

SPORT-FOR-DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The politics of development ideology and global leadership set the scene for sport (for) development in South Africa. Diverse research agendas and donor requirements informed research whereby indigenous knowledge systems could be accessed in a collaborative venture of knowledge production. A discussion of three distinct and interrelated models, based on the rationale of Mintzberg (2006), affords insights within a social capital framework of a top-down, bottom-up and outside-in approach in the field of sport-for-development. Each approach as evidenced in three diverse case studies set the scene for social impact and networking around strategic alliance formation and development agenda of major stakeholders. The different approaches, either in isolation and/or in an interrelated fashion shed light on the evolving dynamics in the field of sport and development.

Key words: Sport-for-development; Development approaches; Sport programmes; Community development.

INTRODUCTION

The adoption of resolution 58/5 by the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 2003 (United Nations, 2003a), entitled “Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace”, provided the impetus for propelling sport into the realm of universal development strategies of global donors and development agencies (Levine *et al.*, 2008). By declaring 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, sport programmes and initiatives were designed, piloted and implemented by a myriad of stakeholders, operating at all levels of society to meaningfully contribute towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Not only did governments invest millions in sport for development programmes, but a company such as Nike invested \$100 million in the last two years and pledging another \$315 million to community-based sport initiatives world-wide, aiming at changing the lives of individuals through sport participation, building a healthy community and leverage change (Nike CR Report, 2008).

International stakeholder clusters such as the Commonwealth, IOC (International Olympic Committee), FIFA (Football for Hope), UNICEF in partnership with UK Sport and the British Council (International Inspirations) and a myriad of Foundations (e.g. Laureus Sport for Good Foundation) capitalized on the ‘sportification of social investment’ sparking a post-modern figuration. This also set the scene for the formation of strategic partnerships, social engineering, entrepreneurship to collectively deliver on a sport-for-development agenda within an ever changing landscape. International events for global networks such as

StreetfootballWorld (2006 in Germany) and the Homeless World Cup (2007 in Copenhagen) attracted worldwide media attention and showcased partners as caring and altruistic (Commonwealth Advisory Body of Sport, 2008).

Major initiatives and the mass mobilization to ‘Making Poverty History’ are reflected in the historical pathway of the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) movement, which has grown in a very uncoordinated and donor-infused way (Kidd, 2008). Substantial resourcing and innovative schemes and initiatives flooded development work in third world economies. Most first world governments and global corporations invested billions of foreign currency in community-based sport initiatives worldwide (Nike CR Report, 2008).

It is inevitable that African countries where populations are subjected to severe poverty (living on less than \$1 per day), gender inequality, a high prevalence of HIV/Aids, environmental erosion and neglect, conflict zones, high mortality rates and relatively low levels of literacy would be targeted for delivering on the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (United Nations, 2003b). As South Africa will be the host nation for the FIFA World Cup in 2010, the first in Africa to do so, the country increasingly serves as a gateway for international agencies to explore and export their sport development initiatives into other African countries. This new wave of development work attracted academic engagement, but most often yield isolated bodies of knowledge due to uncoordinated studies, not encapsulating the complexity of development dynamics, methodological limitations, diverse contextual realities and the lack of guiding theoretical frameworks. This paper will thus address some theoretical approaches with anticipated consequences within the development work of sport, or where it serves as a vehicle for development in different spheres of society.

SPORT-FOR-DEVELOPMENT

Hylton *et al.* (2007) argue that social change is inherent in the in-field application of sports development, where sport is instrumental to the change in whatever form or focus it might have. Change represents a process that could have positive or negative consequences for the implementing agency and/or for the recipients earmarked for ‘development’. The latter is reflected in the notion of progress by a multiplicity of agencies seeking accountability for their ‘development work’ in the form of tangible evidence (Powell, 1995). Different approaches of delivering sport-for-development would inevitably influence the process and results of development work.

Conceptual frameworks

The sport-for-development discourse is mostly directed towards disenfranchised collectives within the wider population such as girls and women (gender), people with disabilities (ability), ethnic minorities (race), senior citizens or children (age), people suffering from diseases of stigma (HIV/Aids) and/or class distinction (socio-economic vulnerability). Broad theories of change (Scott Porter Research and Marketing, 2000), generic theories of attitudinal and behaviour change and social learning theories underpin a critical mass of development studies (Blinde & Taub, 1999; Coalter, 2008).

Cultural dynamics, in-group values and sport subculture formation are informed by the cultural resource theory (Miller *et al.*, 1999) and social constructionist frameworks (Glover, 2004), whereas intergroup conflict separatist ideologies are explained by the conflict model of social theory (Shuttleworth & Wan-Ka, 1998). The latter work reflected on the conflict of competitive sport with the world-view of participants who subscribed to a value system of altruism, inclusion and appreciation for collective effort. Multi-dimensional models are utilized for exploring the conditions and dynamics of influencing pro- and anti-social behaviour and the impact of sport participation in addressing different forms of delinquency in schools (Langbein & Bess, 2002). The findings of the study suggest that, in respect of fostering pro-social behaviour in high schools, the status quo of big schools with relatively small extracurricular programmes is less than optimal compared to schools where more and smaller groups are participating regularly in sport activities.

Interpersonal relationships, friendships and the development of the social self are addressed by Hills (2007) reflecting on how physical education represents a dynamic social space where students experience and interpret physicality in a context with accentuated peer relationships and privileges particular forms of embodiment. Some authors discuss self-presentational processes (Smith, 2003), the socialization influences of significant other as social agents and role models (Green, 2008) by focusing on social interaction and the socialization process. More holistic approaches tap into the social cognitive theory, self-efficacy theory and social context frameworks (Fraser-Thomas *et al.*, 2005) by exploring social exclusion, isolation and potential inter-group conflict inherent in socialization processes. In this regard, Lawson (2005) also reflects on the development of human capital and of developing collective identities through empowering experiences inherent in participation in sport, exercise and physical education programmes. A critical mass of research focus on meso-level analysis of social institutions and collectives (e.g. volunteers) as ‘focal practices’ (e.g. sport festivals and volunteering) (Arai & Pedlar, 2003) or the impact of programmes on community well-being. Pedlar (1996) considers the ideas behind communitarianism and community development in relation to recreation and leisure by arguing that in times of economic and social distress recreation has a vital role to play in enhancing the quality of community life. Offering recreation at community level through the a practice of reflexivity contributes to a particular kind or praxis and agency, rather than communities only being engaged in recreation as a mere product or set of activities. However, in the work of Hylton and Totten (2007), the very concept of community is contested, as it may be imagined or realized in terms of locality.

Community development is closely associated with concepts of ‘social transformation’, ‘community regeneration’, the development of citizenship through sport-based volunteering (Eley & Kirk, 2002), multi-stakeholder involvement and networking (Misener & Mason, 2006). Building bridges and forging relationships of care and ‘peaceful coexistence’ are particularly challenging in conflict areas where hatred is entrenched in national values such as in the case of the Football for Peace initiative in Israel and Palestine (Misener & Mason, 2006). Reflecting on the Football for Peace (F4P) as a school-based co-existence project for Jewish and Arab children, John Sugden (2006: 221) is critical about major changes and stated that “if such programmes are locally grounded, carefully thought out, and professionally managed they can make a modest contribution to wider efforts to promote conflict resolution and peaceful co-existence.” Academia increasingly tapped into the neo-classical capital theory of Bourdieu (Coalter, 2007), Coleman’s rational choice theory, network theory,

Putnam's framework of civil engagement and Verveel's multilevel analysis of different types of social capital (Burnett, 2006). The formation of social capital identified as bonding, bridging and/or linking is discussed in terms of how social ties are formed and trust developed among disparate cultural groups in the Netherlands (Verveel) and/or community-based clubs in South Africa where the focus is on 'community regeneration and cohesion' through diverse community-based programmes (Burnett, 2006).

The formation of strategic partnerships for the delivery of sport development (identifying and nurturing athletic talent) and promoting the development agenda in developing countries can be traced in the spheres of government and within the NGO fraternity (Green, 2008). As 'social entrepreneurs' that are making a living through tapping into global and national funding, NGOs often advocate an 'evangelist' approach of sport offerings as antidote for many illnesses of society. It is within this context of network formation that Mintzberg (2006) critically reflected on three distinct development approaches, namely i) the top-down government planning approach, ii) the inside-up indigenous development approach and the iii) outside-in 'globalisation' approach. In his observation of development work in Ghana, he argues that development work should be about people and the development of leaders. This should be an indigenous process whereby leadership will develop more or less spontaneously given an enabling environment and not through programmes that purport to create leaders. He criticized the overt claims of development work by 'first world developers' by stating: "We have had enough of hubris in the name of heroic leadership, much as we have had enough of foreign experts pretending to develop the 'developing' countries" (Mintzberg, 2006: 4). For this indigenous process to flourish, some elements of the bottom-up approach should be part and parcel of development work.

The three case studies have been chosen to illustrate the development dynamics of such models in the South African context of poverty where individuals (developing athletes), collectives (schools, clusters and organizations) and communities have been targeted for sports-related development. A critical standpoint will be explored as posed by Mintzberg, yet will reflect on the nature of intervention and ideological underpinnings. Social impact will inevitably relate to the approach, foci of investigations and developing agendas. Given the context of chronic poverty and unequal socio-economic conditions, the research was participatory and an 'empowering' experience focus towards the building of capacity (human capital) as an asset to 'leave behind' once a programme has matured beyond the 'delivery phase' (Burnett, 2006). This implicates a 'left behind' effect of self-reliance in terms of programme management and delivery where the latter may have taken on a distinct community life of its own

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Poverty is multidimensional and has unique manifestations at all levels of human existence. It represents a dynamic and complex process whereby vulnerable populations such as women and children are exposed through interlocking factors that deny them relative access to available resources (Narayan *et al.*, 2000). Poverty thus manifests in recognizable lack of income and assets at the individual and community level (Kane-Berman, 2007), displays specific disease profiles such as malnutrition, HIV/Aids and Tuberculosis and is synonymous with fragmented family lives (May, 1998). Low literacy levels, high incidences of violence,

high school drop-out rates, teenage pregnancies, gang formation, physical neglect, psychological scars and a 'live-for-the-moment' mentality exemplify a life of chronic poverty. The poor mostly have low skill and literacy levels, and are often denied access to stable employment and turn to low-paid self-employment (Dimant *et al.*, 2007).

South Africa ranks among the highest crime ridden countries in the world, with the crime rate estimated to be about 2.17 million in 2005/6, and the highest rape rate in the world per 1000 000 of the population in 2000 (Lebone, 2007). Most frequent criminal acts reported in 2008/9 are property-related crimes such as housebreaking (506.5 ratio per 1 000 000 of the population) and soft fabric crimes such as common assault (396.1 ratio per 1 000 000 of the population) (Lebone, 2008/2009: 633).

Government-sponsored feeding schemes only provide the bare minimum of subsistence needs, and parents or guardians are unable to carry any additional cost of sport participation, despite the fact that 'free education' (introduced by the Education Laws Amendment Act of 2005), has been delivered to about 5 million learners in 13 856 schools across South Africa (Botsis *et al.*, 2007). The lack of school and community sport facilities restricts sport participation and soccer is often the only sport offered at community level (Burnett & Hollander, 2006). Limited access to resources fostered a culture of interdependency, however extreme poverty eroded networks of cooperation at all levels of the South African society.

The lack of resources fostered a mutual dependency and culture of interdependency, however extreme poverty eroded networks of cooperation, undermining the social fabric, and in 2008 flared up as xenophobic-inspired violence as immigrant minorities from other African countries (e.g. Zimbabwe) swept through major townships (Naidoo, 2008). It is against this background of poverty that Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) funded and implemented mass participation programmes and external developing agencies became involved, each with its own approach and product.

On the basis of overall national government policies, priorities and strategies, the White Paper developed by SRSA, represent the vision of how sport and recreation activities contribute to the general welfare of all South Africans, emphasizing the 'building of communities' through active and structured participation. Following the 'getting the nation to play' theme, SRSA has set four main objectives which include: i) increasing the level of participation in sport and recreation activities, ii) raising sport's profile in the face of conflicting priorities, iii) maximizing the probability of success in major events, and iv) placing sport at the forefront of efforts to educate the public about HIV/Aids, and to reduce the level of crime (SRSA, 2008). At a recent National Sports Indaba, all key stakeholders reflected on 'legacy of exclusion' of women, impoverished rural communities and townships schools, whilst the Minister (Makhenkesi Stofile) pledged to form strategic partnerships and provide opportunities for 'all' to actively participate in sport and recreation within their own communities and schools (Ministry: Sport and Recreation, 2008).

SPORT-FOR-DEVELOPMENT: CASE STUDIES

The Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach was followed for all programmes, focusing on building various degrees of empowerment in monitoring and evaluation. All

agencies were interested in the deliverables, but equally committed to have process information revealing intended and unintended consequences by tracking change according to a pre-post comparative design (Burnett & Hollander, 2003). The S-DIAT (Sport Development Impact Assessment Tool) was utilized, ensuring a synthesis and the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data according to, and directed by two main indicator bands (Programme Management and Delivery, as well as Human and Social Development) and the related indicator fields (Burnett & Hollander, 2006). The Tool (S-DIAT) was specifically developed to 'measure social impact' at different levels, namely the macro-, meso- and micro-level as manifested consequences of a particular programme or intervention according to a pre-post research design (Burnett & Uys, 2000). A mixed-method approach was implemented for all case studies which includes interviews with decision-makers and key stakeholders at various levels of intervention, questionnaires for implementers and participants, as well as focus group sessions for contextual and consensus information.

School sport mass participation

The School Sport Mass Participation Programme was introduced in all nine provinces of South Africa in 2006, following the community-based Siyadlala Programme (Burnett & Hollander, 2006). SRSA signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Minister of Education for the delivery of the Programme at schools within a cluster context in impoverished areas of the country. Prior to the baseline study that was conducted in 2008, 76 fieldworkers were trained in the collection of data according pre-designed methods of the S-DIAT. Data from 161 schools in 18 clusters selected for the baseline study, provided in-context pre-impact data on different indicator fields for post-impact comparisons (Burnett & Hollander, 2008).

Local stakeholders and recipients participated in identifying contextual priorities to be addressed by the Programme against such social realities as a high teenage pregnancy rate of an average of 9.4 per annum for secondary school girls, and 1.2 for primary school girls. Unpacking the manifestations of poverty such as poor health, criminality, deviant behaviour, low literacy levels and economic dependency of school sport assistants on the stipend of R1 200 per month became evident. A large percentage (48.4%) of them is breadwinners and 30.3% are essential contributors towards the survival of households (Burnett & Hollander, 2008).

The baseline study identified increased opportunities in 'new' sports such as rugby, cricket and volleyball, in addition to more traditional sports such as athletics, netball and soccer. Other benefits included participations, in festivals, inter-school and inter-class competitions that stimulated sustained participation and the development of a 'sporting culture' among the majority of participants and in their schools.

Despite 'start up' equipment and contracted school sport assistants, main challenges remain the lack of physical resources, replacement of damaged equipment, non-credit bearing and skill-appropriate training. The decline of participation over time (from 63% to 10% in the secondary school, and from 71% to 31% in the primary school, with an average of 3.5% of girls' participation at grade 12), can partially be contributed to the top-down delivery of traditionally male sports (as decided upon by SRSA), the lack of ID documents (about a third

of the learners in rural schools did not have the relevant documents that were required for them to participate in competitive sport), budget constraints and lack of a reporting system that would enhance the monitoring, evaluation and follow-up actions (Burnett & Hollander, 2008).

Active community clubs

The Active Community Clubs' Initiative is funded by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) and delivered by the Australian Sports Commission. An impact assessment was conducted in 2003 on two clubs in the Eastern Cape Province, another one in 2006 in Keiskammahoek (also in the Eastern Cape Province), followed by baseline studies in 2008 in KwaZulu-Natal (a province in South Africa), Swaziland and Botswana under an outreach programme (ASOP) where partnerships were established between researchers from South Africa, Swaziland and Botswana. This Programme is based on recruitment, training and seeking of partnerships with local stakeholders through inclusive community consultation and the needs-based, community-driven structuring of a club.

The impact study of 2003 illustrated this outside-in and bottom-up approach where a central component of the ACC (Active Community Club) was the delivery of a sport programme (rugby, netball and cricket) to local schools (Burnett & Hollander, 2003). Other activities that were developed under club leadership included a gardening project (in Tshabo) and a health programme (HIV/Aids education and training) (Burnett, 2006). Some of these programmes experienced a decline in participation as community leadership changed and new priorities emerged. The gardening project of 2003 in which about 12 individuals participated, is now operated by a teacher and her husband who just produce enough vegetables for the pre-school where she is the teacher, and for their own use. On the other hand, the more institutionalized sport programme is still being delivered to the local schools, and some volunteers have been involved in the programme for more than eight years. There is an overwhelming belief that volunteering will enhance unemployed youths' opportunities to obtain employment by gaining relevant experience, and learning job-related skills and values. The following continuum illustrates a belief system of relative helplessness of avoiding the poverty trap and as such offering a way 'out of the streets'.

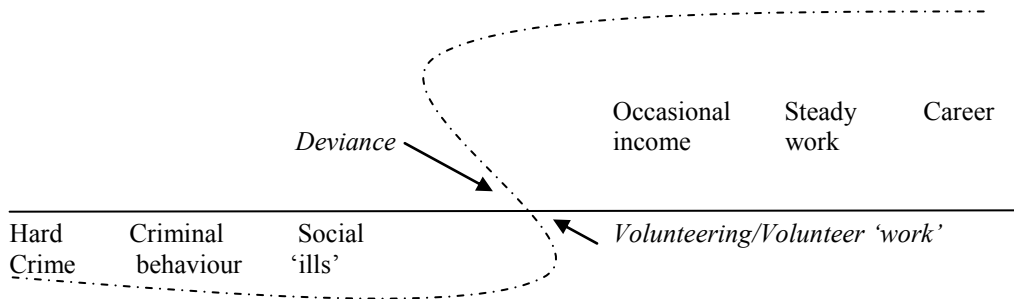


FIGURE 1. THE PERCEIVED ROLE OF VOLUNTEERING TOWARDS RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AND EMPLOYMENT

The initial social value of the increase in social trust between coaches and participants, reduction of social distance between children and parents, increased self-esteem and a sense of self-worth for the unemployed volunteers are highly valued consequences within the context of extreme poverty and psycho-social destitution and neglect (Burnett, 2006). The dependency on the 'external' provision of resources for programme implementation and events, timely education and training, dependency on leadership for strengthening institutional capacity and a competitive environment to forge meaningful relationships beyond the social realm of the community, are indicative of the relative delicateness of sustaining, bridging and linking ties. However, widely acclaimed exposure and the flagship status of this programme opened up opportunities for a possible partnership with Siyadlala (the national community mass participation programme of SRSA), as the top-down model has been met with mixed success after the initial few years of implementation due to the fact that it lacks the community uptake and shared ownership.

Youth development through football (YDF)

Youth Development through Football (YDF) is an initiative that was established in July 2007 by the GTZ that envisaged involvement in development work in Africa until March 2011. The European Union joined this initiative as a major co-funder and partner in March 2009. By utilizing the popularity of football, youth and community development will be promoted in economically disadvantaged communities to afford boys and girls the opportunity to receive education and capacity building. The programme has established a working relationship with SRSA with a representative to drive a 'Legacy Programme' in commemoration of the FIFA World Cup that will be presented in South Africa in 2010 (Burnett, 2008). An outside-in approach is utilized, as partnerships are forged with different NGOs and the government sector, with whom they will collaborate to ensure sustainable social development through sport, and particularly football-for-development initiatives. Their focus is on building a conceptual framework on football-for-development work. There is also a drive to provide leadership, develop material and build capacity through education, training and consultancy within their network of partners. NGOs, the sports fraternity and government departments are their major partners for supporting programmes and delivering services whereby a 'development philosophy' will be spread, and their partnerships strengthened and showcased.

The following diagram is reflective of their framework of operation and directive in forming a network and collaborative service delivery that will ensure a lasting footprint for football for development work.

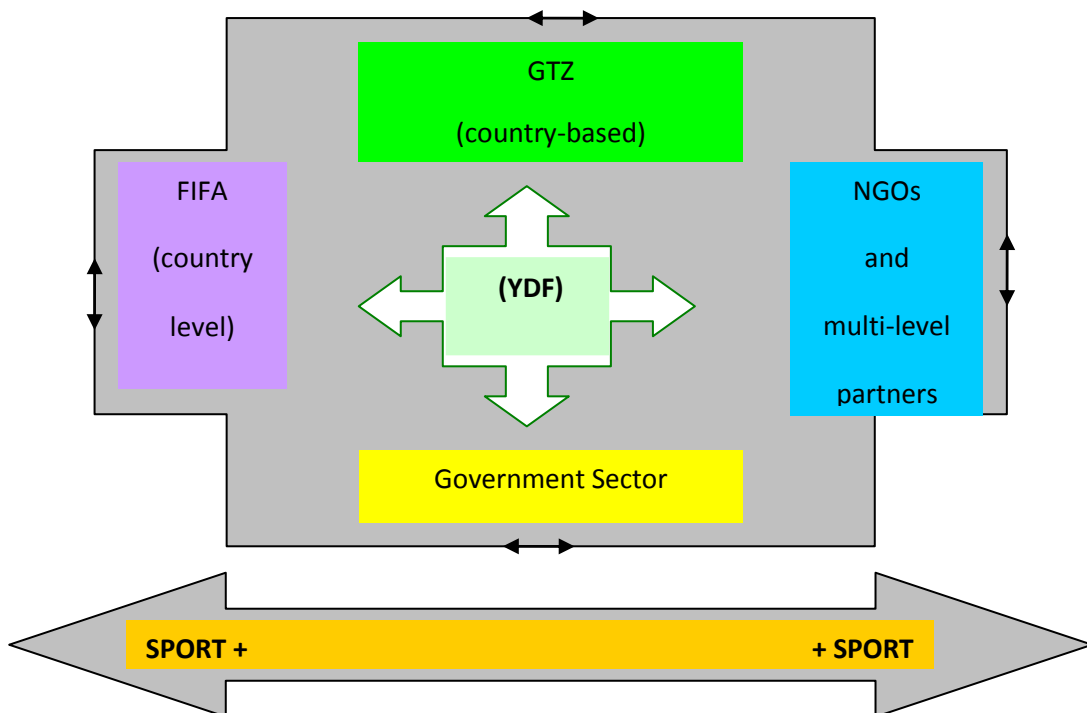


FIGURE 2. YOUTH-DEVELOPMENT-THROUGH-FOOTBALL FRAMEWORK

In the first instance, the GTZ's (Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) Youth Development through Football initiative is focused on identifying main country-based stakeholders and partners within the youth and sport development domains, taking cognizance of existing programmes, government and existing GTZ operatives, operations and priorities. Often, country-operations are structured according to local and multi-stakeholder needs, and aligned with strategic objectives without necessarily focusing on establishing a network and creating a synthesis between a myriad of service providers. This represents an outside-in approach with a top-down dynamics when a partnership with government programmes such as the School Sport Mass Participation Programme is forged, yet a bottom-up approach prevailing when a partnership with the Active Community Clubs' Initiative is formed. Both partners have been recruited for collaborative ventures with the most recent including the placement of German volunteers in the Eastern Cape with the Active Community Clubs' Initiative is in the beginning stages. In figure 3, the South African-based parents' organization, for driving a compatible development agenda has initially been identified as a baseline.



FIGURE 3: MULTILEVEL SPORT-FOR-DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SOUTH AFRICA

In such multilevel and diversity in stakeholder collaboration, the ties will be relatively weak and in need of seeking to deliver on mutual outcomes. The delivery and success of the corporation will largely be met by the partnerships, and within the diversity of partnerships, GTZ brand and donor-inspired expectations will transpire. The success of collaborative work will inevitably lie within the collective association and goal achievement within a particular network of partners.

CONCLUSION

The top-down approach of the School Sport Mass Participation Programme allowed for the introduction and resourcing of sport activities and structured programmes that are to provide a broad base of participation to deliver on national priorities of sporting excellence and a framework of development aligned with the Millennium Development Goals (Burnett, 2008). The emphasis of traditional male sports such as rugby, cricket and football, inevitably limited the opportunities for equitable gender participation. Inter-departmental collaboration was challenging, especially at the level of implementation where the relatively ‘uneducated’ school sport assistants and teachers experienced a strained relationship. Possibly due to the fact that the Programme was funded and ‘delivered’ by SRSA and ‘accepted’ by the national, provincial and local Departments of Education, without real buy-in at the local level of implementation. This top-down approach and unequal power relations at all levels of

implementation, had direct implications for creating mass participation at the school level and afforded many rural learners the opportunity to participate in a variety of sports. There was less focus on addressing contextual priorities and appropriate needs-based education and training to address the expectations of the (current and potentially future) unemployed by creating career pathways or enhancing the employability status (with reference to the school sport assistants and contract workers) of vulnerable populations.

Initiated by outside agencies such as the Australian Sports Commission, the Active Community Clubs' Initiative was implemented in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces to address issues of community development and regeneration in selected rural and urban areas. The 'outside-in factor' is minimized as communities structure their own clubs – first by introduction and later by request, around community needs where sport participation at primary school level is a 'given'. Strategies and structures follow an 'Australian model' interwoven with local dynamics for uptake and ownership. Linking and bridging ties remain fragile (Coalter, 2007), and needs-based sustainable development seems feasible through the collaboration, mutual reflection and reflective learning (Cunningham & Beneforti, 2005). The mobilizing of local networks and strategic partners may counter the external influence to be absorbed and given 'life' in the local vernacular. Volunteering provided the context for social learning (Green, 2008) and active citizenship in the need to seek mutual ground for delivery and collective impact. This reflect on a programme taking on community life and being shaped by local needs and existing opportunities. Such an approach enhanced local ownership and buy-in with local leaders taking responsibility for addressing local development priorities and social issues.

The 'outside-in' approach of the GTZ is demonstrated by the building of partnerships and co-delivering on a sport-for-development agenda through existing delivery channels, yet focusing on alignment and inclusion of partners that would support the YDF philosophy and targets. In such multilevel and diversity in stakeholder collaboration, the delivery and success of the corporation will largely be determined by the partnerships, and within the diversity of partnerships will run a donor-inspired process and product – a post-2010 legacy. The success of collaborative work will inevitably lie within the collective association and goal achievement within a particular network of partners. This approach would thus require a particular focus and sensitivity that should enable and shape the development of leaders (as suggested by Mintzberg) within the communities where the programmes are being delivered.

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