for development organization, the village youth were full of energy because pastor's school had been

cancelled to accommodate the volunteer's sport programs. I had just returned to the family compound after a brief trip to the library in Salelologa to find a group of boys talking loudly from the back shed. Atini, standing with one of the volunteers inside the open shed, was supervising a young boy lifting the barbell. Malae, my host father, was standing in front of a group of boys, all between the ages of 12 and 15, clamoring over two pedal-powered exercise machines that had been sitting outside of the storage room next to the shed. The boys were trying to operate a broken down stationary bike with one of its pedals missing and an outdated hip swinging machine that resembled an elliptical runner. Malae was yelling out instructions at the two boys on the machines, telling them to put more effort into their movements. I walked into the kitchen to find Lea, my 12-year old host sister. I asked her if she was planning to try the weightlifting. She laughed as though surprised and asked plainly, "What? Do that? I want to play netball." We continued to chat about the status of the netball program when her father came inside. He explained the notable absence of village girls, saying that they were not interested in weightlifting. Laughing at this, Lea added, "I don't want to get muscles."

Of note is how the muscularization of male bodies is not just any response to the marginalizing effects of globalization on men but rather a uniquely masculine response that draws on existing notions of the young male body—specifically the big (muscular) and powerful body and its role in personal and social advancement through tautua. While the boys being instructed on how to lift the barbell or use the stationary bike may not be fully aware of the larger social significance of their new body practice, the older men like Malae and especially Atini understand that building the body for sport builds muscles in

ways that working in the plantation cannot. By socializing these young boys in a modern

muscular economy, they set in motion new constructs of manhood, strength, and fitness

oriented overseas rather than on the land. And for girls like Lea, these muscle-building

body practices not only set these activities apart as masculine and therefore things that

boys do and girls do not do; they further sustain existing notions of femininity and locate

the (non-muscular) female body in other domestic domains.

The Politics of Hope

As Niko Besnier (2012) suggests, what characterizes men's migratory labor in the

Pacific is the increasing dependence on the vitality (i.e., fitness, strength) of the body.

Migratory sports labor can be viewed as akin to the other forms of migratory physical

labor; although as the laborer's body is often at the center of racist politics of

discrimination and depreciation, the athlete's body is subjected to a particular glamorized

form of commodification and adulation (ibid.).[78] Nonetheless, the athletic or physical

mobility of young Samoan men further locates their bodies—and I would add their

development imaginations—in "a larger canvas of diasporic dispersal, remittance

economies, and other dimensions of the global condition […] in which agents are

hampered by increasing constraints (e.g., the tightening of work visa laws) as easily as

they are enabled by emergent possibilities (e.g., the loosening of citizenship restrictions

by sport regulating authorities)" (p. 504). Creating a politics of hope, globalization has

not only eroded traditional identities for young Samoan men but has also reconstituted

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[78] Although, this is not to deny a long history of racial stereotyping and discrimination against athletes of Pacific Islander descent in countries like New Zealand and Australia, where they are often stereotyped as undisciplined, hyperaggressive, and violent (Grainger, 2009; Teaiwa & Mallon, 2005).

new identities and pathways for them. Unable to secure education-based pathways overseas, many leave school under the realization that their chance to perform tautua overseas and to obtain a good life of blessings has largely to do with the 'exportability' of their muscularized and masculinized athletic bodies. Physical talent, physical size, and physical ability to execute specific technical skills are perceived to increase their chances of mobility, not to mention define specific domains for male tautua that are separate from spheres for women. It appears that the muscular attributes of yesterday's 'aumāga have remained modern markers of 'aumāga masculinity today. These qualities have been absorbed and embodied into the collective imagination of pre-adolescent and adolescent boys, becoming both a standard of masculinity and a set of qualifications that make possible the kinds (and size) of tautua deemed desirable by Samoan society.[79] Transnational muscularized sites like international sport, as well as seasonal agricultural labor in New Zealand, low-skill manufacturing, and the military (especially in American Samoa) have helped to perpetuate these notions of masculinity and further sediment the inevitability of a translocal practice of tautua.

Over the course of several informal and formal conversations, Sefa, Malae's close assistant, explained to me his strategies for helping the youth in their village understand

[79] The current Head of State, Tui Ātua Tupua Tamasese Ta'isi Tupuola Tufuga Efi (hereafter referred to as Tui Ātua) once gave a lecture describing three kinds of tautua. According to Uperesa (2010), these types of tautua were distinguished along lines of frequency and location of service: 1) tautua nofo tuavae, the kind of daily service provided in residence to the 'āiga, matai, and nu'u; 2) tautua 'ai taumalele, regular service given by someone residing outside the village, increasingly overseas; and 3) osi 'āiga, the occasional service provided mainly during occasions of fa'alavelave, like weddings, funerals, and increasingly milestone achievements and events like graduation (Tui Ātua, 2009). Uperesa (2010) and Suali'i-Sauni (2007) suggests that before, the first kind of tautua, tautua nofo tuavae, was the preferred and dominant form of tautua. However, in recent decades, definitions and expectations of tautua have expanded as migrations made possible by international sport and other overseas educational and professional opportunities have brought more recognition and prestige to non-resident and non-traditional forms of accomplishments and success.

this relationship between tautua and sports. One strategy in particular warrants

mentioning here, as it helps shed light on the day-to-day social practices that support and

maintain the interpretive world of sport for development in Sāmoa. As Sefa reminisced

with me about his former days developing rugby in rural Savai'i schools, he shared with

me the story he recently told his youth during a rugby training session I had observed:

When he was developing rugby in Tausi, a nearby village, he came across a family with

six boys, all of whom had or were performing poorly in school. But these young boys,

Sefa explained, demonstrated a unique work ethic (kelley, 1997): they would never stop

playing rugby. Each time the teacher told them to stop playing, they would put the ball

down for a few minutes and then soon after be playing with the ball again. None of the

brothers, he pointed out, ever graduated from university. Nonetheless, because they

dedicated their lives to rugby, "they got the benefit. They got money. They are all

overseas. [And] they are healthy." Furthermore, Sefa added, "overseas, [the brothers]

don't speak Samoan. They all speak English now! And, they are not- you know what I

mean? They were not good in school, especially with this language, y'know, the second

language, English. And now, you can speak English with them! Because of what?

Because of sports!" While I will return to Sefa's point about schooling and English in the

next chapter, it is important to note here that the Tuilagi brothers that he speaks of are

legendary in Sāmoa; their family's successful achievement of the good and blessed life

through sport serves as a sign of hope for many young men coming from similar

circumstances. Sefa's strategy to repeatedly tell his youth this story serves not only to

motivate them to play harder on the field, but also to inspire them with role models to emulate: If they play just a little harder, they too can be like one of the Tuilagi brothers.

Stories of these "fabled futures" (Uperesa, 2010) and the "magical emergence of wealth from nothing" (Besnier, forthcoming; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000) help circulate popular ideology that sport is a "social mobility escalator" (Eitzen, 1999)—or, in the case of Sāmoa, a road to manhood, authority, and the good life. Yet, while this possibility of mobility creates hope, it is the probability of actually achieving this dream that begs pause. For example, over the course of 21 years, Tala, a former Manu Samoa rugby player turned local sport for development "engineer," helped about 400 young Samoan men (and 1 Samoan women) achieve coveted rugby (and netball) scholarships to schools in New Zealand—scholarships like the one Kali hopes one day to obtain. Once overseas, these youth could not only receive better quality nutrition and training (as well as education), but also increase their visibility to scouts and thus their chances of securing a club contract. Figure 19 provides an illustration of this coveted pathway and also illustrates the visibility given to those who successfully make it through. Posted by Mikaele on Facebook, the image is a screenshot of an online article, "Teen centre Slater signs for Knights," featuring a friend from a nearby village who, after securing a rugby scholarship to New Zealand, recently signed a contract with a rugby club in England. The comments on the right were posted by Mikaele's friends.

Figure 19. Teen center Slater signs for Knights. Source: Facebook post by Mikaele, August 12, 2013. Note: Second paragraph reads: "Paul-Eti learnt the game in his native Samoa and his talents were soon identified as he was picked for the Samoa Under 15 team. Shortly after Slater won a scholarship to the prolific Otago Boys School in Dunedin, New Zealand, who's alumni include All Blacks captain Richie McCaw. At Otago Boys Slater's development continued impressively as he represented Otago throughout the age grade setup in both ruby union and league." Comments include, "Wow we are all so proud of that. How great! I should post some photos of him 'in training' at Lano, ripping it up on the beach with all you guys. So good" and "Good work slates. Hook da boys up with the gears eh."

Yet, even with this leg up (securing a rugby scholarship to New Zealand), only a handful

actually make it from playing rugby in school to playing in the international circuits.

Outside these lucky few, the likelihood to be noticed by international scouts for those

youth playing rugby or netball in their home villages in Sāmoa is practically a pipe dream. One good example is Tavita, a 28 year old male from a rural village in Savai'i, who after a short stint on the Under 21 national soccer team in Apia, caught the attention of a well-positioned uncle in Australia who coaches an Australian soccer team. Tavita and I met one evening after sā (evening curfew and family prayer time) to talk about his soccer dreams and his specific hope not to be just any national player in Sāmoa, but to be a "tough and good" overseas player. He told me that his uncle had promised to bring him to Australia for a three month trial with his uncle's team; if things went well, he would sign a contract and be a paid player. When we talked in February 2012, Tavita was near the end of his uncle's promised timeframe for completing paperwork and patiently waiting for visa clearance. In the meantime, to prepare for his trial, Tavita had quit his job in hospitality at a local hotel and was making use of his time by training, keeping fit, and going to the plantation everyday. When I left the village three months later, however, Tavita still had not yet left for Australia.

Stories like Tavita's raise important questions about the extent to which young men are willing to gamble their futures on the possibility of success through sport. Sport sociologist, D. Stanley Eitzen, writes of young African American men in similar situations in the United States:

> For many [young African American men], sport represents their only hope of escape from a life of crime, poverty, and despair. They latch on to the dream of athletic success partly because of the few opportunities for middle-class success. They spend many hours per day developing their speed, strength, jumping height, or 'moves' to the virtual exclusion of those abilities that have a great likelihood of paying off in upward mobility such as reading comprehension, mathematical reasoning, communication skills, and computer literacy. (1999, p. 26)

In Sāmoa, the myth of mobility (and tautua) through sport translates similarly: sport

represents young Samoan men's hopes of becoming 'real' men in a place with fewer and

fewer opportunities to fulfill family expectations that could grant them status and a matai

title. Some spend hours developing their skills on the field to the virtual exclusion of

skills in the classroom, fueling what Besnier (2012) describes as "a politics of hope that

rubs shoulder with the reality of disappointment and exploitation" (p. 502). Not only does

this paradigm pull young men away from more probable income-generating occupations;

it also highlights the immense amount of pressure placed on the bodies of young men, the

fragility and short-term nature of their careers, and the ephemerality of their imagined

futures (cf. Uperesa, 2010).[80] Isaako, a body builder and physical trainer from an urban

village in Apia, illuminated for me how quickly one's efforts at putting one's heart and

soul into pursuing a sports career can come crumbling down. I met Isaako during one of

his spin (cycling) classes at the gym shortly after he returned from competing and

winning a bronze medal in bodybuilding at the South Pacific Games in New Caledonia.

After taking a few more of his classes, we met for an interview at a cafe in one of Apia's

newest hotels. Drinking our bottled water, he described to me how he thought he had

once "made it" with rugby. In 2009, he and his then French girlfriend were visiting

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[80] In light of recent popular attention to concussions (cf. Fainaru-Wada & Fainaru, 2013) and their sometimes tragic long-term effects on American footballers in the National Football League (NFL)—including the suicide in 2012 of former linebacker of the San Diego Chargers, Junior Seau, who is of Samoan descent—the fragility of the careers and bodies of professional athletes in high contact sports like rugby, American football, or soccer raises serious concern in a discussion on exploitation and a politics of hope. Literally placing their lives on the line, some of these players continue to play through injuries incurred while playing the game either due to fear of losing their position on a team or from having been intentionally misled by league officials, medical professionals, and coaches about the seriousness of their brain or bodily injuries. While beyond the scope of the dissertation, it is nonetheless essential to point out how the cost of fame, fortune, and glory gained through professional sport is, in the end, ultimately borne by the players themselves, players who often overwhelmingly over represent communities of color and lower socioeconomic status.

France and after he managed to get signed onto a club team extended their stay for a year. Earning a paycheck, he could now send money home regularly and, in a sense, live out the dream. But after his fourth game, he seriously injured himself, losing his position on the team. Not knowing what to do and feeling like he had failed, Isaako returned home to Sāmoa. But instead of "falling to the wayside," as a government official once put it for me, Isaako was "blessed" by his geographical location. Living in Apia, he was able to begin rehabilitating his injured knee at a local gym—no small feat as entry to Samoa's private gyms can cost anywhere between SAT $6 to $10 per visit (or, roughly, USD $2 to $5). While at the gym one day, the manager, a returned overseas Samoan, approached him and encouraged him to try bodybuilding, an activity she herself had been successful.[81] Now, Isaako is employed as a physical trainer and has represented his country once as a competitive body builder. His new goal is to compete regularly in order to find a sponsor because, in his words, "if you want to move up you need to find some rich man, find somebody" to help you out.

Comparing Mikaele's friend's story with those of Isaako and Tavita, one cannot help but notice that the politics of hope run along a tight rope between circumstantial luck and structural advantage. Like the tagline in Figure 16, these young men are putting their bodies on the line. Real athletic talent, while critical to being noticed, is like value added in the end. While legends like the Tuilagi brothers make it appear as though anybody can make it if only they try hard enough, a countless other factors determine whether a young sport hopeful will stay precariously balanced on the tight rope or fall off to the wayside.

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[81] Again, not a small feat to accomplish, as the strict diet of a body builder means challenges, both social and financial, living in a traditional extended Samoan family where one large meal is prepared for everyone.

For those at a structural disadvantage, like Tavita or even Kali, the young Manu Samoa hopeful from earlier, muscling their way through these politics becomes even more central. Yet, as these young men continue to take on new kinds of body work to get their bodies noticed, their preoccupation with fitness and muscles should not be confused for the acceptance of health objectives encouraged by sport for health advocates. Rather, their improved bodies act as a means of gaining an edge in a much larger game of politics already stacked against them.

Conclusions

In thinking about the problem with boys and Penina's dilemma of pushing young male school leavers in the direction of agriculture, one must also take into consideration the way traditional pathways to manhood and imagined pathways to the good life have been altered by the processes of globalization, urbanization, and modernization. Where a void has been left for many Samoan men, alternatives like sport offer to fill it with the hopes of millenarian success and unimagined prosperity (Besnier, forthcoming; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000). Reframing the discussion of school leavers, unemployment, and social deviance thus means locating these issues within a context of shifting gender orders and stagnant economic conditions at home. It also means recognizing how the identification and strengthening of one's 'fitness' (either in the classroom or on the pitch) has become the essential step in facilitating Samoan youth's entry into an increasingly uneven field of work. The achievement of health as an end in itself is not the goal of muscularizing one's body. As I have demonstrated in this chapter and will continue to explore in the next, identifying one's fitness in this development scheme entails

recognizing how fitness and strength are defined for men, ultimately creating a gendered

landscape of imagined and real development futures. Finally, reframing rural youth

unemployment means positioning at the center of this discussion the young men who

imagine themselves serving their families, contributing to their families, and becoming

legitimate adults through globalized pathways, but find themselves unequivocally stuck.

As objects of a politics of hope, those young men who choose to dream about becoming

professional athletes balance precariously as they are currently placing their bodies on a

very insecure line.

Nonetheless, by imagining a future made possible by sport, men like Mikaele,

Kali, and even composite characters like Sole are responding to changing times vis-à-vis

the gendered logics of tautua as 'aumāga, the strength of the village—whether this is an

effective response remains to be seen. Traditional expectations of the 'aumāga to labor

and provide for the 'āiga and nu'u are being absorbed into a contemporary logic in which

the physical labor of young men is put to work in a global arena through a new set of

body practices. In this context, living kinship gets translated for young men as using the

physical skills, talents, and strengths of their bodies to muscle their way through the

gendered obstacles of globalization. This will then, supposedly, allow them and their

families to participate and engage meaningfully in acts of reciprocity, exchange, and

other modern permutations of fa'asāmoa, the Samoan way (cf. Macpherson &

Macpherson, 2009b). More importantly, the spaces created by sport-based development

initiatives promise men a reserve in which notions of masculinity, definitions of success

and achievement, and pathways to manhood and prestige are unthreatened by and remain

separate from spheres in which women are beginning to emerge. Youth like Mikaele, Kali, and Isaako are not only negotiating social expectations to tautua in modern, transnational ways; they are also negotiating culturally defined notions of what boys can do compared to girls—a topic I turn to next.

Before moving to the next chapter, it is important to recognize that village sport has served a long-standing and important social function in Samoan villages, especially as a social outlet through which Samoan men, especially untitled men, could express masculinity in socially sanctioned ways (Turner, 1884/1989; Clément, 2009). Sport today, while taking on new meaning, continues to carry this social function. On that note, it is also important to recognize that participation in village sports does not necessarily equate the desire to go overseas through sport. As kelley (1997) argues, "it would be ludicrous to believe that everybody [on the pitch] shares the same aspirations" (p. 53). Many Samoan youth view sport merely as a way to escape chores or other family obligations, or a way to pass the time at the end of the day, rather than an alternative and strategic means to the millennial success, status, and riches of professional sport. Furthermore, families who cannot afford to have a child pursuing rugby instead of helping with chores are hard pressed to allow their child to actively and consistently train to become professional athletes. In fact, I would caution against generalizing the extent to which Samoan youth deliberately pursue sport-based development pathways, or the extent to which Samoan youth conflate the *possibility* of achieving the good life through sport with the *probability* of securing inter/national contracts. What I have demonstrated, however, is the extent to which the idea of sport in development has taken on ideological

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proportions in Samoan development discourse, rather than become a new expression of

masculine hegemony (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1991).

Chapter 6. 'Let Them See a Different Path': Sport and the Trickling and Tracking

of Boys Through Education

Introduction

> National and international policies and frameworks focus on improving the
> situation of women and girls, which does not reflect the situation in Samoa. The
> Government needs to redefine focus of national policies and plans on issues
> associated with boys. (MESC, 2007, p. 147)

At the turn of the millennium and at the urging of new international frameworks

for development like the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Dakar

Framework for Action, renewed commitments to achieving "education for all" (EFA)

have intensified international attention on women and the gender gap. For countries like

Sāmoa, however, as well as Fiji, Mongolia, the Philippines, Thailand, Tonga, and

Vanuatu, gender disparities in education have recently favored women over men, girls

over boys (cf. United Nations Girls' Education Initiative [UNGEI], 2012; World Bank

[WB], 2012). Boys not only significantly underperform compared to girls on national

exams; they are also more likely to be labeled as "at risk" and drop out of school

prematurely (Jha & Kelleher, 2006; MESC, 2007). In a context where faʻasāmoa (the

Samoan way) stresses the importance of service to the ʻāiga (family) and nuʻu (village),

the social implications of being labeled a failure run beyond individual shame, especially

for boys. As alluded to in the previous chapter, boys' underachievement at school and

later in the village when they are unable to get paid employment not only impacts their

notions of identity, dignity, and masculinity, but, as speculated by some government

officials, can also translate into social problems like crime and violence (GOS, 2010; Jha

& Kelleher, 2006). As such, the Government has stated that the "social and economic

costs to society of not recognizing the marginalization of boys in specific actions now

would be unthinkable in the next five to ten years" (MESC, 2007, p. 108). Consequently,

MESC has suggested that it is critical to develop a gender inclusive education strategy

that shifts its focus from girls to boys (MESC, 2007).[82]

Despite this attention by public officials, boys and young men have continued to

trickle out of classrooms since the 1990s (WB, 2013a), and the issue continues to be

unaddressed by policy.[83] Nonetheless, noticing the impact of increasing numbers of male

school leavers in the community, people "on the ground," including educational

administrators, community leaders, and youth themselves, have begun to address the

educational underachievement of boys in their own ways. As I will demonstrate in this

chapter, grassroots development of a gender inclusive educational strategy has not

necessarily translated into a critical examination or comprehensive improvement of

existing school practices and resources—like creating an enabling school environment for

boys, changing teacher expectations toward male students, reforming the curriculum, or

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[82] It is important to note that the problem with boys' academic underperformance is not a new phenomenon in Sāmoa or, for that matter, around the globe (Connell, 2005). Increased attention on educational development in the global South, since the 1960s, combined with feminist activism highlighting the importance of women (and later gender) in development since the 1970s saw some countries like Sāmoa experience high growth in overall educational attainment across the latter half of the 20th-century. Yet as global access to education expanded, education trends once favoring boys began quietly to reverse (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994; Jha & Kelleher, 2006; UNESCO, 2008; UNGEI, 2012). In countries like Sāmoa, girls began to outnumber and/or outperform boys in primary, secondary, and tertiary schools while male unemployment began to rise, drawing scholarly attention to the plight of boys and men in international development in the 1990s and 2000s (Connell, 2005; Bannon & Correia, 2005).

[83] Even Samoa's education policies and plans (MESC, 2006) do not list specific policy objectives targeting boys' underachievement in schools, although they do recognize that the situation needs to be addressed "as it impacts the make up of the work force and all other aspects of society" (p. 12). Samoa's latest National Policy for Children (MWCSD, 2010) and National Youth Policy (MWCSD, 2011) also do not list specific objectives or indicators for boys or young men but rather address issues regarding children and youth in general terms. And while Sāmoa has a National Policy for Women, the government does not have a similar policy focused on improving the status or educational achievement of Samoan men. Perhaps, as some scholars have suggested, this lack of policy attention to boys and men is due to an enduring emphasis on improving equality for women globally and a simultaneous fear that focusing on boys and men may give off the appearance of an antifeminist agenda (Bannon & Correia, 2006; Connell, 2005).

developing student-centered pedagogical practices. Rather, local actors have created a gender inclusive strategy by expanding the vision of education based on culturally perceived notions of what boys are capable of doing (sports) compared to girls (study). In this case, "education for all" (girls) becomes "sport for all" (boys). By tracking boys and young men into gender-appropriate educational venues, local actors have begun to identify ways of overcoming gendered barriers to social mobility through education by redefining, or refining, the meaning and purpose of education itself.

I begin this chapter with a discussion of several trends that have contributed to the trickling out of Samoan boys from school—or, perhaps, the tracking of boys out of the classrooms and into arenas where masculine physicality and fitness are more central. Drawing from survey and interview data with Samoan youth, I show how these trends, including the feminization of education, a widening education to employment gap, and an intensifying migration imperative, act as forces and structures that lead men to fall through traditional educational pathways (or, to be pushed into non-traditional non-academic pathways) of social and geographic mobility. Next, I analyze how the incorporation of sport within an expanded vision of education functions to redefine along gender norms an inclusive and holistic education for development that includes Samoan men. Highlighting several conversations with educational administrators and community leaders, I illustrate the ways sport has been imagined as a new "development" education (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991) that better prepares young Samoan men to reach their full potential as future productive global "citizens"—a sociopolitical identity that locates youth as agents of their immediate and extended families acting somewhere beyond the

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shores of the nation-state. In this sense, an expanded vision of education is one that rejects normalized assumptions about education as (feminized) schooling and is made more masculine (i.e., grounded in gendered notions of what young men are good at), while at the same time expanding masculine practices to include education.

Finally, I discuss the implications of a sport-as-education solution to boys' underachievement in school. I argue that while a "sport for all" agenda may function to make Samoa's educational vision more gender inclusive, it obscures the de-schooling of boys and ultimately overshadows persisting obstacles to the achievement of the good life for both women and men that stem from intersecting inequalities—for example, one's geographic, socioeconomic, and social locations, as well as one's gender. By failing to examine why young male students may be "unfit" for school before tracking them into alternative pathways—and failing to recognize that young female students are given few back-up options other than returning home to domestic life—local practices of sport for development reify further an emerging gender order and a matrix of life possibilities that mask the inequality and poverty of opportunity facing an increasing number of rural Samoan boys *and* girls. This chapter aims to remedy this oversight by bringing to light the social mechanics behind the trickling and tracking of boys through education.

Holes in a Leaky Pipeline? Or Rationales for Tracking Boys?

The academic "fitness" of boys has been a recurring theme throughout my study on sport for development in Sāmoa. Indeed, male underachievement at school has fueled perceptions of the "problem with boys" and has further compounded the effects of a crisis of masculinity. Yet, underlying boys' underperformance is a shifting educational context

influenced by 1) the feminization of education, 2) an education to employment gap, and 3) a migration imperative. Interestingly, the majority of my interlocutors did not frame these trends as indicators of an education system failing to meet the needs of young men or failing to prepare them for the needs of the market—thus contributing to the erosion of pathways to manhood.[84] Rather, they tended to view these trends as confirmation of male "unfitness" in school and therefore the need to identify alternatives for these young men. In some ways, these factors even led my interlocutors to question whether schooling is the best option for youth in general, and boys specifically. Here, I take a moment to elaborate on each trend in order to contextualize my later analysis of the incorporation of sport into the educational agenda. I support this discussion with interview and observation data as well as quantitative data collected from my surveys and by various government ministries.

The Feminization of Education

> They [boys] just wanna have fun all the time. They never think of like, what's coming in the future. They have this mentality, like, education is nothing. Yeah, so they tend to drop out of school. And they tend to like, see things the easy way. They want to take the easy way and not take the hard way.

One early Tuesday afternoon during school holidays in November, I visited Manumea, a 20 year old female university student, at her family's maternal residence in a peri-urban village in the northwest 'Upolu region, about half a mile from my first host family's home off the main road directly across from the ocean. Manumea's father was recently ordained a pastor, and their family was waiting to be assigned a village in which

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[84] Indeed, one of MESC's operating principles is that "education must relate to what sustains life, not just the market demands in terms of employment" (MESC, 2006, p. 23).

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he would minister. She, unlike her age-peers, self-identified as a "home girl" focused on

her studies, although she was also heavily involved in her village youth group activities

and travels. A geography and history major, she shared with me her intentions of going to

law school at the University of the South Pacific (USP) after finishing her diploma at the

National University of Samoa (NUS) in order to become an expert in environmental

protection. That afternoon, we had been conversing about the youth in her village and

how many of them wanted to leave Sāmoa when she tried explaining to me why there

were so many young men roaming around the village during the day (presumably coming

from or going to the plantations) and playing rugby in the evenings. According to her,

this gender difference was a manifestation of intelligence: the number of boys left in the

village compared to the number of girls who were in school or pursuing university

education in town was an indication of girls' academic superiority over boys. In this

landscape, girls are categorized as book smart and hard workers (and thus school ready);

boys are less so (and thus less fit for school). Girls think about their future; whereas boys

"just wanna have fun all the time," become addicted to drugs and alcohol, and drop out of

school because "education is nothing" to them. While her characterization of gender

differences may be a reflection of broader cultural stereotypes about girls' and boys'

orientation towards an "achievement ideology" (Macleod, 2004; Willis, 1997),[85] her

sentiments about boys and education are echoed in school enrollment statistics for the last

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[85] This broader stereotype is best captured by the oft-cited Samoan proverb, e ʻau le inaʻilau a tamaʻitaʻi (the women's row of thatch). Samoan scholar, Manumaua Luafata Simanu-Kultz (2011) describes this proverb as an "ancestral-cum-postmodern work ethic" and a metaphor that signifies the economic prowess of Samoan women (p. 2). Referencing an ancient victory by women over men in a competition of roof thatching, this proverb highlights women's ability to get work done and men's tendencies to put things off (cf. Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1998).

decade and a half (see Table 3).[86] As Samoan youth progress through the educational

pipeline, boys do indeed appear to be trickling out at higher rates as they reach secondary

school.

Table 3. Percentage of Male Enrollment Rates Across All Schools (Government, Private, Church), 1999-2013

	Primary									Secondary					
Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	9	10	11	12	13	Total
1999	52	53	51	52	51	52	51	51	52	52	50	50	45	46	49
2000	53	52	53	51	52	51	52	51	52	50	49	51	46	46	49
2001	51	52	52	53	51	52	51	52	52	50	49	51	47	47	49
2002	52	51	53	52	53	52	52	51	52	51	49	50	46	44	49
2003	53	52	51	53	51	53	52	51	52	49	49	48	45	44	48
2004	52	53	53	51	52	51	53	51	52	50	48	49	47	44	48
2005	53	53	53	52	51	52	51	51	52	51	50	47	46	46	48
2006	52	52	53	53	53	50	51	51	52	50	49	46	46	42	47
2007	53	51	52	53	52	52	51	51	52	49	49	46	47	41	47
2008	53	52	51	52	52	52	52	51	52	49	49	46	48	43	48
2009	52	53	53	51	52	54	51	52	52	50	48	47	45	44	47
2010	51	52	52	53	51	52	54	52	52	51	47	48	44	41	47
2011	51	50	52	52	53	50	53	53	52	50	48	45	46	43	47
2012	51	51	51	52	51	53	51	52	51	52	49	49	45	46	49
2013	53	51	52	51	53	53	54	51	52	52	48	44	43	48	48

Source: MESC, 2013

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[86] Tertiary enrollment for the year 2011 was 52% female and 48% male (SBS, 2012).

Table 4. Dropout Rate, 1995-2010

Year	Year levels				
	8--9	9--10	10--11	11--12	12--13
1994-1995	16	9	5	39	42
1995-1996	20	15	9	38	49
1996-1997	17	5	8	15	49
1997-1998	15	10	9	25	42
1998-1999	15	6	8	17	42
1999-2000	11	10	12	17	47
2000-2001	11	10	13	10	44
2001-2002	10	9	15	6	39
2002-2003	9	4	12	4	38
2003-2004	9	11	14	15	31
2004-2005	10	9	13	8	29
2005-2006	9	9	18	3	41
2006-2007	9	8	19	4	39
2007-2008	10	9	20	6	40
2008-2009	9	9	28	4	39
2009-2010	9	9	15	6	35

Source: MESC, 2013

What is striking about these enrollment trends is their consistency over time. While the Ministry of Education applauds itself for dramatically decreasing drop out rates since 2000 (see Table 4 above), one can conclude that much of the improvement in retention has been on the part of girls. Part of these enrollment and drop out trends can be explained by the examination system in Samoa. Students take three national exams during their educational tenure in order to determine whether they can advance to the next school level: Year 8 (Sāmoa Primary Education Certification Assessment, SPECA), Year 12 (Sāmoa School Certificate, SSC), and Year 13 (Sāmoa Secondary Leaving Certificate, SSLC, formerly the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate, PSSC). In order to sit these exams, students must pay a registration fee (SAT $11 for the SSC and SAT $55 for the SSLC, or less than USD $5 and about USD $23) and additional fees for any additional subject exam (SAT $16 for SSC subject exams, or less than USD $7, and SAT

$55 for SSLC subject exams). Those students at government schools who fail their SPECA (Year 8) exams have the option of repeating the school year or transferring to a church or private school—if they have the financial resources. Due to the high number of students in lower classes, however, government schools do not allow students to repeat Years 12 and 13. These students, if they fail their SSC or PSSC exams, usually either drop out or seek alternative options at church or private schools (SBS, 2012). According to MESC (2007), female students have consistently performed better on these national exams, advancing through the education system while their male peers are less likely to survive beyond Year 8. Furthermore, because of their exam scores, female enrollment in the elite government and private schools have been increasing at higher percentages than males, going from 58% in 1995 to 65% in 2002 while male enrollment dropped from 40% to 35% in the same period (Male, 2011).

While an analysis of actual educational achievement is beyond the scope of this study, what is interesting is how Samoans have explained the underachievement of boys not only as a byproduct of the feminization of education but also as a deeper reflection of essential differences between men and women. Samoan youth like Manumea from above have not been the only ones to explain their changing classroom composition as a problem with boys; parents, community leaders, school principals, and government officials (and their ministry publications) have also used gender stereotypes to explain why boys are leaving school—as well as to rationalize their strategies for getting boys to stay in school. Iosefa, the government school principal from Chapter 4, runs one of Samoa's premier educational institutions and has noticed the gender shift in enrollment

over the last decade. During our interview, he explained under a hearty laugh that "the girls are brighter than the boys," as evidenced by their qualifications and exam scores. The examination system, he suggests, is based on merit and is a fair representation of intelligence and effort. Boys, according to him, are simply not trying hard enough when it comes to school work because they are more interested in spending their time playing sports. Even ministry officials like Teuila suggest that boys have come to imagine two "streams" in education: academic and sport. If a young boy is better at the latter, Teuila asked, why should he spend six years studying to be a lawyer or a doctor instead of pursuing that which he is talented? Or, as Manumea might say, that which comes easiest to him?

By explaining boys' underperformance in school as both a byproduct of the feminization of education (because girls are doing better in schools, boys are doing worse), and a reason for the feminization of education (because boys are not as smart as girls, girls are doing better in school), Samoans are implicitly marking formal schooling as a space for females (see also UNGEI, 2012, for examples of the feminization of education in other developing contexts). Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010) suggests that there are two explanations for these gendered patterns of educational outcomes and the gendering of education that helps to move this discussion beyond a distinction between male and female intelligence and work ethic. First, she writes, the emphasis on women-targeted development programs by missionaries, colonial administrators, development agencies, and NGOs has led to the perception that education and social development issues are women's work. This perception, along with the institutionalization of women in

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development through organizations like the komiti tūmama (literally, the hygiene committee[87]), have put women at an educational advantage over men. Second, and on a related point, Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010) argues that gendered domains in Sāmoa present for men and women not only different ways of responding to changing times but also different potentials for growth. Based on her research on gender and education in Sāmoa, Fairbairn-Dunlop posits that men's activities, on the one hand, are structured around the notion that all men are expected to become matai (chief) if they serve the village properly. Their activities are thus more strictly defined and firmly rooted in cultural knowledge. Additionally, local norms of masculinity discourage failure and view asking for help as a sign of weakness. These behavioral expectations, she suggests, may discourage men from participating in realms like schooling and instead may encourage them (and their parents) to look towards validation in other more visible realms like sport that are better aligned with cultural expectations of masculinity and male prestige.[88] Women's activities, on the other hand, tend to lie in the reproductive and homemaking domains and are less clearly defined or culturally prescribed. As a result, Fairbairn-

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[87] The komiti tūmama is also the name given to village women's committees that oversee a range of responsibilities and development activities from preventative health to economic empowerment to human rights (cf. Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2010; Schoeffel, 1995).

[88] Michael Messner's (2007) brief discussion of how intellectualism softens masculinity may be useful for further fleshing out the intersections of gender and education. Writing in the context of American masculinity and American politics, Messner notes, "book learning and intellectual curiosity are viewed as a lack of inner strength and determination. Seeing the complications and gray areas in any public debate is viewed as a sign of waffling and a lack of an inner values-based compass" (p. 474). Similarly, in the context of Samoan masculinity and Samoan chiefly politics, chiefly knowledge is demonstrated, observed, and evaluated in the public performance of one's chiefly duties (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2010). Knowing how to fulfill these duties (or what to say) is expected and a sign of one's learnedness; asking questions or making errors are signs of weakness. Knowledge should have been learned informally during one's days as a member of the 'aumāga "sitting in attendance at the village council meetings waiting to carry out the decisions made by the chiefs" (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, p. 75). In this way, one can see how formal schooling practices based on trial and error (failure) and asking for help can run counter to local notions of masculinity.

Dunlop (2010) posits, women have the relative freedom to engage in new economic and educational ventures (and to ask questions and risk failure) as long as they can be classified as "'contributing to the family good' and not for personal gain" (p. 150). Finally, the protection and close monitoring of young girls means that their spheres of action are more closely localized to the bounded spaces of the home, church, and school, giving them more opportunity to study.

Fairbairn-Dunlop's (2010) gender framework helps illuminate why Samoan women—perhaps like women in other contexts (cf. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo & Francis, 2006)—have been able to adapt better than Samoan men to the influx of social and economic changes ignited by globalization. I would also add that this adaptation may also be due to more narrowly defined notions of femininity that confine the "good girl" to spaces like the classroom. Nevertheless, the implications of girls' better adaptation to school extends far beyond performance in the classroom and on national examinations. It translates into lifelong gender differences in career trajectories and pathways for achieving the good life for Samoan men and women—not to mention perpetuate gender stereotypes about boys and girls like those held by Manumea and Iosefa. Ultimately, though, by viewing the underachievement of boys in school as a product of culture and gender differences, Samoans are collectively laying down lines of a larger grid of career intelligibilities that go on to shape, organize, and render intelligible notions of what young men and women can and should do to become productive citizens—or, more accurately, contributing members of their 'āiga and nu'u. That is, these lines have been laid down in gendered (and gendering) ways, granting those on the grid the ability "to do

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only those things […] which are possible within and by arrangement of those lines"

(Spivak, 1996, p. 151), perpetuating narrow stereotypes about girls and boys in school.

Gender thus plays a significant mediating role in the educational experiences,

career trajectories, and alternative pathways to success for Samoan youth. For example,

MESC disclosed in their 2007 EFA mid-decade assessment report that during the mid-

1990s to the turn of the millennium, women received on average higher numbers of

merit-based scholarships to overseas institutions than men. In 2011, the Samoa Bureau of

Statistics (SBS) documented in their Annual International Migration Report that Samoan

women continue to outnumber men in terms of education-based migrations (at 53% and

47%, respectively).[89] And in terms of actual paid employment, the 2006 Population and

Housing Census noted that a greater percentage of employed women (55% and 27%)

compared to employed men (45% and 17%) are working in the private and public sectors,

respectively. Furthermore, according to the 2011 Population and Housing Census,

females are more likely to be found in professional (51%) and clerical work (58%) than

men (49% and 42%); while men are more likely to be found in occupations related to

agriculture or livestock (94%) or forestry (92%) than women (6% and 8%) (SBS, 2012).

In terms of salaries, as more women move into managerial and executive positions, their

salaries are also increasing at higher rates relative to men (GOS, 2010). While these

statistics should be interpreted cautiously and not be viewed as a result of gender alone,

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[89] It is not certain what proportion of these migrations were facilitated by merit-based scholarships or personal finances and/or social networks. Furthermore, I was unable to gather exact scholarship statistics for men and women from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). In future studies, it would be worth investigating how investigating educational migration and scholarship awards by gender.

they do provide an indication of how Samoan women and men are gendering the

workforce in ways that echo their educational histories.

The Widening Education to Employment Gap

> The creation of jobs within the formal economy, public sector and private, does not meet the number of new job seekers. Each year, a new group of school-leavers attempt to join the labour force, many of them prepared for the white-collared jobs that do not exist. (MESC, 2007, p. 70)

A second factor underlying the trickling of men from classrooms is the widening

education to employment gap. However, as indicated by the quote above, this issue

affects all Samoan youth, including women. Even though it appears that women's

educational achievements directly benefit their entry into the workforce—both in terms

of gaining white-collar employment and relatively higher wages—focusing on the

feminization of education (and employment) makes it easy to overlook the fact that the

total number of youth who successfully transition from secondary school or university to

paid employment is very low. For example, MESC (2007) estimates that 88% of

unemployment in Sāmoa is experienced by youth between the ages of 15 and 34, with

urban male youth disproportionately affected. Again, this trend is not new. In 1990, the

local newspaper featured an op-ed piece that voiced a similar concern: "For us students,

there are no more jobs. […] About 60 percent [of us] are going back to the villages to a

life that we are not educated to live" (cited in Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, p. 7). This

sentiment echoes that expressed by Mikaele from Chapter 4, who characterized growing

up in Sāmoa with an air of disappointment. Briefly, he described how many youth in

Sāmoa grow up with the hopes of becoming a lawyer or pilot one day, only to discover

that these careers are really only possible if one were able to gain an opportunity to continue schooling overseas.

To get a better sense of how many Samoan youth might find themselves in similar positions, I asked students who participated in my survey what kind of job they wanted in the future, giving them the option to report more than one career. In general, student responses illustrated a slight shift from Fairbairn-Dunlop's 1983 study of career and educational decidedness of Samoan youth, reflecting perhaps the development of new careers and the emergence of new educational programs and certificates offered in Sāmoa. The most reported career in my survey were professions in medicine (e.g., doctor, nurse, or surgeon) at 23%. This was followed by teacher (18%), police officer (12%), lawyer (8%), and banker or accountant (8%). Another 8% of occupational choices were pilot, flight attendant, or sailor—careers tied to off-island travel, if not migration. Five percent (5%) of responses included office jobs like secretary or administrator. Surprisingly, only 2% of careers reported were in the ministry as faife'au (pastor) or faletua (pastor's wife). The low percentage of students desiring to enter the religious ministry indicates, perhaps, a generational shift from the past when large numbers of youth aimed to gain enrollment in one of the handful of theological seminaries on island—a desire due in part because of the perception that a life in the church would be a life in comfort (cf. Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1983).

A new career that emerged in my survey was sports (1%), reflecting, perhaps, the relatively recent growth of international professional sports. Of note is that only 1% of students self-reported a desire to become a coach or a professional athlete. Given how

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widespread the notion of sport as a career appeared in my interviews and in policy documents, one would have expected this number to be higher. When probed further in a separate survey question about whether they would choose a sport-related career in the future, 24% of students (28% girls, 18% boys) said no. These students explained that they do not like to play sports; they are not talented in or interested in sports; there are not enough people at home to take care of the family or the family business if they were to choose this career; or because sport careers are limited and you cannot play sports your entire life. A majority of students, however, responded that they would indeed choose a sport career (67%: 62% girls, 76% boys). These students explained that a sport-related job would allow them to use their talents to help others and to secure a job and better future for themselves, their family, village, and country. For a few students, this was especially true since they believed they were not good at school. Students also reported that they would pursue a sport-related career because the money is good, they would get to travel to other countries, and it would be good for keeping up their health.

Considering the enthusiasm around sport as a career emerged only after a probing question specifically asked about sport, I would suggest that much of the hype around sport and development in Sāmoa is more ideological than hegemonic (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991). This finding also supports the need for future studies in sport and development to investigate claims and popular perceptions about sport in context. Without having asked students first to respond openly about the kinds of careers to which they aspired, one could walk away with the idea that nearly 70% of youth, rather than

1%, desire careers in sport—adding further to inter/national misperceptions about the unquestionable popularity of sport.

Moreover, of the careers reported by students, most would require youth to pursue education beyond secondary school, if not overseas. Probing the data further, gender differences in occupational aspirations provide an additional layer of insight into the disconnect between schooling and employment (see Table 5).

Table 5. Estimated Level of Education Required of Desired Occupation by Gender

	%	
	Female	Male
Post-baccalaureate degree	44	17
Doctor, surgeon, nurse	32	13
Lawyer	12	4
Scientist	1	0
Special training*	5	13
Military	0	5
Ministry	2	4
Pilot	3	5
Bachelors or Associates degree	46	46
Banker, accountant	10	6
Mailman	0	1
Office job	5	4
Police officer	7	21
Politician	1	1
Teacher	23	12
Vocational or Technical degree	2	10
Computers	1	3
Engineer, plumber, technician	1	4
Hospitality	1	3
Secondary school education	2	4
Driver	0	2
Shop owner	2	2
None required	1	14
Entertainment	1	0
Farmer	0	1
Sailor	0	10
Sports	1	3

Note: Minimum education levels required by occupation were determined by a combination of factors, including degrees or certificates offered by educational institutions in Sāmoa, qualifications typically required by the occupation, and/or educational levels perceived to be required by the occupation as indicated by my interlocutors.
* Special training refers to training needed in addition to a bachelor's degree or in conjunction with a university degree.

Based on the survey data, it appears that the different career aspirations of male and

female students corresponds closely with the level of education they are likely to achieve.

Of the occupations reported by females, a majority would require young women to follow a traditional route through the education pipeline from beginning to end, culminating in at least a bachelors or associates degree, if not a post-baccalaureate certificate as well. Occupations reported by male students do not necessarily follow this typical educational pathway. Although 46% of the occupations they listed would require a bachelors or associates degree, they were also more likely to report careers that require minimal education or alternative training and/or schooling. This difference in occupational aspirations echo the gender differences in enrollment statistics discussed in the previous section.

Certainly, gender stereotypes of particular occupations, like police officer (male) and school teacher (female), may have influenced student responses on the survey. But for the purpose of this analysis, this influence is inconsequential as I am interested in understanding how career aspirations—which are no doubt influenced by gender stereotypes as they are by a host of other factors—emerge within the intersections of gender and education. Examining youth occupational aspirations by the level of education required *and* by gender therefore helps illustrate how the education to employment gap may be experienced differently by women than by men. For example, young women who are more likely to be encouraged to attend school on the belief that they are naturally more book smart—a notion closely tied to Samoan conceptions of femininity—may also be more likely to expect that their education will lead to a white-collar job in town. The education to employment gap for them stems from a shortage of job supply: transitioning into employment is unlikely given that the number of white-

collar jobs in medicine, law, or even public service are severely limited in Sāmoa. For young men, though, especially those who have been deemed unfit for school, the education to employment gap is more of a school to job void: education was unlikely to lead them to employment in the first place because they are not good at school anyways. While this is a gross generalization, the point is that the disassociation between education and employment for boys may act as further justification for boys not to attend school at all—and, perhaps, for why they are encouraged to pursue non-academic employment like sport. This experience is explicitly illustrated by a political cartoon that was featured in the local newspaper during my field research (see Figure 20).

Figure 20. But you haven't got a job. Source: *Samoa Observer*, September 21, 2012.

In this cartoon, Papa is seen encouraging Sole to attend school in order to secure a good job and a good life—rewards that Samoans have associated with formal education since the emergence of mission schools in the late 1800s (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991; Macpherson, et al., 2000; Meleisea, 1987a). However, Sole's response, "But Papa, you haven't got a job," captures perfectly an emerging logic grounded in a gap between schooling and employment: Why go to school if it will not pay off? Considering that less than 50% of Year 9 students in Sāmoa will survive to Year 13 and only about 30% of those same students will go on to pursue tertiary studies (MESC, 2013), the likely scenario for many young men and women is, as Mikaele put it, that they will eventually realize they must change their career ambitions in life.

Based on this analysis, it seems that closing the education to employment gap would be ranked high on the priority list of development objectives for the Samoan government and its development partners. Upon close examination of the latest development strategy, however, it appears as though education strategies remain disconnected from youth career aspirations—the mostly white-collar jobs expected at the other end of the education pipeline. In fact, the key outcomes for the economic sector detailed in the 2012-2016 Strategy for the Development of Sāmoa (SDS) sets up a rather ironic if not contradictory education and job reform agenda that further reifies gender differences in education attainment, signaling to readers that closing the gap may not be a high priority (Ministry of Finance [MOF], 2012). For starters, key outcomes includes 1) reinvigorating agriculture; 2) revitalizing exports, especially agro-processing, assembly manufacturing, and niche products in organic agriculture; 3) developing sustainable

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tourism; and 4) creating an enabling environment for business development, among a few

other outcomes. Next, the plan for achieving these outcomes include 1) better

mainstreaming of agricultural studies into "all levels of education" in order to ensure

"that capacity building through training and awareness raising is actively promoted [and]

integrated" (MOF, 2012, p. 6); 2) strengthening linkages across the tourism sector by

developing human resources in Samoa's technical training institutions; and 3) providing

support and incentives to private sector agents to start small businesses in order to meet

the goal of private sector led economic growth and employment creation. Key sectors of

growth include sport along with tourism, agriculture, fisheries, commerce, and

manufacturing.

At the surface, these outcomes and priority areas appear to make sense, focusing

on developing sectors that are to some degree Samoa's strengths: agriculture and

tourism.[90] Yet, when taken with the discussion thus far on some of the underlying

contributors to the feminization of education and the disillusionment of young men, it

becomes rather questionable as to what these development strategies can actually inspire

or mobilize—assuming, of course, that a development strategy would and could directly

impact action and practice on the ground.[91] For instance, an emphasis on developing

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[90] Samoa's agricultural sector has actually witnessed a dramatic decline in recent decades. Once a primary source of national income, agriculture now comprises less than 10% of GDP (CIA, 2013). The two sectors to dominate recently are 1) industry (27% of GDP), including auto parts manufacturing at Yazaki, Samoa's largest non-government employer, and 2) services (64% of GDP), of which tourism is estimated to contribute upwards of 25% of GDP (CIA, 2013; MOF, 2012). Remittances and foreign aid are often cited as the other largest contributors to the Samoa's income, estimated to be about 25% and 9% of GDP, respectively (AidData.org, 2013; WB, 2013b).

[91] Another point is that those who advocate for curricular reform in the direction of increased vocational offerings and agricultural skills training often do so on the notion that such a move provides a cultural and values-based education aligned with long-standing informal learning traditions in the village (cf. Tavana, et al., 1997). For example, Gaugau Va'afuti Tavana, Steven Hite, and E. Randall (1997) argue

male-dominated sectors of agriculture, fisheries, tourism, and even sport means that if

this strategy were successful women would be implicitly left out of the education to

employment pipeline. Second, mainstreaming agricultural and tourism content in all

levels of educational training, especially vocational and tertiary institutions, means

students, especially male students, must actually survive to these levels of schooling, not

to mention disregard the notion that they are supposedly unfit for school. Based on

current enrollment trends, however, female students would be the primary recipients of

stereotypically male-targeted agricultural and tourism training. Moreover, only two male

students indicated in their survey responses the desire to become agriculturalists

(farmers), and an additional two male students indicated their desire to work in the

hospitality industry. The majority of students pointed to career aspirations in line with

those that one might typically expect education to make possible: careers that move one

out of the bush and into (air conditioned) offices higher up the social ladder. While

tourism may be a promising route,[92] prioritizing agricultural futures for youth may be

counterproductive, giving more disillusioned youth who have been discouraged from

that schooling in Sāmoa has been increasingly characterized by a narrow academic focus and a culture of assessment that benefits the traditional elite, leaving a majority of students unprepared and unable to adjust to the agrarian village life to which they are likely to return (see Robson, 1987, for a counterview). Although my observations have also led me to see how contemporary schooling practices alienate many Samoan youth, especially boys, I believe there is a need to explore uniquely Samoan pedagogical practices that help align educational practices to youth aspirations in ways that meet their expectations rather than ignore them (cf. Utumapu-McBride, et al., 2008).

[92] Although, I would throw in a word of caution. A lack of capital (infrastructure, investment, hospitality services, etc.) severely constrains tourism development in Sāmoa today. Moreover, foreign capital may not necessarily guarantee job creation in the hospitality industry. For instance, bilateral negotiations with investors from China on hotel and casino development in Sāmoa, which promised an influx of thousands of Chinese tourists a year and jobs for hundreds of Samoans, have all ended in disappointment because projects never materialized (cf. Warren & Tauafiafi, 2011; Xin & Chen, 2013). Yet even when projects were carried out, for example, in infrastructural development, job creation was not among deliverables because (Chinese) investors used their own human and material resources instead of Samoan.

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pursuing education (as schooling) further justification for leaving school (cf.

Macpherson, 1990).[93]

Indeed the emphasis on agricultural futures opens the door to an extended

discussion on the disconnect between the future imaginaries of youth, educational policy,

and development strategies that is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that

disappointment by education triggers a similar politics of hope as the exploitation of

young men's bodies bent, shaped, and sculpted around the chance of a ticket off island

through sport. In this context, a focus on systematically promoting a "peasant society"

(Ferguson, 1994) may not be in the best interest of those already disillusioned young

Samoan men, especially as it destines them and their villages to a future in the bush. As

Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) notes, Sāmoa is located in an increasingly interconnected global

world; village futures are thus intertwined in its transnational ebbs and flow. Samoan

families, moreover, cannot avoid interacting with the global economy. As such, youth

find themselves searching for ways to become better prepared to engage this economy

more fully, with or without schooling. And as my survey data reveals, boys and men are

more willing to forego schooling to realize their imagined futures overseas. Limiting

education to agricultural development is thus shortsighted and misses the more

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[93] It is interesting to note that the Samoan government is not the only entity to encourage agricultural development and training. Some scholars have also been quite vocal in calling on educational reform on the basis of the inadequacy of Samoa's current educational model to prepare youth for their futures (Tavana, et al., 1997). This sentiment is even echoed in a recent push to expand and showcase agricultural training opportunities for students at the University of the South Pacific, Alafua campus, in order to prepare more "competent agricultural graduates for the needs of our [Pacific] region" (Manu'a, 2013). What is interesting here is not only the increasing "technicalization" and "credentialization" of agriculture, but also the enduring assumption that most students in Sāmoa can (and should) be farmers— rather than the lawyers, teachers, and dentists that they aim to become—because, simply, land is readily available (see Ferguson, 1994, p. 58-60, for a further discussion on how the development apparatus attempts to turn people into farmers).

fundamental issues of aligning the education system more closely with a shifting and

increasingly gendered local *and* global market.

The Migration Imperative and the Pursuit of a Better Life

As noted in the previous chapters, one factor contributing to the crisis of

masculinity and the rise of sport is a combination of pressures to provide for the family,

to secure a scarce opportunity to emigrate, and to connect the family to overseas

resources. As migration becomes even more desirable, the "logic of life strategies and

organized action," as Besnier (2011, p. 40) writes, become increasingly oriented around

the possibility and inevitability of migration. What makes such a migratory disposition

interesting in the present discussion is how it contributes further to the trickling of young
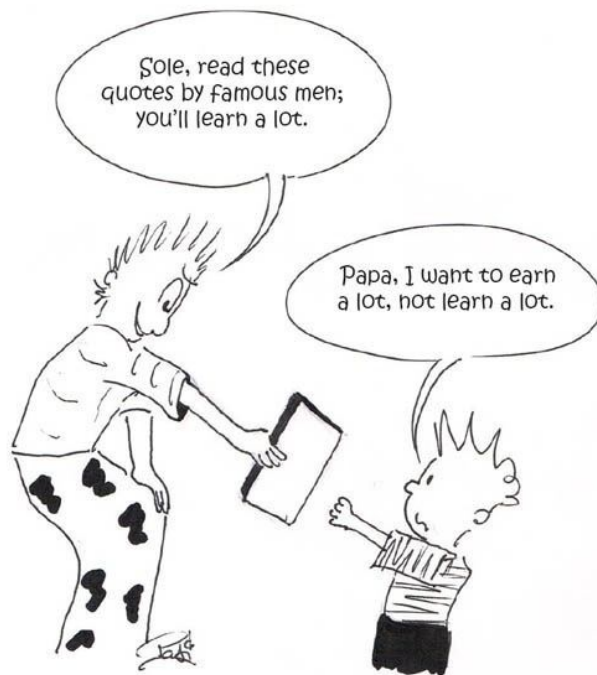
men from the education pipeline.

Figure 21. Earning a lot, not learning a lot. Source: *Samoa Observer*, September 14, 2012.

In Figure 21, for example, Sole responds to Papa's instructions to study the quotes of famous men: "Papa, I want to earn a lot, not learn a lot." In this single statement, Sole captures a growing discontent about education-as-schooling held by many young Samoan men. He also reveals how the purpose of education has come to be associated with financial returns (earning a lot) rather than the learning of new knowledge. Although, as Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) suggests, it is uncertain whether education (as schooling) in Sāmoa was ever pursued for the sole purpose of learning, creating, or using new knowledge, especially since acting above oneself (or others, for that matter) in a show of initiative or originality that draws attention to the self is considered inappropriate behavior. Instead, Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) posits that the purpose of education in Sāmoa has mostly been about supporting the fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way). In this sense, education has always been valued for its economic use, its ability to blaze paths to power, to raise the family status, to bring prestige to the family, and to connect the family to new resources (cf. Meleisea, 1987a). In a time where education has failed to deliver its promises of social and economic mobility—or, where book learning and being "schooled" do not necessarily translate into a wage-paying job—migration has come to replace schooling as the means to success. Promising the proverbial land of milk and honey, as one of my interlocutors put it, emigration to foreign lands like New Zealand and Australia prove more attractive than completing school. During my interviews, for example, it was more common for youth to speak about going overseas to achieve a good (or blessed) life than to expect a good life from a good education. There was a gender difference in terms of how one would imagine getting overseas. While boys would often

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cite sports, girls were more likely to emphasize the need to do well in school in order to secure an educational scholarship overseas. While education may be important to girls, it is, however, second to migration. Migration (made possible by doing good in school and winning a scholarship) is still perceived to be the necessary gateway to a good life. Put another way, many youth, especially boys, have come to believe that migration can give them something that schooling can not.

To get a better sense of just how migration has come to replace schooling and, specifically, what migration means to youth—that is, the ideas and beliefs that sustain and perpetuate a migratory disposition—I asked students who participated in my survey an open response question about what it means to go overseas in search of manuia (blessings). Figure 22 provides a glimpse of their responses. It is important to keep in mind that these findings offer only a sample of the kinds of ideas shaping youth perceptions of migration and the pursuit of a better life. Furthermore, because I coded responses to illustrate the major themes that emerged, some of the nuance and details embedded in the responses are ultimately lost. In order to bring to light some of the richness in the data, I elaborate on the findings in the paragraphs to follow.
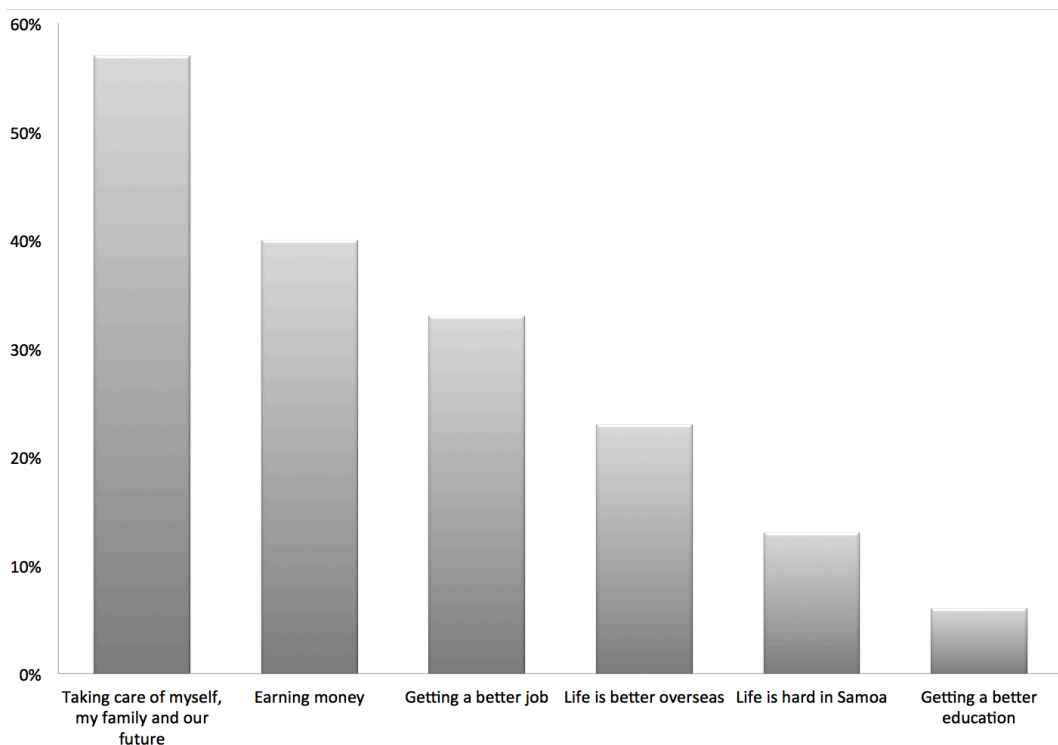
Figure 22. Student responses to the question, "What does it mean to go overseas in search of manuia?"

Based on survey responses, about 20% and 15% of students explicitly stated that migrating overseas is better for achieving the good life because life overseas is better than life in Sāmoa, whereas life in Sāmoa is hard. Not only is the standard of living perceived to be higher in other countries; things also seem cheaper. And, according to one-third of students surveyed, there are endless opportunities, including jobs that are easier, better, and more plentiful. Of course many students would probably be disappointed to find how the global economic recession has significantly impacted unemployment rates in their likely destination countries. Increased labor market integration between Sāmoa, New Zealand, and Australia over the last decade, especially short term employment opportunities (e.g., Recognized Seasonal Employment schemes), promise youth even

more migration pathways.[94] Contrast this to Sāmoa, where youth perceive the country to

be small, poor, and burdened with a high cost of living. Moreover, students perceive

fewer opportunities available locally to sufficiently supplement their family's limited

incomes—a product of both a stagnant local economy and a widening education to

employment gap discussed earlier. Meanwhile, cultural and social obligations make

taking care of the family even more difficult because what little money one does earn is

spent quickly on fa'alavelave (like weddings, funerals, and some would include church

fundraisers among other things). These imaginaries contour a landscape of i'inei (here)

and ifafo (there) that add color and texture to a migration imperative fueling a politics of

hope with Samoan youth at the center.

Youth futures, both imagined and real, are organized along intersecting lines of

poverty and mobility, stagnation and opportunity, interdependence and independence.

One's position on these lines is beyond one's control but nonetheless seems within one's

grasp through migration. For example, 40% of students reported that going overseas is a

better way to achieve the good life than staying in Sāmoa because the money overseas is

better (i.e., the pay is high, the exchange rate is good).[95] More importantly, income is

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[94] This relatively recent wave of seasonal migration schemes should be distinguished from earlier waves of migration shortly after Sāmoa gained independence. During the 1960s and early 1970s when countries like New Zealand were experiencing low unemployment and when immigration policies were less restrictive, nearly all Samoans who sought work overseas were ensured relatively attractive wages and working conditions, even in unskilled work (Macpherson, et al., 2000). During periods of high unemployment, however, Samoans, among other Pacific Islanders, were among the first to be discriminated against.

[95] This perception is further supported by real measures of economic improvement experienced by Samoans who migrate overseas or participate in short term labor schemes (cf. Macpherson, et al., 2000). Informal displays of wealth and stories of glory shared by returned temporary workers add even more weight to the perception. For example, one of my host brothers, during a brief return visit home from working in New Zealand, would post messages on Facebook joking about his influx of New Zealand currency and how, much to his dismay, it would not be accepted as a form of cash in Sāmoa so he would have to save it for use during his return to New Zealand. Of course, very little attention is drawn to the face

easy to accumulate and easier to save because one does not have as many faʻalavelave to which to contribute that would prevent one from saving. This is a particularly significant set of ideas as it points to the perception that migration overseas is not only about making better money than one could in Sāmoa, but also about distancing oneself from the social and economic pressures that made migration an imperative in the first place. It comes as no surprise then that overseas living fills the imaginations of many students with the prospects of interdependent independence, or of taking care of one's ʻāiga (family) while living in an environment where they are more removed from family obligations. In fact, 57% of students explained that going overseas in search of blessings means taking better care of their parents, family, church, and village; giving their families a better future; and bringing blessings and nice (material) things to their families. Migration thus gives many youth the perceived opportunity to enact relations of reciprocity and fulfill obligations of tautua (service) to the larger social group in ways that schooling no longer guarantees.

Finally—and a point that helps drive this current line of inquiry about migration and education—only 6% of students reported that going overseas in search of manuia means getting a better education, getting an academic scholarship, and/or pursuing further education in order to get a higher paying job that would enable one to take even better care of one's family. When compared to the other responses given, it appears that education—and specifically overseas schooling—is no longer viewed as a primary means of achieving social and economic mobility. This scenario contrasts markedly from the days when colonial elites and later the children of the wealthy occupied local educational

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that this hard-earned overseas wealth is relative to what could be earned in Sāmoa, and how many overseas Samoans live in conditions of poverty, if not with incomes well below the national (New Zealand0 average (NZIER, 2007).

institutions, opportunities for overseas tertiary education, and later positions of status in society. As Samoans came to associate advanced education with political power, material prosperity, and geographic mobility, demand for education grew. Families began to see how the education of their children would increase their family's and village's public esteem, as well as improve the human and financial resources available to them (Macpherson et al., 2000). Yet, as population growth increased disproportionately to the expansion of educational resources and institutions in the late 1960s after independence, opportunities for education beyond primary school were increasingly limited in Sāmoa (ibid.). The possibility of education overseas, however, offered families several perceived advantages: 1) free, universal education from primary to the university level, 2) a transition to higher and safer incomes from jobs in Sāmoa or overseas, and 3) the prospect of breaking the urban and afakasi (half-European, half-Samoan) elite's hold on power (ibid.). In the early 1970s, the pursuit of educational opportunities was a primary factor in the decision to migrate; the promise of social and economic mobility was great (Macpherson, 1990; Macpherson, et al., 2000; see also Uperesa, 2010). Today, though, pursuing education overseas as a means to the better life seems to have been replaced by pursuing migration for employment. That is, in the development imaginations of many Samoans, the connection between emigration and the good/blessed life is no longer contingent on pursuing education. Rather, migration is linked to the good life by way of employment, overseas wages, and access to material resources, which does not necessarily entail the need for further schooling. Combined with the feminization of education and the education to employment gap, one could speculate that this non-

academic pathway to individual and family success is yet another factor encouraging young men to leave school in great numbers.

At the center of this debate about whether education is failing young men or tracking boys out of school to more gender "appropriate" alternatives is a deeper discussion of the meaning of education (for boys, especially) in 21st-century Sāmoa. My research shows that unlike twenty years ago (cf. Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991), many Samoans are struggling to define the purpose of formal schooling. This is even more so the case in a time where the education system is more likely to reproduce a structure of advantage that privileges those students with social, economic, political, and cultural capital, and especially those with urban lifestyles and English-language competence (Male, 2011). Gone, it seems, are the days where literacy was the route to success and education promised a waged job in town that provided families with a "bridge through which […] to tap new resources" (Meleisea, 1987a, p. 230; Macpherson, 1990; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991). Today, many Samoan families find themselves negotiating long-held beliefs about the importance of schooling (for boys and girls) and the definition of the educated person in a shifting social and material world where education (in classrooms)—minus facility in the English-language—is not necessarily required for migration overseas—or, for that matter, the good life (Robson, 1987). While it is beyond the purview of this study to discern the meaning of education in Sāmoa today, this study does attempt to understand the ways shifting educational contexts have led to the incorporation of sport into the

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occupational aspirations and development imaginations of many Samoans, a topic I turn
to next.

**From 'Education for All' to 'Sport for All': Imagining a New Development
Education**

With international development frameworks calling for increased national
commitment to universal education, the large numbers of male school leavers and drop
outs in Sāmoa pose a policy problem for Samoan educators and government officials.
While some have suggested a turn to agriculture, others have argued that in an
increasingly transnational Sāmoa what Samoan youth need is a "development" education
that better prepares them to engage the global political economy, its ideas, and its
technologies (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991). While Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) vaguely defines
development education as "new learning"—as opposed to the learning of traditional skills
and practices—she purposefully avoids prescribing the kinds of activities this learning
entails, believing instead that it is the people's responsibility to determine its content (p.
15).

In this section, I illustrate how some Samoans are implicitly rejecting normalized
assumptions about education as traditional academic schooling (i.e., reading, writing, and
arithmetic), and instead using sport to imagine a new, non-academic development
education that ensures *all* Samoan youth (especially young men) are well prepared for
transnational futures. For the purposes of this discussion, it is important to note that the
expansion of education to include less "academic" studies and more of the "corporeal,"
material realms of training is not new in Sāmoa. Vocational, technical, and agricultural

options, or second chance schooling, emerged primarily for men in the 1980s as a way to improve the scope, range, and quality of education provided by educational institutions in Sāmoa (MESC, 2007). In fact, the Government of Sāmoa, believing that education is a critical mechanism for eliminating poverty, recognizes "a real need for more opportunities for technical and vocational training for those who are unable to follow an academic path" (GOS, 2010, p. 16). As a result, they have promoted second chance education programs and piloted several community learning centers to expand educational opportunities for this population. Whether these institutions actually emerged as a direct response to increasing male underperformance in school remains to be studied. Nonetheless, the fact that these schools tend to focus on developing skills in woodwork, metalwork, mechanical engineering, plumbing, and boat building, one could conclude that these institutions have been catering largely to Samoa's male youth—despite also experiencing high drop out rates (MESC, 2007). In this case, the more recent incorporation of sport as a viable form of training and preparation can be interpreted as continuing this trend of educational expansion for boys and men today.

Yet, the incorporation of sport into the educational paradigm should be distinguished from the incorporation of health and physical education (HPE) as a curricular offering and the inclusion of extracurricular sports in Samoan schools, both of which have been a part of Samoan schools since the missionary period and colonial administration (Rasmussen, 2007, 2010). Unfortunately, a critical overview and comparative analysis of the history of HPE and after school sport in Samoan education is beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, what makes the contemporary inclusion of

sport as development education unique and compelling for this discussion is that sport is

not viewed as a vehicle of character development or as a tool in a larger civilizing

project, but rather as a means of tracking young male students into an educational space

that prepares them for a specific career, an opportunity largely spurred by the rise of the

professional international sport industry. Moreover, this tracking strategy has emerged

organically and pragmatically from within the intersections of existing local practices

(and expectations) of sport, education, migration, tautua, and masculinity. In the process,

its viability as a means of keeping "at risk" boys from trickling out of school has led local

actors to negotiate long-held beliefs about education and to redefine the relationship

between sport, education, and development in unprecedented ways.

Keeping Boys in School: Envisioning an Inclusive[96] and Holistic Educational Agenda

> The overall goal of the MESC [Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture] is the inclusive development of education, sports and culture that satisfies basic human needs. This means nurturing cultural and spiritual values and attitudes, and developing knowledge, skills, and sporting potential that will prepare capable citizens who contribute to national development and a healthy nation. (MESC, 2006, p. 3, emphasis mine)

For decades, "education for all" (EFA) has become a rallying call for

inter/national organizations promoting education as a universal human right and

productive investment in the development of nations (Chabbott, 2003; Mundy, 1997). In

the context of Sāmoa and other Pacific Islands—where rates of obesity and non-

communicable diseases (NCDs) have skyrocketed during the same time—increasing

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[96] In my research, I found the term "inclusive" to be used in two primary ways: 1) to signal international policy speak on the inclusion of people with disabilities and/or special needs, and 2) to signal gender inclusivity, as in a gender inclusive strategy. Oftentimes, the specific connotation of "inclusive" is left unmarked or is used ambiguously, leaving the reader or listener to gauge from context whether the term is being used in reference to the first or second meaning. In my writing, I use the term "inclusive" to mean gender inclusive.

attention has been placed on educating *healthier* bodies (see for example, OFC, 2013).

"Sport for all" (SFA)—or the belief that sport and the social and health benefits derived from physical activity is a universal human right (IOC, 2011)—has recently taken on new status as a complementary policy to the international development of quality education for all (UNICEF, 2004; Kay & Dudfield, 2013). Pulling together education and health under a human rights framework, a SFA agenda provides Sāmoa an ideal platform on which to address the education and health of its youth. As noted in the epigraph above, the Samoan government has begun to nestle sport into its vision of education for development on the grounds that 1) "it is a fundamental objective of the education system to nurture an inquiring mind in a *healthy and fit body*" (MESC, 2006, p. 31, emphasis mine), and 2) that sport achieves this objective by "developing the whole child, *not just their intellectual capacities*" (UNICEF, 2004, p. 11, emphasis mine). Adopting an SFA agenda within an EFA framework thus promises Sāmoa an educated *and* healthy population prepared and capable of contributing to national development.

Yet when examined more closely, adapting a SFA agenda does more than arm Samoan youth with "a weapon against sickness" (Ah Mu, 2007a). Its focus on shaping, or rather physically educating bodies—and not just intellectual capacities—offers an opportunity to expand Samoa's educational vision with a non-academic subject that can reincorporate and keep young men in schools. That is, girls' education falls conveniently under the purview of EFA in public discourse while boys' education comes under the aegis of SFA. Together these parallel—rather than nested—frameworks promote an expanded and, essentially, redefined Samoan educational agenda that includes the

academic education of girls (through books) and the "physical" education of boys

(through sports). By adding a masculine concentration in schools that targets the fitness

of their bodies rather than the marks on their exams, boys are reintegrated with girls in

school (see Figure 23).

Figure 23. MESC invests in the future of Samoan rugby. Source: *Samoa Observer*, April 16, 2012, p. 37.

As illustrated by the image above, tracking boys into sport replaces the identities

of young Samoan male students with their more masculine identities as young sporting

potentials (Hokowhitu, 2008).[97] In this case, school uniforms are literally replaced with

new rugby kits paid for by MESC in preparation for the annual inter-school Prime

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[97] For a personal narrative of this prescribed identity see the beginning of Brendan Hokowhitu's (2004) essay on Māori masculinity.

Minister's Cup tournament. Their bodies are even subject to a different set of disciplining

and masculinizing practices than they would receive in classrooms. In the image, for

example, the students' body postures signal the seriousness of competitive sport: they are

all business, not play; their bodies are tough, not weak. And the purpose of this

tournament? "Getting our young people into the habit of living healthy lives" (Hazelman-

Siona, 2012, p. 37)—an agenda that no doubt warrants MESC's SAT $100,000 (roughly

USD $42,500) budget to run and support the island-wide tournament; never mind

whether this is the most effective means of addressing Samoa's health challenges.[98] In the

end, promoting a SFA agenda "satisfies [boys'] basic human needs" (MESC, 2006, p. 3)

and can be directed toward developing young boys' sporting potential, especially if they

are not doing well in the classroom. In this way, sport acts as a hook luring young boys to

campus, making the idea of education (and perhaps also school) more appealing and

gender relevant as well.

Moreover, by promoting healthy living through sport—a key component of the

SFA agenda—schools and government ministries can continue to tap into inter/national

resources to develop further this expanded educational agenda, ensuring that boys will

continue to have this masculine space in school. One example is the Pacific in Union

(PIU), a joint program between the Australian Rugby Union, the International Rugby

Board (IRB), and the Australian Government and funded by AusAID through an

Australian Sports Commission Pacific Sports Partnership grant. Working through the

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[98] For example, one could argue that targeting adult perceptions of physical activity may be a more pressing need, as traditional views of status, power, and adulthood are associated with stillness, and youth is associated with activity in service of elders. One could also argue that simply targeting physical activity—at any age—without simultaneous efforts to address food consumption, poverty, and culturally-defined notions of hunger is futile (cf. Hardin, forthcoming b).

Sāmoa Rugby Union (SRU), PIU in Sāmoa is "an effort to promote healthy life styles, life values and a range of educational goals including literacy through rugby targeting primary and secondary level schools in Samoa" (Va'ai, 2012). As an SFA-oriented program, the PIU garners its popularity with and support from inter/national bodies around its official goal of disseminating sport, health, and education messages to children. In other words, the program brings boys to school and keeps them coming. Furthermore, the PIU gains its popularity among school children (especially, the boys who participate in program activities), through the opportunities it offers to become skilled rugby players. While "maintaining solid education grounding" is the focus of the program's public transcript and its point of connection to an expanded educational vision, its underlying practices use school sport as an arena for physically educating young boys; that is, developing their sporting potential.

In this context, the use of sport to address health in educational contexts obscures even further the oftentimes indistinguishable line between sport *for* development and sport development. While the former aims to use sport to achieve "noble" social goals that fall under the aegis of a wide range of categories like human rights, literacy, and character development, the latter aims to use sport to physically inscribe new athletic skills into the body praxes of young men. Nonetheless, the overall goal is the same: to prepare young men for productive futures. If motives for including sport—or, in this case, prioritizing sport (see Ah Mu, 2007b)—are ever questioned, one need simply to draw on a plethora of inter/national policy that claims participation in sport "improves a child's ability to learn [and] increases and improves concentration, attendance and overall

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achievement" (MESC, 2010, p. 11-12; UNICEF, 2004; Kay & Dudfield, 2013; see Hartmann, 2008, for a more critical review of this literature). After all, participating in sport ostensibly addresses the issue of underperforming boys in school by improving their educational "deficiencies" (Hartmann & Wheelock, 2002): for example, their focus and their ability to learn. Only, in this case, boys are learning to focus on a new set of skills and practices centered on their bodies rather than their minds or their intellect.

This last point is particularly significant for a discussion on expanding educational opportunities for young men as it locates the problem of male underachievement in boys themselves rather than in the educational system. Indeed there have been only a few attempts in the past to critically examine and/or radically reform extant educational approaches, beliefs, or pedagogies (Auva'a, 2003; Male, 2011). Underlying this hands off approach to educational reform, perhaps, is the general perception that the "problem" with boys is that they are not book-talented, not that they have been marginalized or alienated from school practices. By this logic, a boys' education agenda should therefore be centered on giving them something different, something they are good at: sport. Incorporating sport into the educational vision as a means of addressing boys' academic underachievement thus functions as a normative, non-confrontational move to expand education to include boys. That is, schooling practices and the education system as well as stereotypes of masculinities and education remain generally unchanged. In this fashion, the holes in the leaky pipeline have merely been welded with new pipe extensions that lead young men to different educational experiences and training opportunities and on to different futures. For my interlocutors in

the education and youth sectors who were intent on defining an educational agenda that included boys, pursuing an SFA agenda not only provides boys with something they can succeed at when they do go to school; it also keeps them *wanting* to go to school.

Yet, whether including sport in school for boys has actually translated into improved attendance for boys at the secondary level has yet to be seen, as their enrollment rates have consistently and steadily declined over the last decade and a half. Also, because Year 12 and Year 13 national exam scores are not disaggregated by gender, it is impossible to assess whether those who remain in school have improved academically from their continued participation in sport. Scores for national exams at the primary level, however, have been gender disaggregated and, based on their scores, it is apparent that boys remain "at risk" at higher levels than girls (MESC, 2013). One could conclude that the avid promotion of sport in school since the turn of the millennium has affected boys' performance and attendance in school minimally, if at all. Nonetheless, if the promotion of sport is understood to help track boys into alternative educative spaces just as vocational and technical schools have provided, one can begin to discern how local actors see themselves as circumventing and rejecting normative educational practices in their adoption of an SFA agenda. That is, boys are being "educated" but not in traditional subjects like reading, writing, and arithmetics; rather, they are being (physically) "educated" in the skills that will prepare them for future employment in occupations that are more closely aligned with locally held norms about what boys can and cannot do. In this way, Samoan educators can ensure to some degree that underperforming (or absent) male students are kept in controlled and supervised

educational spaces. This incorporation then allows the country to move as a whole toward a more inclusive approach to education for development with both boys and girls in tow.

Expanding educational opportunities to include sport thus marks a shift toward a more holistic educational agenda, one that is not solely centered on book learning but the development of the "whole" child. Sefina, a young female civil servant working on physical activity initiatives in the Ministry of Health, described to me how including sport in schools reflects a larger paradigmatic shift in Samoan development practice towards one of holistic thinking—a perspective seen, too, in Samoa's move toward multisectoral and whole of government approaches to health development challenges discussed in Chapter 3. Sefina explained that in the past, there may have been stigma placed on students (read: young male students) who were pushed into sport pathways instead of education pathways because of their poor academic performance. But today, with a holistic vision of education that expands the circles of possibility and action to include all (mind and body) routes to success, both kinds of students (sport-talented and book-talented) are supposedly equally admired and nurtured as they are seen as both providing potentially valuable contributions to society. As such, holistic thinking signals inclusive thinking: the educational vision to include masculine educative realms like sport brings boys back into the education pipeline, while also giving boys a gender relevant (physical) educative practice in which to participate. In this way, boys are no longer left behind or out of education, at least on paper.

<u>"Sport is Education": Seeing a Different Path from School Outside</u>

> Going to school is not enough to ensure blessings, but you can with sports, because it provides pathways to play in any country in the world. (18-year old male)

In responding to my survey question about whether he would choose a sport-related career to pursue in the future, the young secondary school student quoted above provides a more apt illustration of Sefina's point raised in the last section. The student's acceptance of sport as a different pathway to embarking on transnational voyages to the blessed life is testament to how social stigma is no longer attached to those students tracked away from academic and into sport pathways. No doubt this shift in thinking has been made possible by the rise of high profile international and Samoan professional sport heroes and, particularly, news of their monetary earnings. But more significantly, this thinking has also entailed a redefinition of education—specifically education as schooling in classrooms—and the relationship assumed between education and the outcomes desired by Samoan families. As noted by the young man above, schooling does not necessarily guarantee a future life of manuia (blessings). Sport, however, seems like it does—or, at least it promises to fulfill the function of schooling by improving one's chances of achieving a blessed life by virtue of granting access to global shores once beyond reach. In this way, sport becomes education, or as one of my interlocutors put it for me: sport becomes school outside. A good example of this logic appears in the *Samoa Observer* shortly before Sāmoa hosted the 2007 South Pacific Games (see Figure 24).

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Figure 24. Education and sports, the same. Source: *Samoa Observer*, June 28, 2007, p. 6.

In this article, sport and education are made to be "inseparable," as education "involves not only the mind but also the body." In addition, the South Pacific Games Authority Minister Faumuina Tiatia Liuga claims that "sport has increasingly benefited the children of Samoa." Using professional soccer player Tim Cahill (pictured in the article) as his example, Liuga explains that Cahill earns half a million British pounds playing for a club in England.[99] According to Liuga, "ten of such sports successes would benefit the country greatly," especially since "not everyone is good at farming and fishing." Moreover, with sport, "the whole world" is involved, further locating Sāmoa in a larger cosmos beyond the constellations of the Pacific.

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[99] Using Cahill as an example appears to be an odd choice, as Cahill (of part-Samoan heritage) was born in Australia and lived in Sāmoa for three years during his early childhood. At 14 years of age, he was asked by the Sāmoa Soccer Federation to play on their Under-20 team at a regional tournament that could qualify Sāmoa to participate in the 1994 FIFA World Youth Championship. He agreed under the notion that playing for Sāmoa would grant him the opportunity to spend time with his ill grandmother. Later in his career he found himself embroiled in an eligibility controversy when he was asked to play for the Republic of Ireland in the 2002 FIFA World Cup only to discover that he was tied to Sāmoa. During this period, he made it clear that he had no allegiances to Sāmoa, and that had he known he would be tied to Sāmoa for playing for them as a junior, he would not have represented Sāmoa. With such a strong stance to such a sensitive topic, one would think Sāmoa would not lay such open claims to calling Cahill a child of Sāmoa. Nonetheless, a discussion on Samoa's relationship with its diaspora, especially within the context of national sports, is beyond the scope of this study. What is worth noting is the erasure of difference when it comes to shaping the sport aspirations of young (local) Samoans with the stories of international heroes. While Cahill is a great example of a young man who has been successful in sport, he also benefited from the training, resources, capital, and opportunities available to him as a young person growing up in Australia, not Sāmoa.

In this scheme, sport is education. It prepares young men for transnational futures that help develop the nation and raise the country's profile. And with the prospects of high-paying contracts, athletes have become, in a sense, the next export commodity, if not a new kind of skilled laborer. According to the Prime Minister, this export arrangement is no cause for worry, "because there's always a way to remit moneys back. So even if we lose talents from here, we have no problem- there will always be replacement [athletes] on the way. And if they go out [emigrate], the culture is strong enough to ensure that the bond [to remit to Sāmoa] remains strong." In this way, sport as development education is an important component to the development of the Samoan nation, ensuring a constant supply of well-trained youth ready to serve the country in international sporting markets. Teuila, the education official cited earlier in this dissertation, draws on this connection even more, saying that "if all citizens are educated, you would have an educated nation and therefore a responsible and responsive nation."[100] Put another way, previously uneducated young men now educated through sport can join the ranks of their traditionally schooled peers in collectively building the country through productive service. Taking advantage of multiple educational tracks thus means casting a wide net around the children of Sāmoa, ensuring a nation of educated and entrepreneurial citizens "bonded" to the country.

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[100] Teuila's use of the words responsible and responsive also suggests an ambiguous orientation to the neoliberal logics often employed in a dominant approach to sport as social intervention, a topic unfortunately beyond the level of analysis in this chapter. For the purposes of this discussion, it is sufficient to highlight how Teuila's conceptualization of an expanded educational vision entails a neoliberal agenda aimed at "governing the 'conduct of conduct' of 'unskilled' youth" (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2012, p. 288; Coakley, 2002), ensuring that their behavior remains directed toward the betterment of the nation. In this picture, sport serves as an ideal space in which young men can be "socialized and refashioned into mature subjects and responsible citizens" (Hartmann & Kwauk, 2012, p. 288).

At the community level this conceptualization of sport as education has important implications for how school leavers are reintegrated into village life. Moana, a mid-age female vice principal of a peri-urban secondary school on ʻUpolu, explained at length to me her thoughts about the relationship between sport and education:

> I have in mind that it [sport] has a significant contribution for the students themselves, because uh, especially in our colleges [secondary schools], the students will, most of them will go back to the community. Most of them. Because it's at the secondary level that students are not smart enough to pursue further education. So most of them will go back into the community. And so we are trying to teach them with the skills and the knowledge that they may use out in the community. And sports is one of them.

Similarly, while discussing the challenges facing youth in Savaiʻi, Lagi and her husband, Iakopo, a young minister in Savaiʻi renown among sport for development officials in Apia for his dedication to promoting sport in his youth ministry, put it quite bluntly, with Iakopo saying "We must be realistic to our children. Not all of them can manage to pass the PSSC" (the Pacific Senior Secondary Certificate). And with limited opportunities in school and even more limited job opportunities in Savaiʻi, sport offers "another great opportunity for the young people to get jobs." In fact, it was for this reason that Lagi and Iakopo recently expanded their youth ministry to include sports like rugby and British cricket as a form of learning. Echoing many of the conversations I highlighted in Chapter 4, Lagi continued:

> If they're talented at sport, I say to them- well, because they are talented, very talented kids. But um, it's just an opportunity for them, another door for them if they don't succeed academically. […] It's just um, letting them see a different path.

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In this way, sport is not just a viable alternative for those young men who are academically "ungifted," "unfit," or "at risk." Rather, sport *is* another form of education; it is a different path that makes possible education for all.

Sport is Education for What? Imagined Futures through Sport

In the middle of this discussion about sport as education is also an underlying expectation of how sport meets the needs of these young men when they have completed their education: a job, or at least a role through which they can be productive. As alluded to in earlier chapters, a majority of my interlocutors raised the idea of sport as an alternative educational pathway for men because it promised a clear link to employment and wages.[101] Even the Samoan media has pinned Government with the unquestionable responsibility "to open all avenues for the youth of the country to earn a living," which includes sport (Ah Mu, 2007). Indeed, MESC's strategic plan for the 2006-2015 period and the Sāmoa National Sports Policy both include explicit policy statements about promoting sports as a career (MESC, 2006, p. 32; MESC, 2010, p. 18). Without this job incentive, it is uncertain whether a SFA agenda would ever have taken off in Sāmoa.

Beyond employment, many young Samoan men also expect sport (or education) to provide them with a way to tautua (serve) in an increasingly global political economy. This is especially the case in an age and space where meaningful tautua has been redefined by the previous transnational movements of Samoans, resources, and goods before them. Again, as discussed in previous chapters, serving one's family, maintaining

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[101] Interestingly, they did not raise the notion that sport is an alternative pathway because it could make them more well-rounded individuals, or because it could make them more health "literate" and decrease their likelihood of experiencing diabetes or heart disease.

the social space of the larger ʻāiga (vā fealoaʻi), and contributing to the collective welfare of one's kin through reciprocity, exchange, and obligation are some of the defining features of Samoans' sense of self and self worth (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009). Living kinship means migration is not uni-directional but circular; there are expectations of a return home, whether of the individual or of resources depends on the family. This logic has particular significance for young men whose entry into adulthood and chance of achieving the good life are largely dependent on the quality and scope of their tautua. For example, Tavita, the 28-year old man who was promised a trial with his uncle's soccer team in Australia, explained to me the importance of reciprocity and active participation in one's family, especially after one emigrates. Speaking about his own experience migrating to New Zealand for temporary work, he said:

> It's good when your family saw you're coming back. It's not only words on the phone, Oh, yes! I'm coming back! I'm coming back! But it's not [really] gonna happen. [You have to] make sure you're coming back and do something like build a house, buy the cars for them. Just make the family happy every time. [pause] If you make your family happy, the rest of your life is really happy. That's what I did.

In this social landscape, a sport-based pathway helps make this kind of tautua possible for those unable to secure blue-collar or white-collar work overseas.

Yet, this task of giving back extends beyond material goods and also into the realm of education. That is, youth see their future selves in the role of educator, a role beyond being a passive role model for others, but actively giving back sport-related knowledge to their villages when they return. Specifically, they see themselves educating Samoa's next generation of youth on how to gain entry and succeed in an increasingly uneven world, possibly even paving pathways directly to the clubs they have played

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on.[102] Tavita, for example, put it rather straightforward, saying "I'm the one with the chance for these kids. […] I have to play well and making benefit [pathways] for them." Ultimately, then, migration for Tavita entails returning home and supporting others as others have done for him. Not returning to the island means one is empty, empty of love for one's family—or as several of my other interlocutors put it: one has forgotten the love of those who have supported you. Similarly, Sefa, Malae's assistant sport leader in my host village in Savai'i, repeatedly emphasized his willingness to help develop youth sport in the village without pay. This brought him much ridicule from others in the village, especially as other committee members left the sport for development program after it became clear no one would be compensated for their time. They felt working on their plantations was a better use of their time, as it meant providing food for the family and possibly additional income from surplus crops sold in the market or on the side of the road. Developing sport without pay was a waste of time. On the contrary, Sefa sees value in his work as an educator because the potential rewards are even greater. If he can help one of his youth secure a scholarship or an opportunity to play overseas, this would be "a gift from God" through him to the village, a much bigger contribution than what he could provide working on the plantation.[103]

Sport is another form of education for young Samoans as it sets in motion pathways of productivity and practices of development not only for themselves, but for

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[102] Many of the Tuilagi brothers, for example, have played for the same teams overseas, following in their elder brothers' footsteps.

[103] Indeed, he often used as examples the two Savai'i women who were selected to represent Samoa's Under-20 women's development squad in an overseas circuit in Tonga and New Zealand. Both of these women had a reputation for being good at soccer from previous athletic performance on their school teams.

their larger and future social networks in general. In a way, youth imagine themselves as international athletes who return to help globalize and globally orient their villages, a point I will return to momentarily. This role and identity as future educator presents a stark contrast to the identities typically given to young men who fail to complete formal schooling and are thus destined to a future either in the bush or "doing nothing" in their villages, as many of my adult interlocutors predicted for them. Instead, these young men educated on the world's stage have valuable contributions and an obligation to give to society beyond the provision of houses, cars, and televisions. They are Samoa's newest link to distant shores. But *how* youth and community leaders believe sport makes this possible reveals another dimension to understanding sport as education. More specifically, it illuminates what a framework of sport as development education actually entails in terms of learning, and by extension it points to what many Samoans believe education (as schooling) should achieve.

Speaking English and Being Globally Minded: Defining Development Education

In the previous chapter, Sefa talked about the famous Tuilagi brothers, their poor performance at school, and the success they achieved because of their hard work ethic in rugby. He described how sport not only brought them and their family the benefits of transnational success; it also made possible their ability to speak English. As I talked to other youth about sport and education and what they expected to get out of both, the ability to speak English repeatedly came up as an important outcome.[104] One evening, for

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[104] It is perhaps important to note that while the language of instruction in government (public) primary schools in Sāmoa is the mother tongue (Samoan), secondary schools switch to English language instruction, another reason why many students and especially boys leave school.

example, Fetuao, one of Mikaele's friends, reflected on the role of education in his life: "Education broadens my knowledge and understanding. Rugby is also education. Anything is education. Without education," he added with a laugh, "I would not know how to converse in English if I was to get interviewed."[105] For Fetuao, speaking in English represents the line between mediocrity and success. One's capacity to speak in English—like one's development of a muscular body—demonstrates one's level of preparation for engaging a world beyond Sāmoa (see Demerath, 2009, for a comparative case of the production of success among high school students in American suburbia). It also is an indication of one's prior exposure to things global. Not being able to converse in English, however, revealed one's parochialism as well as one's lack of preparation for a transnational future. The irony here is that Fetuao and I had been conversing bilingually, with me asking my questions in English and him responding in Samoan. It was not until the very end of our conversation when he asked me a question in English about whether I had any tips on training and nutrition.

For many youth, participation in sport promised a fast-track route to the ability to speak English, especially for those young men who did not learn it well in the classroom.[106] Tavita, for example, shared with me (in English) his own educational

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[105] Indeed, during the 2011 Rugby World Cup in New Zealand, educators in Apia criticized trainers of the Manu Sāmoa (the men's national rugby team) for not adequately preparing some of the Samoan-born players to conduct television interviews in English. Feeling embarrassed and sorry for the players, especially the ones to whom kids in Sāmoa emulate and would readily listen, these Apia-based educators declared that not teaching the athletes English was shameful as it made them appear to be uneducated.

[106] Interestingly, few of my interlocutors ever raised the point that the delivery of English language learning outcomes vis-à-vis participation in sport is more likely to happen if one is playing overseas or on a national team, where interaction with English-speaking athletes, expatriate sport development officers, and trainers is more likely to happen than in local village or school leagues where Samoan is more likely to be spoken.

journey and how he discovered sport (soccer, specifically) to be the best vehicle of

education for him. Describing his school years, he said he always felt pressured by his

family to attend school and to do his schoolwork, but he would refuse because he knew

he was not good at it. He continued to struggle even after leaving government school and

entering the local polytech, his parents and an Australian sponsor paying his school fees.

He knew that his parents meant well by pushing him; he even felt sorry for them for

putting so much hope on him. In his mind he knew that education was not just about

going to school, especially if you only go to school to "play around" (i.e., goof off).

Rather, if you go to school, he said, you should go to school and not waste time. In his

words:

> If you're not good in education [schooling], sport is another way to, to make your
> education again. It means like you're speaking [better], you're performing
> [better], and you're [being more] respect[ful] [to others]. So I choose sport
> because education [schooling] for me is— I know I, I'm not really good in, in
> schools. But I choose this thing [to pursue soccer], and I tell my mom, I choose
> sport because sport is really another part of education. Do you hear what I say?
> My speaking in English in that time, [pause] I didn't know how to speak. [And]
> when I meet people like playing together in sport [overseas], I was afraid that they
> speak in English to me. Then I didn't say [any]thing. And [now] I know [pause] I
> was- I was afraid. Why I'm afraid for? I can speak! [pause] And when I speak, it's
> really, really easy.

For Tavita, being able to discern the difference between classroom education and sport-

based education allowed him the chance to re-make his education and ensure that he

came away from "school" with the rewards of a proper education. Later he shared with

me his mother's surprise when she found that he could suddenly speak English: "Oh!

You're speaking well and you're doing something well [with] this!" Because of his

command over the English language and his ability to use his newly acquired language

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skills in a job at a local hotel, his parents' initial displeasure in his pursuit of soccer

quickly turned into approval.

Closely related to the ability to speak English, another dimension of "sport is

education" that many of my interlocutors implicitly referenced is how sport educates

youth to be "globally minded," a phrase purposefully chosen by one of my interlocutors

to describe the Prime Minister's oftentimes radical and controversial approach to

development. In a world without borders, being globally minded is an important step to

achieving what is best for Sāmoa, one's family, or one's village. It means recognizing

that development futures lie beyond one's geographic location, and that one must

organize one's actions in ways that maximize overseas resources and relationships for

local benefit. To become globally minded, one must gain exposure to the international

world. As Lagi, the pastor's wife, put it:

> Even small things like just going to hotels and simple things that we take for
> granted. That's all part of educating them because it's, it's a big learning
> experience. […] You know, simple things like filling out forms and, y'know,
> going to an airport. I mean, for the first time for someone that lives in Savai'i [to]
> go to an international airport! Things like different gates and different—ah? [It's]
> a good base of education.

Echoing Lagi, Malae, my host father in Savai'i, spoke nostalgically of the times he took

his village rugby team to American Samoa or to New Zealand for training camps and

tournaments in the 1990s. He often shared stories of how he spent hours on the plane

helping his players fill out customs forms, or lecturing his youth about how to turn on hot

water showers in their host families' homes. More importantly, he once told me, were the

lessons he taught his players about how critical it is not to overstay one's visa, especially

in New Zealand, for this would ruin one's chances of being issued a work visa in the

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future. With a huge grin on his face, he proudly told me that he never once came back to Sāmoa a player short.

As my interlocutors, both youth and adult, described to me their visions of sport as education, what emerged was a landscape in which one's orientation to the world reflected one's chances of engaging that world. For example, one evening Malae and I sat on plastic lawn chairs on the grassy spot outside the kitchen where the family usually feeds the chickens, chatting before sā (evening curfew) as the skies turned orange from dusk. He shared with me his story about his first time traveling outside of Sāmoa at 24 years of age on a United Nations scholarship to Holland. He described his experiences of loneliness, bewilderment, culture shock, and amazement at the outside world. And he talked about how a friendly stranger helped him purchase an entire wardrobe of winter clothes during a layover in Los Angeles because he was not prepared for winter weather. When he returned to his village after his studies, he could not help but feel sorry for the young people of Sāmoa whose world was confined to the village. "That's why," he explained to me, "I always took my rugby team outside to play, so the kids can expand their minds and see around them things that are different than the village."

For Malae, exposing his youth to the world helps them develop a "healthy mind," one that is open to the outside and thinks about bigger things. While sport may be fun and enjoyable, as well as a space to express and reproduce notions of masculinity, for him it is the educational function of sport that is most significant. According to Malae, as well as many of my other interlocutors, sport offers an orientation to the world that shapes one's destiny: influencing whether one is blessed to leave the island or the one who is left

behind, tasked with the responsibility of taking immediate care of the elders, children, and the land.[107] The more globally minded one is (embodied for men in the muscularity of their bodies, in their ability to speak English, and in their orientation to things outside the village), the better his chances of representing one's 'āiga overseas. As the new development education, tracking boys into sport promises to prepare many of them for a life of circular mobility that they cannot learn in the classroom.

Contesting Authority: Enrolling Parents in the New Educational Vision

While it is perhaps clear how Samoan educators and "at risk" male youth have come to see sport as (development) education, according to Lagi, Iakopo, Malae, Sefa, and others, the challenge of making "sport is education" a more widespread practice is getting parents to see the possible benefits. As Malae summarized, "The problem is the parents. They only think going to school is success!" Consequently, parents like Tavita's push their kids to go to school—"It's school, school, school!—even though they know not all of their children are actually going to school or are receiving low marks. Village matai (chiefs) and other figures of authority in the village also place less priority on sport, sometimes even "closing" village sport by banning any sporting activity during the school year for fear of it interfering in children's studies.[108]

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[107] Of course, one's chances of going overseas or being the "left behind" was also heavily dependent on the availability of labor in the household. For those who are part of smaller families, or who happen to be born later, one's orientation to the world may have little bearing on whether elders release one from household duties and obligations. The theme of "the left behind" emerged as a significant source of reflection for me during my time with host families as it raised a number of insights into the politics of hope and the development imaginations of Samoan youth. Unfortunately, this topic is beyond the scope of the study but will hopefully be explored further in the future.

[108] This period is contrasted immensely by the flood of volleyball played around red Digicel nets, traditional Samoan kilikiki (cricket), and impromptu touch rugby that can be spotted on practically any open field during school holidays when village sport is officially "opened" again. Nonetheless, the closing

Part of the issue, according to several of my interlocutors, is that Samoan parents are stuck in old-fashioned thinking about education as schooling. They do not recognize that other alternatives exist that are just as good pathways to productive futures as classroom education. Another issue with Samoan parents that came up in my conversations is that they often view their children as laborers instead of athletes. Sefa explained: They want the kids to do feʻau (chores), to do work in the house for the family, or to go to the plantation after school to fetch firewood and food (like taro). They think their kids are wasting time if they come home from school and go to the sports field to play. Malae suggests this perspective has to do with the fact that Samoan parents are not like pālagi parents (in this case, European parents) who do things with their kids like take them out for picnics or go to the beach, change up their environments once in a while. Families in the village, he says, never travel outside of the village unless they are visiting relatives or attending faʻalavelave like a funeral. As a result, he argues, their orientation is confined to the village. Sending youth to Apia for long periods of time has often provoked resistance by parents, even if it means denying their child a chance to train with the national youth development leagues—as was the case for two young women in my host village who had been selected to train with the Under-20 national soccer team during my field research.

These characterizations of parents as traditionalists (e.g., "Don't waste your time playing games. Go to the plantation!") differ greatly from the characterizations of cash-hungry parents (e.g., "Go play sports if you're not good at school! Go get a future!") that

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of village sport has important gender implications. While girls have very few sanctioned outlets, if any, in which to play in the villages during this period, boys are usually allowed to engage in their faʻaʻafu (literally, to make sweat) rugby during the evenings before curfew.

inundated a majority of my interviews and conversations, revealing a larger cloud of ambiguity and hesitation around the idea of sport as the new development education. While an important component to understanding local practices of sport for development in Sāmoa, exploring parents' perceptions was unfortunately beyond the scope of my study, which focused on the perceptions of youth, educators, government officials, and community leaders.[109] Nonetheless, the fact that parents' roles in the sport imaginaries of my interlocutors varied so much is an indication of the socially constructed and contested nature of sport for development. That is, "sport for all" may present itself as hegemonic and everywhere, when in reality it is only a partially anchored ideology that partially shapes the actions, ideas, and experiences of those whom it subordinates (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991; McIntosh, 2004). In other words, SFA is an "articulated system of meaning" (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991) that has been ordered into a new educational vision for Sāmoa by those for whom it serves: young men, educators, government officials, and community leaders. For parents and matai (chiefs), whose immediate demands entail the social reproduction of the household, village, and fa'asāmoa among other things, activities that take away valuable human resources and labor are often placed second. At times, for cash-poor families this even means paying a child's exam fees or investing in a child's athletic talent come second to making a contribution to a church Bingo fundraiser or to a village fa'alavelave.

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[109] Future studies should explore the perceptions of parents and influential elders in the family unit and critically examine what the space reveals between what people say parents think about sport, education, and development and what parents actually do in terms of encouraging or discouraging their male and female children from pursuing sport.

Within this context of competing authority, Malae and Sefa, interpret the large number of unemployed, listless young men who have trickled out of the education pipeline as being caught between conflicting expectations of the faʻasāmoa that confine them in the village yet desire them to be part of an increasingly transnational world (see Demerath, 2000, 2003, for a comparative perspective on how youth in Manus, Papua New Guinea negotiate a similar tension). They see sport as a productive means of tracking these boys back through the pipeline, and often cannot understand why cultural authority, village leadership, and parents do not see it too.[110] According to Malae, the good thing is that a generation of elders who did not play sport during their lifetime are slowly moving out (passing away), leaving room in village authority for a new generation of leaders who have seen the kinds of benefits sport can bring and who are committed to developing sport in the village. These individuals are not only more globally minded, but prepared to support any kind of education that prepares young people to reap the rewards of the modern global economy. To them, development does not take place "in" borders; rather, it is a social practice of maintaining relationships through reciprocity and exchange across increasingly global networks. Education should thus teach youth the skills needed to position them in translocal spheres rather than confine them locally. By incorporating sport into this educational agenda, boys, too, can allegedly factor education into their life strategies, options, and choices.

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[110] In a way, parents do not see sport functioning the same way as youth, educators, and community leaders, who see sport through what Hartmann and Wheelock (2002) call a mobility model. In this model, participation in sport is viewed as an inherently positive social force in the lives of at-risk youth, filling a void that, in this case, schooling could not. Sport promises to be a more tangible, appropriate, attractive, and direct route of social, economic, and geographic mobility by redressing the barriers created by traditional education and formal schooling.

Implications: The De-Schooling of Boys and the Masking of Inequality

While adapting an SFA approach to bring boys back into the education pipeline may discursively align Samoa's education agenda with international frameworks on inclusive and holistic quality education for all, its practice has serious implications for Samoan youth that should be considered. For example, framing a crisis of masculinity and the underachievement of boys in school as a problem with boys deflects attention away from the underlying factors eroding traditional pathways and/or leading boys to trickle out of the education pipeline in the first place. Rather than patch the holes in the pipeline—or, address the structures of disadvantage embedded in the education system—an SFA-infused EFA agenda justifies the stratification of education into two separate streams: academic and sports. Moreover, the focus on developing a gender inclusive education agenda by way of promoting sport overshadows the "deschooling" (Illich, 1971) of young Samoan men, obfuscates inequalities that continue to exist for girls and young women, and masks of other dimensions of marginality including rurality.

The De-Schooling of Boys

> Tala: I was doing a rugby development [program and] going to the schools, and the, the boys were coming to school in the earlier part of the year. And by the second term and the third term, they're not at school.
>
> Christina: Right, they're leaving school.
>
> Tala: No, they just don't come to school. They're not leaving school, they just don't come to school. They don't come to class 'cause there's no rugby. And with the philosophy of the Department [of Education] that the dumb ones [go to sport], the kids say, Oh! I'll be a dumb one and go and play rugby. So they only come in the first and second term. And with a system here that— they get pushed up whether they— there's no test between Year 9, Year 10, Year 11. There's internal testing to test pecking order in the class, but there's no test here where if you

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don't achieve that [score] you can't [move up]. They just push everybody up. When you get too old, they, they push you up anyway.

Tala, the former Manu Sāmoa rugby star turned self-proclaimed sport for development engineer from Chapter 5, was sharing with me his thoughts on MESC's philosophy of separating the "dumb" kids from the "smart" kids in school. Speaking emphatically about how insulted he would be if his child were pushed into sport because teachers declared the child to be academically "unfit," Tala remarked rather indignantly that most Samoan parents (and teachers) have generally accepted this philosophy on a gross misunderstanding of the purpose of sport in education. Rather than seeing sport as a door-opener or a way to reinforce the importance of (academic) education, he believes most parents and teachers see it as a replacement. As a result, boys who are tracked into sport flow through the education pipeline but come out, as another interlocutor put it, severely under-educated and inadequately prepared to take care of themselves or their families later in life—even if they manage to improve their ability to speak English. As Tala notes above, if a male primary school student can "survive" the transition to secondary school (Year 9), there are essentially no accountability measures to ensure that he is gaining an (academic) education, or even attending school. And, as boys continue to be labeled as "at risk" at higher rates than girls, and in some subject areas at higher rates today than boys in 2006, little is being done to remediate these students. While some may repeat the school year, most will simply terminate their own schooling. Sport may incentivize young boys to attend school during first and second term, when after school sports are in session, but during third term—as Tala noted above—when teachers and administrators are busy preparing students for internal and national exams (and after

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school sports are halted), these boys are notably absent—"they just don't come to school."

Those of my interlocutors who were critical of tracking underachieving boys and young men into sport, including Tala, found a sport-as-education strategy to perpetuate the de-skilling, or rather the de-schooling of young men. Believing that sport and school must go together—that is, participation in sport does not mean one can ignore one's schooling—many pointed to the American school sport system as an example of the kind of integration that Sāmoa should adapt. In the case of the United States, one's eligibility to play sports is closely tied to one's academic performance, theoretically keeping youth accountable for their education.[111] Moreover, several of these individuals expressed their bewilderment at the brawn-brain dualism underlying an emerging sport as education framework. For them, it was ironic that educators and government officials would try to push "dumb" kids into sport, especially since they believe it takes a smart person to be a good sportsperson. Or, as Tala put it sarcastically, "We don't want any dumb rugby players!" To them, ensuring athletically gifted students were also doing well in the classroom made more sense. Nevertheless, as things currently stand in Sāmoa, demonstration of athletic talent warrants not attending school (see Figure 25).

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[111] While my interlocutors in Sāmoa believed the American school sport system would produce better educational outcomes for underperforming boys, my research in American Samoa, where the school system follows the American model, suggests otherwise. For example, American Samoan student athletes who secure scholarships to play in American colleges and junior colleges consistently struggle academically due to poor academic preparation. Moreover, research in the United States also illustrates the loose connection between sport and educational attainment, especially among African American male student-athletes who face troubling graduation rates compared to their female counterparts as well as their white male student-athlete and non-athlete peers (cf. Hodge, Harrison, Burden, & Dixson, 2008; Singer & May, 2011).
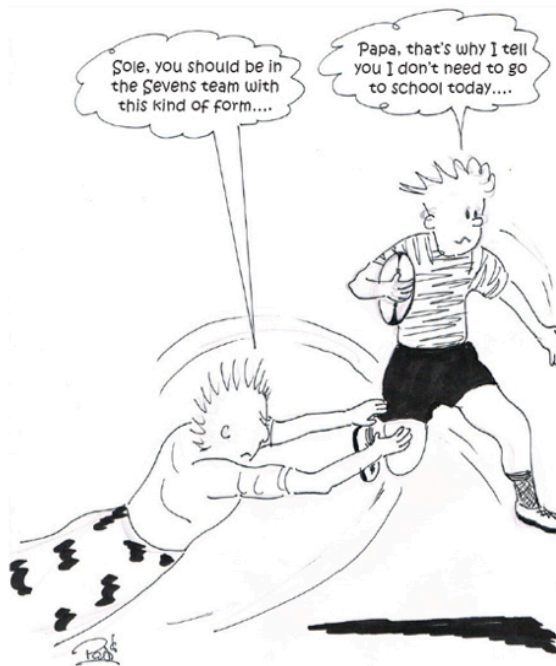
Figure 25. I don't need to go to school today. Source: *Samoa Observer*, February 4, 2013.

Indeed, as illustrated in the cartoon above, Sole's rationale for not going to school echoes the experiences of many youth who have been identified by teachers and school administrators as athletically gifted, including Mikaele. During an early morning jog to the plantation, for example, Mikaele reflected on his experience attending government school. Noticing Mikaele's fast running ability, a teacher had asked Mikaele to represent the school on their athletics (track and field) team for an upcoming island-wide inter-school tournament. Agreeing to do so, Mikaele recalled spending the weeks before the tournament with his fellow athletes on the school's athletics field training with their teacher-turned-coach for the tournament. He added, they had all been excused from attending classes until after the competition.

The de-schooling of Samoan men is an ironic side effect of Samoan educators'

and community leaders' attempts to expand boys' and men's educational opportunities

through sport. It is important to note, however, that I did speak to some young men who

recognized the importance of academic schooling and academic credentials in their

future, in case their athletic aspirations or careers fell short.[112] Fetuao and Kali, the young

men who played on the Manu Sāmoa Under-20 development team, were both enrolled in

the Foundation Year Program (equivalent to Form 7, or Year 13) at the National

University of Samoa in Apia at the time of my research. Taking courses like Food and

Technology (in which Kali was the only man in a course full of women), they declared

that having a school certificate or even a bachelor's degree would ensure that they could

get a job after their rugby careers ended or if they were to become seriously injured. In

their eyes, academic education is complementary to their sport education, not something

to be replaced by sport. This view, however, seems to have been the exception rather than

the norm.

Invisible Women

As is perhaps obvious throughout my analyses in Chapters 4, 5, and here, the rise

of sport in the development imaginations of Samoan youth, educators, government

officials, and community leaders is a highly gendered and gendering vision. Sport as a

ticket ifafo (overseas), as an alternative career and/or vehicle of education, and as a form

of tautua (service) are all imagined pathways of extending traditional conceptions of

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[112] Moreover, 12% of male secondary school students who participated in my survey reported not playing sport because they dislike sports or felt that they were not talented at it. This relatively high percentage may reflect the fact that these young men had not been "tracked" into sport, but have remained in the education pipeline.

masculinity in a rapidly shifting socioeconomic and geopolitical context. And, according to my survey, stereotypes like girls are weak and boys are strong continue to pervade social perceptions about gender and sport, although the recent international success of several Samoan female athletes may be changing these perceptions. While girls can participate in gender-appropriate sports like netball, volleyball, and athletics in school, in general an SFA educational agenda is not intended for girls and young women.

Several of my female interlocutors helped to sharpen this gendered distinction, specifically Moana, the vice-principal quoted earlier in this chapter, and her two daughters, Malia and Malie, both in their twenties, educated overseas, working women (both are scientists in town), and new mothers. During an evening conversation in their sitting room, Malia explained to me how her desire to go overseas emerged when she was a Year 9 student at one of Samoa's most prestigious government secondary schools. She knew, however, that traveling overseas was a luxury; her family was not like those of her school peers whose parents had enough money to send their children overseas regularly. Her mother, Moana, constantly reminded her and her older sister that if they wanted to go overseas, they would have to earn it. At that age, Malia was already beginning to calculate strategies available to her and realized that going overseas on an educational scholarship was too far away.[113] Participation in their school's netball team, however, held Malia's hopes for an earlier ticket overseas. Even though she was young, she managed to become one of two Year 9 students to make her school's competitive netball team. Like a prize door had finally opened, Malia was able to travel to New Zealand—for

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[113] These are often awarded after completion of secondary school for tertiary studies overseas.

the *first* time, her mother emphasized—on a school netball tour. Unlike her male counterparts, though, Malia understood that this ticket overseas was temporary and that sport was not a viable future for her: "[M]om and dad kept on telling us to do schoolwork. So I knew then that the next time for me to go overseas is from schoolwork, not from sports."[114]

Malia's realization from an early age that school, not sport, would be her vehicle overseas points again to the gendering of imagined mobilities shaping Samoan youths' calculations of their futures. That is, while many boys eventually see that schooling is not a viable future for them, many girls eventually see that sport is not for them. Yet, Malia's realization also brings a more important issue to light: an increasingly limited range of pathways for girls beyond education. Throughout my research, my interlocutors often spoke quickly and enthusiastically about alternatives available for boys who are not good at school: second chance schooling, sports, vocational and technical training, etc. But it was rare for any of my interlocutors to explain what could or what would happen should a girl not be strong in school. Instead, many of the images that emerged during my research are of young, disenchanted men placing their hopes on sport; rarely were there stories of young, disenchanted women turning to a similar set of hopeful alternatives. Rather, the increased attention on the plight of boys (both in schools and in the villages) often ended up masking the constrained life course options available for many Samoan women, especially those in rural areas.

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[114] Indeed, Malia would eventually receive her university training in geology in New Zealand and post-baccalaureate training in plant biotechnology in Australia.

While there is much to celebrate in terms of the gains Samoan women have made in recent decades, I would suggest that celebrating women as unexpected beneficiaries of education and development obscures the notion that education may be their only option. Moreover, it ignores the close ties between the feminization of education and notions of Samoan femininity and "the good girl," as well as obscures the lack of equivalent professional sport opportunities for women. Furthermore, I would suggest that viewing women's achievements in education and the workforce as an indication of women's better adaptation to changing socioeconomic circumstances diverts attention away from persisting gender inequalities. That is, their educational accomplishments do not necessarily translate into improved socioeconomic status, enhanced empowerment, or an advantage in pursuing their career aspirations (Jha & Kelleher, 2006). For example, according to the 2011 Annual International Migration Report, while Samoan women outnumber men in terms of education-based migration (53% and 47%, respectively), Samoan men migrate for overseas employment at higher rates in total compared to women (55% and 45%, respectively) (SBS, 2011). Even though women may equally desire to be circularly mobile, they are more likely to remain in Sāmoa upon completing their education. And, as one of my interlocutors put it, those women who fail to emigrate or to secure paid employment in town often return to the villages, get married, and have kids. And because gender norms and expectations tend to keep women out of the public's eye, their disenchantment becomes invisible compared to their brothers, whose less constricted movements about the village make their return to the villages a more visible social "problem."

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<u>Perpetuating a Geotocracy</u>

During my research in the peri-urban northwest region of 'Upolu, Manumea, the female university student from earlier in this chapter who thinks young men are dropping out of school because they just want to have fun, alerted me to the possibility that the feminization of education and the underachievement of boys may be more hype than reality. Giving me an overview of the educational achievements of those in her village, Manumea described how boys were not the only ones dropping out of school, but how the girls were as well. Indeed, looking at educational statistics collected by MESC, it appears that the gender gap may be less of a factor of disadvantage than one's geographic location (see Table 6).

Table 6. Percentage of Education Level Attained by Sex and Region

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Sex			
Male	96	55	11
Female	97	60	12
Residence			
Urban	96	65	21
Rural	96	55	9

In the table above, the gap between the educational attainment of men and women remains marginal, with women gaining slightly in secondary school. The gap between urban and rural residents, however, increases dramatically from primary to secondary and tertiary levels of education, with those people living in the rural areas of 'Upolu and Savai'i attaining much lower levels of education than those living in the urban Apia area. This has tremendous implications for those youth who participated in my survey and

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reported career aspirations that would require at least a secondary school education if not more. In the words of Mikaele, it appears that a majority of these young people will be forced to change their ambitions in life.

Upon reviewing a number of government reports and policy documents on education and development in Sāmoa, one would have easily concluded that the most pressing educational concern was rooted in the gender gap (cf. Samoff & Carrol, 2013; Stromquist, 2012). Even my interlocutors seemed to be focused on the growing crisis of masculinity and the streams of young boys trickling out of the education pipeline. However, policy-level and grassroots-level attention directed toward using sport to create a more gender inclusive approach to education appears to be diverting attention away from an even more significant dimension of marginalization: rurality. Alan Male (2011), an educational development practitioner in the Asia Pacific region, describes this phenomenon as the creation of a geotocratic system of education. That is, while the education system purportedly favors merit (i.e., national examinations, academic performance, etc.), in reality it favors the cultural (and socioeconomic) capital of the urban, professional, and English-competent groups of Sāmoa. As a result, those who are already structurally advantaged—both in terms of access to educational resources and capital *and* to athletic infrastructure and facilities—maintain the upper hand, while those located on the margins remain at the center of a politics of hope.

Conclusions

Samoa's adaptation of both an EFA and SFA agenda also has interesting implications in a discussion on inclusive and holistic education as they are translated into

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contexts where personhood is understood in relational terms rather than in individualistic terms. For example, while Samoan educators and government officials use the term "inclusive" and "for all" to imply gender inclusivity and the achievement of universal education, in practice these terms mean boys and girls are both included in Samoa's educational vision as a whole but are not necessarily regarded as having the same learning needs. That is, education *is* for all girls and boys, but not necessarily the same kind of education—one is located in classrooms, the other is outside on the rugby pitch. Furthermore, while the term "holistic" tends to connote the education of the whole child rather than just his/her individual mind, body, or spiritual parts, in practice the achievement of holistic education in Sāmoa appears to refer to the offering of a holistic curriculum, not necessarily the achievement of a holistically educated individual child. In this way, Sāmoa achieves a holistic "development" education vision by including a diversity of curricular offerings that target the mind, body, and spirit. This does not mean that every individual must necessarily receive training in them all. Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) speculates that these nuances and idiosyncrasies between international defined and locally practiced educational strategies might be explained by Samoan cosmologies of learning. She suggests that the Samoan belief that "special talents are god given rather than acquired by learning" (p. 180) may influence people's attitudes toward formal education, especially of boys and girls. Moreover, the division of students along the lines of brawn versus brain—concepts which happen to be deeply informed by gendered notions of femininity and masculinity—may reflect the importance of "keeping a balance of specialist skills" (ibid.) in a subsistence economy. That is, "the lack of skill sharing,"

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or, in this case, the notion of applying different classroom-based and "outside"-based curricula to girls and boys, respectively, means that "all skill need areas are covered while at the same time individuals [girls and boys] retain their areas of special [gendered] recognition" (ibid.). Although this explanation may grossly simplify reality today, it does provide some contextual understanding to the way inclusive and holistic education have been taken up in Sāmoa in highly gendered ways.

In particular, the trickling of young Samoan men from classrooms and their subsequent tracking onto rugby pitches and athletic fields represents a uniquely translocal response to a locally identified need to imagine a more inclusive development education. This development education, created through the selective intermixing of local and global imaginaries about sport, education, and development, is believed to more effectively prepare young men to reach their full potential as future contributing members of their increasingly transnational ʻāiga and their increasingly global nuʻu (cf. Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009a). As such, the very concept of education has been redefined not as what one learns in school but how one's knowledge of something—be it math or sport— benefits and builds one's ʻāiga and nuʻu. Increasing one's productivity and (physical or academic) fitness, defined in terms of one's ability to tap into and maneuver global markets rather than what one's "healthy body" can contribute to the nation, has become the object of one's education and training. In a way, "sport as education" falls consistently into a collective imaginary that views development as a process of tautua (service) that transcends national boundaries and is rooted in the achievement of material and financial blessings for the family. It is also situated within a local gender logics that

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has shaped what Samoan society has largely imagined for girls and boys to do. Such a perspective thus reframes what international development and education scholars and practitioners may find at first rather alarming: the feminization of education, an education to employment gap, and the lure of migration and overseas employment—"holes" in a leaky educational pipeline that have led many Samoan boys to leave school. For many of my interlocutors, though, these holes indicated a system that needed fixing, albeit by welding the pipeline with new male-targeted sport-based extensions.

Despite this indigenous response, underlying problems that many of my interlocutors raised about Samoa's educational practices, pedagogy, and infrastructure; the limited educational and employment opportunities available in a small economy; and deeper systemic sociocultural issues including gender stereotypes and growing pressure on families to participate in cash-based rituals of exchange remain obscured beneath the apparent ability of sport to solve Samoa's "problem with boys." Moreover, in spite of the implications of tracking boys into sport (the de-schooling of boys, the invisibilization of women's disenchantment, and the growing rural-urban divide), an SFA agenda is still publicly endorsed, enthusiastically promoted, and actively pursued by youth, educators, government officials, and community leaders. Meanwhile inter/national media directs the Samoan public's attention to stories of success through sport, feeding further into a politics of hope and a myth of mobility that leads many Samoans to believe any boy can succeed in sport. That athletic careers are often short, physically demanding, and also dangerous (as illustrated by Isaako in Chapter 5)—and not to mention almost entirely at the whim of decisions made by scouts, managers, or distant uncles (as illustrated by

Tavita in Chapter 6 as well)—leaves little bearing on the imaginaries of young Samoan men who feel stuck in a life not of their choosing. Moreover, as Besnier (2012) also points out in his study in Tonga, professional sport opportunities are rarely made available to Samoan women—largely due to a severely gender biased international sport industry (see Benn, Pfister, & Jawad, 2011, and Shehu, 2010, for comparative cases of limited sport opportunities for women in African nations and the Muslim world)—and the probability of young Samoan men actually securing professional contracts nationally or overseas is extremely low. Tracking boys into sport and away from the classroom can not only have serious affects on gender identities, but also sediment pathways of neocolonization and exploitation of Islander bodies by a global sport industry.

Chapter 7. Linkages and Disconnects: A Brief Interlude

In Chapters 4-6, I illuminated through ethnographic assemblage the logics flowing beneath and the sociocultural contexts supporting the (already) local practice of sport for development in Sāmoa. The themes that emerged around migration, masculinity/muscularity, tautua (service), education, and employment not only offer a glimpse into the ways my interlocutors imagined Samoan futures in a globalized world; they also reveal further the idiosyncrasies of a Healthy Islands Through Sport (HITS) policy world where body size, responsibilization, and self-discipline reign dominant. These chapters not only take the larger dissertation analysis of the policy and practice of sport for development deeper into the spheres of everyday action in Sāmoa; they also highlight how the interaction between local practices and inter/national policy discourses unfolds in oftentimes unpredictable, contradictory, and disconnected ways. While traces of internationally sanctioned HITS policy may be identifiable in the interpretive frameworks of local actors (e.g., the improvement of health), for them whether official goals are actually achieved remains an issue of secondary importance, if at all. Instead, what is priority for many of the targeted young men of this policy world is the achievement of muscular masculinity and engagement in productive transnational tautua to the ʻāiga (family; extended kin group) amidst perceived diminishing opportunities for mobility and waged employment. For educators, government officials, and community leaders, addressing the visible marginalization of boys and preventing "the unthinkable" (MESC, 2007, p. 108) social and economic consequences of ignoring their plight appears to have taken precedence over changing health behaviors. The misalignment between

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inter/national and local priorities—or, more simply, the coexistence of multiply imagined policy worlds (Chapter 4)—heightens the undeniable disconnect between HITS policy and practice, and makes understanding local cosmologies even more paramount in understanding the "power" of sport in development.

Moreover, these chapters have also illustrated the importance of accounting for the socioeconomic and sociocultural realities affecting young people's transition into adulthood, as these realities (and the risk of failure) ultimately shape the way local actors negotiate imagined development pathways and existing social expectations, oftentimes at the expense of education. For example, Marc Sommers' (2012) study on youth in Rwanda illuminates the ways in which attending secondary school is a high-risk strategy for poor youth and their families. In the context of a housing crisis, secondary school was associated with the risk of losing precious time in a race for Rwandan male youth to build a house—a sign of entry into manhood. As a result, many young Rwandan men drop out of school in order to find waged work that will allow them to build a house and become adults. In the case of Sāmoa, similar logics are at play as young Samoan men's traditional pathways to adulthood through tautua to the 'āiga and nu'u (village) have been eroded by globalization, and "modern" pathways through education have become increasingly the domain of women. Attending secondary school is viewed by many young men as futile, if not a waste of time. Yet, with an intensifying migration imperative and without the academic muscles to secure an educational scholarship overseas, many Samoan boys find themselves attempting to capitalize on other "special talents" they possess—specifically,

the strength and fitness of their muscularized bodies—to secure opportunities overseas.[115]

For those who do not make it overseas, their bodies are at least transformed through these

practices to resemble the muscularized image of transnational success.

Within this context, sport has emerged in Samoa as an attractive means of not

only reclaiming masculinity but also for reconstituting the meaning of education for

development. As discussed in Chapter 5, sport draws on the traditionally masculine realm

of fitness and strength—characteristics of young men's role as taulele'a (untitled men)—

to create an almost exclusively male domain in which to engage a set of globally oriented

body techniques that prepare them for transnational tautua. While muscularity has

become a proxy for globality and mobility, the muscularization of globalization has also

set in motion the re-masculinization of education. Chapter 6 illustrated how a

combination of factors have led many Samoan boys to trickle out of school. Yet under the

guise of a "sport for all" agenda, these young men are tracked into alternative, gender-

appropriate educational venues on the rugby pitch—in essence, receiving their

"schooling" outside. Reincorporating boys into Samoa's "education for all" vision where

all Samoan youth are prepared to enter productive futures (not necessarily classrooms),

sport becomes a new kind of development education, filling a void for young men and

extending an education into the domain of the masculine, the muscular, and the global.

Despite the appearance of coherence, continuity, and consensus holding together

the heterogeneous elements of sport for development in Sāmoa, Chapters 4 through 6 also

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[115] I use quotation marks to highlight the Samoan belief that "special talents are god given rather than acquired by learning" (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991, p. 180). This belief works to further entrench the bodies and brains of Samoan boys and girls—and thus the physical or academic abilities they carry—within a gendered landscape of boys are strong and girls are smart.

highlighted the contradictions, controversies, and contentions embedded in the overall assemblage. Not only do some actors like parents and matai (chiefs) view sport in a less glorified light, some young men (12% of those surveyed) do not even like to participate in sport. Meanwhile, those who do believe in sport as an antidote to a crisis of masculinity and/or a means to expanding educational opportunities for men often do not speak beyond the assumption that any young men can succeed in sport, if they try hard enough. Based on the general enthusiasm surrounding sport as a development pathway, one might easily conclude that engagement in sport guarantees that which lies beyond sport, whether it be a ticket ifafo (overseas) or an alternative education. Yet, balancing these young men precariously on a tight rope between success and failure is a politics of hope beyond their own control. Even though sport promises status, prestige, and mobility, especially for those whom schooling has fallen short, the *possibility* of success is not the same as the *probability* of success. Out of the 400 young Samoan men Tala helped secure sport scholarships overseas, for example, he could recall only one young man who achieved the "perfect outcome": completing school in New Zealand all the way to Year 13, attending university, and going on to receive a second scholarship to pursue a masters in business administration at a prestigious university in New Zealand. During my field research, only two (young women) secured an opportunity to travel because of sport, and only a handful of individuals were able to secure work through their dedication to sport—even fewer actually received regular income from performing this work. Based on this "success" rate, one might need to seriously consider what happens with the remaining young men who "fail" while having been effectively de-schooled. And as Machperson et

al. (2000) note, it is important to think about the many who have helped subsidized the success of the few, especially girls and women and youth from rural and/or socioeconomically disadvantaged locations who have been left behind or worse, completely overlooked (cf. Nagar, et al., 2002; Uperesa, 2010).

And What of Healthy Bodies?

Meanwhile, lost in the fray of sport, masculinity, education, and development is the HITS policy focus on health—or, rather, the intentional pursuit of sport to transform unhealthy bodies into healthy bodies in order to more effectively achieve national and regional health development goals (Chapter 3). Based on youth survey data, formal and informal interviews, as well as documents collected throughout my research, it is clear that the idea of sport for (biomedical) health lingers in the mist of my interlocutors' rationales for engaging sport. For example, sport development initiatives in schools and communities across Sāmoa are often justified as a means of addressing Samoa's growing epidemic of non-communicable disease (NCD). Smoke-free rugby and netball tournaments, health promoting school sport days, and organized walkathons advocating healthy lifestyles regularly decorate local newspapers with photographs of smiling children and adults engaged in a variety of sports, messages of healthy living strategically nestled in descriptions of the fun activities that took place. Even in my survey, when asked how sport was useful for them 61% of youth reported various health benefits (Chapter 4); when describing the behaviors of a healthy person, 70% of students demonstrated their knowledge of the importance of regular exercise and a healthy diet (see Appendix D). Several of my adult interlocutors also pointed to improved health as

the "number one" benefit of sport, especially for women who were then expected to pass on their health literacy to their children.

Given this awareness of the connection between sport and biomedical health, the virtual disconnect between the policy and practice of sport for development in Sāmoa begs pause. How can a local manifestation of a HITS policy world be focused on the achievement of socially healthy (muscular, transnational) bodies in service of the 'āiga (family; kin group) (Chapters 4-6), when the inter/national HITS policy world is focused on achieving economically healthy (disciplined, productive) bodies that work in the interest of the nation-state (Chapter 3)? What explains this disconnect? One could argue that the point of disjuncture lies in the ambiguity of the concept of health and healthy bodies itself. That is, the way health is discursively constructed and employed by inter/national policy frameworks leaves room for interpretation and divergence in practice. This disconnect is especially likely in the case of a HITS policy world where discourse assumes health is understood universally to be biomedical, but in practice the concept is enmeshed in an intricate struggle of translation against a backdrop of existing sociocultural beliefs about and practices of health (Hardin, forthcoming c). Under this line of inquiry, it would be useful to compare Samoan conceptualizations of health with international frameworks on health to see how ambiguity in discourse can be overcome in order to more closely align policy and practice. However, this approach assumes that a "better" policy would be more capable of driving "better" practice, and, more significantly, risks ignoring the diverse and divergent interests that have created the disconnect in the first place.

Toward a Framework for Understanding Policy in Practice

Borrowing from Mosse (2005), I would suggest an alternative way of examining this policy-practice disconnect. Under this framework, the disconnect between policy and practice is not an adverse side effect of a misdirected policy or a misinformed target audience that should be remedied through clarification of intentions or better policy coherence and alignment. Rather, the disjuncture is a political necessity that actors (both powerful and subordinate) must actively maintain in order to preserve their spheres of autonomy while justifying continued flows of resources . More important and urgent than disjuncture itself, then, is the control over the interpretation of this disjuncture—or more precisely, the discursive erasure of the chasm between policy and practice—as the power to influence the thought and actions of others lies hidden behind the discourse models and narratives that actors use to define and frame their own actions (cf. Fairclough, 2001). For instance, while Samoan educators, government officials, and community leaders were keen on employing the inter/national mobilizing metaphors of a HITS policy world (e.g., "healthy bodies," "healthy lifestyles," "healthy nation"), their vagueness, ambiguity, and conceptual imprecision were necessary to discursively conceal the ideological differences and divergent priorities between them, their inter/national counterparts, and a HITS policy world. That is, employing the discourse of HITS policy helps Samoan actors stabilize interpretations of the disjuncture by aligning their practices—no matter how disconnected their underlying ideologies—with dominant policy models and the institutions from which these models emerged. Their interpretations, or rather their strategic misrepresentations of events and their

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performance of policy, therefore plays an important role in whether more powerful actors can stamp their practices with approval (cf. Steiner-Khamsi, 2012, for a similar case of this "double-talk" in Mongolia).

In this sense, the relationship between HITS policy and sport for development practice is not one in which the former drives or is adopted by the latter. That is, HITS policy does not control Samoan bodies, let alone discipline or transform their bodies; neither are Samoans necessarily subverting or appropriating HITS policy in an act of indigenous resistance. So how does a framework for understanding policy in practice take into account the multiple ways my Samoan interlocutors were engaged in a pragmatic response to their readings of a translocal landscape of opportunity, risk, and obstacles irrespective of official policy worlds and policy prescriptions? As Mosse's framework helps illuminate, policy is "an *end* rather than a cause; a result, often a fragile one, of social processes" (2004, p. 663). It is through sustaining policy coherence that differences in practice, interests, and ideology can both emerge and be concealed. By extension, practice is shaped by the sociocultural, economic, and political demands of locality, or, in this case, in the logics of the fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way). It is then in the *social interpretation* of practice that policy actors, who are located in both inter/national and local communities of practice, strategically work to reproduce and legitimate policy worlds, their narratives, institutions, and processes. According to this framework, critical analysis of policy discourse and hidden power is essential (Chapter 3), yet alone provides only a partial explanation of the disjuncture between policy and practice. Paired with ethnographic analysis of practice (Chapters 4-6 and Chapter 8), though, one can begin to

understand how such divergence is maintained, how such disconnected policy worlds can coexist simultaneously, as well as the kinds of social work required to circulate, regulate, and sustain a (HITS) policy world.

In adapting this analytical framework, I do not intend to lessen the importance of policy in practice, but instead illuminate how policy serves a critical function as the organizing framework of the interpretation of practice (Mosse, 2004). Policy's disconnect from practice is a necessity, as it creates spheres of autonomy for an "indigenous development" practice to exist alongside a dominant development orthodoxy (cf. Maiava & King, 2007). As illustrated in the previous three chapters and will continue to be elaborated upon in the next, the multilayered social and political life of sport for development in Sāmoa is made possible and comprehensible by the space created by policy disjuncture. Likewise, the maintenance of this disjunctive space is made possible by development actors' interpretations and translations of policy. Policy, therefore, and in particular the social, economic, and political lives of policy ideas, is critical for understanding both the trajectories and spaces of development practice.

Embedded, too, in this framework of disjuncture is an implicit contestation against the notion that policy discourse invents, circulates, *and* regulates problems of population in hegemonic, omnipotent ways on the ground (Chapter 3). Beyond the invention of public problems and problem populations, it appears as though organizations of authority have little control over the circulation and regulation of these problems in everyday fields of action—although discourse may circulate and regulate problems within its own spheres (Kwauk, 2012). While Greene's (1999) analytical metaphor of the

governing apparatus helps locate the invention of a HITS policy world in larger contexts of geopolitical power, neoliberal biopolitics, and social hierarchies, the ethnographic investigation of policy and practice suggests a different set of locally informed logics actually govern populations on the ground. Nonetheless, in order to sustain a HITS policy world—and the resources that flow through it—local development actors must make it appear as though the successful circulation and regulation of HITS policy discourse is taking place. This necessitates the social processes of interpretation discussed above that enable actors to conceal disjuncture by stabilizing dominant policy models while simultaneously preserving their spheres of autonomous action.

In the next chapter I move up the vertical axis from the micro:meso level to the meso:macro level of sport for development actors (both local and international) to examine more closely the social mechanics of the disjuncture between policy and practice. Drawing on ethnographic vignettes, fieldnotes, and interview data, I analyze the social work of interpretation, translation, and misrepresentation performed by development actors that enable the multiple social worlds of HITS policy to exist in parallel. In doing so, I demonstrate how development actors operate within a space of disjuncture, mediating contradictory interests from above and below in order to maintain their spheres of action while also sustaining the larger sport for development complex. In this way, this dissertation study is able to map out more fully the marbled complexity of a vertical landscape of sport for development, both in policy and in practice.

Part 3. Meso:Macro

Chapter 8. Healthy Islands Through Sport: The Circulation and Regulation of a Policy World

Introduction

Early in my second field research trip to Sāmoa, Melissa, a sport for development officer who works with the Australian Sports Commission (ASC), and I were talking over the phone about developments with the Australian Sports Outreach Program (ASOP) in Sāmoa during my absence the previous year. Calling me from her Canberra office, she explained how the program had recently shifted focus from being "sport plus" (sport development plus social development goals) to "*plus* sport" (social development-focused programs with a sport development component). Surprised at this change, particularly because ASOP's original planning documents mark it as a sport plus organization (ASC, 2007), I asked how this new approach was panning out with the Sāmoa Sports for Development Program (SSfDP), ASOP's program in Sāmoa. With some hesitation, Melissa described a few of the challenges that have emerged with the SSfDP, most of which stem from the fact that their local partner (the Sport Division of the Samoan Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture [MESC]) is "all about sport."

Melissa explained that after much learning, "we're much clearer about what we're about: supporting villages to lead local activities themselves." Compared to similar programs, she added, the SSfDP is unique because they engage villages over a long period of time (2-3 years), and their objectives are focused on building the capacity of youth, improving health behaviors, and enhancing village leadership. She added quickly

that they are "still struggling to get the model working effectively," and that they need to be smarter about how they push the program beyond just playing sport. "We're retrofitting in a lot of ways," she said to describe the work involved in getting the program functioning again. However, "with donor influence," she suggested hopefully, "ASOP can influence a shift in the agenda."

This conversation excerpt helps introduces this chapter on the circulation and regulation of a Healthy Islands Through Sport (HITS) policy world in two related ways.[116] First, it problematizes the assumption introduced in Chapter 3 that a (HITS) governing apparatus circulates and regulates problems of population on the ground. Indeed, the struggle Melissa highlights about getting new policy models working effectively illustrates how policy models often do *not* get circulated, despite attempts by policy stakeholders to regulate their policy world through retrofitting organizational processes or influencing organizational operations through financial incentives. Circulation implies that there is a movement of policy along a chain of actors in the policy world. But in this case, movement seemed to stop as soon as it reaches local SSfDP officers in Sāmoa.

Second, my conversation with Melissa reveals the simultaneous existence of at least two policy worlds: an official HITS policy world in which the "public transcripts" (Scott, 1990, p. 2) of supporting villages, achieving health goals, and building youth leadership are circulated consistently, and another policy world (guided by the "hidden

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[116] Although the HITS forum does not officially take place until 2012, the concept of creating healthier islands through sport—and its constitutive ideologies, hierarchy of actors, and structures of power—has been a driving force of sport for development initiatives in Sāmoa for almost a decade. As such, I continue to use the term HITS to describe the policy world in which this dissertation study takes place.

transcripts" of sport) that is, according to Melissa, in need of urgent retrofitting. For

Melissa, the emergence of the second policy world is a product of a breakdown in the

circulation and regulation of the hegemonic discourses of a HITS policy world. For

SSfDP actors, however, the surfacing of this second world is a result of ASOP's sudden

shift in policy priority, which has made more noticeable the "offstage" (Scott, 1990, p. 4)

spheres of practice, threatening to expose the hidden transcripts of a local sport for

development world. As a result, pressure is heightened on local (as well as inter/national)

SSfDP actors to renegotiate their control over the interpretation of this policy-practice

disjuncture, to conceal the hidden transcripts, and to establish some semblance of policy

coherence.

The points above conjure a rather different, more scattered, fragile, and

fragmented image of a HITS policy world than the monolith deconstructed in Chapter 3.

They also help reveal how the circulation and regulation of policy worlds require more

social work than the simple deployment of an omnipotent and omnipresent governing

apparatus (cf. Sharma, 2008). Indeed, the existence and maintenance of spheres of

autonomy disrupts the monotheistic reign of a hegemonic HITS policy world imposed

over populations from above. In these spheres, everyday action is driven by the logics

and demands of locality—not necessarily policy objectives—and is conducted according

to the hidden transcripts of sport for development imaginaries shaped by a very different

reading of the world. Policy-practice disjuncture, rather than coherence, is thus the norm,

not the exception. But because resource flows and the survival of organizations are tied to

successful policy, it is in the interests of both local *and* international actors to manage this

disjuncture by sustaining a degree of coherence that maintains the facade of a hegemonic HITS policy world (Mosse, 2005). Through a kind of "double-talk" (Steiner-Khamsi, 2012), local actors not only collectively conceal the disconnect between practice, objectives, and vision—although, not always completely—they also become complicit in perpetuating a growing international sport for development industry.

To better illustrate the strategic circulation and regulation of a HITS policy world, this chapter highlights the kinds of social work and double-talk that SSfDP actors engage to sustain the public transcripts of dominant policy models through their translations of local practice and their performance or production of policy. Drawing on an ethnographic vignette (a conversation between Sefa and me about bringing zumba to the village) and a fieldnote excerpt (observations made during a prize-giving ceremony at an inter-village soccer tournament), I shed light on how local actors appear to circulate and regulate a HITS policy world on the ground, but maintain the spheres of autonomy in which Samoans carry out their everyday lives. Through processes of social translation, local actors discursively and performatively negotiate away the gap between dominant HITS policy models and local sport for development practice, enabling both social worlds to co-exist simultaneously along a buffer of strategic misrepresentation. However, while these social processes function to guarantee the success of dominant policies and program, they are incredibly tenuous and often overshadow deeper tensions about the meaning of development.

Following critical ethnographers of development, like Crewe and Harrison (1998), Mosse (2005), and Sharma (2008), the goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how

the stabilization of a HITS policy world in Sāmoa happens—sometimes quite precariously—in communities of practice where the maintenance of social relationships (vā fealoaʻi), driven largely by the logics of faʻasāmoa, takes precedence over the achievement of prescribed policy objectives. By bringing to light the contextual, relational, and material dimensions of this development practice—all of which ultimately bear weight on the relationship between policy and practice—I also highlight how the diverse and oftentimes contradictory interests of (local) development actors create a complex network of hidden transcripts underlying public ideologies with which they use to rationalize, explain, and legitimate the current social order. This discussion thus helps illuminate the "faʻasāmoa-nization" of international development, or the unfolding of an indigenous development practice as local actors work to incorporate a new field of aid and resources into existing frameworks of kinship, reciprocity, and development (cf. Maiava & King, 2007).

Vignette — Village Zumba: Translating the Fundable Agenda and the Politics of Love

Figure 26. Village jazzercise. Source: MESC, 2013.

Sefa, one of Lalomalava's SSfDP Village Sports Leaders who lives up the road towards the family plantations, walks into Malae's falekuka (kitchen), where my host brother Mikaele, his younger sister Lea, and I are hanging out after cleaning up dishes from dinner. Standing against the freezer chest, Sefa asks me what my schedule is for tomorrow. I tell him that I have planned to do some research. He jokes that all I have been doing is sleeping, but never mind; he will help me find some people to talk to. In the meantime, he tells me, I need to teach the village how to do zumba. I give in this time, going along with his request. *[He has already asked me to help him "bring zumba" to the village several times since I've arrived.]*

Mikaele, who is now slouched in his chair, legs hanging over the armrest, busily texts on his phone, removing himself from the conversation. Lea, sitting nearby on the crooked wooden stool next to the counter asks us casually, "After zumba, then what?"

Sefa pauses momentarily; then quickly and enthusiastically responds to Lea, "Then we promote it in all of Sāmoa—I mean, Lalomalava. Then maybe the Government will help us and give us some money to support us." *[Here, Sefa is referring to the time the Ministry of Health (MOH) gave the village a new set of loudspeakers shortly after winning the MOH jazzercise competition a few years ago.]*

I take the opportunity to hang onto the momentum of Lea's timely question and ask Sefa what is the purpose of doing zumba in the village. Without

hesitation and with a straight face, he turns towards me and answers mid-step: "For health." He walks over to the sink, closer to where I am sitting at the table, and leans against the counter. "Not just for health but also—" he pauses, "What's the word? For finances."

"For finances?" I ask, surprisingly.

"For the benefits," he smiles widely.

Sefa tells me that there is no one at MESC to teach zumba to the villages right now, but if I teach them then they will be able to teach the other villages what real zumba is like. He gives me an example, "The Government can pay Lea to travel all the way to Asau *[a village on the northwest coast of Savai'i]* to teach zumba."

Lea refuses the offer, "No way!" she cries out. "Why me?"

Sefa turns to Mikaele, saying he's a good dancer so he'll do it. I joke with Mikaele, reminding him that he said he was in need of a part-time job. "No thanks," he responds, holding onto his phone.

Attempting to save my host siblings from potential embarrassment, I suggest that Sefa and I sit down with Malae, president of Lalomalava's Village Sports Committee, to talk more about this idea; maybe we should even all three talk to the faife'au *[the village pastor who currently sponsors a village zumba program, which Sefa is in charge of running]*. Sefa laughs, saying they never talk to the faife'au about zumba. I ask why.

"The faife'au would just want to do it his own way," Sefa responds, which to Sefa's distaste is people dancing on their own with nobody to show them how to do it. Sefa explains that the faife'au only wants to do zumba in the village because he must have seen it done elsewhere, probably at the MOH in Apia. *[The pastor is a member of the National Health Board.]* But at the moment, because Sefa does not know how to zumba either, he cannot offer the faife'au a better alternative. *[Sefa has asked me on multiple occasions, "It's just (Brazilian) samba, isn't that where the word zumba comes from?"]* I tell Sefa not to get his hopes up because the zumba I know is not the real Zumba, either.

As we wind down our conversation, Sefa begins to walk toward the door. He pauses in his tracks, leans back against the freezer chest again and asserts with an air of confidence, "This is sport."

"Is it?" I ask. "Some people might say it's not."

Lea interjects, "It's more like dancing."

"Yeah," I add, "it's like dance aerobics."

Sefa rejects this idea, insisting that it is sport. "There are competitions and winners," he proffers.

"OK, yeah, you're right," I rescind.

As Sefa leaves, Mikaele, still slouched in his chair and texting on his phone, mumbles loudly, "I hope that's not all just talk."

Competing Interests and Fundable Agendas

Throughout the vignette, Sefa and I, with the help of Lea and Mikaele, are enmeshed in a social push and pull of meaning construction. As we collectively tack back and forth toward an "authoritative interpretation" (Mosse, 2005) of village zumba, we are at once reproducing and stabilizing shared public transcripts of zumba as a village-led exercise program (a dominant sport for health policy model), while negotiating the hidden transcripts of zumba as sport for development (a set of local practices which I am actively learning throughout the conversation). In this process, we are also socially engaged in concealing points of divergence between reality (of motives and interests) and representations (of policy and practice). For example, at several points in our conversation, and in a surprisingly direct fashion, Sefa signals our departure from the dominant inter/national ideology of using sport for health and our entry into the underlying interests of local development actors to bring zumba (or any other "sport") to the village. While he initially declares that the purpose of village zumba is for health— whether for individual biomedical health improvement or the overall social health of the village remains in question—his "not just, but also" construction suggests that there are more significant motivations: 1) the financial benefits that come with the support of the Government,[117] and 2) the status his village (and he himself) gains by being the one who initially "holds" and shares the knowledge of zumba.

Nonetheless, what is interesting is how Sefa attempts to translate these interests into the language (or the "global speak") of a fundable agenda, or an agenda that MESC

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[117] In this case, Sefa uses the term Government to refer to MESC and the SSfDP, which ultimately brings in AusAID, the ASC, and ASOP into the picture.

and its ASOP/ASC partners are more likely to support because it appears to be an authentic, legitimate, and official agenda that is aligned with the foci, objectives, and processes of a HITS policy world (cf. Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). For instance, Sefa interprets Lea's rather innocent but incredibly timed open-ended question of what comes after zumba, and later my probe about its purpose, as an inquiry into his short- and long-term plan for zumba itself. [118] His response (to promote zumba throughout Lalomalava and then to later send village representatives to teach and promote zumba in other villages) effectively masks his interests (gaining financial support, raising the status of the village) behind the discourse of Government's official interests (promoting sport for health, youth, and village development across Sāmoa).[119] This strategic move not only functions to connect his agenda discursively back up to dominant policy models, it also aligns Sefa's representation of village zumba with a model of development (a train the trainers model, of sorts) that the Government of Samoa frequently employs when "doing" rural development. The SSfDP itself is a good example of this model: key individuals from villages are recruited and made responsible for the program; they then participate in

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[118] Lea's question was more likely intended to inquire which sport Sefa was planning to help "bring" to Lalomalava after the "completion" of a new zumba program. At the time of our conversation, soccer, a SSfDP-introduced sport in the village, had recently concluded (see vignette in next section below) and the village was currently "waiting" for the next sport to come. There had already been much talk throughout the village about the SSfDP bringing in netball, cricket, or weightlifting, but little follow through from the sporting bodies themselves. Bringing in zumba, at least for Lea, seemed to fit within this framework of programs beginning and ending, coming and going.

[119] Although, Sefa's expectation that the Government would financially compensate a village representative to travel to another village to promote zumba (or any other sport) may be overly optimistic. Through multiple conversations with my interlocutors in the village and in the SSfDP, the chances are slim to none that the Government will financially compensate a non-government or non-project employee to help disseminate knowledge by training other trainers. In fact, when Sefa is not training the youth in Lalomalava (for which he does not receive compensation) or tending to his own personal matters in the plantation or in the village, he is traveling pro bono with SSfDP field officers to help train youth or new village sports leaders in other neighboring villages. The rationale (by MESC) for this act of public service is that Sefa has benefited from the SSfDP, and is thus obligated to give back to the program by volunteering his time and helping to spread the knowledge he has gained.

training sessions, workshops, learn the rules of different sports, and have the opportunity to gain official coaching or refereeing credentials; they are then expected to teach these sports to the youth and/or other members of the village and to eventually develop a local infrastructure to support village sports leagues. Organizing inter-village sports competitions is the ultimate sign of SSfDP success. By employing similar language to describe his vision of village zumba (e.g., Lea can travel to Asau to teach zumba, zumba is sport because there are competitions and winners, etc.), Sefa's interpretation conjures, for all intents and purposes, a fundable image of rural sport for development as it should be and currently is practiced. As such, Sefa discursively conceals—although not so subtly in our conversation—the underlying interests (his "local speak") behind his fundable agenda and its points of divergence from a HITS/Government agenda (cf. Steiner-Khamsi, 2012).

Notably, however, Sefa does not interpret Lea's question of what comes next from a health perspective where intervention is expected to lead to a logical outcome: for example, after zumba then everyone in Lalomalava will become healthy—arguably, a legitimately fundable agenda in itself. Instead, in Sefa's mind, as well as many others, "what comes next" triggers a different kind of fundable agenda: one that ensures continued flows of resources and opportunities for prestige. This point is significant as it grants further insight into the competing interests that line the disjunctive space between doing zumba "right" (for health) and doing zumba "right" (for the village)—two very different kinds of zumba and two very different kinds of fundable agendas. Sefa's comment about the pastor's zumba helps to illuminate this significance further.

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Although the first SSfDP village on the outer island of Savai'i to have officially

"graduated" from village jazzercise (see Figure 26 above) to zumba, Lalomalava remains

unable to achieve the benefits of being the first to "have" zumba.[120] The problem,

according to Sefa, is that the pastor's zumba is not "real" village zumba. Even though the

pastor himself once explained to me that improving the health of the village was his (the

pastor's) primary motivation for "bringing" zumba from Apia to the village, for Sefa, the

pastor's zumba does not lend itself to a long-term fundable agenda. That is, without a

knowledgeable leader standing in front showing participants what to do, there is no

teaching component involved, no holding and sharing of knowledge to other villages;

people merely dance to music on their own. This model of pastor's zumba is thus not

conducive to distribution or dissemination—activities that signal one's wealth and one's

ability to mobilize resources, especially to others who do not possess what one is

distributing. In short, there is no next after pastor's zumba. Sefa therefore sees little

possibility for using the pastor's zumba (for health) to mobilize Government resources

for the village, let alone to bring prestige to the village for being the source of zumba

knowledge—or winners of zumba competitions. With my arrival in the village, however,

Sefa sees an opportunity to mobilize his authoritative interpretation of village zumba, the

right kind of zumba for the village. Appropriately, at least in this context, Sefa's regular

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[120] Indeed, MESC officials often applauded the village of Lalomalava for having taken the
initiative to move from jazzercise to zumba, a purportedly more intense and advanced form of dance
aerobics for which several select SSfDP staff were in the process of getting overseas qualifications and
certifications. MESC's plan was to eventually have its certified zumba instructors begin a train the trainers
scheme for those SSfDP villages expressing interest to "have" zumba next. Therefore, Sefa's opportunity to
learn zumba from me and for Lalomalava to have "real" zumba before the SSfDP offered it held multiple
prospects of bringing status to him and his village.

reminders that I have a social obligation to share my knowledge of zumba is part of his plan to: 1) offer the faifeʻau a better alternative, and 2) set in motion his fundable agenda.

While Sefa and I never did get village zumba kickstarted during my time in Lalomalava—in part due to a string of village faʻalavelave (funerals specifically) that occurred shortly after our conversation—our talk illustrates how he juggles public and hidden transcripts of village zumba for health and village zumba for the village. Through a strategic and discursive process of translation, Sefa converts his own and arguably his village's interests and motivations into the language and image of a fundable agenda, effectively controlling the interpretation of disjuncture. In this way, he defines an operational space in which his (and his village's) local sphere of autonomy is preserved and dominant HITS policy models are circulated and essentially sustained. However, as I will show next, this pattern of social work does not pass without critique.

"Paper Organizations" or a Politics of Love?

At the end of the vignette, Mikaele's final offhand remark about Sefa's zumba agenda being all talk and of no substance points to an emerging and, for some people, alarming trend in Samoan development practice. While I do not suggest in any way that Sefa or any of my interlocutors intended to abuse the development system or relationships with inter/national donors, I do make note that Sefa's fundable agenda is not an isolated case in which local actors imagine or put to strategic use development resources in unexpected and somewhat controversial ways. Indeed, throughout my field research, several of my interlocutors pointed to instances in which the underlying

motivations of individuals and/or organizations were impossible to negotiate away completely, resulting in public accusations of corruption, dishonesty, and deception.

Kainano, a high-ranking official in the Sport Division at MESC, provided me with a useful analytical metaphor with which to understand these cases of interpretation "failure" as well as to think about Sefa's translation of his own fundable agenda in new ways. Kainano described how Sāmoa has recently seen an influx of what he called "paper-only organizations," or organizations that exist on paper but are not active on the ground. These organizations, he explains, have completed all of their "paperwork"—that is, they have a constitution, a stated purpose and objectives, and have registered with the appropriate authorities or governing bodies. But, these organizations are not running regular activities. They have no participants or, worse, people are simply uninterested in participating. The people who start or run these organizations, he argues, are not willing to invest their own funds to jump start momentum behind their organization. Instead they rely on requesting money (or equipment) from more resourced and well networked organizations like MESC. Kainano suggests that these people and their organizations are playing politics with development (i.e., taking advantage of development resources, being driven by motivations unrelated to the development of sport), rather than engaging in politics for the purposes of development (i.e., using one's political leverage to develop sport, youth, or health). According to him, the former is bad politics and the latter is good politics.

Kainano's critical stance of paper organizations is understandable, especially since he is the person who is ultimately held accountable by international partners,

donors, and granting agencies for producing development outcomes and deliverables with the money and resources he distributes to such organizations. My observations, however, like the one captured by the vignette with Sefa, paint a slightly different politics driving such "paper-only organizations." For example, although intended to question Sefa's authenticity, Mikaele's skepticism about Sefa's plans reflects an ambivalent feeling toward an emerging infrastructure in local development practice that is shaped less by official policy goals (e.g., health) and more by what Mosse (2004) calls an organization's "system goals" (p. 653). These goals revolve around the maintenance and survival of the organization itself; for example, its rules and procedures, its administrative order, and its relationships of patronage (Mosse, 2005, pp. 103-104). In the case of rural Sāmoa, system goals take on some of the core tenets of the fa'asāmoa, including alofa (love) (see below), teu le vā (nurturing the social space of relationships), āva ma le fa'aaloalo (showing one's respect), and tautua (service to others) discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, lining the disjuncture between policy and practice, representations and realities—which some like Mikaele and Kainano interpret as problematic—is a kind of politics grounded in the logics of fa'asāmoa that renders intelligible the mobilization of resources, rather than the achievement of policy objectives, as a display of one's alofa and tautua. While it may appear that Sefa's motivations for pursuing village zumba are rooted in bad politics, Sefa's fundable agenda is driven by a politics of love.

In times when the distribution of wealth and material resources across extended families and villages has become more and more unequal, the concept of alofa (love) and reciprocating one's alofa is an important praxis of fa'asāmoa, especially as an expression

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of kinship. As access to scarce resources has become increasingly dependent upon individual success in local and global markets (whether or not by merit), the well-being of larger social units has also become highly entwined in the love individuals bear for, share with, and display toward their 'āiga. As was practiced in the past, production of resources were often distributed across families, albeit according to status. The sharing of resources was even more critical to the survival of extended families and whole villages in times of scarcity. Today, the expectation to demonstrate one's love and generosity persists and is captured best by a proverb my host mother in Lalomalava shared with me when describing those people who forget: Ua 'ai ulu tuana'i ta'isi, "When they were eating breadfruit [during a time of abundance], they forgot those who had fed them with yam cooked in leaves [during the famine]" (translation in Schultz, 1953/2008, p. 62). Today, many Samoans interpret this proverb as someone who has grown up poor in the village and then goes to Apia or overseas and becomes rich, but has forgotten to thank the people who supported him/her. Forgetting one's love of the 'āiga or failing to express one's love through tautua and reciprocity is like becoming corrupted, being un-Samoan, or as Tavita expressed, becoming empty (Chapter 6). The absence of love is not only a sign that one is ungrateful; it is also a source of shame for families and whole communities who have nothing to show from their children.

Sefa's fundable village zumba agenda can be interpreted as a paper organization, a fictitious or counterfeit organization in pursuit of resources and benefits rather than the development of sport, youth, or health. Or, his agenda can be interpreted as a platform on which to demonstrate his alofa and tautua to his village, mobilizing a form of indigenous

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development rooted in the values of redistribution, resource-sharing, and shared responsibility for and thus shared investment in the welfare of the ʻāiga and nuʻu (cf. Slatter, 2006). Extending the logics of faʻasāmoa into the realm of development, Sefa leverages his "insider" knowledge of the sport for development system (i.e., his knowledge of what is fundable) in order to mobilize resources and to bring prestige to his village. Regardless of which, though, the disconnect between dominant policy models and local practice forms an interpretive chasm which development actors like Sefa must work a great deal in order to manage and conceal.

Thinking back to the vignette, as Sefa translates—or, rather, retrofits—his interests into those more aligned with dominant policy models, his authoritative interpretation (the public transcript and global speak) of village zumba begins to take on the likeness of a simulacrum. That is, he constructs a copy that appears to outsiders, especially important stakeholders, to circulate SSfDP and ASOP goals (i.e., health, village leadership, capacity building, etc.). In reality, beneath the surface of this copy is a strategically distorted representation of a HITS agenda. Mosse (2004) describes this strategic misrepresentation as a process of mirroring, "whereby villagers shaped their needs to match project schemes and administrative systems [of donor organizations]—requesting only what was most easily delivered" (p. 652). In this way, what appears to be Sefa's eager "sport evangelism" (Giulianotti, 2004) is actually Sefa performing the organizational needs and ideologies of the SSfDP—MESC system goals—which he has incorporated into his own interpretive frameworks in order to redeploy when rationalizing, explaining, and legitimating local sport for development practice. By

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mirroring SSfDP processes and MESC goals and by translating his and his village's own fa'asāmoa system goals into a fundable agenda, Sefa appears to be circulating and stabilizing dominant HITS policy models. As a result, he is more likely to gain the Government's support and access to SSfDP resources while preserving his village's sphere of autonomy, its constitutive governing logics, and its hidden transcripts. A shift instigated by donor influence, as hinted by Melissa in the opening conversation of this chapter, may indeed be enough to incentivize a shift in local agendas. However, this shift would be merely discursive, as long-standing interests like raising the status of the village and mobilizing resources for the village are deeply embedded in local actors' spheres of action. Shifting policy agenda would simply retrofit the interpretive frameworks with which local actors use to represent their practice and space.

Fieldnote — Soccer Prize-Giving: Translating the Spectacle and the Target

Production

Figure 27. Two audiences at a soccer game: the local and the imagined. Source: Briggs, S. (2007, May 5). [Web log photo]. Retrieved from http://samoasally.blogspot.com/2007_05_01_archive.html.

After all the matches had been played, the four villages organized themselves on the field in four parallel lines—much in the fashion that young school children do at school assemblies according to year *[grades]*. We stood in the heat of the afternoon facing the officials' table under the school awning where the four gold trophies and stack of white envelopes were on display, waiting to be distributed. Litia *[Sefa's 26-year old adopted daughter]*, standing directly behind me, had pushed me to the front of our line *[the village of Lalomalava]*. Sefa stood in the back, as did the coaches of the other village teams in their respective lines. Sina *[my host mother in Lalomalava, who had just played on the SuperMix adult team with Litia and me]* elected to stand under the shade of the school building near the group of elderly matai who had been given seats around the officials' table. The other players of our SuperMix team were either gone, or were conducting the prize-giving ceremony. Apart from a few of today's players from the boys under-19 and girls' teams, our line was full of younger children and a few young women—spectators who had not played in any of the matches. Members of Lalomalava's senior boys team, who had been eliminated at Wednesday's semi-finals, were mostly absent.

From behind the officials' table, Pili *[president of the Savaii Soccer Federation (SSF), who also played on our SuperMix team]* gave a brief speech through the microphone in the formal register *[using the T-style rather than the colloquial K-style of speaking]*. He congratulated Lalomalava and the other villages for putting together today's program. "It isn't easy!" he reminded the audience and attending officials. Litia interrupted my concentration, whispering to me that she wished the officials would let us sit down; the sun was hot, she was tired from playing, and the speech was boring. Next, Pili introduced Iona *[a SSfDP officer who had traveled by boat from Apia early in the morning to attend the event with his team of Saleleloga-based field officers]* to say a few words on behalf of MESC and the SSfDP. As Iona stepped forward to the microphone, Pili put an unlit cigarette in his mouth and stepped back.

Iona spoke for less than five minutes, recognizing all the sponsors, thanking the Football Federation of Samoa (FFS) for providing the prizes, and applauding the newly formed SSF for coordinating the inter-village competitions that led up to today's event. Iona told the audience that he was pleased to see a "program" like today's, emphasizing the importance of "program ownership by the community." This is not the office's *[MESC's]* program, he said, but Lalomalava's program, Lano's program *[another village]*, your program. He also spoke about how today's program was not just for lenei aso (for today), but mo le lumana'i o tamaiti ma le nu'u (for the future of the children and the village). Wrapping up, he reminded us that sport has many benefits, including safeguarding us from diseases like ma'i suka (diabetes) and toto maualuga (high blood pressure).

Shortly thereafter, another presiding official announced the results of each division while Iona handed out trophies to team representatives. The final trophy went to the team from Lano, whose coach, a large man with a matai's belly, received on behalf of his senior boys team. The coach walked up to the officials' table with a serious expression on his face, chest out and chin raised, arms wide out to his side, walking as though each step were deliberate and important. His team was in an uproar of laughter. When he walked back the same way with trophy in hand, he paused in front of his line and in a loud voice with wide eyes and coordinated arm movements commanded his team to a cheer. Joining effortlessly and in perfect unison, they shouted together "Hip, hip! Hey!" The coach remained serious again until he reached his spot at the end of the line, where he joined his team in laughter.

After the trophies had been distributed, one of the officials announced additional prizes to the presiding officials, referees, and a few other individuals, including best player for each division and team captains. Iona handed envelopes of cash to the officials and referees, while Pili handed out two to three blue SAT 10.00 bills from a wad of cash he held in his left hand to the remaining prize receivers. Finally, officially ending the prize-giving, the inter-village soccer series, and the village soccer program, an elderly matai sitting with the officials

stood up to say a prayer thanking God for the day's blessings. Everyone then began to disperse.

The Performance and Consumption/Production of Policy: Public Transcripts for an

Imagined Audience

My observations at the prize-giving ceremony of the inter-village soccer finals in

Lalomalava offer a partial account of what appeared like the culminating performance of

any other major community sports event in the US: for example, brief speeches given by

community leaders-turned-event officials, an awards ceremony with the presentation of

prizes and trophies, competition rituals like the spatial separation of participants from

event organizers (and matai, adding a cultural component to the competition ritual), and

most importantly, the presence of an audience (cf. MacAloon, 1984, 2005). What was

different about this particular event, however, was the additional presence of

development actors (like Iona and his team) and the intentional yet ad-hoc promotion of

health and community development (SSfDP and HITS policy objectives), in a way

retrofitting the soccer tournament into a sport for development spectacle. Here, I use the

term "spectacle" not just to highlight the strategic staging or performance of HITS policy

by SSfDP actors. More significantly, I use the term as an analytical metaphor to bring to

light the different elements of this performance—namely the performers (SSfDP actors),

the spectators/consumers (an imagined inter/national audience), and the object of the

spectacle/consumption (the performance of a HITS policy world)—and the social work

necessary to successfully perform it.

It is important to note that there were arguably two kinds of spectators "watching"

the soccer tournament—or three, with me as the researcher. First, there was the local

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audience (in this case the tired soccer participants lined up like school children, their village entourages, and the small crowd from Lalomalava) that had been transformed for the purposes of the spectacle into passive consumers of HITS policy, recipients of messages about the importance of sport for their health, their futures, and the development of their villages. Their presence as the targeted, governable community legitimates the appearance of a functioning, circulating HITS governing apparatus. Second, and importantly for this metaphor of spectacle, was the imagined audience (in this case the inter/national sport for development spectator) that was envisioned to be evaluating the spectacle. Specifically, this audience was imagined by local actors like Iona to be in offices in Canberra or Apia watching the event vis-à-vis outcome descriptions and photos similar to Figure 27 above that would have been specially prepared for official SSfDP reports and might include captions like, "Villagers come together to promote healthier islands through sport in Samoa." This imagined audience, while physically and temporally removed, holds considerable amount of legitimating power over the SSfDP. Their dis/approval of the performance—of the appearance of the circulation and regulation of HITS policy—determines whether the SSfDP is deemed a success or a failure, and whether further allocation of resources by ASC or AusAID is warranted. Thus, it was the presence, opinion, and favorability of the inter/national spectator toward the SSfDP that necessitated local actors' performance of the public transcripts of a HITS policy world in the first place, as it is this audience for whom policy coherence and circulation matters (cf. Mosse, 2005; Scott, 1990). The "real" consumer of the spectacle, then, was the imagined sport for development spectator.

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The object of the spectacle, or the object of consumption being produced for the imagined audience, was the performance of a HITS policy world during the soccer tournament and its prize-giving ceremony—specifically its hegemonic discourses like "this is your program" (village leadership, local ownership), "this is for the children of the village" (youth development), and "this is for the benefit of your health" (sport for health). Referencing these public transcripts through this kind of global speak serves to direct the attention of the spectator (the imagined audience) away from the idiosyncrasies between local practice—which I will discuss momentarily—and dominant policy models. The performance therefore enabled SSfDP actors to manage and ultimately conceal the policy-practice disjuncture. Here, it is important to re-emphasize that HITS policy is not necessarily implemented but rather socially performed to such a degree that enough spectators can be convinced that it has been. The objective of the spectacle, after all, is for the imagined spectator to be able to come away with captioned photos and press-release-worthy quotes that provide evidence of successful policy circulation. That is, the goal was the production of a HITS policy "product" to international consumers of sport for development. The consumption of policy by the local audience, although of utmost importance to the idea of policy circulation, is a secondary priority in practice, if at all.

Successful performance cannot be assumed, especially since the spectacle brings together a highly diverse group of actors and participants each with their own unique understanding of the purpose and objectives of the event. Moreover, with multiple audiences (e.g., an imagined international one *and* an immediate, local one), actors must be prepared to translate and transform the spectacle in multiple ways in order to address

all of their interests simultaneously, or else risk losing their attention or worse, their participation. A failed performance, and therefore failed policy circulation, is, as Mosse (2005) writes, the result of an "inadequacy of translation and interpretation: from the inability [of actors] to recruit local [or international] interests, or to connect actions/events to policy or to sustain politically viable models of representation" (p. 232).

A good example of this was Pili's ceremonial speech delivered in the formal register of respect and in the mode of a matai recognizing and thanking the efforts of those who put on the day's production—a custom observed at most formal gatherings in Sāmoa and an expectation of attending matai (chief). But then Pili's casual insertion of a cigarette into his mouth struck a sudden cord of dissonance and incongruity, not necessarily for the local audience but for the imagined sport for development spectator. While his speech addressed the conventions of Samoan ceremony, his brief transgression—smoking is clearly not a "healthy" behavior endorsed by a HITS policy world—could have seriously disrupted the performance of HITS policy had members of the imagined audience actually been physically present—or his smoking image memorialized in the background of a report photo. This hiccup, combined with the examples raised in the next section, reflect the highly variable and inconsistent performance of the spectacle throughout the day's program, affirming that the local consumption of HITS policy was not the central objective of the event, but rather the strategic production of its public transcripts. It also signaled Pili's own peripheral position to the SSfDP, which might help explain his "inadequate" performance of the

public transcripts of a HITS policy world, even though he performed his role as a person of authority, both as a village matai and the SSF president, exceptionally well.

An important condition of successful performance, then, is the dual task of: 1) translating policy objectives (public transcripts) into the practical interests (hidden transcripts) of one's local audience—after all, they are the ones who must be willing to co-participate in the spectacle; *and* 2) translating what transpired among the public back into the hegemonic discourses of one's imagined audience. From this perspective, peripheral actors like Pili are insufficiently positioned to perform this work of "circulation"—even though the circulation is of an object strategically transformed in the process. Rather, this work is best performed by skilled "policy brokers," such as community leaders like Sefa from the earlier vignette or SSfDP officers like Iona, who are familiar with both the public and hidden transcripts of policy and practice, and can therefore speak in the different registers of their different stakeholders, including those in the office and those in the village. In doing so, policy and its *apparent* consumption by (and thus circulation through) a targeted community are made real for an imagined audience.

Target Production and a Program Mentality: Hidden Transcripts of the Local Audience

Behind this performance of policy lies a different kind of circulation, this time of the hidden transcripts that set in motion local practices of sport for development "programs" in Sāmoa. As mentioned earlier, an important condition of successfully performing policy is to translate policy objectives into the local, practical interests, priorities, and ambitions of a local audience—or, "local speak" (cf. Steiner-Khamsi,

2012). By recruiting participation by a local audience this way, SSfDP actors can present a viable representation of policy circulation—without an audience, it would be hard to justify such an interpretation. In the fieldnote excerpt, however, members of the local audience who *appeared* to be the primary consumers of HITS policy were in reality more like uninvolved and, perhaps to some degree, unknowing participants in SSfDP actors' social production of HITS policy. In other words, the local audience was as much imagined by HITS policy actors to be governed by HITS policy as they were involved in the production of hegemonic discourse. What were they doing at the soccer tournament then? Instead of participating as passive consumers of HITS policy or bystanders of policy performance, I suggest that they, along with SSfDP actors, were in the process of actively translating and transforming the soccer tournament into the social production of a development "program" guided by the logics of what scholar Penelope Schoeffel (1995, p. 84) calls "target production."

Briefly, in her work on agricultural and fisheries development in the Pacific, Schoeffel (1995) introduces the idea of target production to help explain how communities in the Pacific tend to mobilize collective resources toward a specific target goal rather than to achieve large-scale social or economic change. She contrasts these short-term "target projects" to the more long-term development projects typically promoted by development donors and consultants as a means of transforming village livelihoods into more economically self-sufficient ones. Long-term, sometimes large-scale projects, Schoeffel argues, tend to fail in the Pacific because the immediate cash-demands of locality motivate Pacific Island communities to collectively pursue other

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kinds of economic activities over those prescribed by development actors—like migration overseas or to the urban area rather than the pursuit of small-scale commercial fishing in the village. Accordingly, developing a fishing specialization, for example, is not likely to be pursued by many Pacific Island communities because commercial fishing, even at a small scale, is not perceived to be profitable, especially by those villages lacking a fisheries infrastructure (like storage freezers, collection vessels, adequate transportation, a or a reliable and consistent market). She posits instead that communities are more likely to pursue fishing as a temporary economic activity that can be fitted into the category of service to the community. For example, a village is more likely to engage in fishing when the cash profits made from their catch can be put toward a common goal, like building a multipurpose fale (building) for the village, creating a travel fund for the ʻautalavou (youth group), or paying back a village development loan. The point is that fishing, as an example of an income-generating activity, is pursued temporarily and may cease once the project goal has been accomplished. In this way, target projects and their economic activities are not necessarily pursued as part of village-wide efforts to create sustainable change; rather, as several of my interlocutors put it, "it's all for show," especially for a neighboring village competing for prestige. In this framework, economic activities like fishing are thus pursued to achieve specific (cash) targets that demonstrate a village's economic prowess and their ability to mobilize resources on demand or by command.

It is important to note that the logics driving such target production, as theorized by Schoeffel (1995) and described to me by my interlocutors, are grounded in long-standing practices of resource production triggered by village-wide faʻalavelave—in this

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case, things like village-wide ritual exchange obligations or annual religious giving

events (cf. Gershon, 2012; Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009a, 2011; Shore, 1982).

These faʻalavelave often require both large-scale mobilization of increasingly cash-

intensive, transnational resources and their subsequent ritual presentation, a process

which publicly links a village's status to their resources. Many such faʻalavelave,

especially those that recur on an annual basis, oftentimes place villages in competition

with other villages. Today, with the increasing presence of development organizations in

rural villages by way of development programs, the logics of target production have

extended into what I would call a "polokalame mentality," literally a program mentality,

where the mobilization of village resources are targeted at the production or the

performance of a particular development program.[121] While traditionally reward for

contributing one's labor in the target production of resources was not expected

(Schoeffel, 1995), when applied in an environment of development, participation in and

the successful production of development programs have become increasingly associated

with "rewards" that go beyond the mere achievement of prestige and social standing.

Specifically, successful production of development programs has been linked to the

continued mobilization of external resources for the village, including but not limited to

cash, equipment, and relationships with development partners.

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[121] While not limited to contemporary development programs, I also observed this program-oriented target production applied in church and village settings, like special biblical performances in observance of a religious holiday or ʻautalavou (youth) fundraisers. My interlocutors would refer to these out-of-the-ordinary productions as "programs" that required the mobilization of specific groups of people (e.g., youth) during a highly concentrated period of time (usually one-week to one-month prior) in order to develop a program (e.g., a skit or a siva [dance]) that would be performed or delivered on the day of the event, after which the group would be dissolved and activities would return to normal. It is this orientation to "programs"—which have clear beginnings and endings—that I highlight in my adaptation of Schoeffel's (1995) discussion of target production.

In my field research in Lalomalava and Sale‘imoa, I often heard community

leaders as well as young children, talk about sport for development programs coming to

the village in terms like, "Cricket is coming!," "Voli [volleyball] is coming!," or "Netball

is coming!" It was as though the coming of these sports signaled the commencement of a

new program, setting in motion a new cycle of program production—not to mention a

timbre of excitement at the prospects of having something new and global in the village.

Each sport program, although unique in terms of the specific activities implemented,

followed a similar "program" process beginning with the training workshops led by sport

federation representatives (see Chapter 1 for example), followed by a period in which

Village Sport Leaders were left to run and develop the sport on their own, and then

culminating in an event (like a soccer tournament or participation in a jazzercise

competition) that demonstrated the village's efforts at taking on the specific sport.

Successful production of the sport for development program meant continued flows of

resources from development partners; whereas failed production risked suspension from

development resources or the awarding of the program (and its resources) to another

village—similar logics as those guiding SSfDP actors' task of performing policy

circulation discussed earlier.[122] While it was the task of key actors like Iona to conceal

the hidden transcripts guiding local practice and to translate practice back into the official

public transcripts of dominant policy models (in this case, HITS policy) for the imagined

audience; members of the local audience directed their roles and responsibilities toward

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[122] Indeed, several months after a FFS training session I attended in a village in northwestern
‘Upolu, SSfDP officials told me that they had recently threatened to leave this village if leadership did not
begin to implement the training they received and run soccer programs in their village.

the practical interests more relevant to their priorities within the production of the soccer "program."

Two examples best illuminate these hidden transcripts, or rather the logics and demands driving the target production of the soccer tournament: 1) the importance of sports shoes, and 2) the distribution of food. These examples not only help illustrate the practical interests, priorities, and ambitions of the local audience, but also how consumption of HITS policy was almost entirely absent from the target production agenda.

First, throughout the day of the soccer tournament I noted an apparent focus by my interlocutors on whether or not one had sports shoes to play in. For instance, earlier in the day, Litia had come to relay a message from Malae, my host father, to me on the field where I was watching the under-19 boys' game. She told me I should go home to get my sports shoes and to be prepared to play for our village's SuperMix adult team. On our brief walk home together, she explained to me that she needed to find herself a pair of sports shoes as well because she too had been told to play for the SuperMix team. Later, I would find her not wearing her everyday rubber jandals (slippers or flip flops, which cost only a few tala), but wearing Mikaele's well-worn black and neon pink cleats, which had been taped up with black tape to keep the soles from falling off. Back at home, Sina was inside her room inspecting herself in a full-length mirror, carefully placing a baseball cap over her hair, which she always wore up in a bun. She was dressed in a pair of black knee-length leggings, a t-shirt, and white sports shoes—an ensemble she would not

typically have worn outside of her residence.[123] When I returned to the field with Sina and Litia, I found Malae dressed similarly in sports wear—again, something I had not seen him wear before, even when coaching the village rugby boys. He also had on a pair of black cleats borrowed from one of Lalomalava's under-19 soccer boys.

Here, Litia's, Sina's, and Malae's sports shoes marked their active participation in the social production of the soccer program, where it was also acceptable to wear things like leggings and shorts without a lavalava (wrap around skirt) to cover up. That is, wearing sport shoes was part of what one does when attending sport programs; it signaled a different set of (globally-oriented) body practices and ("non-traditional" and sometimes very pricey) body wear unlike those practiced or worn when participating in, for example, a village-organized Bingo fundraiser or a church-centered ritual exchange. Not wearing sports shoes—which I observed widely, especially among the younger players— meant one's participation was artificial or not serious, and hence one's role in the production of the soccer program marginal. As I later found out, not having sports shoes even discouraged some youth from participating, period. Atini, for example, my eldest host brother who had been a regular at evening soccer practices until just a few days prior to the tournament, passed me by on the field shortly before the SuperMix match. I asked him whether he was going to play with us; he tersely replied no, complaining that he needed new sports shoes. The stitching he had done with fishing wire the other day was not enough to hold the soles together. I suggested that he play in his bare feet as some of the under-19 boys had done in the morning, but he immediately shrugged off the idea and

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[123] Most women and men in the villages do not leave their residences without a lavalava, or a piece of patterned fabric worn like a wrapped skirt usually over a pair of shorts.

hurried on as though insulted. Sports shoes not only indicated one's ability to afford these expensive status commodities—sports shoes could run easily over SAT $200 (approximately USD $87.80) in Apia—but also the quality of one's relationships. Litia and Malae were each able to locate a pair of spare shoes to borrow; Litia was on good terms with Mikaele, and Malae was a chief requesting shoes from a youth. Atini, however, whose history of epileptic seizures and occasional violent outbursts against other village youth had positioned him somewhat to the margins of village social circles. His inability to locate a pair of spare shoes not only gave away his financial status, but also his social status. While it was common to see youth of all ages playing informal games of rugby, soccer, or volleyball in bare feet—sometimes even in jandals—the production of the soccer tournament, and perhaps the presence of other competing villages, transformed this sport event into one that held a degree of formality and thus social stakes. One's active participation, at least for some members of the local audience, meant being able to display one's ownership of specific kinds of goods; in other words, it was "all for show."

The second example centers on the food distributed during the game. While key actors like the master of ceremonies and Iona emphasized throughout the tournament and during prize-giving that the tournament was about the promotion of healthier lifestyles, the "offstage" practices reflected a different understanding of health grounded in social relationships maintained through the distribution of (high-status) food. When the tournament paused for lunch, a female official from a neighboring village left her post to meet a group of men who were entering the field with cardboard trays of Shasta cans of

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orange soda and plastic bags of Uncle Bill's take away boxes (similar to Kentucky Fried Chicken). The official and a few other adults from her village then distributed the Uncle Bill's boxes and canned soda to the attending officials and matai sitting at the officials' table under the school awning. One woman came over to where Malae and I were sitting nearby and gave us a box each—one to Malae because of his role organizing the tournament as the president of Lalomalava's Village Sports Council, and one to me as Malae's foreign guest. Inside our boxes were french fries and an assortment of fried meat.

A few minutes later, a group of young men and boys walked across the field from their village's "camp" near the pastor's house. Under the shade of the trees, this competing village had set up several large industrial size pots and coolers on the tailgate of a white pickup truck. The entourage carried stacks of styrofoam plates each wrapped in tin foil, and distributed them to some of the same individuals who had received Uncle Bill's boxes as well as to remaining matai who had not received take away boxes. Later I found the contents of these plates to include a large helping of sapasui (Samoan chop sui, usually made of cellophane noodles, chicken pieces, cabbage, and soy sauce), white rice, and sosisi (sausage). Clearly not motivated by HITS policy notions of healthy food (oftentimes epitomized as fruits and vegetables), this provision and distribution of food was an important gesture of respect and reciprocity by the participating villages to those in positions of authority attending and organizing the soccer program. A common sight at most organized village-wide or inter-village events in Sāmoa, the distribution of such "international" foods that signal status and wealth locates the soccer tournament in a larger repertoire of target projects where villages must mobilize and distribute their

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resources as a sign of their collective strength. As such, members of the local audience translated and transformed the soccer tournament into a kind of faʻalavelave (ritual exchange), where in return for their respect they were presented with prizes, cash, and social recognition. In many ways, this translation de-centers soccer and any sport for development agenda from the spotlight and centers, instead, the collective performance of all the component pieces of the "program," including the distribution of food and the reciprocation of this display of respect, as well as the more minute elements like speaking in the formal T-register or the manner in which the Lano coach received his team's trophy. Whether these soccer collectives dissolve after the soccer tournament, like the fishing collectives earlier, or are redirected to another target project, perhaps Sefa's anticipated inter-village zumba competition, remains to be seen.

Reviewing the soccer prize-giving fieldnote again reveals how the circulation and stabilization of a HITS policy world happens quite precariously and oftentimes in a sphere quite separate from that which members of the local audience occupy. While sport for development "programs" are implemented in villages, they unfold in communities of practice—or, "communities of sentiment" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 8)—where local interests, priorities, ambitions, and imaginaries take precedence over prescribed agendas. Local development officers like Iona thus find themselves, their discourses, and their interpretive frameworks shift according to whom they present themselves: in this case, their imagined audience and their local audience (cf. Baaz, 2005; Crewe & Harrison, 1998, Steiner-Khamsi, 2012). They are not divorced from the social, cultural, political,

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and economic contexts in which they are multiply located, and are thus implicated in the social production of target projects just as they are in the social performance of HITS policy's public transcripts. Nonetheless, it is in their interests as policy brokers positioned in both social worlds to sustain dominant policy models *and* the autonomous spheres of action in which they and their communities are socially and politically immersed.

While members of the local audience are "recruited" to participate in the performance of HITS policy and the SSfDP program, they are really participating in a production that has been so translated and transformed that it resembles little the original—much like Sefa's simulacrous fundable agenda from the previous section on village zumba. Indeed, the examples above demonstrate how the local logics, or hidden transcripts, behind local practice can often be far removed from or at odds with those driving dominant policy models—like showing off one's ownership of sport shoes or distributing high-status (but "unhealthy") food as a sign of respect. In many cases, it is a wonder that local (and international) SSfDP actors can create a cohesive image of policy circulation at all, given the extent to which their targeted policy consumers (e.g., village youth and those villagers not already in positions of leadership) were not consistently present to "receive" policy. For example, the girls from Lalomalava who played in the 3rd-place game were not even the same girls who attended evening soccer practices during the week. And, instead of warming up ourselves before we played in our SuperMix match, a group of younger boys and girls from the village were performing (or rather playing) our warm-up drills for us in the sun. Finally, during the prize-giving ceremony when Iona officially delivered the health messages to the audience, those standing in

Lalomalava's line were not all the same individuals who participated in the soccer matches during the day. A key irony here is that in the target production of the soccer program—where the performance of specific components of the program are important—the individual bodies participating in the production are anonymous and interchangeable, with the exception of important figures of authority like the matai, the coaches, and the organizing officials. In other words, it was as though it did not matter who was in the audience as long as there *was* an audience for show. But for hegemonic policy to be successfully circulated and to eventually govern individual bodies and entire populations, it is often assumed that recipients of policy ideology would at least be the same individuals who consistently receive and then internalize policy over time. This slippage indexes key dynamics in a discussion of policy hegemony and its circulation and regulation, but is unfortunately beyond the scope of this chapter.

Conclusions: Guaranteeing Success 'Where the Energy Is'

The two ethnographic examples in this chapter (village zumba and the soccer prize-giving) demonstrate how local SSfDP actors navigate between two co-existing social worlds of sport for development. Specifically, these examples highlight the kind of social work local actors must engage in order to sustain a strategic buffer of misrepresentation between inter/national sport for development stakeholders and local spheres of autonomous practice. After all, it is the sociocultural logics and demands of locality, especially those oriented around the maintenance of social relations, that are brought to life in the practice of sport for development in Sāmoa. These hidden transcripts are what shape and transform prescribed HITS policy and SSfDP

programming into something recognizable and familiar; they are also the source of policy-practice disjuncture which development actors must work to conceal. As such, successful policy is not necessary implemented, nor is it circulated; rather success is determined by the ability of actors to employ public transcripts to translate local practice back "up" to policy stakeholders. Failure of policy is thus a failure of representation (Mosse, 2005).

It is important to reiterate that in adapting Mosse's (2005) framework for understanding policy in practice, the ethnographic question is not *whether* the SSfDP is successful, but rather *how* its heterogeneous elements—its people, ideas, transcripts, etc.—are brought together to compose a material and imagined world of development success. But because social processes of translation and composition are so tenuous, and are easily disrupted by alternative interpretive frameworks like "paper organizations" or by the idiosyncrasies of local practice, policy brokers like Sefa and Iona are tasked with identifying ways to minimize failure and, essentially, to guarantee success (Mosse, 2005). As such, it is important to see how local SSfDP actors are not necessarily driven by HITS policy or by the desire to achieve SSfDP objectives, but rather by the need to maintain relationships (and flows of resources) between MESC and the ASC/ASOP. Local SSfDP actors do this not only through their strategic interpretations of practice and performance of public transcripts, as illustrated in this chapter, but also in terms of where they turn their attention, or more specifically to *whom* they turn their attention.

For instance, both the vignette and fieldnote examples in this chapter were taken from my field research conducted in Lalomalava, the model village and success story of

the SSfDP.[124] In the history of the program, however, especially during initial

implementation of SSfDP in the peri-urban villages of northwestern 'Upolu like my first

field site in Sale'imoa, program failure was more often the norm. As a result of this

failure—or, rather, the "lack of involvement from the locals" (ASC, 2010, para. 3)—

SSfDP officers responded with a "new approach to community engagement" (para. 1).

Under this new approach, local and international SSfDP officers often spoke to me about

the importance of selecting SSfDP villages, and particularly in terms of going "where the

energy is" (para. 9). The string of failure in northwestern 'Upolu meant they could not

afford the risks involved in haphazardly "giving" the SSfDP to any village; instead they

needed to guarantee participation, something which they now capture in the form of a

partnership agreement signed by key decision-makers in their operating villages. In this

way, if anything goes wrong with their programs, SSfDP actors can blame the village

partner for not delivering their programs effectively—a topic which emerged many times

in my conversations with community leaders, but is unfortunately beyond the scope of

this chapter. What is important here, though, is the extent to which development actors go

to maintain the facade of a hegemonic policy world and thus to remain in good favor with

their stakeholders. As Mosse (2005) writes, "the wider politics of 'success' ensure[s] that

fieldworkers and managers hard-pressed to meet targets, spend budgets and produce signs

of progress [are] willing to accept the better off as their target group (self-presented as the

poor). After all, these [make] for easier/better participants, they [are] more cooperative

and aware; […] and they [are] rich in 'the capacity to aspire' (Appadurai 2004), that is to

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[124] In fact, the success of Lalomalava's program resulted in the ASC agreeing to fund a large portion of the costs incurred in the building a multi-purpose court in the village.

connect the needs to wider goals and external policy objectives" (p. 211). These politics

of success contour the landscape of sport for development in Sāmoa, but they are easily

overshadowed by shortsighted anecdotes about the power of sport to change lives.

Yet, in pointing out how local SSfDP actors attempt to guarantee success and to

socially control the interpretation of events on the ground, I do not wish to suggest that

inter/national actors turn a blind eye to reality or are duped into false consciousness.

Development practice has not only been increasingly held accountable by monitoring and

evaluation processes; it has also been subject to both academic and popular critique by

neoliberal development scholars, conservative politicians, as well as a disgruntled

populace (cf. Hughes, 2003, 2012; Radio Australia, 2009).[125] Projects do occasionally fail

or are deemed ineffective, and funding streams and resource flows do get suspended if

not terminated completely. My point, however, is to draw attention to the myriad ways in

which development actors attempt to guarantee success in order to maintain strategic

relationships with important development partners. Furthermore, with sport for

development organizations becoming increasingly funded and supported by the

international sport industry, transnational corporations, and supranational organizations,

the stakes in making sport for development work appear exponentially higher. It is not

only in the interest of development actors in Sāmoa and Australia to circulate HITS

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[125] Indeed, the newly elected Labor government in Australia announced amidst growing neoconservative public critique of foreign aid (cf. Hughes, 2003) that it would be absorbing AusAID into the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and that it would be subsequently slashing its foreign aid budget by AUD $4.5 billion (roughly USD $4.2 billion) between 20014 and 2019. The potential impact on AusAID's relationship with the ASC and their joint ASOP initiatives around the Pacific Islands is uncertain at this time.

policy; it is in the interest of a global network of institutions to sustain the sport for development complex it has created.

By this nature, the operational politics and interpretive strategies illustrated in this chapter suggest that development actors like Melissa and Iona are unlikely to engage in critical self-reflection about the nature, purpose, and vision of their programs, approaches, and policy frameworks. Instead, they are pre-occupied with managing representations of their policy world and hence the survival of their organizations. They are more likely to ask questions like, "Why did the program fail?," "What was wrong with that village?," or "What do we need to do better in order to produce our desired outcomes?" than they are to ask questions like, "What about sport and development did we get fundamentally wrong?" (cf. Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Maiava & King, 2007). In this way, one can begin to discern that the idea of creating healthier islands through sport is as much about the endorsement and propagation of hegemonic discourses that create the appearance of unified political and social order as it is about health, development, or social change. Instead of unsettling deeper structures of inequality and relations of power that have perpetuated the marginality and (athletic) exploitation of, for example, young Samoan men, the social processes involved in maintaining policy-practice disjuncture are actually helping to thicken the mist created by dominant sport for development discourse. As a result, critical attention to the gendered, socioeconomic, and geopolitical realities shaping, for example, alternative career options, educational pathways, migration routes, or even notions of masculinity and manhood is further thwarted. As seen in the chapters in Part 2 of this dissertation, these concerns—almost entirely removed from a HITS

policy framework or the objectives of the SSfDP—are what currently drive the

production of "healthy" bodies through sport in Sāmoa.

Chapter 9. Sport for Development in Policy and Practice: A Conclusion

Sport in the Development Imagination

As of 2013, in its 5th rendition, the Beyond Sport Summit continues to be one of sport for development's most celebrated self-congratulatory platforms, attracting some of the world's biggest celebrities in sport (including athletes, organizations, and corporations) and bringing them together with select representatives of sport NGOs[126] from the global South in locations around the world. Other celebratory platforms have also recently emerged, including Australia's Sport Matters conference, a one-day event celebrating the impact of sport for development in its operating countries.[127] And, in August 2013, the United Nations with the International Olympic Committee officially proclaimed April 6 the International Day of Sport for Development and Peace, ensuring that every year is marked with at least one day to celebrate the power of sport and the value of "placing sport in the service of humanity" (Rogge, 2013). Given this positive international climate, one could easily be led to believe that there is an unassailable link between the deployment of sport and the achievement of development goals. However, as the vertical case study in this dissertation has illuminated, the disjunction between internationally conceived sport imaginaries, policies, and programs and those that emerge on the ground seem more widespread than their assumed connections.

As (already) local practice, sport for development in Sāmoa is contoured by a landscape of actors and imaginaries, hopes and intentions, ideologies and geographies of

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[126] Registration costs between USD $495 to $5,000 to attend the three-day event, depending on whether one represents an NGO, charity, non-profit or a business or corporation. Delegates of short-listed award-nominated programs are given registration waivers and travel support.
[127] Registration for this one-day event is AUD $220 (approximately USD $209.95).

power different than that constructed by inter/national development policy. I have argued

that sport as an indigenous development practice is filled with an alternative social life

guided by the sociocultural logics of the fa'asāmoa (the Samoan way), including alofa

(love), fa'aaloalo (respect), and teu le vā (the nurturing of social space), and the

socioeconomic and political demands of locality, particularly as they relate to reciprocal

exchange obligations. At the center of this social life is the well-being of the 'āiga

(family) rather than the welfare of the nation-state. The muscularization of the body is a

reclamation of masculinity, a restoration of pathways to manhood and pule (authority), a

sign of transnational success, and a means of navigating an increasingly uneven global

political economy; it is not a sign of achieving a responsibilized, disciplined, healthy Self

or a means of becoming more economically productive for an economically burdened

country. And sport, rather than serving as an enjoyable pastime for all is, instead, one's

ticket overseas, an alternative form of education "outside," and a means of tautua

(service) to the 'āiga. This development imaginary not only locates Samoans, especially

Samoan male youth, on the fringes of a borderless, rapidly expanding world; it also roots

them deeply in an enduring trans-Pacific history of development that transcends

international boundaries (cf. Hau'ofa, 1993/2008; Maiava & King, 2007). As Samoan

families respond to contemporary processes of globalization, modernization, and

urbanization—and the emergence of phenomena like unemployment and social

deviance—their gendered readings of the possibilities and limitations for their children to

thrive in a changing society balance precariously between "traditional" (school-based)

and "alternative" (sport-based) routes of social mobility and definitions of success and achievement.

It is important to remember, too, that the sport-based futures my interlocutors referenced are socially constructed imaginaries, just as innercity African American male youth, non-governmental sport evangelists, well-intended policymakers, or even check-book wielding corporate executives imagine sport as a tool to change lives and circumstances. None of these sport for development imaginaries, however, are wholly hegemonic over populations. For example, as I illustrated in Chapter 6, many parents and matai (chiefs) in Sāmoa, whom one might assume would have jumped on the prospects of achieving millennial success through sport for their families and villages, were often highly ambivalent about replacing schooling with athletic pursuits, prioritizing an individual's ambitions over the well-being of the collective, or releasing a child from the care of immediate kin. Community leaders in Lalomalava often expressed their feelings of disappointment but understanding of families who would not allow their athletically gifted sons (and daughters) to train with a development league in Apia because this meant losing a laborer in the family, not being able to watch over them (daughters) closely, or risking moral corruption from the influences of urban lifestyle. The demands of daily life and the gendered and sociocultural expectations of youth sometimes ironically trump the athletic fancies of the imagination, even if it promises material prosperity, social prestige, and an extended transnational network of kin. Sport for development imaginaries, then, are more like loosely anchored development ideologies than authoritative commonsense (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991).

Also, as a "resource for hope" (Jarvie, 2007, p. 411) for young men left behind rapid by socioeconomic change in Sāmoa, sport was often enshrouded by a similar optimistic silver bullet language that I witnessed in Chicago at the Beyond Sport Summit. Although the sport discourses of my interlocutors in Sāmoa were grounded in local realities, they, like their inter/national counterparts, often failed to mention the gamble they, as educational administrators, community leaders, and government officials, were taking on the futures of these young men's lives. Not only a resource for hope, sport in the development imagination also positioned the bodies of young Samoan men at the center of a global politics of hope (Besnier, 2012) with the odds of making it to an international professional league stacked far against them (cf. Shehu, 2010). Moreover, these young men, particularly those actively pursuing sport and its muscularizing body practices, constantly put their bodies physically on the line, risking long-term injury and bodily destruction with little resources to fall back on if their careers end prematurely or fail to take off (cf. Uperesa, 2010). As a form of "development education" (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1991)—as schooling "outside"—young men, especially in rural Sāmoa, were given a reason not to attend school, putting them further in positions of disadvantage and perpetuating the notion that they are most valuable vis-à-vis the strength of their bodies.

While this focus on their bodies may extend traditional notions of Samoan masculinity and these young men's social identities as members of the ʻaumāga (group of untitled men), it also extends historic flows of physical labor from the islands to the metropolitan centers of the global economy. In no way near the extreme forms of exploitation and trafficking of the "blackbirding" days of yesteryear (Field, 2013),

today's tracking of young Samoan men away from school and into sports like rugby (and

American football in American Samoa) nonetheless helps to reify transnational relations

of power as young Samoan men, and their other Pacific Islander counterparts, come to

depend on the decisions of scouts and managers for Australian and New Zealand clubs in

order to fulfill their hopes and achieve their imagined futures. Meanwhile, these

international clubs, their national sport personalities, and even many Samoans themselves

have come to view the islands as sports' "golden fields." Here, I quote Samoan journalist

Aigaletaulele'a F. Tauafiafi at length:

> Samoa […] is sports mad with an abundance of high end sports talent. Like its
> soil, throw a seed anywhere and a perfect plant will grow with little rain or care.
> With sports, introduce it and the population somehow morphs naturally and
> instinctively to play hockey, baseball, tiddlywinks whatever the sport may be.
> This seemingly magical trait is so common sports scouts from across the seas
> literally trip over raw nuggets of talent peppering Samoa's side streets and
> backwaters. Talent that usually takes thousands of dollars to culture and farm
> under strict conditions back in their homeland. (Tauafiafi, 2010, p. 12).

While the language in this excerpt is fraught with metaphor richness for an extensive

discursive analysis, I have only had the opportunity to point out for now the degree to

which sport for development in Sāmoa is an inherently translocal and transnational

endeavor. Young Samoan men may aspire to play for the national Manu Samoa, but

"real" success in this imaginary is being spot by an international scout and making it to

overseas to a team like the New Zealand All Blacks. Echoing the global narratives of

sport migration and athletic farming in the global South (cf. Darby, Akindes, & Kirwin,

2007; Finkel, Martin, Paley, & Solotaroff, 2011)—and to some extent even the social

mobility narratives among socially and economically marginalized groups of young

African American males in the US (cf. Hoberman, 1997; Kusz, 2001)—the key here is the link between transnational migration and remittances.

For Samoans and other populations "on the edge of the global" (Besnier, 2011), migration provides direct economic connection to the industrialized economies that have profited most from globalization—and a history of imperialism and colonial exploitation (Firth, 2000; Poirine, 1998). Sport migration and the creation of wealth from nothing (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000) thus "creates a flow of resources in the opposite direction from the normal one" (Firth, 2000, p. 191), making the export of athletic talent that "peppers" the side streets and backwaters of Sāmoa one of its greatest comparative advantages in a global political economy connected by global trade (Chappell, 2013; Poirine, 1998). However, given the likelihood of success, the notion that one can choose this economic future is as much a "magical trait" of a sport for development imaginary as the idea that athletic talent can be grown with little rain or care. Narratives like these further entrench Samoan men in a pipedream that leads them to trickle out of more practical pathways of mobility at even greater speeds, not to mention turning their hope unrealistically to powerful nations more intent on winning international tournaments than providing economic opportunities for those whose talent they reap. The aura of admiration surrounding successful sport migrations (e.g., the story of the Tuilagi brothers in Chapter 5) and the esteem placed on those who use sport for the development of their 'āiga and nu'u (village) only serves to further obscure these politics and to mystify the realities and conditions of success.

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Re-Theorizing a Relationship Between Policy and Practice

The disconnect between the world of sport for development imagined and practiced by my interlocutors in Sāmoa and the world of sport for development praised by inter/national actors gathered in conventions, working groups, and policymaking sessions begs a retheorization of the relationship between policy and practice. Dominant discourse around sport for development, as deconstructed in Chapter 3, makes it appear as though the employment of a sport governing apparatus should result in predictable and inevitable outcomes. In this "ideal" policy world, a governing apparatus would enroll a network of governing institutions to circulate and regulate its policy world down a chain of actors. It would then extend its hegemony over an unruly population of failed bio-citizens, governing over, disciplining, and transforming their bodies through their own internalization of policy discourse, assumptions, and ideologies until naturalized as "incontestable, inviolable and beyond political debate" commonsense (Shore & Wright, 1997, p. 24).

However, as illustrated above and at length in the ethnographic chapters in Part 2, the hegemony of (HITS) policy in practice is questionable, its circulation and regulation nominal, and its presence in the everyday consciousness of Samoans doubtful. Targeted populations like those in Lalomalava are not introduced to policy worlds as empty slates; rather, they are entangled in a complex web of identities, obligations, responsibilities, priorities, and expectations. As such, concepts like sport, health, and development are not new but incredibly "local," carrying their own sets of meaning and value. They are shaped by the demands of locality and imagined to be achieved by doing specific things

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(like wearing a kit and sports shoes, consuming protein powder, or mobilizing and distributing resources) *and* to achieve specific objectives (like traveling overseas, building muscle, or raising the status of the family). The introduction of policy and programs like HITS or SSfDP, therefore, must interact and compete with existing understandings of sport, health, and development, and often do so in unexpected ways. While HITS policy, as presented in Chapter 3, may appear to be monolithic, in reality it is fragmented, its dominance perpetuated only through local actors' strategic but variable performance of its public transcripts. Policy coherence, as I argued in Chapter 8, is the result of a tenuous process of social interpretation and political composition by local (and inter/national) development actors who act as policy brokers supporting the survival of two very disconnected social worlds.

Long-term ethnographic engagement combined with critical analysis of policy discourse not only enables one to see how policy and practice are disengaged, disconnected, and disjointed. They also enable one to see how actors habitually imagine activities and their contexts very differently, and how they systematically and tactfully navigate a development system in order to preserve existing fields of action, maintain relationships, and sustain flows of resources. To label the actions of actors like Malae, Sefa, or Iona as resisting hegemonic development policy is perhaps overstating their intentions and ignores both the social and material contexts in which they are located and the system of ideas and values in which they are motivated (Crewe & Harrison, 1998). Rather than resistance, I have argued that local actors are strategically drawing on HITS policy as well as SSfDP objectives as an interpretive framework to explain local practice

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in ways that appear to be coherent with dominant policy models. In this way, local actors become policy brokers, whose ability to translate and move between the multilingual spaces of sport for development is critical to sustaining pathways which Samoans have imagined to be ideal routes through which young men marooned by globalization and an increasingly uneven global political economy can thrive. In the process, however, these actors inadvertently support and perpetuate a growing sport for development industry whose priorities and motivations for economic development are not necessarily aligned with their own.

Nonetheless, in theorizing a relationship between policy and practice, I echo Mosse's (2005) framework for understanding development policy and practice and suggest first that policy does not drive or orient practice; rather, policy legitimates practice through social processes of translation, interpretation, and composition. These processes serve to mobilize political support for local practice around the "public transcripts" (Scott, 1990) of dominant policy models, while effectively concealing the disjuncture between policy and practice. According to Mosse (2004), "development policy ideas are important less for what they say than for *who* they bring together, what alliances, coalitions and consensuses they allow, both within and between organizations" (p. 649). A second point is that local practice is driven less by policy prescriptions and more by the demands of locality, particularly as they relate to maintaining relationships (Mosse, 2005)—a concept that is also integral to the fa'asāmoa. Again, central to this framework is the idea that the network of actors in development is, ironically, of more practical significance than the achievement of development goals, as the existence of

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well-nurtured relationships ensures the perpetuation of the larger development system and the continued flow of resources. Third, and finally, because policy serves as a validating framework for action, policy must appear to be stable and coherent, necessitating the need for policy brokers like Sefa and Iona to manage policy-practice disjuncture and to conceal the hidden transcripts of local practice. In this way, policy success is not so much determined by whether or not actors have achieved project goals, but rather if policy models remain cohesively co-articulated in the interpretation of practice (Mosse, 2005). Likewise, policy failure is a result of the failure of interpretation and the lack of political support (ibid.). At the center of this re-theorization of the relationship between policy and practice, then, are the development and policy actors who must mediate between the interests of those "above" and those "below." Not only does this framework reinstate the agency of actors (Levinson & Sutton, 2001), particularly in their role of supporting two very divergent policy worlds simultaneously; it also brings to light the degree of social work required to employ the dominant one (informed by HITS policy objectives) in the interests of the local one (informed by the logics of fa'asāmoa).

Implications: Hierarchies of Dispossession

As my interlocutors demonstrated, balancing dual policy worlds is not easy and often pulls actors in multiple directions at once. The prioritization of policy coherence and the preoccupation with managing representations of success means that the orientation of inter/national and local development actors is oftentimes directed "upwards," preventing them from seeing or learning from what is happening on the

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ground. As a result, relations of power and hierarchies of interest that initially shaped policy models are the ones that drive development projects, even projects that are purportedly "locally owned," "participatory," or "bottom-up." Meanwhile, local development actors, including community leaders like Malae and Sefa and SSfDP field officers like Iona, must comply with these dominant models and shift with them as they change in order to ensure continued funding and flows of resources. As such, these actors end up in an intricate dance balancing inter/national agendas with their own social, economic, and political realities. Reiterating the third point about the relationship between policy and practice outlined above, this sort of development environment is what has necessitated the need for local actors to serve as policy brokers who manage disjuncture and orient attention to the narratives of powerful players, rather than serve as agents of change focused on leveraging opportunities for the benefit of their communities. This process of dispossession means local development actors are often left silencing their own knowledge in an effort to preserve inter/national policies, which essentially maintains the status quo (Mosse, 2005).

For example, Iona, the SSfDP officer from Apia, recognized that SSfDP programs in ʻUpolu were not working because the program had to compete with the activities and facilities available to peri-urban villagers in Apia. He wanted to shut down all efforts in ʻUpolu in order to concentrate his office's energy on programs in Savaiʻi not only because the villages there were proving to be more receptive, welcoming, and self-initiating with program content, but also because communities there had little to no access to such sporting opportunities and thus there was little competition with the

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program. However, Iona refused to tell this to Melissa, the ASC program manager, because he recognized that Melissa and the ASC had stakes in supporting a program that was comprehensive and addressed NCDs, community development, women's empowerment, youth leadership, and a host of other goals across all spectrums of society nation-wide. Cutting out 'Upolu would risk delegitimating the policy model and the SSfDP. So, he silenced himself in order to maintain policy coherence, perpetuating a sport for development framework that was removed from the material conditions and realities in which the targeted communities in his country were engaged, negotiating, and immersed.

Mosse (2005) characterizes today's development environment as one dominated by a "high managerialism" in which inter/national development actors like HITS policymakers, ASC advisors like Melissa, or even local ministry officials like Iona are located in offices of planning and coordination far away from the everyday of projects and programming. And as managers, these actors prioritize policy (policy coherence, especially) over practice, and are concerned more with generating consensus, partnerships, and frameworks that ensure shared commitments (and flows of resources) among governments in achieving development outcomes. Implementation modalities, in Mosse's (2005) words, become somebody else's problem, particularly those actors located in "the community" who have now been tasked with "owning" their own programs. This separation of managers/policy from actors/practice effectively lengthens the "the chain of causality (and accountability)" (Mosse, 2005, p. 237), creating a black box between policy inputs and program outputs, further mystifying the aura around "the

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power of sport" seen especially at international "praise-sport" gatherings like the Beyond

Sport Summit. As a result, the everyday effects of policy to which both policy actors and

recipients are equally connected become invisible.

One example of this level of dispossession emerged during my observations and

conversations in Sale'imoa and Lalomalava. In Sale'imoa, the SSfDP activities were on

permanent hiatus until Kainano, as a high chief in the village, a deacon in the church, *and*

one of the higher ranking officials in MESC, instructed one of the Village Sports Leaders

to restart village jazzercise after several conversations with me inquiring about the status

of the SSfDP program in the village. The Village Sports Leader, who was balancing

employment in Apia with other village duties had little choice but to comply. In a peri-

urban village like Sale'imoa, this sort of forget-until-commanded cycle of programs is

understandable given the high degree of coming and going between the village and town

by most of its members. In a rural village like Lalomalava, however, the task of putting

on "someone else's" program was often felt more intensely. As Sefa put it, running the

SSfDP activities in the village sometimes felt like they were doing the dirty work of

Apia's SSfDP development officers: "This program [SSfDP], what they [MESC] are

bringing in, they just show it to the village, but they don't know what the village wants.

They just come and bring the program to the village, and tell the village to go—this is

your job [the village's]. That's what they did. This is your job. You do this."

What the villages want and what they were promised during village consultations

was a sport program that would help their young men secure employment, money, and

achieve the blessed life for themselves and their families (see Chapter 1). What they

received instead was a program that they were responsible for running on their own, without the knowledge, the resources, or the time to do so. Malae, who like many of the matai in his village who consented to the SSfDP, was sold on the program not only because it promised to give Savai'i youth the same chance and the same opportunities of access as youth in 'Upolu, but because of the promise of financial benefits that came with giving their youth the chance to succeed through sport. However, as Malae explained, "the problem with bringing sports to the villages" is that "they [MESC] bring the sport but don't supply the coaches or trainers." In his mind, this oversight is indicative of Apia-based (urban Samoan) development actors who imagine villages as being places where people have a lot of spare time and are willing to drop their daily activities to run programs designed to make them more productive. Doing his own bit of imagining—of SSfDP officers sitting at their desks in their air-conditioned offices in town doing nothing, while the people in the villages like him do all the fe'au (chores)—Malae expressed his frustrations about MESC: "We are not slaves to do your work!," especially without any benefits, he added. Furthermore, not supplying coaches and trainers in a village-based sport program is an indication to him that Samoa's national sport federations, MESC, and the SSfDP are not ready to "take" sports to the villages. After all, if the villages are going to "have" sports, then this means they would also be provided with the requisite resources and expertise. Instead, as accounted by Malae and Sefa, MESC sends its SSfDP officers and sport federation representatives to the villages to run two to three day workshops on soccer, and then once the representatives leave there is no one left in the village to run the program. As a result, Malae and Sefa feel that the

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pressure is on them to keep the program running and successful, or else they will be blamed by MESC and their village fono (council of chiefs) for letting the village fail. But running the SSfDP program, Malae explained, is like a full-time job, and he already has his own matters at the hotel, in the plantation, and in the church to manage.

I provide these examples as a way of illustrating an additional layer to the policy-practice disjuncture that can easily get overlooked when focusing on the "agency" of local actors in mediating policy worlds. In Iona's case, dispossession occurs at the level of program administration: his knowledge could have been leveraged in making the SSfDP more effective and impactful if not for the need to maintain policy coherence. Forced instead to identify alternative means of "guaranteeing success" (Chapter 8), Iona and his team of development officers are caught deeper in the need to look upward, not down. For Malae and Sefa, dispossession occurs at the level of vision and expectation: anticipating a program that could address rising social problems in the village (youth unemployment, school drop out, etc.), they received instead a program that created more problems. Feeling misled by Apia, they are nevertheless obliged to make the program succeed or else risk bringing shame on the village's reputation. Both kinds of dispossession, while different in scope and consequence, get similarly overshadowed in a policy world intent on sustaining policy. Without due attention to the effects, one could slip into conflating the increased agency of local actors in this framework of disjuncture with the enhanced empowerment of local actors.

Implications: The Elision of Health (and Most Everything Else)

Finally, the prioritization of policy over its effects also creates a network of actors, institutions, and partnerships intent on sustaining themselves, ultimately resulting in the neglect of stated policy objectives and the achievement of social development goals like health. As one Australian sport for development officer explained to me once, while his program's ultimate goal was to promote healthier lifestyles among his Samoan participants, his number one and number two criteria of measuring (and reporting) program success was the number of participants he could attract to his events and the number of smiles he could count on their faces by the end of the day. While likely a case of hyperbole, the point is that policy worlds like "healthy islands through sport" that rest on the mythopoeic status of sport and the perpetuation of dominant policy discourse about its power to change lives often translate into programs that severely lack a programming component, not to mention a transformative social change agenda (cf. Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2012). While it is not my intention to evaluate programs, nor to imply that policies like HITS or programs like the SSfDP can even be grounded in a perspective other than a normative vision of the status quo, the lesson here is that sport for development as currently imagined inter/nationally is more intent on the perpetuation of its movement (its ideas, narratives, storylines, discourses, etc.) than on the achievement of the radical transformative social change its advocates profess is possible.

One could argue that a HITS governing apparatus (and its ensemble of policy discourse, institutions, and practices) *is* successful in circulating a HITS policy world.

For example, my interlocutors and the students and youth who participated in my survey were able to reproduce some of the primary tenets of a "health literacy" that assumes the body's state of health is tied to its participation in sport and physical activity (and sometimes also to the nutritional content of food consumed, see Appendix D). However, circulation, or the discursive reproduction of "healthism" (Crawford, 1980, 2006), should not be equated with the successful governance, guidance, or even influence of the apparatus over the health behaviors and choices of a population. Indeed, this is best illustrated by a brief example by Mikaele, chuckling through his words as he retold an account of a previous evening: "We went to zumba that night, burning calories, y'know, dancing, sweating, and then we came back and we had this massive pua'a [pig] for dinner. Everyone's digging into it and I'm thinking, what was the point of going to zumba then?" This disconnect between knowledge (or health ideology) and action warrants critical reflection in a time when development actors are eager to celebrate the power of sport and its extraneous semblances of development success (e.g., turnout, smiles, etc.). As other researchers have shown, real health behavior change in Sāmoa— that is, acting on health knowledge—is intricately tied to complex sociocultural understandings of health, well-being, and the social Self, notions that often contradict or conflict with biomedical health knowledge that is anchored in an individualistic notion of the Self (cf. Hardin, forthcoming c). Merely promoting participation in physical activity or any other derivative of healthism—like the health slogans speckling t-shirts (see Figure 28) or television public service messages like O lou soifua malōlōina olo'o i lou

lava lima ("Your health is in your own hands")—is shortsighted and fails to account for

the whole person, her shifting social identities, and her shifting social roles.

Figure 28. "Move dat body" and "Slash da salt" t-shirts promoted by CultureX leaders.
Source: Teuila Festival Samoa. (2013, September 2). [Facebook update]. Retrieved from
http://facebook.com.

The elision of (biomedical) health in Samoan sport for development practice is

not an isolated case, however. While "healthy bodies, thriving nation" takes up the

national imagination in multiple (non-)health-related ways, other social development

goals also get nominal attention in the midst of prioritizing policy cohesion and

stabilization, particularly women's empowerment, youth leadership, and youth crime. In

other words, the focus on the performance of policy and the production of policy

coherence overshadows the social realities unaddressed or overlooked by dominant

policy models. In this case, the presence of women at events (or in some cases, fulfilling

the requirement that villages field a women's team) or the fact that one or two women

from Savai'i have been selected to travel to Apia to play on a women's development

league serves the purpose of reporting the achievement of women's development goals. In reality, however, many of these young women already hold relatively higher social status in their communities (e.g., as daughters of higher ranked matai or deacons of the church, as formerly selected representatives of their school sports teams, or as high-ranking women like my host mother, Mareta, in Saleʻimoa and her posse of jazzercise-going church women). Meanwhile, a majority of young women in the villages are not participating due to compounding factors like domestic responsibilities in the home (especially for women of lower social rank like Fetu, my host family's "house girl" in Saleʻimoa), prioritization of school work, and attendance at āʻoga faifeʻau (pastor's school). As one youth put it, "I wouldn't say women are being empowered. I would say girls! Because I don't see any women there. It's just a bunch of twelve year old, eight year old, nine year old girls!" When I asked Kainano about SSfDP efforts at encouraging more women in the village to participate in their activities, his response was that the SSfDP team has done all they could by providing women with opportunities, apart from forcing them to attend. Resigned to believing that the faʻasāmoa and its sociocultural norms about gender have made women "lazy," he argued that his team should not be expected to waste their time trying to fight culture.

This resignation to culture (and hence the acceptance of the status quo), and the strategic foregrounding of isolated and non-contextualized cases of success extends also to the achievement of youth leadership and youth socialization goals. SSfDP and inter/national sport for development discourse frequently point to the positive impact of sport on the development of youth leadership skills and other positive youth development

traits. Press releases and program reports therefore highlight cases in which young men or young women have achieved leadership roles in their communities, like becoming a certified referee or their team's captain. But as one young man put it, "I don't see any youth leadership skills being taught here. Definitely not youth leadership." The team captain of his village's soccer team had been selected because he had already played soccer overseas before; the village's soccer referee held high status in the church's 'autalavou (youth group); and the soccer team's leading players were also the village's more athletically talented and physically fit youth who starred during rugby season. Sport promoted youth leadership, yes; however, it merely provided a context for those youth already socially selected as valuable members of society to hold an official position of rank, further advancing their status in the village. Opportunities for developing leadership from a position of disadvantage or marginalization were few and far between.

With the rise of "social deviance" in Sāmoa, especially among young men, sport has been pegged as a way to socialize them into more productive behaviors. Youth whom I spoke with, however, found this ironic: "Um, socializing? Well that's pretty much old story! Like, because pretty much we know everyone!" Without specific programming targeted at unsettling the conditions that have created social deviance (e.g., a crisis of masculinity, economic marginalization, etc.), and instead relying on the "power of sport" to naturally instill positive social behaviors in its participants, it is likely that sport for development programs will continue to be clouded by a mist of irony. Moreover, with ASC and SSfDP officers reluctant to address the factors underlying "the problem with boys"—mainly, addressing diminishing opportunities for young men to secure economic

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means to tautua to the ʻāiga—social deviance remains located in young men themselves rather than in the social and economic shifts of society. This perspective perpetuates the notion that young "naturally" deviant Samoan men need to be and can be reformed by sport, as illustrated by the glossy images of Samoan athletes who embody discipline, self-control, and self-regulation (like Figures 16 and 17 in Chapter 5), and the idea that sport itself is righteous and good. Nonetheless, what is key here is that the focus on creating the images of policy success leaves untouched much of the social, economic, and political structures of inequality, disadvantage, and marginalization. Meanwhile, the larger sport for development complex becomes evermore bolstered and reinforced—but not necessarily because of the efforts of its policymakers and actors or the social development outcomes achieved.

Conclusion

This discussion of implications is not meant to imply that the gap between policy and practice should somehow be made smaller, or that practice and the effects of policy should be more emphasized *alongside* a focus on policy. After all, disjuncture is a political necessity for development actors who are immersed both in their local sociocultural, economic, and political contexts *and* in the policy worlds of their international development partners. Disjuncture should be an expected outcome of a "global" social movement intent on perpetuating its dominant discourses and evangelizing the "power of sport" instead of destabilizing relations of power and the intersections of marginality to achieve real transformative social change. Rather, the discussions here are intended to highlight the "cross-talking" (Sharma, 2008) of a

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multilayered assemblage of sport for development—and its multiple social imaginaries—and to remind the reader that both the policy and practice of sport for development, unlike its international image as cohesive, stable, righteous, and good, is an intensely contested and socially constructed phenomenon with unexpected and sometimes morally disastrous consequences. Its etic and emic understandings are in constant play in a dialectical politics of hope, fueling a multitude of sport for development imaginaries that compete for realization and power.

At the center, in Sāmoa, are the young Samoan men who have been marooned by a rapidly expanding yet unevenly compressed global political economy. Often ignored by sport for development efforts that favor empowering and modernizing women, these young men have come to occupy the space of policy-practice disjuncture in deeply local ways. Not only do gendered notions of what boys can and should do get reified in the male-dominated domain of sport; gendered notions of masculinity, muscularity, and manhood are reconstituted and made new in a time of crisis, perpetuating the social norms and stereotypes that have helped marginalize their status in the first place. Intricately intertwined within the sociocultural logics of the faʻasāmoa, local sport for development imaginaries not only further entrench Samoan male bodies and futures in a politics of hope stacked largely against them; they also influence and shape what young Samoan men can imagine for themselves in terms of (spaces of) possibilities and aspiration (cf. Appadurai, 1991; Nagar, et al., 2002).

It is thus an urgent issue for Samoans, especially young men *and* women, and members of the inter/national community to explore together how heterogeneous ideas

like improving biomedical health, negotiating vā (social space), developing the nation, and raising the status of the ʻāiga can be assembled under a radically re-defined sport for development agenda driven by the destabilization of development orthodoxies and relations of power (cf. Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). After all, borrowing from Appadurai (2000), it is from the critical dialogue between actors of multiply imagined social worlds of sport for development where new architectures of governance and new pedagogies of knowledge production are made possible, and where translocal processes of globalization and development can be made more even. This dissertation study is merely a first attempt at putting in conversation these diverse actors and their multiple sport for development imaginaries.

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Appendix A. Sample Interview Protocol

Village Level

Program
1. Tell me about your different village sport programs.
    a. Example: the scope/objectives, participants (Who participates, Who runs the program), venue (church/school/malae), time (When do activities take place? How often?), activities (What influences the kinds of sport you request?)

S4D
2. What is the community development agenda behind the program?
    a. Is there a health agenda?
3. I've heard that many youth see sport as their "ticket" off island. What do you think about this?
    a. Is it the same for girls also?

Gender
4. Are women involved?
    a. How are women involved?
5. What are the challenges of getting girls/women to come?
    a. Who are the girls/women who come to play everyday?
6. How does school, church, and family responsibilities compete for girls' time?
    a. Is this different for boys?
7. What do you see as the greatest health challenge for girls?
    a. Does this change over the course of their lifetime? (i.e., when they get married or have children?)
8. What happens to those girls who don't make it onto village, national, or international sports teams?

Challenges
9. What are you finding is the biggest challenge to implementing a successful S4D program (that targets healthy living)?
    a. Are there challenges working with the matai, faifeʻau, sport federations, or government?
10. What are the challenges of using sport to achieve the development goals of the village? Of the country?
11. What would you change about the program?

Metacog re: health
12. As the XX person, how do you interpret Samoans' understanding of health?
    a. What about their understanding about the relationship between diet and health?
    b. The relationship between exercise and health?

Wrap up
13. Is there a way to find out how many of your youth are going abroad for sports?
14. Do you have recommendations of who else I can interview?

Program Level

Program
1. Tell me about your different initiatives targeting NCDs, obesity, and women.
    a. Scope/objectives, participants (who participates, who runs the program), venue (church/school/malae), time (When do activities take place? How often?), activities (what influences the kinds of sport you request?)
        i. Is there a health agenda? Community development agenda?
    b. What is the motivation for developing X sport here?
    c. How do you approach urban areas vs. rural areas?
S4D
2. How is X being used towards achieving Samoa's development goals?
    a. Is this the same in rural and urban areas?
3. I've heard that many youth see sport as their "ticket" off island. What do you think about this?
    a. Is it the same for girls also?
Gender
4. What is the logic behind targeting women?
    a. What are the challenges of getting women to come?
5. What do you see as the greatest health challenge for girls?
    a. Does this change over the course of their lifetime? (i.e., when they get married or have children?)
    b. Are these challenges the same for rural women? (What are her choices?)
    c. Does sport have a role in their lives?
        i. How so? What does it provide them? Or open for them?
6. Do you think women can have the same future with sport as men?
7. What happens to those girls who don't make it?
Challenges
8. What are you finding is the biggest challenge to implementing a successful development/S4D program (that targets healthy living)?
9. What are the challenges of using sport to achieve the development goals of the village? Country?
    a. Are these ever in tension with what the village needs/wants?
    b. What about funder's objectives?
10. What would you change about the program?
Metacog re: health
11. As the XX person, how do you interpret Samoans' understanding of health?
    a. The relationship between diet and health?
    b. The relationship between exercise and health?
Wrap up
12. Is there a way to find out how many of your athletes are going abroad?
13. Do you have recommendations of athletes whom I can interview?

Inter/national Policy Level

SFD
1. How do you see sport playing a role in achieving the MDGs in Samoa?
    a. Specifically, Samoa's health development goals?
    b. How do you see sport addressing NCDs in Samoa?
2. How do you see the distinction (or the relationship) between 'sport development' and 'sport for development' in Samoa?
    a. Are these two separate things?
3. In terms of the individual, what do you think sport for development provides for individuals?
    a. What doors/opportunities/benefits do individual Samoans get from this sport-based approach to development?
4. I've heard that many youth see sport as their "ticket" off island. What do you think about this in terms of development for the country?

Translocal development
5. In your mind, does this outmigration pose tensions for an international development framework that focuses on geographically bounded nation-states?

Gender
6. Do girls and women have the same opportunity with sport as boys and men?
7. What are the greatest challenges in getting girls and women involved in sport and physical fitness?
    a. Is this different for urban women and rural women?
8. Why target women? What is the logic behind development programs focused on girls and women?

Health
9. What does healthy living mean to you?
10. In your mind, what are the greatest challenges for Samoans to live healthy?
    a. Is this different across age groups?
    b. How about for rural versus urban Samoans?
    c. Women versus men?
11. In your mind, how do Samoans view the relationship between food, diet, exercise, and health?
    a. Is body size a part of this awareness?

Participant Level

Sport background
1. Tell me how you got involved with sport (as a woman).
    a. What motivated you to start?
    b. What are your hopes/dreams for your future with this sport?
    c. What kind of doors/opportunities do you expect sports to open for you? / What do you hope to get out of it?
Hopes for future
2. What do you hope for your future?
    a. Where is this located?
    b. How is sport a part of it?
3. What are your family's expectations of your future?
    a. How do these expectations by your parents compare to their expectations of your siblings?
Health / Healthy living
4. What does healthy living mean to you?
    a. What do you do to keep healthy?
5. What are some of the biggest challenges for you to live healthy?
6. What kind of messages do you hear or see that relate to healthy living?
    a. What do you think they are trying to teach you?
    b. Have these messages influenced how you think about your own health or body size?
7. To you, what does the ideal body look like? (the tino lelei)
For younger women
8. As a woman, what are the greatest challenges in participating in the program?
    a. What prevents you from playing every day?
9. Do you think women can have the same future with sport as men?
Wrap up
10. Is there anything about sport, health, and your future that we haven't talked about?

Appendix B. Codebook

$$$
   $$$ - based economy
   $$$ - church contributions
   $$$ - control over income
   $$$ - funeral contributions
   $$$ - overseas income
   $$$ - TALKS
Academically gifted
American Samoa
Athletes
   Athletes – double life
   Athletes – dumb jocks
   Athletes – food knowledge
   Athletes – sacrifice
   Student athletes
Bodies
   Body – ideal body
   Body – natural strength
   Body – pure body
   Body – re-developing
   Body - size
      Body size – big = strength
      Body size – big = beautiful
   Body – temple of God
   Body – the fit body
   Body – the sick body
   Body – tino lelei
   Body & exercise
   Body & food
   Body as instrument
   Body awareness
   Body image
   The body
Bureaucracy
Challenges
   Challenges – peri-urban sports
   dvpmt
   Challenges – sport dvpmt
   Challenges – women's sport
Change
   Change - courage – will to change
   Change – takes time & planning

Change – hard-difficult
Characterizations
   Characterizations – bratty kids
   Characterizations – Samoans
   Characterizations – women athletes
   Characterizations – youth in Samoa
Chinese
Choice
Commercials & Ads & News
Control
Cricket
Culture
   Culture – age hierarchy
   Culture – bottom of totem pole
   Culture – centrality of family
   Culture – cultural compatibility
   Culture – cultural items
   Culture – cultural pragmatism
   Culture – earning blessings
   Culture – faalavelave
   Culture – it's all about food
   Culture – kaukalaikiki
   Culture – komiti komiti komiti
   Culture – lelei mafaufau
   Culture – opting out
   Culture – raising the family status
   Culture – service to elders
   Culture – the collective self
   Culture – what's mine is yours
   Culture as cause
CX – taking it to the next level
Development
   Dvpmt – absolving responsibility
   Dvpmt – bias against rural dvpmt
   Dvpmt – cost effective
   Dvpmt – defn
   Dvpmt – discourse
      Dvpmt discourse - buzzwords
      Dvpmt discourse – community
        dvpmt
      Dvpmt discourse – fear of
      imposition

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MOH
Morality
Motivation – motivator
MWCSD
Negative cases
    Negative case - $$ from sport
    Negative case – athletes not educated
    Negative case – big is beautiful
    Negative case – material good life
    Negative case – parents wanting
        sport-earned $$
    Negative case – the collective self
    Negative case – ticket ifafo
Nostalgia for the past
Numbers
    # prices
Opportunity
    Opportunity – poverty of
Parenting
    Parents as obstacle
    Parents' expectations of kids
Perceptions
    Perceptions – athletes turned
        ambassadors of health
    Perceptions – family on sport
        participation
    Perceptions – food
    Perceptions – gender & equality
    Perceptions – negative stuff
        No communication
        No planning
        Actions vs words
        Corruption – or kinship
          obligations
        Hypocrisy or contradictions
        Making excuses
    Perceptions – of Apia
    Perceptions – pathways ifafo
    Perceptions – quality of life
    Perceptions – reality (in Samoa)
    Perceptions – sport
    Perceptions – sport in school
    Perceptions – state of women sports
    Perceptions – the outside

Politics of identity
Prizes
Reasons
    Reasons 4 migrating
    Reasons 4 participating
        Reasons 4 participating –
          avoiding chores
        Reasons 4 participating –
          becoming a better person
Red herrings
Remittances
Responsibilization (or lack thereof)
Role models
S4D
    S4D – competing for audience
    S4D – fundamental skills
    S4D – getting paid
    S4D – limited opportunity
    S4D – limited resources
    S4D – people just don't get it
    S4D – politics of
    S4D – SS4D on da ground
    S4D – who has the $$$
    S4D – a matter of doing it right
    S4D = community sport
    S4D = dvpg sport 'skills'
    S4D = getting a contract
    S4D = mass participation
    S4D = sport dvpmt
    S4D = strategic move
    S4D = the gear
    S4D = tournaments galore
    S4D pipeline
Samoanization
Savaii
    Savaii – barriers
    Savaii – heaps of potential
    Savaiian kids
Scholarship – meaning
Schools
    Schools – 2nd tier students
    Schools – dividing practices
    Schools – examination
    Schools – govt vs private

Schools – HPE curriculum
Schools – HPE curriculum roll out
Schools – under EFA
School leavers
School practices
School sport pathways
School vs sport
Self-sufficiency
Smallness
Social reproduction
Social space
Solutions – leadership
Sport
    Sport – $ spent on
    Sport – a prestige factor
    Sport – alt pathway
    Sport – as career
    Sport – as spectacle
    Sport – benefits of
    Sport – Bourdieu social class
    Sport – character development
    Sport – community builder
    Sport – cost of
    Sport – dividing practice
    Sport – do us proud
    Sport – homophobia &
        hypermasculinity
    Sport – It's a door opener
    Sport – It's not everything
    Sport – marketing Samoa
    Sport – nation state
    Sport – panacea
    Sport – representing Samoan nuu
    Sport – Samoan raw talent & natural
        physique
    Sport – social capital
    Sport – winning medals
    Sport = $$$
    Sport = competition & winners
    Sport = for the boys, really
    Sport = helping the church & village
    Sport = helping the family
    Sport = just for fun
    Sport = professional sport

    Sport = ticket ifafo
    Sport fosters morality
    Sport is coming!
    Sport pedagogy
    Sport versatility
    Sport-based travel
Spot checks
SSfDP
Structural reorganization
Success
Swimming
Talent
    Talent – from God
Target production
Teacher training
Testimony
The easy way (out)
The educated person
The good life
    The good life – blessings
    The good life – material possessions
The left-behind
The uneducated
Time use
    Time use – women
Translocalism
Unemployment
Urban vs rural
Village
    Village – competition over pple's
        time
    Village – faifeau
    Village – gossip
    Village – matai
    Village – networks
    Village – proxies & halfways
    Village – returning to…
    Village bingo
    Village development
    Village entry
    Village expectations
    Village fragmentation
    Village fundraising
    Village hierarchies

Village life
    Village life – hanging out
    Village life – lotu po
    Village life – pese practice
Village parochialism
Village politics
Village protocol
Village representation
Village sports
    Village sports – faasa vs tatala

Village technology
Village youth issues
    Village youth issues – silent protest
    Village youth issues – wasted potential
WID – role of
Women & sport
    Women & sport – selecting girls
Working women

Appendix C. Sample Grounded Survey on Sport and Health

Please respond to the following questions.

Part 1: General questions

1. □   Male | □   Female
2. Age: _____
3. Year in school: _____

4. Which village do you come from ? (Please write the name of your village or mark the box of your country.)

        Village: _____   □   American Samoa   □   New Zealand   □   Australia

5. Do you have family living off-island?   □   Yes | □   No
    a. Who? (e.g., sister/brother, mother, etc. Please do not write the names of these people.)
    b. Where do they live?

6. Have you been off-island before?   □   Yes | □   No   (If no, skip to #7)
    a. If yes, then where? _____
    e. How long did you stay there? _____
    i. What was the reason(s) for going off-island? (e.g., school, sports, illness, to help family, vacation, etc.)

7. How many times do you usually go to Apia?
    □   once (1) a month   □   twice (2) a month   □   three (3) or more times a month
    a. Why do you usually go to Apia? _____

8. How many times do you usually go to Salelologa?
    □   once (1) a week   □   twice (2) a week   □   three (3) or more times a week
    a. Why do you usually go to Salelologa? _____

9. After school, what do you usually do? (Please write the things you do next to the time slot)

2:00-3:00pm _____	7:00-8:00pm _____
3:00-4:00pm _____	8:00-9:00pm _____
4:00-5:00pm _____	9:00-10:00pm _____
5:00-6:00pm _____	10:00-11:00pm _____
6:00-7:00pm _____	11:00pm-12:00am _____

10. Do you usually go to the plantation?   □   Yes | □   No

11. In your mind, what is the meaning of "the good life" (o le "ōla lelei")?

12. In the future, where do you want to:
    a. go to school? _____
    e. live? _____
    i. work? _____

13. In your mind, what does it mean to go off-island in search of blessings?

14. What kind of job do you want to have in the future? _____

Part 2: Sports life

15. What sport(s) do you play, if you play any? _____
    a. If you *do not* play sports, what are the reasons you don't participate? (Please respond and then skip to #22)

16. How many days a week do you usually play sports? _____

17. When do you usually play these sports? (Check all the boxes that apply)
    □ during/after school □ during the evening fa'aāfu period □ at other times: __

18. What are the reasons that you participate in the sports you listed in number 12?
    (Check all the boxes that apply)
    □ because it's fun
    □ because it's good for my health
    □ because I've finished my chores at home
    □ because I can travel off-island with the team
    □ because I can get a college scholarship through
    □ other reasons: _____

19. Have you ever traveled to Apia or outside Sāmoa to participate in sport? □Yes|□ No
    a. Where did you go?

20. If you had the chance, would you choose to pursue a sport-related career? □Yes|□No
    a. Why?

21. In your opinion, what is the meaning of sport:
    a. for you? _____
    e. for your family? _____

      i.   for your village? _____

      o.   for your _____

22.   In your opinion, do girls have the same chance to play sports as boys? □ Yes | □ No

      a.   Please explain:

Part 3: Your thoughts about health

23.   In your opinion, what is the meaning of "healthy living" (o le "ōla soifua mālōlōina")?

24.   In your opinion, what does the "healthy person" look like? Please explain some of these characteristics.

25.   In your opinion, what are some behaviors of a "healthy person"? Please describe some of these behaviors.

26.   What are your favorite things to eat? _____

      a.   How many times do you usually eat these things?

           □   once a day   □   once a week   □   once a month

Appendix D. Student Survey Responses to Health Questions

Much of the frustration that Samoan health officials and expatriate health advocates expressed during interviews in my study was the challenge of effectively communicating health messages to the Samoan public. While Samoan health policy tends to focus on the challenge of improving and controlling environments (cf. MOH, 2010a, 2010b), the general perception among my interlocutors was that Samoans may desire to be healthy, but they lack the necessary tools to take control of their health and to enact healthy choices. These health actors characterize the Samoan population as being disempowered by a lack of health literacy; intervention is thus needed at the level of education. As such, public health campaigns have tended to focus on community-wide dissemination of information on lifestyle change epitomized by Ministry of Health (MOH) staff traveling from village to village holding health fairs to educate the general population about communicable and non-communicable diseases (NCDs). Public health messages have also speckled the local newspaper, television, billboard advertisements, as well as t-shirts. However, since 2002, when the last World Health Organization (WHO) STEPS survey was conducted in Sāmoa, few studies have systematically investigated Samoan health behavior, not to mention health knowledge. In order to gain a better sense of the purported absence of health literacy among the population, I included four questions on my survey oriented toward illuminating what Samoan youth *do* understand about health.

When asked to explain the meaning of "ola soifua malōlōina" (healthy living), 50% of students surveyed in Savai'i reported that it means the person is not sick—usually from illnesses and infections spread by germs—and not afflicted by any sort of issues, worries, or anxieties that trouble the mind (see Figure 29, below). The healthy person is also aware of the need to lose weight if s/he is overweight in order to get healthy. In addition, 29% of students reported that healthy living is grounded in eating a balanced diet and eating specifically foods like vegetables that make the body healthy and strong. About the same percentage of students (28%) reported that healthy living is grounded in the hygiene and cleanliness of one's body, home environment, and especially of the tools and utensils one uses to prepare food. In fact, about 9% of students mentioned that healthy living is about eating clean food and safeguarding oneself and one's family from eating foods that could make one sick from improper preparation. Finally, another 29% of students surveyed reported that healthy living entails being socially and mentally well. That is, healthy living is about being happy, carefree, and in harmony with others. It is also about working hard, especially by helping others with chores. In this sense, health is not only about taking care of one's own health, but also the health of others in one's family and village, which includes behaviors like not smoking or drinking, and being willing to share with others one's own knowledge about eating healthy and getting enough exercise. Of note is that Samoan youth perceptions of health encompasses multiple dimensions of health: from hygiene to nutrition, mental to physical, social to individual. Their views seem to be informed by both socialized sociocultural understandings of health and biomedical understandings of health taught in school and/or

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promoted by government and social media (see Burrows & Wright, 2004, for similar findings among school children in New Zealand). Public health policy should take note of these holistic understandings of health when trying to promote health campaigns that take a more narrow conceptualization of illnesses, their causes, interventions, and preventions.
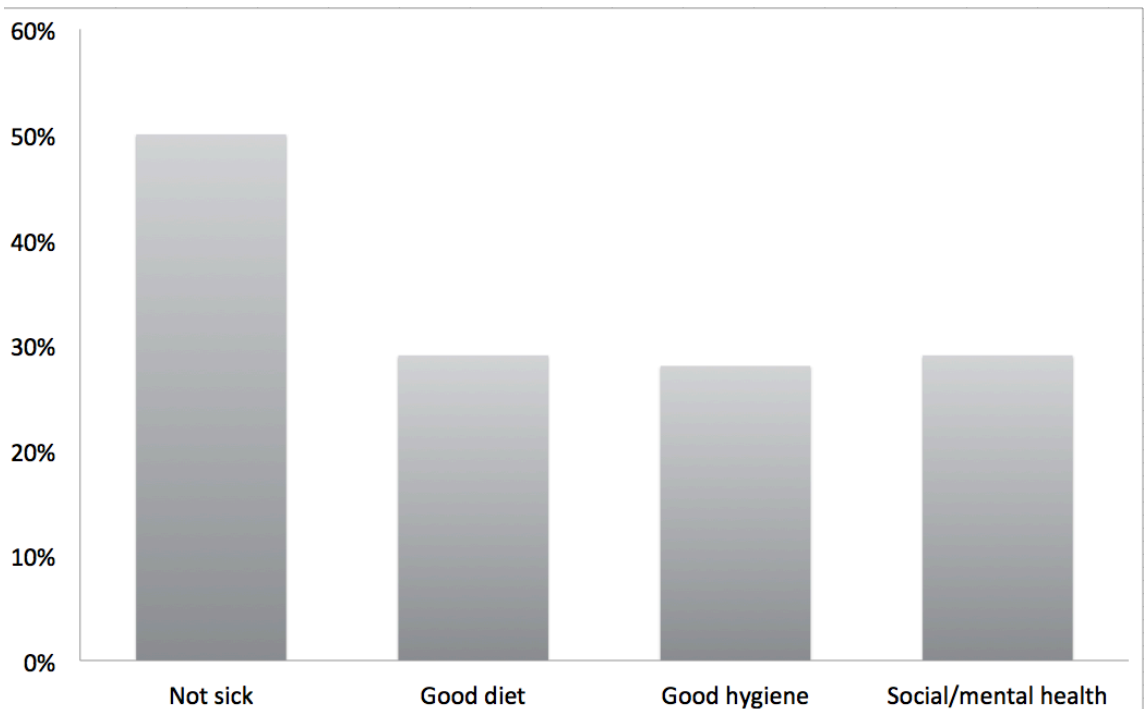

Figure 29. Survey responses to the question, "What is the meaning of healthy living?"

In order to get a better sense of how Samoan youth perceive the bodies of healthy individuals, I asked survey participants in Savaiʻi and Upolu what a healthy person looks like. After filtering results for responses pertaining specifically to appearance, I found that Samoan youth referred to the healthy body in four primary ways: 1) according to one's body size, 2) based on one's appearance, 3) as illuminated by one's outward state of health/illness, and 4) in terms of one's cleanliness and hygiene (see Figure 30).
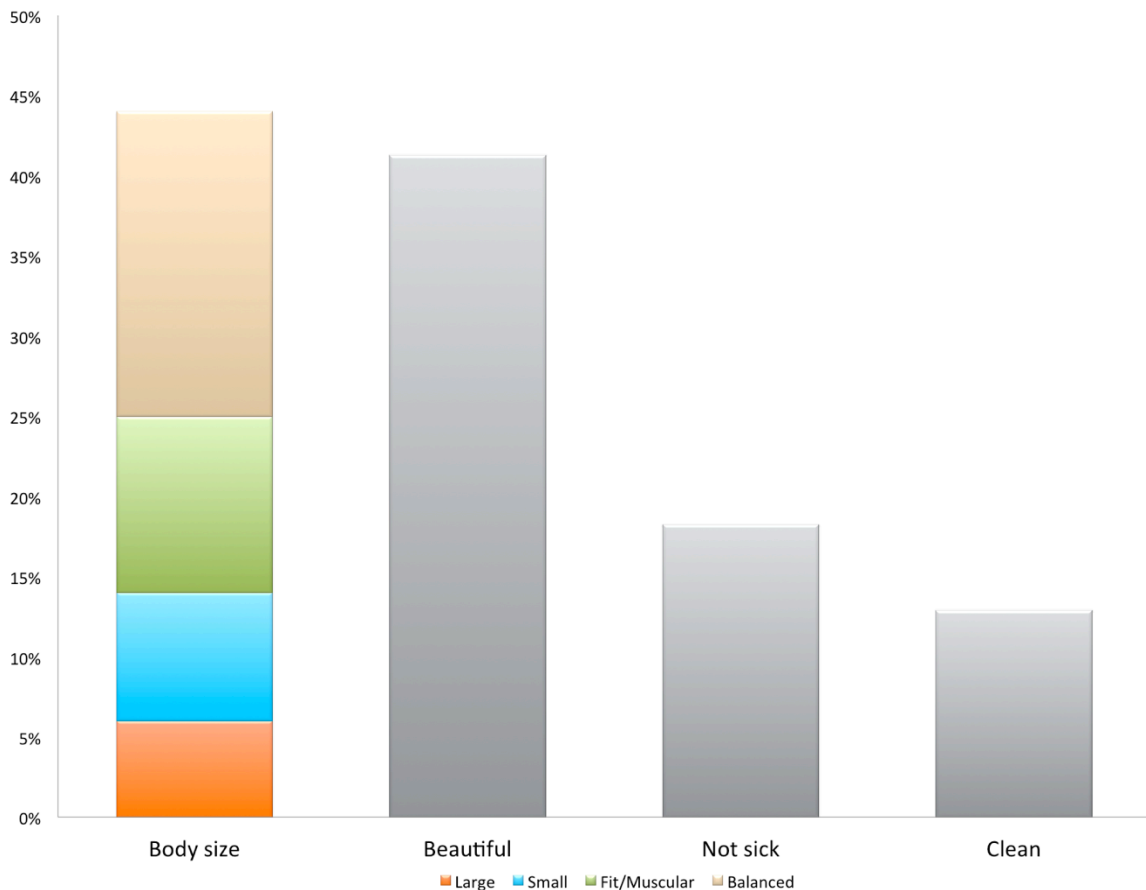
Figure 30. Survey responses to the question, "What does a healthy person look like?"

About 43% of students described the healthy person in terms of bodies and body size. That is, a healthy person has a good body (tino lelei), which itself is defined in a number of ways: large (6%), small (8%), fit and muscular (11%) and balanced, or not too big, not too fat, not too lean, and not showing any bone (19%). While the terms paleni (balanced), fika/fetaui (fit), and masomasoa (muscular) were used the most to describe what a healthy body looks like, there were inconsistencies around the way healthy bodies were described in terms of lāpoʻa (to be big or large in size), puta (to be fat), and paʻeʻe (to be lean or scraggy/scrawny), perhaps a reflection of changing valuations around large body size (cf. Becker, Gilman, & Burwell, 2005; McCabe, Ricciardelli, Waqa, Coundar, & Fotu, 2009; Ricciardelli, et al., 2007). In some cases, for example, students reported that a good body is a large body (tino lāpoʻa); while in other cases, students reported that a good body is a lean/thin body (tino paʻeʻe). Still yet, in other cases students described the healthy body as full of muscle and not scrawny, which one could interpret as being a large body but not necessarily a fat body. These nuances in terminology, while deepening an analysis of perceptions of body size and health, make coding survey responses a challenge. Nonetheless, some students elaborated on their responses and provided some

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contextual background to understanding these nuances. For example, several students explained that people who are too fat will get sick, just as people who are too thin will get sick. This awareness, along with the range in responses about body size, demonstrates that a diverse and complex matrix of bodies, behaviors, practices, and dispositions coinciding with one's risk for developing NCDs exists within Samoan youth's imaginations of health.

As depicted in the remaining columns in Figure 30 above, another 41% of students described the healthy person in terms of their appearance: tall, beautiful, pale-skinned, and smooth-skinned (without blemishes, sores, or scars). Related to this, about 18% of students believe that a healthy person does not appear to be sick. That is, a healthy person has a particular state of biomedical fitness: they hardly fall ill; they are not suffering from obesity, heart disease, diabetes, or high blood pressure; their skin is absent of ringworms and other skin infections; and they are not easily out of breathe while performing chores or getting around. Finally, about 13% of students commented on a healthy person's states of cleanliness and hygiene. That is, the healthy person keeps his/her body clean; they have clean hands, clean feet, and clean clothes. Their teeth are not brown; their hair is free of lice. In addition, they keep their living space clean, neat, and tidy, especially the things they use daily. These multi-dimensional depictions of the healthy person contrast greatly with popular depictions of health and Samoans, which often focus solely on one dimension of Samoan health: body size.

I also asked survey participants to describe the behaviors that a healthy person engages in (see Figure 31).
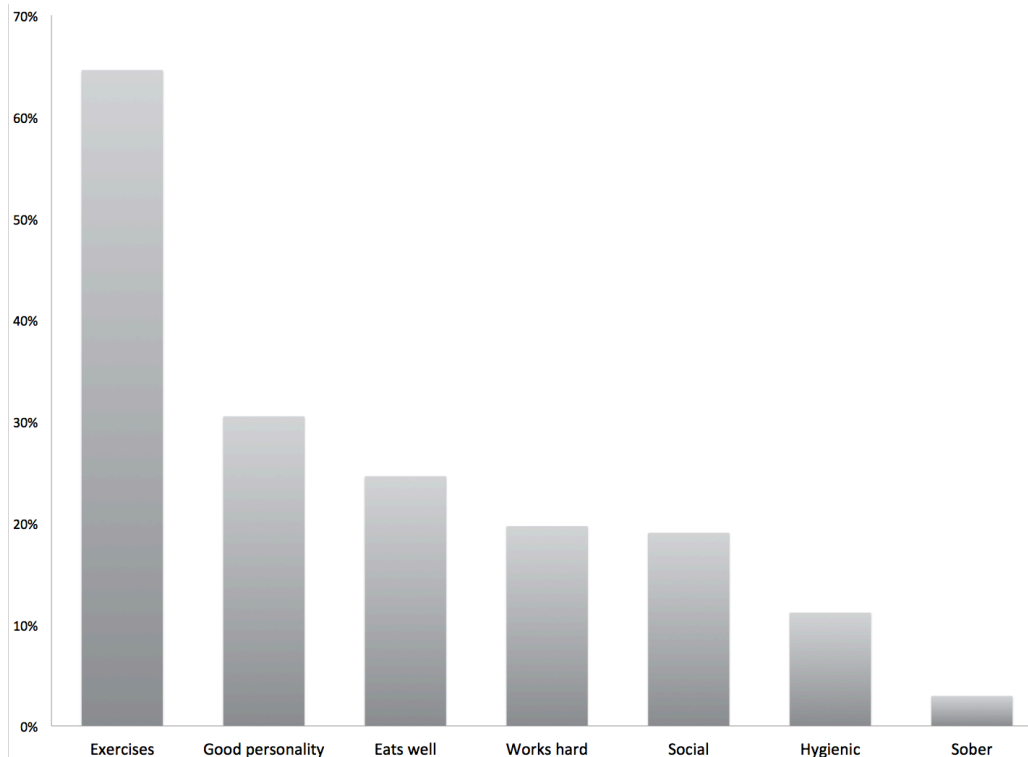
Figure 31. Survey responses to the question, "What does a healthy person do?"

Interestingly, 70% of participants reported that a healthy person follows the "rules" (tulafono) of healthy living: exercising regularly and observing a good diet. What is noteworthy, however, is how exercise was disproportionately stated. Sixty-five percent (65%) of participants stated that a healthy person exercises, plays sports, and is active "all the time"; while only 25% of participants reported that a healthy person eats well—especially a balanced diet (mea'ai paleni) with fruits and vegetables, and does not overeat. The discrepancy between exercise and diet responses appear to reflect a larger and perhaps popular understanding of healthy living in Sāmoa as being about exercise and active living, and where approaches to changing health behaviors lie almost exclusively in the realm of exercise, ignoring diet and nutrition. In addition to the tenets of healthy living, about 30% of participants mentioned that a healthy person has an amicable personality: they are happy; alert and fresh; humble; calm and relaxed; never lazy, tired, sleepy or weak; never sour or sad; and not easily agitated. According to 20% of participants, this person is also a hard worker. A healthy person is never sitting around but always busy helping with chores. In addition, the healthy person likes to do these chores and carries them out diligently, without tiring, and completing them satisfactorily to the end. Expanding on more of the social aspects of health in Sāmoa, about 19% of participants explained that a healthy person exhibits specific social skills or dispositions: they take care of others and are attentive to others and the relationships between themselves and others. They are friendly to others, respect others, and are willing to help

others; they like to talk to others and are patient with others. All in all, the healthy person is well-liked by other people. Other responses included behaviors pertaining to hygiene and cleanliness (11%) and refraining from activities like drinking beer or ʻava and smoking tobacco or marijuana (3%). While survey responses encompass a range of socioculturally informed behaviors, the fact that 72% of survey participants noted "traditional" (e.g., dominant, global public health) healthy lifestyle behaviors (daily exercise, good diet, proper hygiene, and no smoking or alcohol) points to the reach that dominant health literacies, as promoted by the MOH and other NGOs and INGOs, have had in Sāmoa.

Since Samoan and global public health discourse also characterize part of the NCD crisis in Sāmoa as being tied to Samoan diets, I focused one survey item on Samoan youth's food preferences. Adapting Nancy Pollock's (1986) discussion on food classification in Pacific Island societies, I categorized participants' responses into five major Samoan meal component categories and overlaid them with seven kinds of food as they might be classified in Western food categories (see Figure 32).
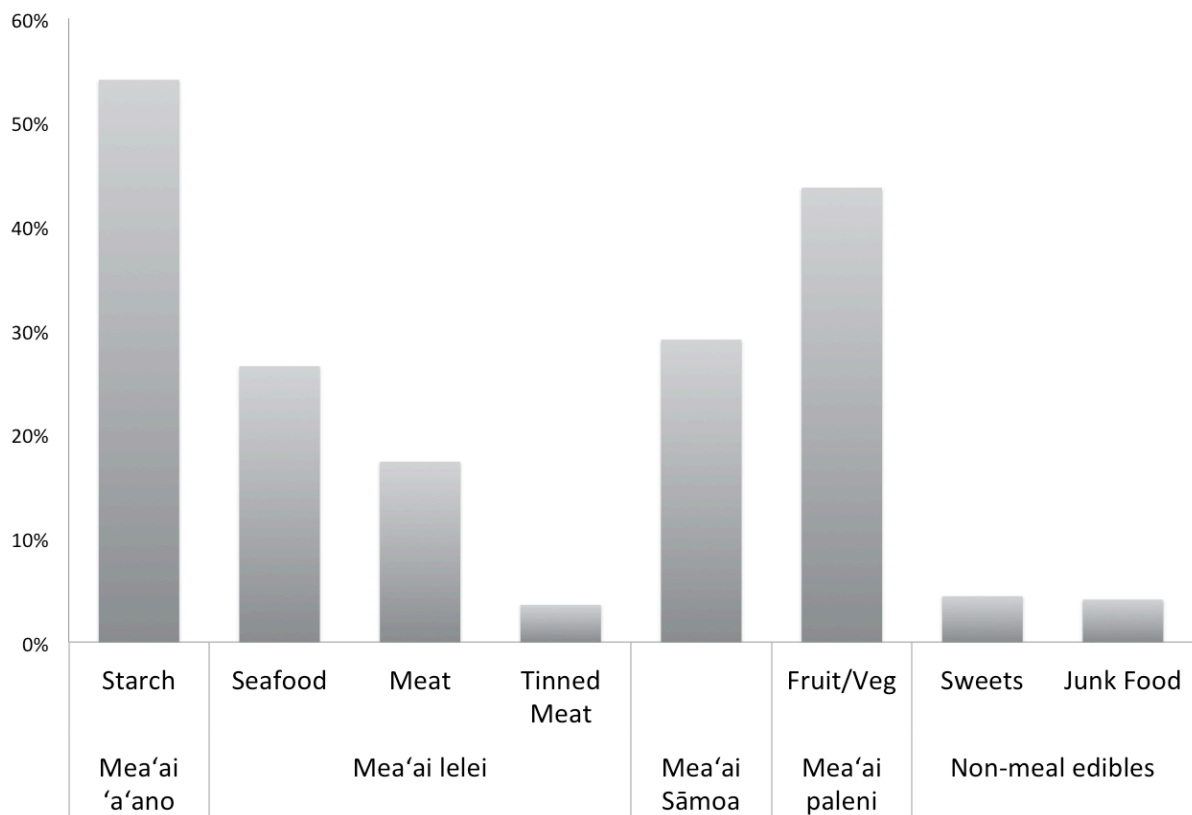

Figure 32. Survey responses to the question, "What kinds of foods do you like to eat?"

According to Pollock, the general concept of food in Pacific Island societies is organized around what constitutes a full meal rather than according to the nutritional

content of food, which is often the case in Western societies. The primary components of a meal in Sāmoa as well as other Pacific Island societies are a starchy food (meaʻai ʻaʻano), or real food, and an accompanying item (meaʻai lelei), or relish, usually a meat or fleshy food. Unlike in the West where the primary emphasis in a meal is on the meat/protein component, Pacific Island societies consider the starchy food—like taro, yams, cassava, green bananas, and breadfruit—as the basis of the meal. Foods like raw fruit and vegetables—what in the West would be considered part of a "balanced" meal— are not considered components of a meal in Pacific societies, but rather a different category of foodstuff entirely, what Pollock (1986) calls non-meal edibles. Non-meal edibles, or "bonus" edibles, consisted of the foods eaten throughout the day that were not considered "real food," including what would be considered in the West as snack foods, afternoon tea (often including a starchy food like crackers as an accompanying food), and raw fruits. These foods were rarely eaten at a meal, and were/are often regarded as pig food (Pollock, 1986). Within the last decade, however, the MOH has created a new category of food, meaʻai paleni (literally, balanced food), in an attempt to give local salience to foods like fruits and vegetables, which local and international development agencies had been aggressively promoting in public health campaigns. In order to give weight to these developments, I have included a meaʻai paleni and an updated non-meal edibles category in my analysis. Finally, the last major food category, meaʻai Sāmoa, emerged as its own distinct category throughout fieldwork as participants' (both survey and interview) gave special significance and value to these traditional foods of Sāmoa. In order to illustrate these foods as they would be classified under both Samoan and Western food categorization systems, I include under the label of meaʻai Sāmoa only those traditional Samoan foods that would also be considered "real food" in Sāmoa and thus part of a meal. These foods include dishes like palusami or luʻau (a dish made of taro leaves, coconut cream, and onions cooked in the umu, a stone oven) and faʻalifu kalo or faʻalifu ufi (boiled taro or yams with a coat of coconut sauce made with coconut milk, salt, and sometimes onions). Those foods that have become part of Samoan cuisine—and are hence sometimes given the misnomer of "traditional" food—but would fall under a Western category of snack foods were categorized under sweets or junk food, as these edibles are not often considered part of a meal. These non-meal edibles include items like panikeke (Samoan fried donuts), kekepuaʻa (steamed or fried meat buns), kekesaina (a Chinese pastry made often with garlic and onions), vaitipolo (Samoan lemonade), and kokosāmoa (Samoan cocoa).

Survey results provided a rather different image of Samoan food preferences than expected. According to popular media and public health discourse about NCDs in Sāmoa, Samoans are consuming less fruits and vegetables and are opting for more imported processed meats, like tinned meat, and convenience foods, including sweets and junk food (AFP, 2008; Radio Australia, 2011; Squires, 2008; WHO, 2010). Yet based on survey results, the opposite appears to be the case (see Table 7 below for a sample list of foods reported on the survey). Nearly 55% of participants listed one or more starchy foods, or meaʻai ʻaʻano, as one of their "favorite" foods. The most popular starch listed was taro (73%), followed by faʻi (boiled or baked green bananas, 8%). Surprisingly,

nearly 45% of participants listed one or more fruits and vegetables as their favorite foods. The most popular fruit and vegetable items named were esi (papaya) and popo/niu (coconut, usually the meaty flesh of a young coconut) at 30%, which is interesting given popular discourse framing these foods as meant for feeding pigs and chickens. Serving guests esi and popo was once considered an embarrassing act, as this indicated the family did not have enough money to purchase "better" foods from the store, like bread, butter, and tinned meat. The high frequency of esi and popo in the survey may be a reflection of recent MOH and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) campaigns to re-brand local fruits as healthy and therefore good to eat, as well as increasing demand by Samoa's hospitality industry to provide "exotic" fruits to tourists. How often or whether participants actually consume esi and popo is an issue beyond the scope of the survey. Based on observations in both Savai'i and Upolu, these fruits are consumed occasionally by adults throughout the day, but usually not during meals. With regard to protein foods, about 27% and 17% of participants listed seafood and meats as one of their favorite foods. Of the seafood, fish (85%) was most widely cited; of the meats, chicken (56%), moasāmoa (11%), and mutton (11%) were the most widely cited. Tinned meats like pisupo (corned beef), fasipovimāsima (corned beef and/or salted beef), and elegi (canned mackerel) were less referenced (about 4%), counter to general perceptions of the popularity of and high value given to these particular imported food commodities, especially in rituals of exchange. Moreover, the low reference to mea'ai lelei items in general points to a larger inconsistency with popular discourse, which claims—often with much gusto—that Samoans like to eat meat and that their diets are meat heavy. Finally, junk foods, including popular snacks made locally (like panikeke and Samgos) and imported from Fiji, Australia, and the Philippines (like Twisties, UFO's, and saimin), as well as sweets were each cited by about 1% of participants surveyed—again, counter to perceptions made by food shop owners and local food manufacturers and distributors (see Hardin, Kwauk, & Arita, forthcoming).

Table 7. List of Food Items Reported as Favorite Things to Eat

Mea'ai 'a'ano		Mea'ai lelei		Mea'ai Sāmoa	Mea'ai paleni	Non-meal edibles	
Starch	Seafood	Meat	Tinned meat		Fruit/Veg	Sweets	Junk food
Taro	I'a (fish)	Moa (chicken)	Pisupo (corned beef)	Lu'au	Esi (papaya)	Ice cream	Saimin (ramen)
Fa'i (green banana)	Fe'e (octopus)	MoaSāmoa (Samoan chicken)	Elegi (canned mackerel)	Palusami	Popo (coconut)	Chocolate	Twisties
Ufi (yam)		Mamoe (mutton)	Fasipovimāsima (corned beef)	Fa'alifu	Moli (orange)	Ice pop	Zero
Rice		Pua'a (pig)		Vaisalo	Mago (mango)	Shasta	Samgos
Masoa (arrow root)		Fasipovi (beef)		Laupele	Fala (pineapple)	Coke	Panikeke (Samoan pancakes)
Ulu (breadfruit)				Suai'a	Ku'ava (guava)	Tea	Kekesaina (Chinese pastry)
Ta'amū (related to taro)				Supoesi	Fa'ipula (banana)	Cake	Kekepua'a (meat bun)
Bread				Sapasui	Fa'imisiluki (banana)		
Manioka (cassava)				Taufolo	Vī (Samoan apple)		
Pasta				KokoSāmoa	Avoka (avocado)		
				Kokoesi	Apple		
				Piasua	Kapisi (cabbage)		
				Fā'ausi	Kukama (cucumber)		
				Fāi'ai fe'e	Kaloti (carrot)		
				Vaisū	Isalaelu (eggplant)		
					Maukeni (pumpkin)		
					Kamako (tomato)		
					Pi (peas)		

With so many counterintuitive findings, I acknowledge that the survey responses may be biased, as participants knew the objective of these questions was to learn about their perceptions of healthy food and healthy living. Also, the question, O a taumafa e te fiafia iai? (translated as, What things do you like to eat?, using the respect word taumafa for food), may have led participants to think of meal-based food items, which would explain the low references to non-meal edible items that, through observations, seem to be quite popular among youth. Yet, the high reporting of mea‘ai paleni items (fruits and vegetables) suggests that multiple factors may have influenced participants' responses, including the classroom contexts in which students and youth groups completed the surveys. Despite these issues of reliability, survey results say nothing about actual food consumption and should therefore not be used to generalize conclusions about Samoan consumption patterns. The purpose of these questions was to gain perspective on the kinds of foods youth say they like to eat, and the kinds of behaviors they say healthy people should engage in. What can be discerned from these results, then, is the notion that secondary school students and youth in Sāmoa are indeed aware of what food types are generally considered unhealthy (e.g., Twisties, Shasta, pisupo, etc.) and/or should be consumed less—or at least not reported on a survey as one's favorite food—and what food types should be consumed more (e.g., mea‘ai paleni like fruits and vegetables). In other words, the rhetoric or discourse of healthy living, if not the realities of healthy living, is as much a part of Samoan youth consciousness as popular discourses about the unhealthiness of Samoans. Based on this conclusion, I would argue that the matter of health promotion in Sāmoa is not about knowledge (or increasing strategic health communication); nor is it simply about empowering Samoans to enact a specific health literacy. Rather, the challenge is determining how to balance multiple conceptualizations of health and different health knowledges that are often conflicting and then act upon them in ways that do not contradict each other. Perhaps a more nuanced perspective could be gained by comparing this list with the list generated by youth in American Samoa who responded to this survey as well. Unfortunately, this comparison is beyond the scope of this dissertation.