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# 1

## Sport and Development: Mapping the Field

*Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom*

### 1.1 Introduction

The last decade, and especially since the UN declared 2005 to be its International Year of Sport and Physical Education, has seen a significant expansion in the use of sport (broadly defined) as a tool for initiating social change. Projects involving sport have included attempts to educate young people to appreciate health concerns (such as the dangers of HIV and malaria), engender respect for local communities, discourage anti-social and criminal behaviour, increase gender-awareness, as well as assist with the rehabilitation of people with disabilities and the reconciliation of communities in conflict.

This phenomenon is not new since sport has long been viewed, particularly by governments, as having potential to help induce social order, and to some extent economic development. However, this recent expansion of sport as an actor for social change, especially in what the World Bank classifies as low-income countries (otherwise referred to as the 'Global South'), is partially a result of the recognition that the orthodox policies of 'development' have failed to deliver their objectives. Such policies (advocated strongly by Western Liberal Democracies in the post-war era), emphasize the economic rather than the social environment,<sup>1</sup> yet have often been unsuccessful in enhancing standards of living as absolute poverty remains endemic in many parts of the world (see for example, Black, 2002; Sachs, 2006; *The Economist*, 2007; Easterly 2007; Calderisi, 2007).

A consequence has been the growing recognition of the need for new strategies, methods and institutions/actors to assist delivery of far-reaching commitments, enshrined for example through the development aspirations presented as the UN MDGs and the UNs Global Compact.<sup>2</sup>

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These aspirations highlight two trends. First, the growing emphasis, particularly since the World Commission on Culture and Development Report published in 1995, on culture and vehicles of culture to help deliver social as well as economic development. Second, the increase of institutions such as multinational corporations (MNCs), in the development process.

Among the emerging actors engaged in the development process, are a range of sports institutions/associations (including governing federations and clubs), multinational sports corporations and sports NGOs. It is important to note that many operate in a partnership, whereby a MNC such as Nike or government quango such as UK Sport, will fund a scheme, which is run by an NGO such as Right To Play (Beacom and Levermore, 2008). The NGO may in turn receive additional technical support, networking assistance/ advertising and additional resourcing from sports federations and governments or development agencies. As a result, sport – and these sport-in-development initiatives – has been credited with being a very useful and non-political vehicle to bring disparate and often opposing groups in the development policy-making process together.

The use of sport in international development sits within this broadening of the development focus. For advocates of the sport-in-development movement, the perception that sport can facilitate development because it is not associated with corruption in the development process (like the state has been in many low-income countries) or by the relative failure of previous development policies and institutions, are important factors contributing to its potential.

The benefits of sports' involvement in development processes are slowly being acknowledged by experienced policy makers in the development process for example, work with development agencies, mainstream development NGOs and governments. A number of high-profile statesmen have endorsed the sport/development relationship. This has included most prominently Nelson Mandela and Kofi Annan. The latter has been quoted as saying that sport can improve the lives of communities by tackling obstacles to development (such as conflict, disease and poverty) and contribute to ensuring the successful completion of the MDGs. In the UK, Tessa Jowell, (Minister for Culture, Media and Sport, June 2001–June 2007), commented that 'sport can be used to tackle many of the problems afflicting the developing world', by promoting good health, social development, as well as peace and reconciliation (Jowell, 2005).

Indeed, the UN has been credited with accelerating the sport-in-development movement following the nomination Adolf Ogi (former

President of Switzerland) as Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace in 2001. In 2003 the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace concluded that well designed sport-based initiatives that incorporate the best values of sport can be powerful, practical and cost-effective tools to achieve development and peace objectives (United Nations, Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace, 2003). In November 2003, the General Assembly of the UN adopted a resolution affirming its commitment to sport as a means of promoting education, health, development and peace and to include sport and physical education as a tool that contributes towards achieving the internationally agreed development goals (including the MDGs).<sup>3</sup>

When the UN declared 2005 to be the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, the wide-ranging contribution expected of sport was stated clearly (United Nations, 2005: v):

The world of sport presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides. Sport provides a forum to learn skills such as discipline, confidence and leadership and it teaches core principles such as tolerance, cooperation and respect. Sport teaches the value of effort and how to manage victory, as well as defeat. When these positive aspects of sport are emphasized, sport becomes a powerful vehicle through which the United Nations can work towards achieving its goals.

Similarly, a growing number of traditional, mainstream development NGOs are turning to sport to further some of their development goals. For example, the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD) has developed projects that include using football to help integrate former child soldiers back into Liberian society by training them with life and social skills and tracing their families (CAFOD, undated).

Northern governments attempt to harness some of sport's attributes to assist in objectives linked to its international development/relations objectives. The Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada, Norway, and Australia are examples of developed countries that use sport in such a manner. Governments in the Global South are also using sport for macro development purposes. Countries such as Zambia include sport in their national poverty reduction strategy and national development plan to stimulate

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education, highlight health awareness campaigns and encourage participation in sport.

This book has been written against the backdrop of concern about the ability to deliver development. As noted above, there is a realization among development practitioners, for the need to seek alternative/better methods if substantive progress is to be made. The objective of the book is not to promote sport as an alternative vehicle for development. Other voices have taken up that call and are being met with increasing praise as well as scepticism from policy makers, academics and public alike. It is rather, to identify the potential and the limitations of engagement in activities loosely classified as 'sport' to contribute to the wider development process, particularly in the Global South by enhancing the quality of life in a range of ways.

The introductory chapter addresses the conceptual and contextual issues that form the frame of reference for the debates surrounding so called 'sport-in-development'. It then outlines the rationale and highlights the substance of succeeding chapters.

### 1.2 Meanings attributed to sport

A distinct and expanding body of literature has emerged over the past three decades, focusing on the characteristics of the physical and cultural phenomenon referred to as 'sport' and how it relates to the societies within which it is located. This literature crosses traditional disciplinary boundaries to include historical works by writers such as Guttmann (1978, 1994), Mandell (1984) and Brailsford (1992) as well as socio-political analyses by a wide range of authors including John Hargreaves (1986, 2002), Jennifer Hargreaves (1994), Cashmore (2005), Bairner (2001) and Maguire (1994, 1999, 2000).

The term 'sport' has been interpreted in a variety of ways. Most emphasize its physical and competitive elements, as well as its cultural determinants. In addition, there is generally reference to the institutionalization of sporting forms<sup>4</sup> and the increasing significance of (largely financial) rewards that extend beyond personal satisfaction as factors that define the contemporary sporting landscape. In this respect, Huizinga in the seminal *Homo Ludens* (1955: 196), refers to the transition of activities, especially in Eurasian countries, from spontaneous 'contest' and 'occasional amusement' to the establishment of 'fixed organization' that was required to facilitate the emergence of a network of team sports and the establishment of teams.

Some commentators, for example Read and Bingham in the preface to this publication, adopt a looser interpretation of where the parameters of sport lie. They use the term to describe a wide spectrum of culturally defined physical activities with considerable variation in the level and nature of organization and competition.

What is important to stress is that the meaning of sport has changed quite dramatically in the last fifty years. While at mass participatory level, the 'fun' element remains as a central characteristic of sport, the evolution of many sporting forms, particularly in professional sport in 'developed' societies has seen a shift in general perceptions of the key characteristics of sport. This is partly associated with the changing political and economic environments within which sports organizations operate.

Given the international development context of the publication and inter-disciplinary profile of its contributors, this investigation adopts a broadly defined interpretation of what constitutes sport. For instance, while competitive sport does feature in the development process, many sport-in-development programmes use sport in a recreational or non-competitive manner. Examples from the [sportandev.org](http://sportandev.org) website include dance and recreational cycling. This debate highlights that sport can be considered as a 'floating signifier'; defined by any commentator as they see fit, for a variety of purposes.

Linked to this discussion are writers from a range of academic disciplines, such as social history and sociology, who have reflected on the extent to which sports as social and cultural constructions in this increasingly globalized era, either continue to replicate the characteristics of the societies from which they are situated (Heinemann, 1993; Dunning, 1999; Dunning and Malcolm, 2003) or succumb to more homogenized traits because of the processes of colonialization, post-colonialism and globalization (Maguire, 1999). This in turn connects with wider debate concerning the extent to which sport has the capacity to act as an agent for change, as opposed to reflecting wider social and cultural change. Such debate has implications for how we subsequently interpret the impact of sport-in-development interventions.

It should be remembered that interpretation of what constitutes sport is much more than an academic exercise. Within the UK for instance, those activities classified as competitive sports have been able to access a variety of funding streams denied to other physical activities. Such classification may also form the terms of reference for policy change relating to investment in sport provision and the sport

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development process. This was recently articulated in the 28<sup>th</sup> November 2007 policy speech by James Purnell, (Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, June 2007–January 2008) where, through a re-evaluation of what constituted ‘sport’ and the value of ‘sport for sports sake’, he set out the basis for policy shifts relating to the resourcing of sport development within the UK (Purnell, 2007).

### 1.3 International development defined

Debate as to the meanings attributed to the term ‘development’ has kept sociologists, economists, political theorists and anthropologists busy for many years. Until relatively recently, the dominant view of social and economic development, was for instance, associated with the idea of modernization through the processes linked to industrialization and corresponding economic growth. Such ideas fostered the concept of a linear path for development, which was quantifiable and which could be replicated given the correct pre-conditions. Sutton’s 1955 (cited in Huntington, 1971: 283–322) summary of modern and traditional societies articulated this clearly.

This ‘scientific’ approach to the investigation of development fitted the Positivist perspective concerning the study of social phenomena and provided common ground for thinkers as diverse as Gunder Frank (who strongly criticized modernization approaches) and Rostow (1960).

**Table 1.1 Characteristics of modern and traditional societies**

<b>Agricultural society</b>	<b>Modern industrial society</b>
1. Predominance of ascriptive, particularistic, diffuse patterns	1. Predominance of universalistic, specific and achievement norms
2. Stable local groups and limited spatial mobility	2. High degree of social mobility (in a general, not necessarily ‘vertical’ sense)
3. Relatively simple and stable occupational differentiation	3. Well-developed occupational system, insulated from other social structures
4. A deferential stratification system of diffuse impact	4. ‘Egalitarian’ class system based on generalized patterns of occupational achievement
	5. Prevalence of ‘associations’ i.e. functionally specific, non-ascriptive structures

*Source:* Huntington, 1971: 284.

Within these approaches there is a long-standing belief that development is essentially good and dominated by a view that progress through economic growth and industrialization is possible. For modernization, these processes are often stimulated by a Northern donor organization (governmental or non-governmental) who enter into a relationship with a recipient from the Global South (governmental or non-governmental).<sup>5</sup>

In practical terms, 'national' development continues to be measured by organizations such as the World Bank, through economic indicators like GDP. Indeed the core principle of development assistance remains the alleviation of absolute poverty and its consequences largely through policies advocated by modernization.

International development covers what is termed by various actors in the field (according to viewpoint) as the 'Third World', lesser developed regions of the world or the 'Global South' – in other words, countries or regions in the latter two categories of the World Bank's classification of developed countries, particularly in the lowest (low-income) bracket. These areas, predominantly in South America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, are characterized by the following:

- Generally poor (material) standards of living
- Limited infrastructure (including education)
- Poor nutritional standards and/or limited access to clean water
- Prevalence of disease/ poor health care system
- Often unstable/authoritarian political systems
- Significant levels of discrimination and exclusion
- Low levels of trade, investment and general economic welfare.

The highest income countries are often collectively described as 'Northern' or 'Western'. These terms are used interchangeably throughout this publication.

We recognize that, because of the range of competing perspectives in the school of international development, there is a lack of common consensus surrounding what (international) development actually means. For the purposes of this research however, international development is taken to mean the processes by which there is an attempt to improve life chances throughout the world but particularly in countries considered to be low income.<sup>6</sup>

Clearly this rather traditional and standard definition of international development is open to many challenges, particularly that it is a Eurocentric/ethnocentric understanding of the world and that the

indicators for development exclude characteristics that might portray 'developed' Northern/Western countries in a less privileged light. Furthermore, many of the characteristics listed above are evident within pockets of the Northern world. Sections of this book do return to this debate, especially through the terminology used to describe low-income countries, but we have used the term 'Global South' as our starting point.

#### 1.4 'Sport' and 'development'

Modern sporting forms have, since their inception, often been tied to broad development objectives of some sort. This has either been in terms of individual skill acquisition and performance enhancement in developing sport or, as examples throughout this book highlight, in its adoption for the purposes of social, educational and cultural development. A well-rehearsed theme in recent literature is the differentiation between development *of* sport; that is activity designed to enhance participation and performance in sport as an end in itself, and development *through* sport; that is activity designed to use sport as a vehicle to achieve a range of other social, economic and political objectives (see for example, Houlihan and White's (2002) assessment of the politics of sports development). This latter understanding can be through specific development assistance programmes/projects or on a broader level within vaguer commitments to regional and national development strategies or via benefits generated with the hosting of sports events.

Clearly there are significant differences between these aspects of 'sports' and 'development'. Nevertheless, they are not mutually exclusive. This is articulated for instance, in the joint British Council and Youth Sport Trust sport leadership initiative entitled *Dreams + Teams* where there is parity between its aim of 'developing young leaders and global citizens through sport' (British Council, 2007) and the transference of specialist coaching skills. The initiative provides unique insights into the challenges and opportunities present when relationships with developing states are fostered through capacity building in sport and recreation. Engagement in delivery of sports leadership skills with a focus on international cultural awareness and inclusion, is then of equal importance to the enhancement of the coaching base within the recipient community.

At the same time, as has been discussed by Saavedra in Chapter 6, it is acknowledged by a number of sport-in-development practitioners, that the efficacy of many initiatives is largely dependent upon the capacity to secure skilled sports coaches with an appreciation of the

technical elements of skill acquisition as well as the socio-cultural development context within which they are working. 'Sport development' programmes *may* then add to the development of sporting excellence, while at the same time contributing to broader development objectives through the sporting activity.

Notwithstanding the linkage between these contrasting aspects of sport development, it is nevertheless important to recognize the different rationales for engagement with the sport-in-development process by a range of organizations and agencies. Coalter, in Chapter 3, introduces particularly useful terms to reflect this differential. On the one hand he refers to those initiatives which are 'sport plus' – primarily focused on the development of sport-oriented and those which are 'plus sport' – the focus principally on social and occasionally economic development and how sport can assist this. It should be noted that the 'sport plus' category has very broad parameters where the articulation of social and economic developmental spin-offs varies considerably.<sup>7</sup> For example, as Akindes and Kirwin chart in Chapter 10, FIFA introduces two contrasting initiatives. The Football for Hope programme has clearly outlined social development objectives that stipulate the use of football for a youth target audience. FIFA's Goal programme operates primarily to strengthen the football infrastructure in all of its member states. However, a few social developmental side effects are evident from this.

In these senses and for the purposes of this book, the term, 'sport-in-development' is adopted, as representative of the perception that the use of sport *may* assist the international development process. We privilege this term above sport for development or sport through development (which are used elsewhere) because these latter terms imply that the use of sport in the development process is an overwhelmingly positive one and tends to preclude the argument that sport might be detrimental to societies in the Global South.

As the preface to the publication and the opening paragraph highlight, there has been a noticeable increase in sport-in-development initiatives. At the time of writing, 255 projects are listed on the [sportanddev.org](http://sportanddev.org) website and considerably more undoubtedly exist. A review of these schemes shows their recent intensification; 93% were formed from 2000 onwards (28% from 2006 alone). The schemes can be grouped into six major clusters:<sup>8</sup>

- Conflict resolution and intercultural understanding
- Building physical, social, sport and community infrastructure

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- Raising awareness, particularly through education
- Empowerment
- Direct impact on physical and psychological health as well as general welfare
- Economic development/poverty alleviation

Some of these clusters are significant actors within the development sphere that they operate in. For example, the MYSA, is believed to be the largest grassroots organization in Kenya (Willis, 2000; Hognestad and Tollisen, 2004). However, most of these programmes are run on a micro-scale, reflected in initiatives that assist one or more of the themes highlighted above. Unsurprisingly, given the low levels of development that mainstream indicators give the region, most of the schemes – totalling 52% of all programmes – are located in sub-Saharan Africa. 18% (46 schemes) run in East Africa; 14% function in West Africa and 20% operate in Southern Africa. The target audience is overwhelmingly youth focused with 51% of schemes dedicated to children and young people. Sport is credited as having qualities that are particularly appealing to this section of community, where other traditional development initiatives might be perceived to be more staid or lacking interest/impact.

Furthermore, as many of the schemes are sport plus oriented, it is not surprising that 15% of the schemes are directed towards sport instructors. Other significant target groups are the disabled (9%), girls and women (10%) and refugees (10%).

Continuing with the 'Functionalist' perspective of sport and society, it is frequently claimed that sport may also contribute in less tangible ways to the development of a country (as true in Northern societies as it is within the Global South). For instance, there are those who argue that the Democratic Republic of Congo and Cote d'Ivoire attribute sport (mainly football) as one of the few successful vehicles at driving some form of integrative unity; something that is most noticeable when a national team performs well in an international tournament, whilst also projecting a positive image on a world stage. Success in sporting competitions has helped portray countries from the Global South in a more positive light (Levermore, 2004). These arguments were also used in the context of sport in the colonial and immediate post-colonial (independence) eras. For example, President Kwame Nkrumah was one of the first African statesmen to adopt the position that success at sporting events could assist the presentation of African countries in international society in the postcolonial era (Darby, 2005:

888). However, it could be argued that an equally negative portrayal, pandering to stereotypes and highlighting the backwardness of some countries, can also be articulated through such events (see chapter two for further discussion on this).

This chapter proceeds by considering the well-documented historical use of sport in development and nation-building processes within Global South countries. In so doing, it recognizes the call for a more critical approach to the study of sport in society. Moreover, a consideration of engagement of sport in the development process over the longer term provides a context within which the contemporary characteristics of the sport-in-development can be better understood. For example, Maguire and Young (2002: 1) refer to the ‘threat of being tied too closely to the here and now and providing solutions to short term problems’. They point to the limited value of adopting an atheoretical and ahistorical approach to the investigation of sport in society. Similar concerns are echoed by contributors to this book. To that end, arguments have been embedded in a wider development theory with its concern with shifting power relations and the re-framing of the development agenda.

## 1.5 Historical perspectives on sport-in-development

Debate on the evolution of sport-in-development is generally characterized by reference to its recent rapid expansion. Yet within the context of development assistance broadly defined, evidence points to a long history of development interventions involving sport. This has taken the form of support for institutional development and logistical and material assistance for athletes from colonies and former colonies as well as fostering engagement in sport as a mechanism for promulgating cultural values. As with mainstream development assistance, the form that sport-in-development has taken has historically been influenced by wider tensions in colonial and international relations. An appreciation of these historical experiences enhances understanding of challenges faced when engaging in contemporary development assistance programmes.

The link between colonialism (imperialism) and development is long established in literature. Townshend highlights the influence of sociologist Herbert Spencer, on Hobson’s classic work on imperialism that addressed the capacity of imperial intervention to contribute to the organic growth of international society (Hobson, 1988).<sup>9</sup> In the context of sport, such an idea of development assistance was articulated through attempts, as in the domestic sphere, to replace perceived ‘barbaric’ local

customs with the 'civilizing' influence of particular sporting forms (Mangan, 2006).

This idea of sport having the capacity to 'civilize' was not limited to nineteenth century colonialism. Guttman (1992) for instance, refers to attempts to export characteristics associated with ancient Hellenic culture through the early Olympic Games.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, it is in relation to the diffusion of modern sporting forms throughout empire, that the idea of its potential to contribute to the civilizing process becomes established.

The comprehensive body of literature relating to the international diffusion of modern sporting forms does then provide a valuable resource when investigating the challenges facing contemporary sport development assistance. The origins of contemporary initiatives seeking to use sport as a conduit for development remain within the frame of reference established during the period when these sports were going through the process of international transmission and translation. This is further underpinned by a separate but related body of sociological literature that investigates the place of sport in the 'civilizing process.' The belief that sport can have a civilizing influence on societies both in terms of the channelling of 'physical exertions' through the 'highly regulated form of sport [serving] as symbolic representations of non-violent competition between states' (Elias and Dunning, 1986: 23) and in terms of wider transference of cultural values, has provided the catalyst for a wide ranging debate, much of which is highly critical, on how sport relates to social development.

This perspective on the civilizing influence of modern sporting forms should be considered alongside the historically negative perception often shown by early commentators towards indigenous sport. Heinemann (1993: 144) for example, highlights the destructive impact of colonialism on traditional sport in the Global South, arguing that missionaries 'regarded popular sport, especially dancing, as immoral and felt it was too closely associated with the myths and cults of traditional society. They were also afraid that such pursuits could prevent people from attending church services'. The common strand running through this argument concerns power relations between the 'donor' and the 'recipient'. Sociologists such as Sugden and Tomlinson (2002: 8) have focused on the significance of sport as; 'one cultural form in which agency/power relations can be studied'. Their historical approach to social research can, when considered in the context of sport and development, facilitate a clearer appreciation of the influence of power dynamics on this process.

### 1.5.1 Development through new sporting forms: opportunities for imperial consolidation?

There has then been much scholarly debate concerning the contribution of modern sporting forms to ideas of development (MacAloon, 2006). Of particular note is reference to their contribution toward the development and consolidation of empire. Notwithstanding contemporary disagreement concerning the extent to which indigenous groups had agency in appropriation and translation of 'muscular Christian'<sup>11</sup> sport (Majumdar, 2006), the diffusion of modern sporting forms was it seemed, part of the cultural fabric associated with the expansion and consolidation of empire.

The relationship between the amateur sporting tradition and idealized notions of British imperialism has been explored in literature relating to both the history of sport and the history of empire. In both cases, it has been argued that the education process provided the environment within which sport was adopted as a means to communicate imperial responsibility. MacKenzie (1984), in his investigation of the perpetuation of empire, argued that sport was one aspect of a framework of curricular and extra-curricular activities through which attempts were made to imbue children at home, with a consciousness of imperial and military destiny.<sup>12</sup> The 'ideology of athleticism' had, it is commonly argued, become an integral part of public school culture, developing its own rituals and symbols and forming the basis of responsible, disciplined codes of behaviour. While there has been much scholarly debate about the nature of the 'donor-recipient' relationship in the context of imperial relations, attempts to transmit this value system to recipients through-out the empire, did clearly become a defining aspect of the colonial experience.

The claim that the diffusion of sport has contributed to the maintenance of empire, particularly in terms of disseminating 'British culture' and aiding the integration of indigenous elites, has then become a familiar theme of literature relating to the period (see for example MacKenzie, 1984). Mangan (1998) has made much of the adoption of the new sporting forms by indigenous elites in India. He refers to a number of Indian contemporaries of the late nineteenth century, as indicating their support for the use of the public school system in India and more specifically, the inculcation of codes of behaviour through engagement with English sports. The policy of promoting sport for the improvement of colonial populations had by the 1930s achieved tangible results in terms of internalizing the system of athletic education (Holt, 1989). Perkin (1989) went as far as, somewhat

optimistically, suggesting that this diffusion had paradoxically also contributed to the emancipation of subject nations and so helped the British Empire to decolonize on a friendlier basis than was the experience with other imperial powers. Recent interpretations of this historical experience adopt a more critical approach to the process of diffusion and stress the translation of new sporting cultures within a variety of indigenous contexts (MacAloon, 2006; Majumdar, 2006). Notwithstanding lack of consensus among commentators regarding the extent to which sport contributed to cultural hegemony, attempts were certainly being made during this period to use assistance with the development of sport as a vehicle for managing imperial relations.

### 1.5.2 Interpreting contemporary developments

Understanding the colonial and post-colonial imperatives for such activity provides the context within which continued attempts to achieve development objectives through sport, can be explored. This is the case for instance, when investigating the role of sport leadership initiatives which, as part of international education programmes, are designed to inculcate a particular interpretation of roles and responsibilities in social development, as well as contributing to the enhancement of sporting infrastructure. Such activity is evident in a range of contemporary sport-in-development activities, most notably the joint British Council and Youth Sport Trust initiative *Dreams + Teams* (introduced above). Its aim of 'developing young leaders and global citizens through sport', provides unique insights into the challenges and opportunities present when relationships with developing states are fostered through capacity building in sport and recreation in developing states.

The existing framework of international contacts that the British Council has evolved over a number of years has provided an entry point for many of the *Dreams + Teams* projects. During Autumn 2004 and Spring 2005 a number of school links were developed in Hungary and the Czech Republic. The investigation identified that in the case of the Czech Republic, the enthusiasm of the Education Ministry led to a rapid expansion of the initiative. In addition it was argued that existing British Council programmes in South Africa have made a small contribution to the South African Government's strategy of training large numbers of young sports leaders in preparation for the football World Cup in South Africa in 2010.<sup>13</sup>

Finally it should be noted that the familiar themes of the social, physical and cultural value of sport continue to underpin calls for engagement with sport in a domestic development setting. This, despite

limited tangible evidence concerning the true 'value' of sport (a theme explored later in the book). The heightened interest in development *through* sport domestically (in the UK) since the social unrest during the early 1980s,<sup>14</sup> continues with initiatives such as Positive Futures (explored in detail in chapter eight of this book). The re-interpretation of that message in the context of international development assistance forms the basis for themes throughout the book. Indeed, the experience in many donor countries, of using sport as a development tool in a domestic setting and the interest of a range of sports organizations and agencies in this process provides a basis upon which to expand activities into the wider development arena.

This expansion of sport-in-development initiatives from a domestic to an international setting, requires translation to align initiatives to new cultural contexts. Such translation, assessment and application need the engagement of policy makers and scholars across the North–South divide. By considering sport in the context of development theory and by engaging in a series of supporting case studies, this book contributes to that process.

## 1.6 Engaging sport-in-development discourse with mainstream development literature

Recognition of the role of sport as a potential engine of development is largely absent from the social sciences literature. Unsurprising, given its recent development, none of the seminal international development texts (such as Bhagwati, 1985; Amin, 1974; Frank, 1967; Rostow, 1960 and Balassa, 1978) or journals include even a cursory mention of sport. This trend has continued to present times – the last fifteen years of *International Development Abstracts*, found that from over 70,000 entries, only twelve mentioned sport. Contemporary texts on development (such as Hettne, 1995; Desai and Potter, 2002 and Kingsbury *et al.*, 2004), in which one might expect some discussion of the recent intensification of sport-in-development, fails to highlight or comment on the relationship. Only a poorly circulated and little known two page article in *International Development Review* (Anthony, 1969 – which argued that the benefits of sport-in-development had been neglected by practitioners and academics), Frey (1988) and a 2005 edition of *Third World Quarterly* discusses the role of sport (mega sporting events) in any detail from what might be termed loosely development academics. Other research emanates from sports studies, with Coalter (2005, 2007), Maguire (1999 and 2000), Armstrong (1997), Giulianotti (2004), Darby (2002), Arbena

(1993), Heinemann (1993) and Chappell (2004) amongst those who consider some of the relationships between sport and international development. However, and with notable exceptions (most of the authors above), sport-in-development is rarely the centre of their analysis and some are highly descriptive, noting simply that sport does play a role in promoting development around the world without embellishing further.

The 'disengagement' of sport and international development by the academic community is possibly due to the long-established and reasonably well documented unease with which sport has been viewed as being exclusive, male-dominated and somehow problematic because of its association with large-scale popular culture (despite the popularity of sport at the moment). Undoubtedly, exaggerated claims that sport is a panacea to 'cure all,' that some people make (particularly in the sport industry), is a further reason for a degree of alienation of sport by 'developmentalists' (Levermore, 2008b).

The central aim of this book is therefore to initiate a debate in academic international development circles on the use of sports based initiatives to establish and assist development. The critical appraisal will be concerned with identifying limitations as well as establishing contexts within which such initiatives can be considered beneficial. As catalysts for international development range from emergency and humanitarian aid, through to trade, investment, knowledge transfer and assistance with political transition, this book investigates the capacity of sport to act both as a conduit for traditional development assistance activities and as an agent for change in its own right. It argues that sport can, in certain contexts, contribute to the development process, particularly where traditional development approaches have difficulty in engaging with communities. It contends that understanding the opportunities and limitations for sport-in-development, contributes to an appreciation of the fundamental challenges currently facing the development community.

The book responds to a scholarly vacancy that, despite growing interest in the subject, exists in relation to sport-in-development. An assessment of the roles of sport based initiatives as a potential engine of development is largely absent from the social sciences literature. It is not just academic literature – as argued above – that largely neglects to highlight this growing trend. Notwithstanding some notable exceptions (see for example the UN statements on sport-in-development), many development agencies, such as the IMF and World Bank, or mainstream development NGOs, have failed to assess – and at times even recognize – the sport/development interaction. The UN tacitly admits

this, noting in one policy document (2003: 2) that, 'Sport is seen as a by-product of development, not as an engine'.

### 1.7 The structure of the book

The book addresses a range of contemporary concerns emerging from the sport-in-development movement. It does this through a combination of analysis of conceptual debates and academic writing on the subject, investigation of the experience of key communities as 'recipients' of sport-in-development (identified above as young people, sports instructors, women and the disabled) and assessment of specific sport-in-development case studies. A central theme in the book is the call for more – and better – measurement of the impact that sport has on development. Coalter leads the way with a chapter devoted to this subject but all other chapters focus partly on this debate.

The structure of the book revolves around three broad areas; each comprising three chapters. The first of these highlights important general themes, issues and suggestions for analysis and measurement that are often echoed in more specific case studies or themed chapters that follow. The first of these chapters (Chapter 2), considers the contending views on sport and development from the perspective of development theories, by assessing the implications of different viewpoints in understanding donor-recipient relations in the context of sport development assistance. It suggests that the sport/development relationship highlights some benefits, especially in the dominant way of viewing development (modernization and neo-liberalism) whilst also posing a number of concerns from alternative theories that are not always confronted by practitioners who engage in sport-in-development. Criticisms range from sport perpetuating the 'core-periphery relationship' to the reinforcement of dominant perspectives of international development by conveying a message that Northern initiatives are best, often by portraying the Global South in a subordinate manner.

Chapter 3 addresses the call by many, especially donors, for more (and effective) evaluation of the impact of sport-in-development. It suggests that a key impediment to understanding the opportunities and limitations of sport as part of the development process is a misunderstanding of the nature of sport and how sport relates to wider society. It argues that an approach to monitoring and evaluation of such sport/development assistance initiatives based solely on impacts and outcomes, misunderstands the nature and potential of sport-in-development organizations. Considerations relating to sport as process,

sport and the context of poverty and, most importantly, the relationship between sport-in-development organizations, social capital and weak civil societies require a 'process-led approach' to monitoring and evaluation. The chapter argues for an alternative approach by illustrating the value of theory-driven approaches which examine the assumptions about assumed program mechanisms and the extent to which they are legitimate and reflected in programme design and delivery.

Chapter 4 moves away from concentrating on sport-in-development projects by considering another dimension of the role of *sport in development* – the economic, social and political impacts of major sports events and the ramifications for development. A number of contending perspectives on this widely debated subject are explored. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the major developmental contours that sports events seem to have, and given the growing significance that the hosting of such events poses for policy, what factors should be taken into consideration for the promotion of sport-in-development at both the international and national levels.

The second area considers how different communities (the disabled, women and young people) relate to the sport-in-development movement. Chapter 5 addresses the issue of disability from the perspective of the sport-in-development movement. It considers a range of cross-cultural interpretations of what constitutes disability and considers the contrasting range of perspectives on disability rights across cultures. It argues that as inclusion and disability rights have moved up the domestic political agenda of Western Liberal Democracies, this has created a momentum toward responding to the needs of disabled people within the sport-in-development context. This trend is accentuated by the response of international organizations such as the UN, to rapidly increasing numbers of disabled people, resulting from a range of regional conflicts. These factors, combined with the organizational objectives of key international sports NGOs, have provided a new momentum for international assistance with the development of sport for disabled people. At the same time however, a number of recent initiatives have highlighted the difficulties that result from cultural tensions between donor organizations and recipients. They clearly illustrate the challenges faced by the wider development community when attempting to reconcile the objectives of donor organizations, with the perceived needs of recipients.

Chapter 6 addresses the tensions inherent in gender relations within the sport in development frame. It identifies efforts to empower – a central plank of the development agenda – as characteristic of effective

sport-in-development programmes aimed at girls and young women. While this presents unique opportunities for development practitioners, it also presents dilemmas as established power relations are challenged. The chapter places gender, sport and development within wider historical context, with reference to nineteenth century attempts to achieve social and cultural development through sport, as well as highlighting the practical requirements for effective programme delivery. It argues that seeking to empower females through sport is somewhat paradoxical given that the world of sport can be a bastion for male privilege and power, an important arena for asserting a particular kind of male dominance over women (and some men), as well as furthering EuroAmerican hegemony *vis-à-vis* the Global South.

Chapter 7 is concerned chiefly with youth both as a major human resource for development and as key agents for social change. In light of the pivotal role of young people in the development process, Nicholls argues that sport-in-development 'is largely occurring on the backs of young people through peer education', as they carry the responsibility for achieving many of the sport-in-development objectives. The focus of her chapter is to better understand why policy and programming relating to sport-in-development appears to lack meaningful contributions from young people, while arguing for options to challenge and reshape this trend. It engages with the theoretical principles drawn principally from Michel Foucault's work. Feminist considerations, post-colonial analysis and empowerment theory will link aspects of Foucauldian power and knowledge to the field of sport-in-development and subsequent interaction with young people in order to offer a constructive critique of the barriers limiting the contribution of peer educators to strengthening the field.

The third area focuses on more specific case studies whilst also reflecting on the issues raised in preceding chapters. Chapters 8 and 9 build on the analysis conducted by Nicholls by concentrating on case studies that are targeted at young people. Crabbe links the engagement of sport and physical activity in a domestic (UK) social development setting, whilst highlighting how the scheme can – and is – being used in the Global South. It identifies the peculiar aspects of the Positive Futures initiative that was designed to avoid the limitations of previous 'command' programmes by adopting a locally negotiated approach to design and delivery, thus moving towards a horizontal decision-making structure identified by Nicholls to be important in the progress of sport-in-development programmes. It assesses evidence of the impact of the programme and identifies elements that may be appropriate in

a wider development context. Through adopting a critical view of the development process the chapter assesses the limitations as well as the opportunities posed for development through such programmes, resulting from international power relations.

Chapter 9 interprets sport development from a Southern perspective. With a focus on youth (male) sport participation at community level, it assesses the capacity for development to take place on the basis of support from indigenous organizations and institutions. From there, it identifies how traditional donor states can both learn from the positives of such indigenous development and contribute most effectively to further capacity building.

Chapter 10 addresses with specific reference to the African sub-continent, the implications of dependency theories for understanding the development and movement of athletes across the north-south divide. It assesses recent developments in the context of the ongoing commodification and globalization of sport, especially football. Specifically, it looks critically at the motives and outcomes of sports as development programmes in Africa. While considerable potential exists for the use of sport as an instrument of development in Africa, the long term impact of these interventions remains open to question. Are they a net positive or do they exacerbate the exodus of talented people from Africa? Does the market for athletes have the exploitative aspects as do other market commodities such as natural resources? It argues that such wider political considerations must be taken into account in the evaluation process.

The concluding chapter joins the arguments and themes emerging throughout the book, identifying the opportunities and limitations for sport to contribute to the development process. Part of this is the level of inclusion and exclusion that is evident in the sport-in-development movement. Therefore, it considers the extent to which sport can – or should – be valued as a new engine for development. This helps us redefine the sport-in-development debates whilst charting new areas of research in this fast-evolving field.

## Notes

- 1 These countries do so for a variety of domestic and geopolitical reasons. Many Western countries form part of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, which provides approximately 95% of development aid. However, it is important to note though that development concerns have not been confined to Western countries. During the Cold War, both the Soviet Union, China and 'non aligned countries' played an active role in promoting different forms of development around the world.

- 2 A UN initiative to encourage business to assist in contributing to the development process in a variety of manners through its ten core principles. For further details see: <http://www.unglobalcompact.org/AboutTheGC/index.html>
- 3 The sport-in-development 'movement' has been explicitly linked by advocates to eight MDGs that heads of state and multilateral international agencies adopted in 2000 to be achieved by 2015. Many would add a ninth goal, revolving around peace, reconciliation and post-conflict healing, to which, for some, sport seems ideally suited to contribute.
- 4 This refers to a process that usually begins with the codification of the sport and encapsulates the emergence of an organizational structure that governs its development.
- 5 Different interpretations exist concerning the relative roles of the donor and recipient in this relationship. Tisch and Wallace (1994, p. 4) adopt the more traditional state-centric approach through defining foreign development assistance simply as; 'resources provided by rich countries to help poor countries'. In contrast, the United Kingdom Government's Department for International Development (DFID) interpretation of the process highlights the pro-active role of the recipient as a partner in the development assistance process.
- 6 In this context, 'life chances' is taken to refer not just to living standards, but also related enhancement of personal welfare, and improved quality of life for individuals and their dependents. To some, increased life chances relates to having access to the free market. The term has been used both in a domestic context, for instance *Life Chances and Social Mobility* (United Kingdom government, PM's Strategy Unit, 2004), and in the international context, for instance in the 2005 UNDP *Human Development Report*.
- 7 Some authors therefore further sub-divide this category. See Levermore (2008a) for more details.
- 8 This classification closely resembles recent attempts to categorize sport-in-development programmes. For example, The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (2006) demarcated schemes into individual development, health promotion and disease prevention, promotion of gender equity, social integration and the development of social capital, peace building and conflict prevention or resolution, post-disaster trauma relief and normalization of life, economic development, and communication and social mobilization. For a more detailed debate on the schemes that operate within these categories, please see Levermore (2008b).
- 9 The first edition was published in 1902. The third edition (1988) includes an introduction by Townsend. J. Hobson presents the idea of acceptable and unacceptable types of imperialism, with the form of imperial authority and the capacity to assimilate indigenous peoples, as central issues.
- 10 Guttman does however, suggest that the process worked in reverse, when Roman ascendancy in the region, led to a more brutalized form of physical culture.
- 11 Muscular Christianity is a term used to encapsulate a system of ideals based on the combination of vigorous physical activity and Christian values that emerged, initially within the UK, during the Victorian period. It was articu-

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- lated through the so-called games ethic, the belief in the spiritual value of sports, which was central to the Victorian public school system. Mangan (1998) refers to English commentators and writers of the period, typically Kingsley, Almond and Hughes, as exhorting the young men of the time to train their minds and their bodies in service of the nation. An extensive body of historical literature has explored the meaning and implications of the muscular Christianity on the development of both sport and society.
- 12 MacKenzie identified this as taking place both through the school curriculum and through additional drill and exercise programmes. Outside school, youth organizations and the observance of Empire day rituals helped to further imbue children with the same world view.
  - 13 For further information, see <http://www.britishcouncil.org/sport-what-is-dreams-and-teams.htm>.
  - 14 See [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/bbc\\_parliament/3631579.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/bbc_parliament/3631579.stm) for reference to Lord Scarman's response to the Brixton Riots of April 1981. Also, see [http://www.davidmiliband.info/sarchive/speech06\\_02.htm](http://www.davidmiliband.info/sarchive/speech06_02.htm) for reference to David Miliband's 'Scarman Lecture' entitled *Building a Community in a Diverse Society* (31st January 2006) which makes direct reference to use of sport in community development.

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