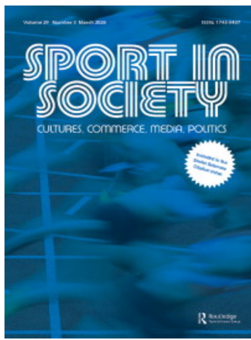

Sport in Society

Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics

ISSN: 1743-0437 (Print) 1743-0445 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/fcss20

'This experience has changed me and my view:' the learning experiences of urban youth in outdoor-focused sport-for-development programming

G. Yerashotis, B. Gwilliam & S. Darnell

To cite this article: G. Yerashotis, B. Gwilliam & S. Darnell (2026) 'This experience has changed me and my view:' the learning experiences of urban youth in outdoor-focused sport-for-development programming, Sport in Society, 29:3, 438-465, DOI: 10.1080/17430437.2025.2460490

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2025.2460490

Published online: 05 Feb 2025.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 309

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
https://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=fcss20

SPORT IN SOCIETY
2026, VOL. 29, NO. 3, 438–465
https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2025.2460490

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

'This experience has changed me and my view:' the learning experiences of urban youth in outdoor-focused sport-for-development programming

G. Yerashotis[a], B. Gwilliam[b] and S. Darnell[c]

[a]Department of Sociology, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, Canada; [b]Department of Applied Arts and Technology, Algonquin College, Pembroke, Ontario, Canada; [c]Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

ABSTRACT

This article examines the learning experiences of urbanized immigrant youth who took part in an outdoor education component of a Sport-for-Development (SfD) program. Operated through an intersectoral partnership between the City of Toronto and the University of Toronto from 2017-2019, youth spent multiple weekends at the Hart House Farm, a University of Toronto-owned education facility located on the Niagara Escarpment. Drawing from participant-observation and focus group interviews, we analyze if, how, and why participation affected youth at personal, social, and political levels. The findings demonstrate how providing urban youth with access to the outdoors facilitated unique forms of learning based upon their newfound appreciation of the natural world. Not only did the trip teach them how to use outdoor leisure in support of their emotional wellbeing and personal growth, but it also fostered a more critical awareness of environmental justice and sustainability. Based upon these results, the authors call for further examination of how 'outdoor-focused SfD programming' can be marshalled to support more transformative forms of social learning and development in young people.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 2 February 2024
Accepted 27 January 2025

KEYWORDS
Sport-for-development; youth programming; environmentalism; outdoor learning

Introduction: SfD programming and the natural environment

The growth of sport-for-development (SfD) programming in recent years has been accompanied by academic research investigating the different ways that sport connects to social development, broadly defined. Often explicitly targeting socially disadvantaged youth, some of the categories of analysis that have made up this literature include sport's role in community regeneration (Coalter 2005; Collins and Kay 2014), conflict resolution (Giulianotti 2011; Kartakoullis et al. 2009) social inclusion (Donnelly and Coakley 2002; Spaaij, Magee and Jeanes 2014), and 'positive' youth development (Donnelly and Coakley 2004; Holt and Neely 2011; Jones et al. 2017). More recently, the United Nations' recognition of sport within its Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations 2015) has generated calls from within

CONTACT G. Yerashotis gregyerashotis@trentu.ca
© 2025 Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

the SfD field to pay more critical attention to the natural environment (Darnell and Millington 2023; Giulianotti 2021; Giulianotti et al. 2018; Millington et al. 2022; Millington and Darnell 2020). To date, however, there is a paucity of academic work which has linked SfD's traditional emphasis on youth programming, with this new subfield of environmental research. In this paper we seek to address this absence by bringing an Outdoor Education perspective to the study of sport, youth and social development.

To do so, we examined the learning experiences of urbanized immigrant youth who took part in outdoor retreats as part of an established SfD program. Operated through an intersectoral partnership between the City of Toronto and the University of Toronto from 2017-2019, youth spent multiple weekends at the Hart House Farm, a University of Toronto-owned outdoor education facility located on the Niagara Escarpment. Drawing from participant-observation and focus group interviews, we found that providing urban youth with access to this property facilitated unique forms of outdoor learning. Here, the trip challenged their negative preconceptions about the natural world and allowed them to gain insights into how outdoor leisure can support emotional wellbeing and foster personal growth. These experiences resulted in youth subsequently expressing a deeper appreciation for the importance of environmental justice and sustainability. Based upon these findings, we argue that outdoor-focused SfD program models are a viable yet hitherto under-explored means to potentially facilitate transformative forms of social learning and development in the lives of disadvantaged urban youth.

The remainder of the paper is organized into five parts. In the next section, we offer an overview of the SfD program from which this particular piece of research emerged. This is followed by a literature review, and then a description of our theory and methods. The Results section describes the three main themes that emerged from the study, before a discussion and conclusion is provided.

Research context: the Boundless Sport Program and outdoor education at the Hart House Farm

The particular project from which this paper is derived was part of a larger research study funded by the Province of Ontario and headed by Author 3. The aim of the overall study was to use participatory methodologies to investigate the place and role of sport in social development among urban youth in Toronto. To this end, research examined a series of partnerships between community-based organizations in Toronto and Hart House student centre, a hub of student co-curricular activity at the University of Toronto (U of T).[1]

One of the main partnerships studied in the project was between U of T and *Boundless Sport*, an afterschool sport program established in 2014 through the City of Toronto. *Boundless Sport's* original aim was to address barriers to sporting access facing inner-city immigrant youth by using sport spaces to help increase participation in physical activity and foster social integration. This emphasis on social development and equity placed *Boundless Sport* within the field of SfD programming (Hartmann et al. 2024).

A link between *Boundless Sport* and the University of Toronto was formed in 2017 *via* Hart House Student Centre, with the goal of augmenting the program with supplementary forms of educational enrichment offered at U of T. The additional social services provided through this intersectoral partnership meant that *Boundless Sport* eventually grew into a sport-*plus*-development program (Coalter 2007, 2013). According to Fred Coalter (2013),

these are programs in which the processes involved in sport are accompanied by other activities that better allow sport programming to further developmental aims (146). To that end, youth took part in bi-weekly campus visits where they engaged in workshops with campus leaders before participating in different forms of physical activity in Hart House's athletics wing.

As a result of the partnership, youth were invited at the end of each school year to an 'outdoor retreat' at the Hart House Farm (https://harthouse.ca/spaces/farm). 'The Farm,' as it is affectionately known amongst many UofT students and staff, is a 150-acre university-owned outdoor education centre located on the Niagara Escarpment. Usually reserved for UofT affiliated groups, for three successive springs (2017-2019), participants in the program spent a weekend (three days and two nights) at the Farm. Youth were picked up from downtown Toronto and transported by bus to the property, approximately 70 km away. Transportation costs were covered by the research project, as was food for the duration of the stay. While overseen by City of Toronto staff, the planning and facilitation of the program content was led primarily by Author 2. As an outdoor recreationist who at the time was completing their masters in UofT's Department of Forestry, Author 2 provided essential pedagogical support to a sport coach (Author 1) who lacked the professional competency to effectively facilitate (otherwise hazardous) outdoor activities.

The guiding pedagogical approach was based in outdoor education,[2] understood here as 'an experiential process of learning by doing, which takes place primarily through exposure to the out-of-doors. In outdoor education the emphasis for the subject of learning is placed on *relationships*, relationships concerning people and natural resources' (Priest 1986, in Quay and Seaman 2013, 53). Given that participants took part in this trip as an extra-curricular activity, the character of this education was decidedly *non-formal*. 'Non-formal education in the outdoors' is categorized as programming that occurs outside the formal education system, usually as part of structured out-of-school programs or through community-based organisations (Henderson 2016, 153). This differentiates the program from *informal* learning, because it followed an itinerary that was facilitated by adult practitioners, as opposed to being completely self-guided. [3]

A key question for us was the extent to which this retreat to Hart House farm offered insights for SfD research and practice, and the role of outdoor education therein. With this in mind, in the next section we discuss some key themes from the current literature against which to consider the findings in this study.

Literature review: outdoor-focused SfD programming and disadvantaged youth

The widespread belief that SfD programs can foster positive development outcomes, particularly for marginalized young people, has led to a growth in scholarship tasked with investigating the efficacy of these claims (See Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2015; Donnelly and Coakley 2004; Holt and Neely, 2011; Jones et al. 2017; Spaaij 2011; Spaaij, Magee and Jeanes 2014). In general, this literature suggests that under appropriate circumstances – i.e. when attendance is recurrent, programming is purposeful as well as culturally competent, and participants can form bonds with practitioners – SfD programming can offer developmental benefits to young people. Specifically, research points to sport's capacity to: facilitate outreach to marginalized adolescents, sometimes referred as the 'hook' of sports (Crabbe

2007, 2009 Hartmann and Kwauk 2011,; Spaaij, Magee and Jeanes 2014); buffer exposure to negative risk/health behaviours (Nichols 2004, 2007; Nichols and Crow 2004; Smith and Waddington 2004); foster improved self-esteem, and pro-social development (Holt 2008; Holt and Neely 2011; Jones et al. 2011; 2017; Weiss et al. 2014); and support immigrant integration (Mauro 2019; Spaaij 2012, 2015; Vermeulen and Verweel 2009; Yerashotis 2022).

However, sport sociologists have also remained critical of the ways some SfD programs prioritize individual-level development at the expense of attending to larger socio-structural concerns (Coakley 2011; Coalter 2015; Darnell 2012; Hartmann et al. 2024; Hartmann and Kwauk 2011; Haudenhuyse 2017; Wright et al. 2016). Coakley, for example, has argued that such programs oftentimes serve to reproduce neo-liberal values of individualism and competition instead of fostering more 'transformative' kinds of change to communities and societies (2011). One way that SfD scholars have tried to address this important criticism is by calling for new, more imaginative educational processes to be embedded within SfD programs (Raw and Sherry 2022; Spaaij et al. 2016; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013). Yet, scholars have yet to fully explore how *outdoor* education can be utilized by SfD programs to support this kind of broader social change, especially as related to social and environmental justice.

Some preliminary research exist, particularly in Canada, where scholars have analyzed outdoor-focused SfD programs targeting Indigenous youth living in remote northern communities (Johnson and Ali 2020; Kope and Arellano 2017; Paraschak and Heine 2019; Ritchie et al. 2015). Such studies highlight clear benefits for participants, including the promotion of resilience and wellbeing (Ritchie et al. 2015), along with the affirmation of cultural identity *via* land-based leisure practices (Johnson and Ali 2020). Indeed, according to Paraschak and Heine (2019), such programs may simultaneously 'offer an alternative model of cultural practice for [SfD] initiatives, potentially fostering an attachment to the land that promotes individuals' long-term commitment to addressing all forms of environmental degradation (191)'. Taken together, these studies speak to a growing 'socio-ecological' approach to development in the SfD field, which recognizes an interdependency of social and environmental justice (Giulianotti, 2021). Working within this new paradigm, we sought to better understand how urban immigrant youth are affected or impacted by similar kinds of outdoor-focused SfD programs.

Our focus on urban youth in the outdoors was pertinent given the barriers facing this demographic in accessing natural environments. According to Louv (2008) many young people growing up today in urban centres have 'nature deficits' caused in part by 'isolation from the natural world because of a lack of neighborhood parks, or lack of opportunity—lack of time and money for parents who might otherwise take them out of the city' (65). Moreover, economically-deprived immigrant youth living in government subsidized 'metro housing'—like many of those in this study—face additional barriers to accessing natural landscapes resulting from the intersection of class, race and geography (Bates, Bohnert and Gerstein 2018; Gibson-wood and Wakefield 2013; Roberts 2016). These barriers have also made it more difficult for researchers to document youth's experiences in the outdoors, and as a result, the (potential) benefits of environmental engagement for this demographic remain underrepresented in academic literature (c.f., Bates, Bohnert and Gerstein 2018; Gauthier, Joseph and Fusco 2021; Lekies et al. 2015; Tiplady and Menter 2021).

Overall, and based on the results presented below, we argue that urban youth are able to learn, gain and grow from their participation in outdoor-focused SfD programs. The essence of this learning was often non-formal, but in line with an approach to education based on

cultivating opportunities in which young people can develop through new experiences that they are likely to remember (Nash 2009, 19). We now lay out the theoretical framework and methodology we used to document and analyze youth's learning experiences at the Hart House Farm.

Theory and methods: making 'sense' of youth's outdoor learning experiences

Given the lack of SfD literature about urban youth's experiences in the outdoors, we drew heavily from 'Outdoor Studies,' a relatively new academic field sitting at the intersection of research into sport, leisure and Outdoor Education (e.g. Cooper 2012; Fox, Humberstone and Dubnewick 2014; Heintzman 2016; Humberstone 2000, 2011, 2015; Humberstone, Brown and Richards 2003; Humberstone, Prince and Henderson 2016; Humberstone and Prince 2020; Jucker and von Au 2022; Kuo Barnes and Jordan 2022; Quay 2013; Spence 2018). Referred to previously as 'Outdoor Education,' Outdoor Studies has turned more recently to the interpretative and reflexive approaches of sociological analysis, and to investigating aspects of environmental education and human-nature interactions with and within the outdoors (Humberstone 2000; Humberstone and Prince 2020). In alignment with the central tenants of SfD, this field of research encompasses a range of outdoor experiences for a variety of purposes, including education, social work and youth development (Humberstone, Brown and Richards 2003, 7). Perspectives from Outdoor Studies therefore complimented our analysis of youth's experiences on the trip, because it allowed for us to conceptualize natural environments as important spaces for learning and development within the context of SfD programming.

Following these qualitative inquiries into outdoor recreation and leisure, we utilized an interpretive approach to research that placed a methodological emphasis on the meanings that participants associated with their embodied experiences while on the trip (Humberstone and Prince 2020; Humberstone and Stan 2012; Quay and Seaman 2013, 2016; Seaman and Rheingold 2013; Sparkes 2017). Experience has long been a key methodological lens through which to analyze people's engagement in the natural world and to explore the human-nature connection in the social sciences (See Dewey 1929; Quay and Seaman 2013). More recently, Humberstone (2011) has described personal experiences in nature-based sport through ethnographic methodologies in order to illuminate the significant connection between the body and affect, emotion, and the senses during engagement with natural elements. We therefore paid particular attention to the ways that youth described their sensory engagement with the natural world and if/how the meanings they associated with these experiences could be considered forms of outdoor learning.

A focus on nature-based experiences has appealed to scholars interested in outdoor learning because it counters the traditional means of knowledge which young people acquire in formal classroom settings (Kuo Barnes and Jordan 2022; Orr, McCullough and Pelcher 2020; Quay and Seaman 2013). Inspired largely by the work of John Dewey (1926, 1930, 1938), there are two interrelated kinds of experience that scholars have highlighted which were critical to our own understanding of outdoor learning (Ord and Mallabon 2018): The first is the momentary sensory perception which Dewey (1930) called the aesthetic experience of being, or 'affective thinking.' The second is a reflective experience through the recall process that establishes a sense of knowing about the world (Dewey 1926; Quay and Seaman 2013, 2016).

In conjunction with our focus on youth's embodied learning experiences in the outdoors, we emphasize the methodological importance of 'place' as a concept in our study. Here we followed scholars in Outdoor Studies who have interrogated how people's experiences help to articulate the salience of place within research into outdoor learning (Heintzman 2016; Mannion and Lynch 2016; Olive 2016; Smith 2020; Spence 2018). Our place-based approach was compatible with Dewey's (1938) assertion that learning through 'lived experience' occurs *via* a transaction between the individual and their environment thus requiring an appreciation of the place of the individual in the totality of their social, physical, and cultural setting (99-100).

Consistent with the interpretive paradigm (See Denzin 1997; Denzin 2000; Donnelly 2000), we used a variety of qualitative methodological techniques to gather knowledge of youth's experiences including: participant observation of local interaction, reflective journalling as well as narrative interpretation from semi-structured interviews that were complemented by youth's photography. Combining these different sources of data is also common with the interpretive paradigm, which assumes a relativist ontology where individuals construct multiple meanings of reality and subjectivist epistemology that sees the knowledge-making process as interactive (Markula and Silk 2011, 33). By understanding research as a narrative inquiry through which youth shared their learning experiences with the researcher, we sought to understand the multiple meanings they associated with their participation in outdoor-focused SfD programming.

Primarily, we did so by privileging youth's voices in describing their own experiences. For this reason, we conducted a 1-h focus group interview during the last outing (2019) in which half of the youth ($n = 10$) volunteered to participate. This semi-structured group interview was conducted by 'junior researchers' associated with the project[4] but was supervised by Author 1. Here we followed authors who argued that the most common and reliable method of processing learning experiences is question and answer sessions conducted immediately after the event. Providing youth with the chance to reflect on their experiences from the Farm hence blended methodology and program activity with the goal of solidifying participant learning (Seaman and Rheingold 2013).

Secondary forms of data collection came from participatory observation. Over the course of the three retreats, three different researchers from the University of Toronto made trips to the Farm (Author 1 was present each time). Researchers documented noteworthy conversations with the participants in which they observed youth's engagement with the natural environment. Author 2 also kept a journal of his experiences and observations as he facilitating outdoor programming with the group. Finally, to increase empirical validity in reviewing the experiences of youth and programmers, the researchers distributed disposable cameras to help document young people's sensorial engagement with this natural site (Greenaway and Knapp 2016; Spence 2018). We were here inspired by the recent use of photovoice in other participatory action research projects involving youth in the SfD field (c.f., Hayhurst 2017; Martin and LeCrom 2021). To this end, we include photos taken by youth as appendices which are meant to capture the experiences that young people felt were significant to them during this part of the program.

Our methodological procedures for analyzing these data began with a reflection by Authors 1 and 2 regarding initial observations and conversations they had recalled from their supervision of the trip in its first two years. These first two visits served to sensitize

the researchers to relevant topics of study – namely regarding the potential influence of the trip on youth – which were used to guide the thematic construction of the semi-structured interviews. In this regard, we undertook 'directed content analysis' because our analytical codes/categories were not completely inductive, but rather shaped in part by our initial observations and research interests (Berg and Lune 2012, 352). The focus group data from the final year was coded based upon individual, social and political effects, and organized into the subthemes that structured our findings section.

Before exploring these results, however, a biographical note on the participants is called for. All youth who took part in the retreats lived on downtown Toronto's southeast side; a highly populated and low-income region of Canada's largest city. Most of the participants were residents of St. James Town specifically, which is the most densely populated urban neighbourhood in Canada and one of Toronto's poorest (Appendix D). The 10 youth who took part in the focus group were split between boys and girls, and were all in their final two years of high school (ages 16-19). Youth also had a mix of generational status' as immigrants to Canada, as: 1st generation immigrants ($n = 4$), 1.5 generation ($n = 3$) and 2nd generation ($n = 3$). They hailed from different areas of the globe, but the main regions represented were the Horn of Africa ($n = 4$), the Middle East ($n = 3$) and Southeast Asia ($n = 3$). Most participants considered themselves to be religious, with the majority of those interviewed being practicing Muslims ($n = 8$), and the other two Christian ($n = 1$) and Hindu ($n = 1$).

With the preceding in mind, three main findings emerged from the study that were relevant to our interest in outdoor learning: i) the significance of providing urban youth with natural landscapes in challenging their negative preconceptions about the natural world; ii) the ways the program allowed youth to gain insights into how outdoor leisure can be used to support their personal wellbeing and enable their personal growth; iii) the influence of the trip on youth's socio-political views, namely regarding their new-found appreciations for environmental justice perspectives. We present these next.

Results and analysis section

'Where we live, you don't get to feel the outdoors:' the significance of urban youth's access to natural landscapes

The first theme that emerged from the focus group interview was the significance of exposing youth to natural environments from which they have otherwise been excluded. Consider how out of approximately 40 youth who had taken part in the programs over the three years, only a handful ($n = 5$) had reported any prior involvement in camping or cottaging outside of the city. This lack of exposure meant that many youth originally expressed hesitancy, aversion, or even fear of the natural world. It was a recurrent theme in our focus groups:

> Lina: We are really lucky to have [this] opportunity [because] obviously where we are downtown a lot of youth don't, it's very busy, and obviously a lot of us live in metro housing too so it's not like it's even an option for us. But you talk to some other people—and I can name you a good ten other people—who, when you say that we came up here and they'll be like, 'oh you were at a place like that? Didn't you get bit? Look at all those mosquito bites you have.' You know, they think of drawbacks right away. And a lot of us too when we heard we are coming up here we may think the same way, very sceptical, but once you experience it and leave you have a different mindset. (Focus Group 2019)

According to Lina, local residents' lack of exposure to natural environments led to a stigmatization of outdoor leisure that she believed made her peers only consider its 'drawbacks.' These negative preconceptions about outdoor leisure highlight how structural barriers to environmental access – based originally in class and/or race – can give way to additional cultural barriers which evolve within the social contexts of excluded inner-city areas. This means that for urban youth in our study, the intersection of structural *and* cultural forces combined to create symbolic understandings of natural landscapes as alien rather than familiar for them (Rishbeth 2001 in Roberts 2016). Providing youth with opportunities to break through these intersecting barriers was therefore a critical first step to any potential benefits they may garner from access to the outdoors. They also represent a vehicle through which outdoor-focused SfD programming can support larger social justice missions concerned with providing disadvantaged youth with equitable access to natural landscapes.

The more significant aspect of Lina's statement to our interest in learning was, however, her belief that the trip provided youth with 'different mindsets' about the outdoors. She would later elaborate on the importance of access by using the metaphor of a doorway: 'If you show youth what they have the ability to do with what's around them then they can open their own door, but if you don't show them the door to open, they don't know what to do with it, it's just a wall' (Focus Group 2019). In this regard, their stay at the Hart House Farm symbolized an opening to the natural world itself, whereby exposure challenged their (mis)conceptions about leisure time spent in the outdoors.

Below, Amira's testimonial corroborates Lina's point regarding how access to natural environments can encourage urban youth to step outside of these symbolic boundaries:

> Amira: I probably would not have chosen to go to nature. I hate nature, not in the sense that I *hate* nature, because it's like, a beautiful view; I just hate insects and bugs and those type of things. But anyways, I feel that being in this setting, it gives you a chance to step out of your boundaries. I wouldn't normally choose to go on a hike, or sit in the wilderness. But being here gives me that opportunity because in Toronto, when you are going out, you're really not going out, you're going out to go in, if you get what I'm saying? So, you're going to a mall, you're going to another building, where we live, you don't get to *feel* the outdoors. (Focus Group 2019)

Amira's emphasis on being able to 'feel the outdoors' reflects what Edward Reed (1996) called 'primary experience;' that in which we can see, feel, taste hear or smell for ourselves. As she details, these embodied experiences expanded her appreciation for the outdoors beyond that of a detached aesthetic – nature as just 'a beautiful view' – to something she can also utilize in her leisure time. Providing youth like Amira with opportunities to *physically* experience the natural world through the body's sensory apparatus was therefore paramount in allowing them to confront their own prejudices about the outdoors.

Perry provided an even more detailed example of how primary experiences in natural environments can foster an appreciation for outdoor leisure:

> Perry: When we started going on that 3-hour hike I thought 'oh man this is going to be a real tiring walk.' But […] it didn't feel like a 3-hour hike. It seemed like every step we passed we found another destination we'd look forward to: First we found a path then we found that bottom area where everyone came together [cave system] and the air was so cool, there was a breeze that everyone felt and if you were tired you could sit there. And it really got me thinking, it put me into my feelings and stuff I was thinking about it. You can't find that stuff downtown. That cold air, I had never felt that same smell, I had never felt that same kind of 'vibe.'

> It felt so fresh! Like I was sweating when I was walking out there; but when I come back from soccer practice or something and I'm hot and I go to my apartment and I go to the AC [air conditioner] I never feel that same kind of, of 'vibes,' that same fresh air. (Focus Group 2019)

When Perry confesses how hiking 'put me in my feelings [because] you can't find this stuff downtown,' we can identify experiential learning to have taken place since his eventual *comprehension* grew out of an initial *apprehension* toward outdoor activity as 'a real tiring walk' (Halak 2020). The bodily sensations he felt during the hike were vital to this process, where physically taking part in the activity allowed him to experience 'walking' in a new way. Visually, he explained how he was inspired by the new 'destinations' he encountered along the journey, showing how 'the very fluidity of movement "through" nature brings forth continuously changing perceptions and awareness' (Humberstone 2011, 497). Unlike in conventional sport, with outdoor leisure activities like hiking, 'one can rarely impose bounded rules upon the body-nature nexus[,] rather the body and its particular "equipment" must anticipate and react to continually changing environments' (Humberstone 2011, 498).

Likewise, when Perry recounts his entry into the crevice cave system, he also reveals how his olfactory system (sense of smell) was uniquely stimulated during the hike [Appendix E]. He describes the significance of having never 'felt that same smell' of the 'fresh' cool air; something he contrasted with his experiences standing in front of an air conditioner in his apartment following a soccer practice. The group's reaction to the atmospheric shift they encountered as they descended into the cave system was also something documented by Author 2 while leading the hike:

> Throughout the tour I noted how high energy levels were amongst the youth, but especially when they encountered the temperature drop within the caves. Once there, they remarked at the novelty of the natural features they found, such as the oddly shaped trees, the wet rock and the cool moss growing all around. One moment which stood out to me was when the youth were playing with the echo of their voices inside the caves and in unison, they began a passionate soccer chant which gave me goosebumps. (Journal Entry June 2019)

The observed rise in youth's intensity levels at this moment resonates with what Chawla (1990) has termed 'ecstatic places.' These are areas in the natural world that generate emotional expression through people's dynamic engagement with them. In Perry's case, this led to a thinking *in*, rather than *about* practice—what Dewey (1930) called 'affective thinking.' Such personal experiences promoted an appreciation of the present moment, thus prompting him to undergo reflection regarding the novelty of this experience compared to his everyday life (Quay and Seaman 2016). This speaks to the merits of utilizing outdoor education perspectives in SfD programs, describing experiences of outdoor learning – *via* natural discovery – that are fundamentally different from those offered in traditional sport spaces. In the next subsection we turn our attention to what youth learned about the personal benefits of outdoor leisure while on the trip.

'It's you, yourself and the woods:' adolescent wellbeing through connection with nature

The second theme that emerged during the focus group interview was youth's belief that their stay at Hart House Farm enhanced their personal wellbeing.[5] Here youth described how holistic experiences with the natural world provided a necessary reprieve from daily

stress, which allowed them to gain perspective, and to undertake personal reflection. Given their limited exposure to natural environments, we interpreted this finding as a form of learning youth underwent about how outdoor leisure could be utilized in support of their personal wellbeing and growth.

An important precursor to understanding this argument is appreciating the inordinate amount of stress and anxiety youth in this study reported experiencing in their everyday life. Below, Sofiya describes this reality:

> Sofiya: I think it is important to come to places such as this because in a busy place such as where we are in Toronto you can get caught up in all the issues you have in your life and you can be overwhelmed. […] In the city you are restricted, 'I have to do this I have to do that' you know? You have those responsibilities. But here we have none of those responsibilities, I mean, yes, we have a program set, but it's a very general one. So, you can just go out and enjoy life for what it really is. Cause everyone here is always saying 'I hate life I'm so stressed about life.' But if you look at the fruits of life, and you come to places like this you see how grateful we should be about how great life is, the world is an amazing place, but we forget that because we live in one of the most populated and chaotic places. (Focus Group 2019)

In this way, the retreat offered youth a rare opportunity to jettison the daily 'responsibilities' that often left them feeling 'restricted' and 'overwhelmed' in their personal lives. Although adolescence has historically been described as a period of 'storm and stress,' (Hall 1904) or 'crisis' (Erikson 1968) these affects are heightened by the extra obligations that exist for young people from low-income immigrant families living in the inner-city. Previous research undertaken on youth from this area of Toronto has shown that they are often tasked with supporting their families through financial precarity and economic hardship—whether through their domestic labour or by undertaking part-time work (De Lisio, Yerashotis and Fusco 2019; Yerashotis 2022).

Compounding the situation are the built-environmental factors of their neighbourhood (St. James Town) that Sofiya alluded to—such as overcrowding and poor housing quality—which have been shown to adversely impact the wellbeing of residents (Wellesley Institute 2010, 2019). Moreover, youth's everyday experiences in Toronto are subject to the kind of chaos and busyness that is characteristic of life in the downtown core of a major metropolis:

> Lina: The environment and wilderness to learn from when you come out here is a different kind of feeling for us. Like when you live downtown, you can get distracted by literally everything. There's a billboard everywhere like, look at Dundas Square where everyone we know hangs out. And there's a million things going on, so there's no ability to confront yourself in your own head. But when you're here, everything is just *still*. So, it's just: You, yourself, and the woods, so you have no choice but to confront your thoughts and emotions and how you actually feel. (Focus Group 2019)

Contrasting the busyness of their everyday urban lives, the feeling of freedom and ease that the trip afforded youth was thereby significant to them because, as Lina noted, it made 'the environment and wildness [a place] to learn from.' Here, being in a leisure setting that juxtaposed downtown Toronto's disorienting displays of neo-liberal capitalism with 'billboards everywhere,' provided youth with a heightened awareness of their own thoughts and feelings. This process of 'getting away' through participation in outdoor leisure is, according to Djohari Brown and Stolk (2018), a useful coping strategy for disaffected youth to learn how to 'transform their feelings' (363).

In Lina's case, the research team documented how she would often go on slow strolls around the premises, taking pictures while sitting alone in deep contemplation. Continuing below, she describes how an important aspect to the calming effect the trip had on her mind was the attention she was able to pay to the subtle beauty of nature:

> Lina: I think that naturally as humans we should naturally be around nature. And for kids like us that live in the inner-city it's hard to really notice that. But when you come here, I find that my mind is just naturally calmer and more organized and settled when I'm around or in nature, and I can hear the wind, when I can hear the breeze in the trees and I can hear the birds chirp and when the grass is bright green and on its own naturally… (Focus Group 2019)

Lina thus attributes the serenity she felt on the trip to her own attentiveness to the wonders of the natural world. As Louv (2008) contends: 'In nature a child finds freedom, fantasy and privacy: a place distant from the adult world, a separate peace. […] Most of all, nature is reflected in our capacity for wonder' (7-8). During her brief detours around the property, she was also able to observe other young people similarly spending time alone in different natural sites: 'When I'm walking around, I've noticed people sitting outside by themselves thinking, they are lost in their heads, in their thoughts' (Focus Group 2019). In this way, youth used their free time to find contemplative reprieve in what Greenaway and Knapp (2016) would call 'magic spots.'[6] These are spaces that people discover in natural environments which deepen reflection and increase self-awareness—a kind of socio-emotional learning about 'self' that helps individuals derive meaning from experiences (266). As Nick expressed so clearly:

> Nick: So, at first when I was told that I was going to come here, I didn't really think it was going to be a good place because I don't like insects and all the other stuff you can find here. But once I came here, I noticed that it's much different from the city, because [where we live] there's so much stuff happening at one time. […] Since I came here all I've been doing is just reflecting on everything that happened in my life throughout the year and looking at it from a different perspective. I know if I was in the city, I would not have the viewpoint I have now about everything that's gone on throughout the year. So, it's made everything better in a way. (Focus Group 2019)

In this regard, many participants used their time in the outdoors to reflect upon prior experiences and to consider how they might apply their newly acquired perspective in the future. This psychological benefit was not grounded in taking part in any specific activity; they simply valued the calming space and free time they had been given to look inward to reflect upon where they had been, and where they were going. As one youth expressed: 'We are really lucky to have the opportunity to come to places like this and explore nature and try to find understanding and move towards it'. These kinds of testimonials echo the results of previous Canadian research, that has shown a positive association between nature-based activity, self-reflection and personal growth in a manner often described as 'spiritual' (Heintzman 2016; Johnson and Ali 2020).

The youth in our study likewise described outdoor activity in spiritual terms, and was most often linked to experiences of environmental connection, or 'oneness' with the natural world:

> Lina: Here, naturally everyone got so connected to the nature. When we were on the hike, it didn't feel forced, it didn't feel stressful it just felt like 'I'm just here and I'm supposed to be here and there's no other place I should be at, in this moment.'[…] It also made me realize how connected we are [because] when we go into nature you don't really realize how connected you are to, like, *nature itself*, to the world and the ground and the grass and the air. You don't notice these things in the city. (Focus Group 2019)

The momentary presence of the 'here and now' described by Lina while on the hike constitutes a state of being that sport scholars refer to as 'embodied flow' (Atkinson 2012; Pronger 2002; Roy 2014). Based within the work of Csikszentmihalyi (1990), flow states 'occur when a person's body or mind is stretched to its limits in a voluntary effort to accomplish something difficult and worthwhile' (3)—in this case, a 10-kilometre-long hike. We utilize this concept in our study to express how the harmonious feeling of mind-body connection youth described can positively influence their 'strivings of self' and their 'quality of individual wellbeing' (Shernoff et al. 2003).

Scholars in the field of Outdoor Studies have furthered these 'developmental' understandings of flow by analyzing people's holistic experiences of nature-based physical activity. For instance, Humberstone (2011) argues that 'by unpacking flow in the here and now and rounding it in the embodied affective of the practitioner, the notion of a spiritual experience emerges, where through engagement with elements of nature the body "learns to be in the world"' (506). Consider this 'mind-body-environment' unity in the epiphany described earlier by Lina regarding her suddenly realized inter-connection to the natural world. It speaks to how, the environmental landscape at Hart House Farm was more than just a backdrop for reflection. Within moments of nature-based physical activity, several youths experienced a sense of 'holism,' where the separation between themselves and the natural world dissipated, and these seemingly disparate entities became integrated (Humberstone 2011).

We therefore highlight youth's experiences of embodied flow in the context of our study to stress how such holistic experiences of oneness and connection to the natural world can have positive developmental effects on them. As Perry expressed: 'When I went out there on the hike, I just felt like everything came together for me, like it was something really special'. The emotional intensity of this '[special] coming together' endows it with developmental power as emotional exploration leads to (self) understanding (Becker 2016, 22) and personal growth through outdoor learning (Richards 2016, 254). Indeed, the spiritual-educational dimension of one's personal development can be deliberately or spontaneously evoked through physical activities, the natural environment, the social atmosphere, or other programmes—but it is most often experienced in the context of the outdoors (Jirásek et al. 2016; Jirásek et al. 2021). In this way, the trip supported wellbeing and personal growth by allowing youth to gain perspective, undergo introspection and find transcendental meaning in their experiences of connection with the natural world.

'Use this experience and pay it forward, just give it back to the world:' socio-political conscientization

The personal benefits youth gained from this trip notwithstanding, this final subsection reveals how the feelings of 'connection' to the natural world that youth experienced while at Hart House Farm resonated with them on a socio-political level. According to our investigation, program participation fostered important forms of environmental awareness on the part of youth. Nick expressed this clearly during the focus group:

> Nick: Before when I watched on TV and I see people going out and talking about global warming and how this much trees are being cut in other parts of the world I usually just watch it and not give it a thought, because I didn't see the effect it would have on the

> planet and the value of all this. But now, because of this opportunity, I would say this experience has changed me and my view. When it comes to preserving this area and coming here to visit and living around here for a time, it has changed me. I see the reason why these people go out and try to fight governments and corporations for the environment. (Focus Group 2019)

Politically-charged statements like these were a surprise finding to the research team, because the only political mandate of the program was to provide youth with *access* to the outdoors; with little pedagogical focus on fostering awareness of the environmental movement.[7] We therefore argue that it was youth's exposure to, experiences in, and most importantly, their expressed *connection* with nature, that allowed them to appreciate the importance of 'preserving' the environment. This supports what eco-psychologists have suggested are the positive effects of involvement with nature, where bonding experiences with the natural world form a foundation for environmental stewardship (Chawla 2022; Louv 2008, 44). The embodied dimensions of this process should also not be overlooked. Humberstone (2013), for example, cites the rise of alternative politics found within action sport cultures as evidence for how the sensuous and affective dimensions of people's experiences in nature-based physical activity can engender a shift in one's political worldview (e.g. Dimou and Iland 2018; Mansfield and Wheaton 2011; Olive 2016; Thorpe and Rinehart 2010; Wheaton, 2007, 2015; Wheaton et al. 2021).

Our findings regarding youth's socio-political conscientization also align productively with calls for more social justice approaches to SfD programs that encourage participants to examine and address the larger structural forces affecting their lives (Coakley 2011; Darnell 2012; Hartmann and Kwauk 2011; Haudenhuyse 2017; Wright et al. 2016). Yet, when Nick references his support for those people fighting 'governments and corporations for the environment,' he is drawing connections between social, political-economic, and natural domains, which is more representative of social-*environmental* justice (Cooper 2016). This is a strand of social justice that includes both human qualities of life as well as the preservation/conservation of the non-human—key features of what Mansfield (2009) refers to as 'ecological thought' (360).

Indeed, beyond general gestures to 'trees being cut,' some youth highlighted their specific exposure to animals and wildlife as an aspect of the trip that provoked their intrigue into matters of conservation:

> Perry: For example, today, and this may sound different, but on our hike when we saw the horses running? I found that very fascinating how the farms are so clean, that they are so well taken care of. I found it so fascinating how people put their time into stuff like this to preserve wildlife and care about other animals. (Focus Group 2019)

Perry's realization that people choose to spend their time 'preserving wildlife and caring about animals' again shows youth connecting social justice to the non-human realm. This helps to bridge the divide between perspectives that are human-centred and 'deep-green' perspectives that centre the non-human world (Humberstone 2016, 335). Correspondingly, the research team documented how youth showed genuine intrigue at being able to observe and engage with the different animal species living in and around the Farm property.

When coupled with time to reflect on their experiences, such exposure proved pivotal in fostering a critical-political awareness of the world, and their place within it:

> Mirak: All these authors and activists are able to sit down and reflect and actually think. It's so important to think, all the time we don't think we just react or act out; but why don't we reflect and think? The ones who can stay calm and think—even if they face a lot of adversity in their life, take for instance Malcom X—are always able to stop, reflect, and think. Those are the ones who can change the world in the future. (Focus Group 2019)

Mirak's statement speaks once more to the transformative power of engagement with the natural world, and the importance of being afforded the time and space to 'stop, reflect, and think.' Unlike the kind of personal reflection described in the previous section, Mirak is describing how the retreat was also a chance to reflect on the world around them, and how they can become agents of social change within it. Consider Mirak's point alongside criticism from scholars within the field of Outdoor Studies, who have lamented the non-critical pedagogical approaches often taken by programs that focus on adventure, risk and individual development while ignoring larger social and environmental concerns facing communities and societies (Cooper 2012; Humberstone 2016). In our study, we found that giving youth time and space to reflect was pivotal in their critical conscientization. From this vantage point, 'over-programming' young people on such trips can sometimes be *counter-productive* to learning, because it takes away opportunities for youth to create their own connections and generate their own meanings as to the importance of the natural world.

Coming back once more to the importance of place, this characteristically *socio-political* reflection was interlinked to the safety they felt sharing their opinions with one another while at the Farm. According to Amira:

> Amira: These conversations are so overlooked in our daily lives. When we aren't in a space like this, most of the conversations are about 'oh, did you hear about this drama,' rather than discussing things we really believe in, or speaking on our morals as people […] because I feel like in the city, we aren't given the chances to explore our unconscious minds. So, harder questions like: 'What is one question everyone must answer in life?' Just little mind exercises like that in a place like this where everything really flows naturally, and you feel one with the place it makes it easier for you to think and easier to share opinions and stories with people. You can be vulnerable. […] Everyone is on the same base level and are here for the same reasons, so I feel like in this environment it helps us [connect] better than in the city. (Focus Group 2019)

Youth hence believed that being immersed in a natural setting provided a platform for more *meaningful* kinds of dialogue amongst each other. Being able to connect socially and to bond over deep discussions allowed them to transcend superficial conversations and to contemplate deeper, more important matters—whether emotional, socio-political, or philosophical. Testimonials like these about sharing opinions and allowing oneself to 'be vulnerable' describe Cooper's understanding of social-environmental justice as being rooted in establishing connections with people and place through emotions and knowledge (Cooper 2016). In this regard, not only did youth form an attachment to the Farm, but the setting also fostered solidarity bonds by, as Amira put it, placing everyone 'on the same base level.'

Preliminary investigations into outdoor-focused SfD programs have also identified solidaristic properties to emerge amongst youth while on similar retreats (Johnson and Ali 2020).

Adding to this finding, we suggest that fostering solidarity is a crucial aspect to potential forms of resistance to power structures/systems that youth can carry forward. Mirak spoke adamantly on taking forward lessons they learned on the trip:

> Mirak: If you can't take what we have learned here and use it going forward then there's no point. [...] The real challenge is when we get back to the city. Is what we learned here going to either push us forward, or just be a memory we are going to keep? I stress to everyone that we take what we have here and put it in our back pocket as a safety or just in general something we use what we've learned here whether that's everyone together or something you've learned yourself. So, what I'm trying to say is that we have to take what we have here and use it, use this experience and pay it forward, just give it back to the world. (Focus Group 2019)

Youth's desire to 'take what [they] had learned here' to 'pay it forward' and 'give it back to the world' resonates strongly with Dewey's (1938) progressive ideals of learning being the fundamental driver behind the development of a 'just citizenry' (Breunig and Rylander 2016, 169). However, contemporary classroom settings have proven somewhat ineffective at imparting lessons of social responsibility to young people (Breunig and Rylander 2016; Humberstone and Stan 2012). Hence why Giulianotti has argued that education-based SfD programs can be fertile sites for fostering 'benign governmentality,' where youth learn about positive civic conduct in less formal ways (Giulianotti 2021; Giulianotti et al. 2018). We have found support for this contention, specifically regarding the use of *outdoor* education perspectives in SfD programming. Indeed, while other studies have highlighted the potential role of SfD programs in teaching *social* justice (Kope and Arellano 2017; Wright et al. 2016), our study has extended this finding to include the acquisition of *environmental* justice perspectives that encompass an expressed care for protecting and preserving the natural world. The significance of this finding and those from the previous two sections to the SfD field will now be discussed.

Discussion and conclusion

Overall, our investigation into the experiences of youth participants in the *Boundless Sport Program's* retreat to Hart House Farm found three primary ways that the trip facilitated outdoor learning: First, the trip broke down structural and cultural barriers to the Canadian outdoors, which enabled youth to form new appreciations for outdoor leisure. Second, their stay provided youth with the time they needed to gain some perspective on their life stressors and the space to undergo forms of self-reflection/introspection in a way that supported emotional wellbeing and facilitated personal growth. Third, by fostering deeper connections with the natural world and with each other, their experience at Hart House Farm expanded their political worldviews around matters of environmental justice and sustainability. These findings demonstrate the merits of utilizing outdoor education perspectives to inform SfD initiatives, in what we have termed 'outdoor-focused SfD programming.'

Academically speaking, our study has simultaneously addressed two separate calls from within the SfD literature. This includes the need to generate more 'socially transformative visions' for sport-based youth programming (Coakley 2011; Hartmann and Kwauk 2011; Spaaij et al. 2016; Spaaij & Jeanes, 2013), and to also form deeper connections between SfD scholarship with the environmental movement (Darnell and Millington 2023; Giulianotti et al. 2019; Millington and Darnell 2020). By augmenting a traditional SfD program with non-formal outdoor education, program effects on youth were expanded

beyond neo-liberalist forms of personal development to include youth's acquisition of social-environmental justice perspectives. Outdoor-focused SfD programming may therefore represent an avenue for SfD to generate more support for the environmental movement, while still fostering important forms of personal growth in the lives of disadvantaged young people.

The potential of these program models should also be considered in light of the growing criticisms of outdoor education, and the environmental movement more generally, as being comprised of predominantly 'white,' middle-class individuals (Curnow 2017; Gauthier, Joseph and Fusco 2021; Gibson-wood and Wakefield 2013). This was certainly relevant to our study, given the program's mandate to break down youth's intersecting barriers to accessing natural landscapes. The study's positive results demonstrate that when programs provide equitable access to, and opportunities for diverse urban youth to learn from/grow through their time in the outdoors, the call toward climate action transcends the limiting categories of race, culture, and class. Outdoor education centres may thus benefit from forming organisational relationships with the SfD sector, as the latter has proven more adept at engaging with marginalized groups, and especially disadvantaged youth, than the former.

Further along this vein, it is important to recognize the efficacy of the inter-sectoral collaboration between Toronto's municipal government and U of T – through the *Boundless Sport Program* – that facilitated this kind of outdoor learning. The program's success provides further practical evidence for SfD scholarship that has encouraged stakeholders in the sport and social development sector to break outside of the 'Sportland bubble' and form new institutional connections across the fields of youth work and education (Giulianotti et al. 2019, 421), which in this case was achieved *via* a partnership with a university. Not only did the linkages to Hart House at the UofT provide access to an outdoor education facility, but it expanded the program's influences to involve other adults with expertise outside of sporting realms (Magee 2014). This suggests that the SfD sector's possible contribution to the environmental movement can be strengthened by broadening its influence outside of the spheres of traditional 'sport' itself (Sterchele 2015).

Before closing, we must acknowledge some important methodological and substantive limitations of the study. Given that this was not a longitudinal investigation into the lives of the program's participants, it is outside of our scope to suggest that any of the learning outcomes had a long-term impact on youth. For example, young people expressed a shift in socio-political thought, but we have presented no evidence to suggest that this led to concrete action on community levels, as found in similar research (Kope and Arellano 2017). Still, we hypothesize that if strategies for community mobilization are intentionally incorporated into the program plan, the likelihood of youth's commitment to actualizing social change in their own communities may be greatly increased.

Our study should therefore be positioned within the SfD field's ongoing process of exploration regarding its potential contribution to social-environmental justice. Here we echo Darnell and Millington's (2023) call for academics and organizational stakeholders in SfD 'to imagine what a better future could look like, and the steps we might take to get there' (38). To build off our preliminary work on outdoor-focused SfD programming, we encourage further utilization of Giulianotti's (2021) 'socio-ecological' framework. Adopting this approach may go a long way in ensuring that sport's contribution to the environmental movement is based not only in sustainability, but also, *inclusivity.*

Notes

1. Founded in 1919, Hart House provides U of T students with access to a variety of programs, clubs, and events. It has an athletics wing, a restaurant, as well as a dramatic arts theatre and a visual arts museum—all of which are open to the public. Hence, in addition to this facility being at the very core of the U of T student experience, it also features prominently in the cultural life of urban Toronto. *Boundless Sport* was the flagship program for Hart House's Youth Partnership initiative, which sought to partner with youth service providers around the city in co-creating forms of programming at Hart House.
2. The exact definition of outdoor education has historically been subject to change, and according to Quay and Seaman (2013), reflects the socio-historic context upon which it is applied. In this study, we conceptualize outdoor education as encompassing both aspects of adventure education, as well as environmental learning which have most heavily influenced the outdoor education curriculum since the 1960's (9).
3. Appendix A provides a detailed overview of the program plan of the trip. Given that all the members of the program played competitive sport, we purposefully incorporated physical activity into the program plan—sometimes called 'green exercise' (Frumkin et al. 2017). This included outdoor yoga (Appendix B), volleyball, and field Lacross. Youth were also encouraged to participate in more conventional forms of outdoor recreation, such as hiking and cave exploration (Appendix E), axe throwing, campfire building and more. Other formal programming included a visit from an animal trainer from the Canadian Raptor Conservancy (Appendix C). Speaking to the more informal aspects of the program; youth participants were provided with scheduled 'free-time' for outdoor experiences. Finally, programmers aimed to be 'culturally competent' and inclusive to the specific needs of participants by providing halal food options and leaving time for daily prayer.
4. By 'Jr Researchers' we are referring to youth who were employed to support the larger research project this study was funded through which was headed by Author 3, entitled: "Using Participatory Action Research to Understand Sport and Social Development in Toronto, Ontario."
5. In this study we follow sociological studies of adolescent wellbeing that highlight how embodied dimensions of wellbeing are experienced in the lives of young people (2014; Duff 2009; 2011; Coffey 2022). Extending psychological approaches, this understanding takes account of the affective interplay between socio-material forces and young people's bodies as significant for how wellbeing is assembled through a process of engagement and relations, rather than being held as a bodily property or possession (Coffey 2022, 70; Djohari Brown and Stolk 2018).
6. Appendix F shows a photo taken by Lina of her favourite place on the property. The research team documented finding her sitting there in deep contemplation numerous times during the trip.
7. Upon review of the entirety of the program plan, communicating concerns over environmental sustainability to youth was quite minimal, restricted only to a short portion of the nature walk.

Acknowledgements

The authors of the paper would like to acknowledge and gives thanks to two key community partners that helped make this project possible. First, to Xavier 'Lucky' Boothe from Toronto Parks Forestry and Recreation for his essential role in supporting the vision of the Boundless Sport Program, and also for trusting the researchers to engage with its participants. Second to Michelle Brownrigg at Hart House Student Centre for helping to facilitate a partnership with UofT and for supporting the programming endeavours on the Farm property.

Disclosure statement

We acknowledge a conflict of interest existed in this research which derived from the dual roles of Authors 1 and 2 as programmers and researchers.

References

Atkinson, M. 2012. “Free Running: Post-Sport Liminality in a Neo-Liberal World.” In *Sport and Neoliberalism: Politics, Consumption and Culture*, edited by D. Andrews, and M. Silk, 193–208. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Bates, C., A. Bohnert, and D. Gerstein. 2018. “Green Schoolyards in Low-Income Urban Neighborhoods: Natural Spaces for Positive Youth Development Outcomes.” *Frontiers in Psychology* 9: 805–815. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00805.

Becker, P. 2016. “From ‘Erlebnis’ to Adventure.’ A View on the Zgerman Erlebnispadagogik.” In *International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince and K. Henderson, 20–29. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Berg, B., and H. Lune. 2012. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. New Jersey, USA: Pearson.

Breunig, M., and E. Rylander. 2016. “Beyond Training for Tolerance in Outdoor Experiential Education: More than Just Leadership.” In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince and K. Henderson, 168–177. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Coakley, J. 2011. “Youth Sports: What Counts as ‘Positive Development?” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35 (3): 306–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723511417311.

Chawla, L. 1990. “Ecstatic Places.” *Children’s Environments Quarterly* 7 (4): 18–23.

Chawla, L. 2022. “Childhood Nature Connection and Constructive Hope.: Helping Young People Connect with Nature and Cope with Environmental Loss.” In *High Quality Outdoor Learning: Evidence Based Education Outside the Classroom for Children, Teachers and Society*, edited by R. Jucker and J. von Au, 95–121. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature.

Coalter, F. 2015. “Sport-for-Change: Some Thoughts from a Sceptic.” *Social Inclusion* 3 (3): 19–23. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v3i3.222.

Coalter, F. 2013. *Sport for Development: What Game Are we Playing?* New York City, NY: Routledge.

Coalter, F. 2007. *A Wider Social Role for Sport: Who’s Keeping Score?* New York, NY: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Coalter, F. 2005. *Social Benefits of Sport: An Overview to Inform the Community Planning Process*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Sport Scotland.

Collins, M., and T. Kay, eds. 2014. *Sport and Social Exclusion*. 2nd ed., New York, NY: Routledge.

Cooper, G. 2012. “Outdoor Learning, Environment and Sustainability.” *Environmental Education* 100: 28–31.

Cooper, G. 2016. “Outdoor Education, Environment and Sustainability: Youth Society and Environment.” In *International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince and K. Henderson, 398–408. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Crabbe, T. 2007. “Reaching the ‘Hard to Reach’: Engagement, Relationship Building and Social Control in Sport Based Social Inclusion Work.” *International Journal of Sport Management and Marketing* 2 (1/2): 27–40. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJSMM.2007.011388.

Crabbe, T. 2009. “Getting to Know You: Using Sport to Engage and Build Relationships with Socially Marginalized Young People.” In *Sport and International Development*, edited by. R. Levermore and A. Beacom, 176–197. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1990. *Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Curnow, J. 2017. “Politicization in Practice: Learning the Politics of Racialization, Patriarchy and Settler Colonialism in the Youth Climate Movement.” Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Toronto, Leadership in Higher Adult Education.

Darnell, S., and R. Millington. 2023. “From *Sport for* to *Sport as* Sustainability: Confronting the Climate Crisis in Sport for Development.” *Journal of Sport for Development* 11 (2): 37–46.

Darnell, S. 2012. *Sport for Development and Peace: A Critical Sociology*. New York, New York: Bloomsbury Academics.

Dewey, J. 1926. “Affective Thought.” *Journal of the Barnes Foundation* 2: 3–9.

Dewey, J. 1929. *Experience and Nature*. Chicago, IL: Open Court Publishing Company.

Dewey, J. 1930. “Qualitative Thought.” *Symposium* 1 (January): 5–32.
Dewey, J. 1938. *Experience and Education*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
De Lisio, A., G. Yerashotis, and C. Fusco. 2019. “Playing in the Shadow of Event Urbanism: Newcomer Youth, Neighborhood Change and TO2015.” *International Journal of the Sociology of Leisure* 2 (1-2): 195–218. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41978-018-00028-6.
Denzin, N. 1997. *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Denzin, N. 2000. “The Practices and Politics of Interpretation.” In *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln, 897–922. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Donnelly, P. 2000. “Interpretive Approaches in the Sociology of Sport.” In *Handbook of Sport Studies*, edited by J. Coakley, and E. Dunning, 77–91. London, UK: Sage.
Donnelly, P., and J. Coakley. 2002. *The Role of Recreation in Promoting Social Inclusion*. Toronto, Canada: The Laidlaw Foundation.
Donnelly, P., and J. Coakley. 2004. “Recreation and Youth Development: What we Know.” In *From Enforcement and Prevention to Civic Engagement: Research on Community Safety*, edited by B. Kidd and J. Phillips, 157–167. Toronto: Centre for Criminology and Socio-Legal Studies, University of Toronto.
Dimou, E., and J. Ilan. 2018. “Taking Pleasure Seriously: The Political Significance of Subcultural Practice.” *Journal of Youth Studies* 21 (1): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2017.1340635.
Djohari, N., A. Brown, and P. Stolk. 2018. “The Comfort of the River: Understanding the Affective Geographies of Angling Waterscapes in Young People’s Coping Practices.” *Children’s Geographies* 16 (4): 356–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2017.1341971.
Duff, C. 2011. “Networks, Resources and Agencies: On the Character and Production of Enabling Places.” *Health & Place* 17 (1): 149–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2010.09.012.
Duff, C. 2009. “The Drifting City: The Role of Affect and Repair in the Development of ‘Enabling Environments.” *The International Journal on Drug Policy* 20 (3): 202–208. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2008.08.002.
Duff, C. 2014. *Assemblages of Health: Deleuze’s Empiricism and the Ethology of Life*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
Erikson, E. 1968. *Identity: Youth in Crises*. New York City, NY: W. Norton Company.
Fox, K., B. Humberstone, and M. Dubnewick. 2014. “Cycling into Sensoria: Embodiment, Leisure and Tourism.” *Tourism Review International* 18 (1): 71–85. https://doi.org/10.3727/154427214X13990420684563.
Frumkin, Howard, Gregory N. Bratman, Sara Jo Breslow, Bobby Cochran, Peter H. Kahn, Joshua J. Lawler, Phillip S. Levin, et al. 2017. “Nature Contact and Human Health: A Research Agenda.” *Environmental Health Perspectives* 125 (7): 075001. https://doi.org/10.1289/EHP1663.
Gauthier, Viviane Soa., Janelle Joseph, and Caroline Fusco. 2021. “Lessons from Critical Race Theory: Outdoor Experiential Education and Whiteness in Kinesiology.” *Journal of Experiential Education* 44 (4): 409–425. https://doi.org/10.1177/10538259211006739.
Gibson-Wood, H., and S. Wakefield. 2013. “Participation.’ White Privilege and Environmental Justice: Understanding Environmentalism Among Hispanics in Toronto.” *Antipode* 45 (3): 641–662. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.01019.x.
Giulianotti, R. 2011. “Sport, Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution: A Contextual Analysis and Modelling of the Sport, Development and Peace sector.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34 (2): 207–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2010.522245.
Giulianotti, R. 2021. “Greening Sport for Development and Peace: A Socio-Ecological Approach.” *Frontiers in Sports and Active Living* 3: 660743. https://doi.org/10.3389/fspor.2021.660743.
Giulianotti, R., S. Darnell, H. Collison, and P. Howe. 2018. “Sport for Development and Peace and the Environment: The Case for Policy, Practice, and Research.” *Sustainability* 10 (7): 2241. https://doi.org/10.3390/su10072241.
Giulianotti, R., F. Coalter, H. Collison, and S. Darnell. 2019. “Rethinking Sportland: A New Research Agenda for the Sport for Development and Peace sector.” *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 43 (6): 411–437. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723519867590.

Greenaway, R., and C. Knapp. 2016. "Reviewing and Reflection: Connecting People to Experiences." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince and K. Henderson, 260–268. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Halak, J. 2020. "Learning as Differentiation of Experiential Schemas." *In Experiential Learning and Outdoor Education: Traditions of Practice and Philosophical Perspectives*, edited by J. Parry and P. Allison, 53–70. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Hall, S. 1904. *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. New York, NY: D Appleton and Company.

Hartmann, D., and C. Kwauk. 2011. "Sport and Development: An Overview, Critique, and Reconstruction." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 35 (3): 284–305. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723511416986.

Hartmann, D., T. T. Swartz, E. J. Campos, A. August, A. Manning, and S. C. Billups. 2024. "A New Typology of Out-of-School Youth Sports in 21sdt Century America: The Contrasting Organizational Logics of Sport-Focused and Sport-for-Development Programming Under Neoliberal Conditions." *Sociology of Sport Journal* 41 (3): 306–319. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.2023-0080.

Haudenhuyse, R. 2017. "Sport for Social Inclusion: Questioning Policy, Practice and Research." *Social Inclusion* 5 (2): 85–90. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i2.1068.

Hayhurst, L. 2017. "Image-Ining Resistance: Using Participatory Action Research and Visual Methods in Sport for Development and Peace." *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal* 2 (1): 117–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2017.1335174.

Heintzman, P. 2016. "Spirituality and the Outdoors." *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 388–397. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Henderson, K. 2016. "Non-Formal Education and Training in/for/about Outdoor Studies (Introduction)." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 153–158. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Holt, N., and K. Neely. 2011. "Positive Youth Development Through Sport: A Review." *Revista de Iberoamericana de Psicología Del Ejercicio y el Deporte* 6 (2): 299–316.

Holt, N., ed. 2008. *Positive Youth Development Through Sport*. New York City, United States: Routledge.

Humberstone, B. 2000. "The 'Outdoor Industry' as Social and Educational Phenomena: Gender and the Outdoor Adventure/Education." *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 1 (1): 21–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729670085200041.

Humberstone, B. 2011. "Embodiment and Social and Environmental Action in Nature-Based Sport: Spiritual Spaces." *Leisure Studies* 30 (4): 495–512. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2011.602421.

Humberstone, B. 2013. "Adventurous Activities, Embodiment and Nature: Spiritual, Sensual and Sustainable? Embodying Environmental Justice." *Motriz: Revista de Educação Física* 19 (3): 565–571. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1980-65742013000300006.

Humberstone, B. 2015. "Embodied Narratives: Being with the Sea." In *Seascapes: Shaped by the Sea*, edited by M. Brown and B. Humberstone, 27–40. Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publications.

Humberstone, B. 2016. "Introduction to Part 5: Social and Environmental Perspectives on the Outdoors." In *International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince and K. Henderson, 334–339. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Humberstone, B., and H. Prince. 2020. *Research Methods in Outdoor Studies*. Edited by B. Humberstone and H. Prince. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Humberstone, B., and I. Stan. 2012. "Nature and Well-Being in Outdoor Learning: Authenticity or Performativity." *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 12 (3): 183–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2012.699803.

Humberstone, B., Brown, H., and K. Richards, eds. 2003. *Whose Journeys? The Outdoors and Adventure as Social and Cultural Phenomenon*. Carlisle, UK: Institute for Outdoor Learning.

Humberstone, B., H. Prince, and K. Henderson, eds. 2016. *Routledge International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Jirásek, I., P. Veselský, and J. Poslt. 2016. "Winter Outdoor Trekking: Spiritual Aspects of Environmental Education." *Environmental Education Research* 23 (1): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2016.1149553.

Jirásek, I., P. Badura, N. King, W. Pickett, and V. Michaelson. 2021. "Distinguishing between Spiritual Health and Religious Involvement as Determinants of Adolescent Health in Canada and the Czech Republic." *Health Promotion International* 36 (1): 286–296. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daaa046.

Johnson, J., and A. Ali. 2020. "Paddling as Resistance? Exploring an Indigenous Approach to Land-Based Education Amongst Manitoba Youth." *Diaspora, Indigenous and Minority Education* 14 (4): 205–219. https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2019.1669015.

Jones, Gareth J., Michael B. Edwards, Jason N. Bocarro, Kyle S. Bunds, and Jordan W. Smith. 2017. "An Integrative Review of Sport-Based Youth Development Literature." *Sport in Society* 20 (1): 161–179. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2015.1124569.

Jones, M., J. Dunn, N. Holt, and P. J. Sullivan. 2011. "Exploring the '5Cs' of Positive Youth Development in Sport." *Journal of Sport Behavior* 34 (3): 250–267.

Jucker, R. and J. von Au. 2022. "Outdoor Learning—Why It Should be High up on the Agenda of Every Educator." In *High Quality Outdoor Learning: Evidence-Based Education Outside the Classroom for Children, Teachers and Society*, edited by R. Jucker, and J. von Au, 1–26. Cham Switzerland: Springer Nature.

Kartakoullis, N., G. Karlis, C. Loizou, and A. Lyras. 2009. "Utilizing Sport to Build Trust – the Case of Cyprus." *European Journal for Sport and Society* 6 (1): 73–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2009.11687829.

Kope, J., and A. Arellano. 2017. "Resurgence and Critical Youth Empowerment in Whitefish River First Nation." *Leisure/Loisir* 40 (4): 395–421. https://doi.org/10.1080/14927713.2016.1269293.

Kuo, M., M. Barnes, and C. Jordan. 2022. "Do Experiences in Nature Promote Learning? Converging Evidence of a Cause-And-Effect Relationship." In *High Quality Outdoor Learning: Evidence-Based Education Outside the Classroom for Children, Teachers and Society*, edited by R. Jucker, and J. von Au, 47–66. Cham Switzerland: Springer Nature.

Lekies, K., G. Yost, and J. Rode. 2015. "Urban Youth's Experiences of Nature: Implications for Outdoor Adventure Recreation." *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism* 4 (9): 1–10.

Louv, R. 2008. *Last Child in the Woods: Saving Our Children from Nature-Deficit Disorder*. Chapel Hill, United States: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill.

Magee, J. 2014. "Engaging Socially Excluded Young People in Sport Programs." In *Sport and Social Exclusion in Global Society*, edited by R. Spaaij, J. Magee and R. Jeanes, 115–139. New York City: Routledge.

Mannion, G., and J. Lynch. 2016. "The Primacy of Place in Education in Outdoor Settings." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 85–94. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Mansfield, L. 2009. "Fitness Cultures and Environmental (in)Justice?" *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 44 (4): 345–362. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690209343029.

Mansfield, L., and B. Wheaton. 2011. "Leisure and the Politics of the Environment." *Leisure Studies* 30 (4): 383–386. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2011.626916.

Mauro, M. 2019. *Youth Sport, Migration and Culture: Two Football Teams and the Changing Face of Ireland*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Markula, P., and M. Silk. 2011. *Qualitative Research for Physical Culture*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Millington, R., and S. Darnell, eds. 2020. *Sport, Development and Environmental Sustainability*. London, UK: Routledge.

Millington, R., S. Darnell, A. Ali, and T. Smith. 2022. "An Overview of Sustain Development Goal." In *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Sustainable Development*, edited by B. McCullough, T. Kellison and E. Nicole Melton, 215–226. New York, New York.

Martin, T., and C. LeCrom. 2021. "Considering the Youth Voice: Needs and Asset Assessment in Sport-for-Development Using Photovoice." *Auc Kinanthropologica* 57 (2): 125–146. https://doi.org/10.14712/23366052.2021.9.

Nash, S. 2009. "Promoting Young People's Spiritual Well-Being through Informal Education." *International Journal of Children's Spirituality* 14 (3): 235–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/13644360903086505.
Nichols, G. 2004. "Crime and Punishment and Sport Development." *Leisure Studies* 23 (2): 177–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/0261436042000226363.
Nichols, G. 2007. *Sport and Crime Reduction: The Role of Sports in Tackling Youth Crime*. London, UK: Routledge.
Nichols, G., and I. Crow. 2004. "Measuring the Impact of Crime Reduction Interventions Involving Sports Activities for Young People." *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 43 (3): 267–283. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2311.2004.00327.x.
Olive, R. 2016. "Surfing, Localism, Place-Based Pedagogies and Ecological Sensibilities in Australia." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 500–515. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Ord, J., and L. Mallabon. 2018. "Wilderness and Informal Education: Importance of Wild Places and Spaces." In *Rethinking Outdoor, Experiential and Informal Education: Beyond Confines*, edited by T. Jeffs and J. Ord, 92–107. New York City and London: Routledge.
Orr, Madeleine, Brian P. McCullough, and Jamee Pelcher. 2020. "Leveraging Sport as a Venue and Vehicle for Transformative Sustainability Learning." *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education* 21 (6): 1071–1086. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSHE-02-2020-0074.
Paraschak, V., and M. Heine. 2019. "Co-Transforming through Shared Understandings of Land-Based Practices in Sport for Development and Peace." in *Sport, Development and Environmental Sustainability*, edited by R. Millington, and S. Darnell London, UK: Routledge.
Priest, S. 1986. "Redefining Outdoor Education: A Matter of Many Relationships." *The Journal of Environmental Education* 17 (3): 13–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/00958964.1986.9941413.
Pronger, B. 2002. *Body Fascism: Salvation in the Technology of Physical Fitness*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
Reed, E. 1996. *The Necessity of Experience*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Rishbeth, C. 2001. "Ethnic Minority Groups and the Design of Public Open Space: An Inclusive Landscape?" *Landscape Research* 26 (4): 351–366. https://doi.org/10.1080/01426390120090148.
Ritchie, D., M. Wabano, R. Corbiere, M. Restoule, C. Russell, and L. Young. 2015. "Connecting to the Good Life through Outdoor Adventure Leadership Experiences Designed for Indigenous Youth." *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning* 15 (4): 350–370. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2015.1036455.
Richards, K. 2016. "Developing Therapeutic Outdoor Practice – Adventure Therapy." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 251–258. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Roberts, N. 2016. "Race, Ethnicity and Outdoor Studies: Trends Challenges and Forward Momentum." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 341–350. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Quay, J., and J. Seaman. 2016. "Outdoor Studies and a Sound Philosophy of Experience." In *The International Handbook of Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone, H. Prince, and K. Henderson, 40–48. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Quay, J., and J. Seaman. 2013. *John Dewey and Education Outdoors: Making Sense of the 'Educational Situation' through More than a Century of Progressive Reforms*. Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
Quay, J. 2013. "More than Relations between Self, Others and Nature: Outdoor Education and Aesthetic Experience." *Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Learning* 13 (2): 142–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2012.746846.
Seaman, J., and A. Rheingold. 2013. "Circle Talks as Situated Experiential Learning: Context, Identity, and Knowledgeability in 'Learning from Reflection." *Journal of Experiential Education* 36 (2): 155–174. https://doi.org/10.1177/1053825913487887.
Raw, K., and E. Sherry. 2022. "Overview of Sustainable Development Goal." In *Routledge Handbook of Sport and Sustainable Development*, edited by B. McCullough, T. Kellison and E. Nicole Melton, 95–105. New York, New York: Routledge.

Roy, G. 2014. "Taking Emotions Seriously.' Feeling Female and Becoming-Surfer through UK Surf Space." *Emotion, Space and Society* 12: 41–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.emospa.2013.07.004.
Shernoff, D., M. Csikszentmihalyi, B. Shneider, and E. Shernoff. 2003. "Student Engagement in High School Classrooms from the Perspective of Flow Theory." *School Psychology Quarterly* 18 (2): 158–176. https://doi.org/10.1521/scpq.18.2.158.21860.
Smith, H. 2020. "Methods and Techniques for Capturing Empirical Material from Experiences and Stories in Outdoor Spaces and Places." In *Research Methods in Outdoor Studies*, edited by B. Humberstone and H. Prince, 68–77. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Smith, A., and I. Waddington. 2004. "Using 'Sport in the Community Schemes' to Tackle Crime and Drug Use Amongst Young People: Some Policy Issues and Problems." *European Physical Education Review* 10 (3): 279–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356336X04047127.
Spence, J. 2018. "The Living Landscape: Being in Place." In *Rethinking Outdoor Experiential and Informal Education: Beyond the Confines*, edited by T. Jeffs and J. Ord, 76–91. London and New York City: Routledge.
Spaaij, R. 2011. *Sport and Social Mobility: Crossing Boundaries*. New York City: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
Spaaij, R. 2012. "Beyond the Playing Field: Experiences of Sport, Social Capital and Integration among Somalis in Australia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (9): 1519–1538. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2011.592205.
Spaaij, R. 2015. "Refugee Youth, Belonging and Community Sport." *Leisure Studies* 34 (3): 303–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2014.893006.
Spaaij, R., and R. Jeanes. 2013. "Education for Social Change? A Freirean Critique of Sport for Development and Peace." *Physical Education & Sport Pedagogy* 18 (4): 442–457. https://doi.org/10.1080/17408989.2012.690378.
Spaaij, R., S. Oxford, and R. Jeanes. 2016. "Transforming Communities through Sport? Critical Pedagogy and Sport for Development." *Sport, Education and Society* 21 (4): 570–587. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2015.1082127.
Spaaij, R., J. Magee, and R. Jeanes. 2014. *Sport and Social Exclusion in a Global Society*. New York City: Routledge.
Sparkes, A. 2017. *Seeking the Senses in Physical Culture: Sensuous Scholarship in Action*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Sterchele, D. 2015. "De-Sporting Physical Activity: From Sport-for-Development to Play-for-Development." *European Journal for Sport and Society* 12 (1): 97–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2015.11687958.
Tiplady, L., and H. Menter. 2021. "Forestry School for Wellbeing: An Environment in Which Young People Can 'Take What They Need." *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning* 21 (2): 99–114. https://doi.org/10.1080/14729679.2020.1730206.
Thorpe, H., and R. Rinehart. 2010. "Alternative Sport and Affect: Non-Representational Theory Examined." *Sport in Society* 13 (7-8): 1268–1291. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430431003780278.
United Nations. 2015. *Transforming our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Available at: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication
Vermeulen, J., and P. Verweel. 2009. "Participation in Sport: Bonding and Bridging as Identity Work." *Sport in Society* 12 (9): 1206–1219. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430903137886.
Weiss, Maureen R., Nicole D. Bolter, Lindsay E. Kipp, et al. 2014. "Assessing Impact of Physical Activity-Based Youth Development Programs: Validation of the Life Skills Transfer Survey (LSTS)." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* 85 (3): 263–278. https://doi.org/10.1080/02701367.2014.931558.
Wellesley Institute. 2010. St. James Town Research into Action: Impacts of the Physical Environment on Health and Wellbeing. Policy brief. Available at: https://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Policy-Brief-20100722-Impacts-of-the-Physical-Environment-on-Health-and-Wellbeing.pdf
Wellesley Institute. 2019. Stress Report: A Snapshot of Socioeconomic Status, Housing Quality and Crime Across Toronto Neighbourhoods. Report. Available at: https://www.wellesleyinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Stress-Report-Wellesley-Institute_Final.pdf

Wheaton, B. 2007. "Identity, Politics, and the Beach: Environmental Activism in Surfers against Sewage." *Leisure Studies* 26 (3): 279–302. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614360601053533.

Wheaton, B. 2015. "Assessing the Sociology of Sport: On Action Sport and the Politics of Identity." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 50 (4-5): 634–639. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690214539160.

Wheaton, Belinda, Jordan Te Aramoana Waiti, Rebecca Olive, and Robin Kearns. 2021. "Coastal Communities, Leisure and Wellbeing: Advancing a Trans-Disciplinary Agenda for Understanding Ocean-Human Relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 18 (2): 450–470. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18020450.

Wright, P., J. Jacobs, J. Ressler, and J. Jung. 2016. "Teaching for Transformative Educational Experience in a Sport for Development Program." *Sport, Education and Society* 21 (4): 531–548. https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2016.1142433.

Yerashotis, G. 2022. "Kickin' It in 'The Hood:' Soccer and Social Inclusion in Global Toronto." Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Toronto, Faculty of Kinesiology and Physical Education.

Appendix A: Program outline

Time/Day	Activity	Description	Comments
Day 1			
10:30am	Pickup	Youth meet at the Wellesley Community Recreation Centre for pickup by a school bus.	
12:00pm	Arrival	Youth arrive at the Hart House Farm	
12:15-12:30pm	Briefing	Farm custodian meets with group to discuss ground rules, and protocols.	
12:30pm	Lunch	Brought by youth.	
1:00-2:00pm	Free time	No activities scheduled.	Youth explore the property, taking pictures and playing volleyball in the open field.
2:30-5:00pm	Cave exploration	Author 2 leads youth on a short hike to explore the nearby crevice cave system.	
5:00-6:30pm	Native Raptor Wildlife Educator	Wildlife educator from the Canadian Raptor Conservatory presents native raptor species from this region, including a Hawk, Falcon, Owl and Eagle.	
7:00-7:30pm	Dinner	Sloppy joes	
8:00-830pm	Desert by the Fire	Youth get to roast (halal) marshmallows to make smores	
9:00-10:00pm	Night Games	The group plays manhunt and different versions of hide and seek like 'kick the can.'	
10:00-11:00pm	Downtime	No programming scheduled	Youth remove all the furniture from the living room and construct an area to play indoor soccer.
Day 2			
7:00am	Wakeup		
7:30am	Breakfast	Pancakes	
8:00-12:00pm	Hike	Youth were here led on a hike that followed the Bruce Trial for approximately 10 kilometers. During the hike there was a thematic focus on indigenous plant identification as well as compass orienteering.	
12:30pm	Lunch		
1:00-2:00pm	Free time	No activities scheduled.	A water fight develops between the boys and girls.
3:00-4:00pm	Yoga	Certified yoga instructor affiliated with the University comes to run an Ashtanga yoga session in the shade.	
7:00-7:30pm	Dinner	Pizza	
8:00-830pm	Desert by the Fire	Youth get to roast (halal) marshmallows to make smores.	
9:00-10:00pm	Night Games	The group plays manhunt and different versions of hide and seek like 'kick the can.'	
10:00-11:00pm	Downtime	No activities scheduled.	Youth remove all the furniture from the living room and construct a field to play indoor soccer.

(*Continued*)

Time/Day	Activity	Description	Comments
Day 3			
7:30am	Wakeup		
7:45am	Breakfast	Cereal	
8:00-9:00	Cleanup and pack	Youth split into groups, and each clean a different area of the property.	
11:00-11:45am	Physical Cultural Activity	Indigenous Lacrosse learning activity	
11: 45-12:45	Focus Group	Youth who volunteered were led by Jr researchers in a semi-structured focus group discussion/interview while sitting in a Teepee.	
1:00pm	Departure	Facility inspected by the Farm custodian before departure. Youth take pictures with Boots the dog.	

Appendix B: Yoga

Appendix C: Raptor conservator session

Appendix D: St. James town

Appendix E: Youth descending into Crevice-Cave system

Appendix F: Photo taken by Lina in one of the property's 'magic spots'