Levelling the Playing Field: Sport for Development

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In recent years, sport has moved from the periphery to the very centre of the development debate. Sport for development has acquired increasing importance in a number of arenas: the United Nations has created a Sport for Development and Peace Office, countless scholars have extolled the virtues and condemned the shortcomings of the movement, and hundreds of organizations have established sport for development programs across the Global South and throughout disadvantaged pockets in the North. This paper examines the sport for development movement, its history and the claims and realities surrounding the movement. Three case studies will be examined to look at sport for development programs that are undertaking development work in different ways within the movement: the plus sport program in Zambia being run by the government through the educational sector, the plus sport Right to Play program being implemented by an international NGO, and the sport plus Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) grassroots program. This paper will argue that sport for development programs are doing development differently, reaching beyond traditional neo-liberal structures and having a measurable impact, particularly in terms of gender equity, in the Global South.

Introduction

Steven J. Jackson and Stephen Haigh, in their introduction "Between and beyond politics: Sport and foreign policy in a globalizing world", assert that sport is just too pervasive, popular and important for us to ignore.[1] Ulrich Beck, in his book *The Brave New World of Work*, describes sport as the most important thing in the world.[2] There are 203 National Olympic Committees affiliated with the International Olympic Committee. This represents fully ten more than the number of countries in the United Nations. The 2004 Olympics were watched by 3.9 billion people for a cumulative seventeen-day audience of 40 billion.[3] For the 2008 Games in China, NBC presented more than 3,600 hours of coverage and over 500,000 tourists descended on Beijing.[4]

This paper will not touch on the influence of major sporting events, but it is through this lens that I will examine the world: one in which sport is a major social, economic and political factor. This paper will examine sport and its role in the sphere of development. The emerging movement of sport for development, arguably having been in existence for years, but only recently gaining momentum, will be critically examined

from many angles. Firstly, a short history of the sport for development movement will be given. This will allow the paper to situate itself. Secondly, the methodology of the paper will be provided. Thirdly, an assessment of the claims, values and limitations regarding sport for development will be made. This will be done, on the one hand, to counter the oft-overblown assertions regarding the power of sport and, on the other, to assert that, despite the naysayers, sport does have benefits and characteristics that can be used to positively influence development. Fourthly, three case studies will be examined to look at the successes and failures of plus sport and sport plus (to be defined subsequently) approaches to sport for development. These case studies will be examined with an eye to the influence that sport for development can have in the quest for gender equity. The case studies will also look at different mediums for implementing sport for development projects: through the public education system, through NGOs, and through grassroots organizations. The case studies will be evaluated using the UN-IOC Forum on Sport for Development and Peace (UN-IOC Forum) recommendations pertaining to sport for development. Finally, this paper will conclude with thoughts on the future of sport for development, particularly in relation to monitoring and evaluation. This paper will argue that, despite their limitations, sport for development programs are reaching beyond traditional neo-liberal development structures and are playing a major role in development, particularly in furthering gender equity.

The definition of international development has been the subject of endless debate over the past several decades. For the purposes of this paper, development will be defined in accordance with Roger Levermore and Aaron Beacom in their anthology on sport and development entitled *Sport and International Development* as the processes by which

there is an attempt to improve life chances throughout the world, but particularly in countries considered to be low income.[5] Low income countries are generally characterized by 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 systems; often unstable/authoritarian political systems; significant levels of discrimination and exclusion; and low levels of trade, investment and general economic welfare.[6] Although this definition of development and the stated characteristics of developing countries, often referred to as those in the Global South, necessarily privileges a Western viewpoint, and although many of the characteristics enumerated above can be found in pockets of the Western world, the debate surrounding the definition of development is beyond the scope of this paper. While I recognize the difficulties inherent in any definition of development, I have chosen to accept this definition in order to provide the necessary framework within which to contextualize this paper.

Sport, like development, can be defined in a myriad of ways. This paper will define sport broadly, also in accordance with Levermore and Beacom. Sport is, as Levermore and Beacom assert, a "floating signifier", defined by any commentator as they see fit, for a variety of purposes.[7] Sport can therefore encompass competitive, recreational, traditional and non-traditional Western and Southern activities. These activities require physical activity from participants but can be as diverse as team sports such as basketball, individual sports such as tennis, and non-competitive sports such as tag. They allow participation regardless of skill level, age, gender or ability. This definition of sport is in line with the United Nations definition, which incorporates all forms of physical activity

that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include play, recreation, organized, casual or competitive sport, and indigenous sports or games.[8]

In the case study portion of this paper, I will examine three programs, one pertaining to a sport plus initiative and two to plus sport programs. Studying three different programs, programs that are pursuing their goals in different ways, will allow further insight into the value and limitations of sport for development initiatives. The terms sport plus and plus sport were created by Fred Coalter to differentiate between different approaches adopted by sport for development organizations. Sport plus programs give primacy to the development of sustainable sports organizations, programs and development pathways. However, despite the focus on sport, these organizations are also used to address a number of broader social issues. The outcomes are pursued via varying mixtures of organizational values, ethics and practices, symbolic games and more formal didactic approaches. Plus sport programs give primacy to social and health programs and sport is used for its ability to bring people together in large numbers to achieve the program objectives. In plus sport programs, short-term outcomes, including behaviour change and HIV/AIDS education, are more important than the longer-term sustainable development of sport.[9]

History of Sport for Development

Sport for development has been used in various forms and under various guises for a number of years. It was present even before having been defined or categorized. Using sport for a larger purpose can be seen as early as the late 19th century through the work of Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games. De Coubertin exalted

Olympism as a universal ideal, defining it as "a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles."[10] The International Olympic Committee has continued to extol the virtues of sport beyond the playing field and today has consolidated links to the United Nations system, having signed cooperation agreements with most UN agencies in 1993.[11]

Social development through sport can be traced back to rational recreation initiatives of the improving middle and working classes, also in the late 19th century, the playground movement of the early 20th century, and the confessional and workers' sports movements of the interwar period. A more recent incarnation has been the midnight basketball interventions in the United States and Canada.[12] In 2003, I visited one of these interventions in Maryland. Several Run N' Shoot sports complexes, which were open 24 hours a day, had been constructed in areas with high crime rates. The goal was to create a safe space to practice sport, regardless of the hour, and to keep youth off the street. The complexes, which prohibited weapons and violence, were well received in the communities. One coach of a boys basketball team in Oxon Hill, Maryland stated that "there isn't a teenager in this area that hasn't visited Run N' Shoot for something."[13]

International social development through sport got its not-so-illustrious start in 19th century colonialism. However, as Bruce Kidd states, the current manifestation of international sport for development is different. Its aims, the rapid explosion of agencies and organizations involved, the tremendous appeal sport has for youth, the appeal it has for volunteers, the financial support it enjoys from powerful international sports

federations and the extent to which is has been championed by the United Nations, all make sport for development in the 21st century unique to its antecedents.[14]

Sport for development in its current form began to emerge at the end of the Cold War, with the crumbling of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the launching of several sports initiatives to include the previously marginalized black population, and the triumph of liberalism. There were new openings for non-governmental organizations, and, with them, the articulation of the "right to protect" and the faster dissemination of news worldwide, broadening the appeal to "make poverty history". The reality of the changing global landscape resonated with increased efforts in the Western world to use sport to address social problems.[15] An indication of the growing acceptance of sport as a tool for development came in 2003 with the UN approval of a major report entitled "Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals." The report recommended that: sport should be better integrated into development goals; sport should be incorporated as a useful tool for development and peace; sport-based initiatives should be included in the country programs of the UN, where appropriate and according to locally assessed needs; programs supporting sport for development and peace should receive greater attention and resources by governments and the UN system; communications-based activities using sport should focus on well-targeted advocacy and social mobilization; and concluded that partnerships were the most effective way to implement programs.[16]

The international community recognized sport as a fundamental right as early as 1959 in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. In 1978, the UNESCO International Charter of Physical Education and Sport described sport and physical education as a

"fundamental right for all". This was followed, in 1990, by the recognition of the "right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child" by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women affirmed that "on the basis of equality of men and women, women must be ensured opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education". In 2001, the UN created the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace, formally recognizing that sport could be used at the individual, community, national and global levels as a mechanism to achieve diverse development goals. Adolf Ogi, former President of Switzerland, was appointed Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace in the newly created office.[17] The objective of the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace is to promote development and peace through sport and play. The Office was founded on the premise that everyone plays, and that this love of play can be used for many purposes, including helping to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), improving health and gender relations, and promoting education.[18] The creation of the UN Office and of the position of Special Advisor on Sport for Development and Peace was followed by the publication of the previously mentioned major report on sport for development and the MDGs in 2003, "Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals", and the proclamation of 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. For over 50 years, the UN has been designating international years to draw attention to issues that affect mankind. The purpose of the 2005 proclamation was to encourage international cooperation by calling on organizations and governments at all

levels to use sport as a tool to promote health, education, development and peace around the world.[19]

The emergence of NGOs and grassroots organizations promoting the sport for development movement occurred in the early 1990s: in 1992, the organization Olympic Aid was created by Olympic athletes prior to the Lillehammer Games and, in 1993, an International Development through Sport branch was created by the Commonwealth Games Association of Canada. The original goal of Olympic Aid was to raise money for people living in war zones and to support specific development initiatives. As the organization matured, and its name changed from Olympic Aid to Right to Play, it became an organization that not only collected money, but that also created and implemented development programs. Its first programs were implemented in 2001.[20] Right to Play is now one of the most high-profile non-governmental organizations practicing sport for development. It is headquartered in Toronto. Other well-known organizations include the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) and Moving the Goalposts, both in Kenya, Physically Active Youth (PAY) in Zambia, and the Kicking AIDS Out Network.

Methodology

Research was conducted for this paper by consulting the works of many experts in the field of sport for development. Journal articles and books were the main sources of information. United Nations reports were also consulted, as were the annual reports of many of the relevant sport for development agencies. Also consulted were case studies pertaining to different sport for development initiatives.

Although the theoretical debate surrounding sport and development is largely outside the scope of this paper, it is important to note that many authors in the field view sport as promoting a new approach to development. Sport for development programs are often seen as transcending traditional development structures. This is largely due to sport adopting a more bottom-up, inclusive, and gender equity-aware approach than previous development programs. This stands in contrast to an approach that argues that sport for development is based on neo-liberal principles, as advanced by Roger Levermore. Levermore describes sport as a "good-fit" for modernization and neo-liberalism in a chapter in his collection *Sport and International Development*.[21] Sport, Levermore asserts, is in line with neo-liberalism in three ways. Firstly, sport is tied to the development and strengthening of infrastructure in developing countries. This can particularly be seen surrounding major sporting events such as the Olympics or the World Cup, but is also present on a smaller scale, such as through the construction of Football for Hope centres across Africa by FIFA.[22] Secondly, Levermore points to the fact that sport is creating a strong social and economic environment, particularly through developing employment and life skills. Sport can generate investment and can establish a stable political environment for the economy and market to operate in. To illustrate this, Levermore gives an example from MYSA in Kenya. He states that MYSA builds capacity through developing youth leadership skills and creating peer leaders. This is the first method through which sport can build capacity, via sport for development programs. The second is through building the expertise that is needed to organize, administer, and run sports events to train the local workforce. Levermore contends that economic development builds on these skills, particularly those of generating empowerment and

fostering organizational and administrative tools, and that sport plays an enabling role in ensuring a more secure economic environment.[23] Finally, sport encourages business and private interest involvement in development. Sport, because of its visibility, offers public relations opportunities for companies. Also, businesses operate more effectively in a climate of peace and stability where the workforce is well-educated.[24] Therefore, sport, because of its ability to strengthen infrastructure, develop skills and generate investment, and its engagement with the private sector, is viewed by Levermore as a "good-fit" for neo-liberal development. However, Levermore also states that sport has yet to prove its long-term viability as a development strategy, and that this is why it has not been embraced by neo-liberal development workers and organizations.[25]

Levermore is correct in asserting that sport has the characteristics with which he imbues it, but he overlooks many other defining features that propel sport beyond traditional neo-liberal thinking: government engagement, gender equity, and partnerships will be highlighted throughout this paper as examples of ways in which sport is proving itself to be more in line with different worldviews such as feminist or post-colonial approaches to development. It is also important to note that many of the major development organizations, those not directly involved in sport for development, are moving beyond traditional development structures, and focusing particularly on gender and inequality.[26] In line with the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, the Accra Agenda for Action, and even the Fragile States Principles, development and aid are changing and, although neo-liberalism remains dominant, different and more sustainable approaches based on partnerships are being pushed to the fore. The sport for development movement is part of this move beyond traditional development practices.

Three case studies were examined for this paper using sources ranging from articles, books and online resources to annual reports. It is difficult to compare different sport for development initiatives because of the often vague claims made regarding their goals and successes, the different countries in which the programs operate, and a lack of cohesive monitoring and evaluation. These gaps will be addressed in the concluding remarks of this paper. However, there is also the advantage, when comparing diverse programs, of looking at different ways in which sport for development programs are being implemented, and which methods (through the government, school systems, sport plus or plus sport) are the most effective.

The evaluation of the case studies was done using selected recommendations from the UN-IOC Forum on Sport for Development and Peace, held in Lausanne from May 21st-22nd, 2010. These recommendations were used as they represent the cutting edge for information pertaining to the sport for development movement. The Forum brought together the United Nations, the International Olympic Committee and over 400 other stakeholders. The recommendations are also important because many of them challenge the traditional approach to development based on neo-liberal principles.[27] Furthermore, although pertaining directly to the IOC, the recommendations were approved by actors from across the sport for development spectrum, including the UN, the Paralympic Committee, the Red Cross Movement, representatives of the International Sports Federations, representatives of National Olympic Committees from around the world as well as representatives from NGOs and academia. The recommendations are therefore broadly supported and cohesive, and apply not only to the IOC but also to the sport for development movement as a whole. The recommendations were re-endorsed at the 3rd

International Forum on Sport for Development meeting at the United Nations in New York from June 5th-6th, 2013, highlighting their continued relevance and importance.

The UN-IOC Forum recommendations set out directives for the sport for development movement. The recommendations recognize the need for the sport for development movement to share "best practices" amongst practitioners; to work with national governments in the formulation of their development policies and the use of sport within those policies; to mainstream sport with UN programs for humanitarian development; to co-ordinate sport for development programs among a variety of stakeholders; to commit to the eradication of HIV/AIDS; to engage with all of the Millennium Development Goals; to protect the environment and strive for environmental sustainability; to work through the education system as the most effective way to reach young people; to enshrine gender equity in programs and policies and to recognize the role of female role models; to ensure that participants with disabilities are encouraged and able to take part in activities; to promote health; to be realistic about the power of sport but to insist that sport can contribute to a climate of peace and to the making of improved life for its citizens; to share information regarding monitoring and evaluation; to explore further the vast potential of "healing through sport", both in post-conflict situations and in equipping communities to cope with the profound trauma caused by natural disasters; and to recognise the enormous contribution of volunteer efforts to advance peace and development through sport.[28]

In examining the recommendations with a view to contributing to the dialogue on how sport is looking to "do things differently", we can recognize that talk of building relationships with government is important. Considering how neo-liberal development

policy tends to dismiss state participation, while many sport for development scholars, including Bruce Kidd and Donald Njelesani, have called for sport to figure more prominently on the public policy agenda, talk of collaborating with governments and including sport in the education curriculum is significant. The call to mainstream sport into the broader development agenda through UN programs also speaks to a commitment to a broader international development agenda, and not just to a focus on the exceptionalism of the sport for development movement.[29] Given the recent calls for sport and development organizations to "attend more directly to the politics and challenges of development", the commitment of sport for development to a broader development agenda is noteworthy.[30] The UN-IOC recommendations move past traditional neo-liberal goals of growth and infrastructure by focusing on HIV/AIDS, gender equity, peace, and reconciliation from conflict and disaster. However, the recommendations do not provide a framework for how these recommendations should be implemented, and vestiges of neo-colonialism remain, especially in the language used in one recommendation, which talks about a "moral duty" to bring sport to developing countries.[31] Although there are still sentiments of missionary zeal embedded in sport for development literature, on the whole, the recommendations point to a positive direction for the sport for development movement, and they clearly show how sport is moving with the new, progressive stream surrounding development thinking.

As with any methodology, there are limitations to this study. The first and most obvious is that the papers and reports stem primarily from Western sources; there is a general lack of analysis by those affected by the sport for development programs. My personal limitations stem from my lack of field experience in development. However, the

sources consulted for the paper, the annual reports, United Nations reports, journal articles, and books, all represent broad perspectives from the current sport for development literature. Furthermore, where possible, viewpoints from participants in sport for development programs were utilized.

Claims and Realities of Sport for Development

One of the problems with the sport for development movement is that the soaring rhetoric with which it is associated makes it an easy target for criticism. Nelson Mandela is cited as stating that "sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can create hope where there was once only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand."[32] Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the United Nations, speaking at the 2006 World Economic Forum said that "[sport] is a global language capable of bridging social, cultural and religious divides. It can be a powerful tool for fostering understanding, tolerance and peace . . . it teaches us teamwork and fair-play. It builds self-esteem and opens up new opportunities. This in turn can contribute to the wellbeing of whole communities and countries."[33]Although I personally believe that the above statements are true, they can be easily attacked by those who see little value in including sport in the development dialogue. The statements are based, not necessarily on fact, but rather on hope or on selected experiences. They can easily be countered when it is considered that sport has historically been exclusionary, nationalist, militarist, and full of inequitable attitudes about gender, race and disability.[34] Bruce Kidd, in his epilogue to the special issue on sport for development in the *Third World Quarterly*, states that if sport for

development is to grow and succeed, then the advocates of the movement and its practitioners need to distance themselves from overblown claims about the efficacy of sport and develop thorough, community-based and community-appropriate approaches to what is actually being achieved on the ground.[35] To be taken seriously as a contributor to development, sport needs to be able to more concretely account for its contributions. The remainder of this section will examine some further claims regarding the benefits and challenges of sport for development, and the current realities of the enterprise.

Much of the literature surrounding the sport for development movement states that sport programs implicitly assume that sport possesses universal values, regardless of cultural context. This causes problems because it necessarily privileges particular ideologies as well as ways of being.[36] Simon Darnell, in his analysis of sport for development programs in Africa, notes a version of "universal humanism" that he equates with neo-colonialism in sport for development programs. He states that the assumption that Western volunteers, who are knowledgeable about sport but not about local communities, can make a difference through sport creates an unrealistic and unjust power dynamic.[37] Darnell also points to how some sport for development programs operate with two overlapping frameworks, that of sport and play as a universal and integrative social practice, and that of international development as the benevolent provision of aid, goods, and expertise from the developed to the developing world. Darnell states that, although well-intentioned, many sport for development programs create a dichotomy between the empowered and the disempowered.[38] In terms of the power dynamic, care must be taken and partnerships created. However, in terms of the debate surrounding universal rights, and thus of Darnell's argument, a turning point has

been reached. It is now no longer possible to say that some people have fewer rights, or do not have access to the same rights as others. We know that universal rights exist because we feel something when they are being violated. It is into this space, the one between universal rights and local customs, that sport must carefully navigate.

A further difficulty in the sport for development movement is the problem of top-down initiatives. Bruce Kidd, Professor at the University of Toronto and sport for development expert, states that "at every single international conference I have attended, I have heard low and middle income country representatives, in both coded and explicit language, publicly complain about First World programs that were highly popular with donors but made little sense to the recipient communities."[39] Programs need to be more clearly tied to local initiatives and aligned with local priorities. Donald Njelesani suggests that this should be done through government via the integration of mandatory physical education into schools. Njelesani cites the example of Zambia. In 2006 the Zambian government decreed physical education to be mandatory across all levels of the education sector. Physical education was seen as a means for holistically developing learners and confronting the challenges of HIV/AIDS by enhancing decision-making and coping skills, by empowering girls and by giving boys a sense of sexual responsibility.[40] Njelesani argues that research suggests that physical education can contribute to student retention, improve academic performance and lead to safe schools.[41] This argument will be further examined in the Zambian school case study. Physical education programs in schools have also been undertaken in other countries. Kidd, in an epilogue to a special issue of *Third World Quarterly* about sport, discusses the Physically Active Youth (PAY) program in Namibia. PAY is a grassroots program initiated by a University of Namibia

faculty member and funded in part by the Commonwealth Games Association of Canada to address a high dropout rate after grade ten, when a country-wide examination determines whether students continue or end their academic careers. In previous years, the examination failure rate had been as high as 50%, leaving many youth with few options. PAY was piloted in 2003 with 40 students identified as likely to fail. Each student received academic counselling and sex education, combined with one hour of organized physical activity, five afternoons per week after school for the entire term. Initial success rates showed 75% of the students passing the Grade 10 exams. The program has now expanded to about 100 participants, and discussions are underway to extend it across the country.[42]

The proliferation of sport for development organizations poses further problems to the movement. On the sportanddev.org website, 486 organizations are registered.[43] Sport for development is often underfunded and unregulated, uncoordinated and poorly planned. The sheer number of organizations means that there is often inexperience, a lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms, and competition for already scarce resources. One exception regarding coordination is Kicking AIDS Out, a partnership involving the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports, UK Sport, Right to Play, Commonwealth Games Association of Canada, Mathare Youth Sports Association, the South African-based SCORE, and several other African NGOs.[44] This level of collaboration remains the exception, and a lack of regulation pertaining to coaches and other leaders, and the absence of effective policies for dealing with accountability and risk management, among others, are persistent problems.

A further problem identified by Andrew Guest regarding the sport for development movement is that, after almost a century of efforts, sport has had little discernable impact. Instead, the efforts through sport have mostly met with failure and resistance. Guest uses the example of a Right to Play program in an Angolan community that failed to meet the stated goals. The sports league that had been created was supposed to be voluntary, and the goal was to develop life skills, but the residents wanted compensation for their work and did not define life skills in the same way as the donor organization. The league collapsed amidst differing donor and recipient expectations.[45] This example will be explored further in the Right to Play case study. Guest's assertion, however, should be carefully examined. Although "sport for good" programs have been in existence for many years, the particular brand of sport for development program that we are seeing today with its the commitment to effective, sustainable change, is a relatively new phenomenon, that needs to be examined, together with its successes and its failures, separately from previous efforts.

Ingrid Beutler, former Head of the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace, corroborates many of the realities of the sport for development movement mentioned above. She states that sport needs to be mainstreamed into schools to increase effectiveness. Beutler also addresses sustainability, calling for community ownership and the use of community sports, as opposed to elite sports, to advance development. She calls for sport to be used as a vehicle to combat discrimination and to achieve gender equality. Finally, she argues that stronger collaboration and coordination between NGOs, the UN, and governments is needed.[46]

In his collaborative review with Peter Donnelly for the International Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace, Bruce Kidd contends that "the evident benefits appear to be an indirect outcome of the context and social interaction that is possible in sport rather than a direct outcome of participating in sport. Critical analysis of a broad range of research findings provides overwhelming support for this conclusion."[47] Darin Tassell and Dene Terry concur with Kidd and Donnelly, stating that sport creates an environment for interaction by people representative of all different social groups and an opportunity for interaction and communication that is much needed, especially in areas where the gaps between such groups is great.[48] This paper, though cognisant of Kidd and Donnelly, Tassell and Terry's expertise, contends that, beyond the experience of sport and the way that it is structured, sport has intrinsic values that make it an excellent partner for development.

The position taken by Kidd and Donnelly, Tassell and Terry, is countered by Jim Parry, who effectively outlines why sport is a unique tool for development. The popularity of sport, he contends, is useful, but cannot be used as a justification for sport for development programs. Its popularity does not explain why sport is popular or how it can be used. If sport is to be used for development, organizations must provide a balanced account of sport that reveals its nature as well as its potential. Parry suggests that there are several aspects of sport that lend themselves to use for development. First of all, fair-play is fundamental to sport. Sport is also institutionalized, it is a contest, it is rule governed, which entails equality and obligation, and it requires cooperation and mutual respect. The very nature of sport lends itself to development because of its characteristics; sport has its own intrinsic form and intrinsic values.[49] Although it is

necessary to be wary of comparisons between programs in the developed world and how they relate to those being delivered in the developing world, Nicholas Holt et al. found what appears to be relevant information when studying a boy's football team in the United States. (N.B. the globally recognized term football will be used throughout the paper to refer to what we in North America call soccer.) Participants reported learning life skills, but the researchers, who had attended games, practices and meetings, found no evidence that the players had been explicitly taught these skills. Instead, sport allowed for learning to take place by the players.[50] Sport itself, with its rules and the way in which it is structured to reward fair-play and teamwork, is important for the development of participants. Sport has intrinsic values that make it an ideal conduit for development initiatives.

One of the most exceptional, but less recognized contributions to society by sport, as identified by Coreen Harada et al. in an article about sport and disability, is the integration of groups that historically have been marginalized. This is particularly relevant to development since, of the 10% of the world's population currently living with a disability, 80% live in the Global South. This percentage continues to increase as a result of political conflict, accidents, and a high incidence of untreated disease in the developing world.[51] Integration, acceptance, and gender equity are all goals that have been advanced at the highest levels, including among the MDGs, and sport programs, when correctly administered, seem to be in a unique position to contribute positively to these goals. The United Nations reiterates this, stating that, by its very nature, sport is about participation. It brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural and ethnic divides.[52]

Case studies: Zambian schools, Right to Play and MYSA

Zambian schools: Plus sport

Donald Njelesani discusses the Zambian physical education decree in his article entitled "Preventive HIV/AIDS Education through Physical Education: reflections from Zambia". The focus of the 2006 decree was to use the school system to fight HIV/AIDS. To achieve this goal, teacher education in physical education was to be strengthened through anti-stigmatisation and gender equity.[53] Sports and traditional games were central to the decree, which aligns with the previously defined notion of plus sport, an approach to sport and development that gives primacy to social and health programs, where sport is used as "fly-paper" to attract youth and to achieve objectives.

In Zambia, some 1.5 million children are enrolled in 3,700 state-run basic schools. This represents a considerable portion of the Zambian youth population. In Njelesani's article, he explores the development of the decree and its promulgation and "take-up" within the Ministry of Education and the state school system.[54] Between 1990 and 2000, overall primary school enrolment fell by 14%, from 80% to 66%. Zambia's education progression rate was lamented, citing the fact that over 300,000 pupils entered grade one, but, by grade five, half of the pupils had dropped out due to lack of motivation, long distances and overcrowding.[55] In 2006, Zambia abolished user fees up to grade nine. This led, in part, to near universal primary school enrolment. However, classes remained overcrowded, as there were not enough teachers recruited to deal with the demand. Also, HIV/AIDS, prevalent among 13.5% of the Zambian population[56], continued to decimate

the teaching force. In 2002 alone, more than 2,000 schoolteachers died, primarily from AIDS-related illnesses.[57]

Along with many other authors writing about the sport for development movement, Njelesani points to "the organization and the focus of the sport experience and the care that leaders put into the design of the program" as the catalyst for affecting change through sport.[58] This "sport experience" was particular important in Zambia as physical education and sport programs were being implemented in a hostile environment. Physical education was often overlooked in Zambia and was previously considered a peripheral subject (a non-educational, non-productive use of time) and was largely treated as playtime, especially in primary schools. This, despite the fact that research suggests that physical education can add to student retention, improve academic performance, and ultimately lead to safer schools.[59] Njelesani sought to explore how physical education and traditional Zambian games address the challenges of HIV and AIDS in the Zambian education sector. To gather information, Njelesani held 17 semi-structured interviews with teachers and administrators in four education districts in Lusaka province in 2009. Through the process, the interviewees were able to share their understanding of the goals of the decree, the impact the decree was having on their teaching of physical education, the response of the students, challenges and successes encountered in implementation, and how games were being utilised in the fight against HIV/AIDS.[60] Prior to holding the interviews, Njelesani worked with what he termed to be "community gatekeepers" in order to develop an understanding of cultural nuances, particularly pertaining to the education industry. He tested his interview questions with these gatekeepers, who

included individuals working with the education sector, and those working in the private or donor community, and modified them accordingly.[61]

Zambia, with help from the London 2012 International Inspiration program and the British Council, is one of the few countries that is revitalising its state-led physical education curriculum to incorporate sport for development to address larger education targets.[62] The Zambian decree pertaining to sport and HIV/AIDS prevention was broadly implemented, found Njelesani, but mainly for the wrong reasons: teachers and administrators were fearful of being reprimanded. In a country were the unemployment rate is above 50% and 86% of the population lives below the poverty line, physical education was seen as unimportant, a waste of time.[63] However, this negative view of sport speaks more to the dearth of communication from the federal government regarding the importance of sport and physical education rather than to any failing of sport itself. Teachers thought that the decree was linked to the Millennium Development Goals, others saw it as related to physical fitness and still others thought that sport was a way to keep the mind active, so that "evil" could not enter the children's minds.[64] The actual decree states that "teaching of physical education is to ensure physical fitness of the learner and need not involve expensive equipment . . . additionally it need not necessarily be taught for examination purposes only but should be taught for enhancement of values, skills and a holistic development of the learner."[65] The lack of education surrounding the decree meant that teachers were creating their own methods to teach their classes about health and HIV/AIDS through physical education; there was no coordination. Furthermore, the interviewees' answers regarding sport and its importance point to the need for a strengthened education system; many education system inspectors had never

received training on how to inspect physical education classes, much less on how to evaluate plus sport programs pertaining to HIV/AIDS prevention.[66]

Njelesani's observations point to the problem of overall institutional weaknesses in the public education system that can prevent plus sport programs from being successful. First of all, in the Zambian case, there was a lack of adequate training for teachers regarding the decree. Furthermore, there was a lack of coordination between the education sector and other government agencies. One of the goals of the decree was to educate students about HIV/AIDS. This would necessarily suggest a partnership with health workers, who could devise teaching materials and support the teachers. However, due to the lack of coordination, this did not occur, leaving teachers to create their own programs, with limited knowledge.[67]

Despite the difficulties, Njelesani highlighted many initial successes pertaining to the decree, successes worth noting and attempting to replicate. First of all, when teachers feel appreciated and important, they are more likely to motive and engage their students. The decree provided physical education teachers with a feeling of mission and importance. They felt empowered. Further, Njelesani noted that interviewees consistently stated how the inclusion of traditional games in the lessons engaged students. This in turn allowed teachers to incorporate preventative HIV messages into the traditional games. They assigned homework on the topic, and this was followed by class discussion. Notably, the decree appears to have had a favourable impact on gender relations in the classroom. A common theme amongst all the interviewees was the change in the dynamics of interaction between girls and boys over time. Prior to the mandate, boys and girls sat separately. The decree has led to an increased awareness among teachers of

interactions between boys and girls, perhaps as a result of the focus on participation and inclusion in the games being played.[68] Njelesani also noted that institutional weakness in the educational system could be overcome through outside sources. He cited two Zambian organizations in particular, Edusport and Sport in Action, as being champions of the use of sport to address HIV and AIDS, and of supporting teachers through training workshops and the supply of reading materials. These local organizations should be strengthened, not overlooked by international NGOs as in the past, since they have the potential to play a major role in education through sport.[69]

Njelesani sees many reasons to be optimistic regarding the potential of using sport in a larger framework of development. He states that, given that the mandate in Zambia was created for physical education, a subject that has traditionally been marginalized, and given the literature surrounding successful sport for development programing, there are reasons for optimism. He believes that the potential contributions of these sport for development programs are such that they should be expanded to the majority of the population who remain vulnerable to poverty and who live with an education system that does little to help them address their day-to-day challenges.[70] Also, there remains a role for NGOs and grassroots organizations to contribute to the development of teachers and teaching materials for the physical education classes. This service needs to be expanded, as not all teachers benefit from the expertise of the NGOs equally and NGO help is often given on an ad-hoc basis.

Njelesani's main observations pertain to research in the field of sport for development. He argues that it is key to foster a community of researchers amongst indigenous scholars, to increase sustainability of projects and to increase their

effectiveness.[71] Njelesani states that this research should focus on gender relations; the "why" behind the perceived improvement in the relationship between boys and girls following participation in sport for development programs.[72] He concludes by stating that, as is the case for many sport for development scholars, he is concerned with the sustainability of sport for development efforts due to the proliferation of NGOs. He therefore endorses the idea of government taking the lead in sport for development organization and implementation, because, while the government may be slow to implement and to monitor, the school system in Zambia provides ready access to 1.5 million youth. Njelesani argues that efforts should be made to support the education structure and to coordinate partnerships with NGOs and other government organizations to ensure the successful deliverance of sport for development programming.[73]

Right to Play: Plus sport

Following the 1994 Lillehammer Olympics, Norwegian speed skater Johann Koss became a figurehead for the Olympic Aid movement: an organization where athletes could donate their winnings to support various humanitarian initiatives around the globe. Olympic Aid quickly morphed into an NGO that went far beyond donating money. Today it has become one of the, if not the, leading sport for development organizations in the world. Olympic Aid changed its name to Right to Play in 2003 and now delivers programs oriented toward direct socialization through sport.[74] The mission of Right to Play is to "improve the lives of children in some of the most disadvantaged areas of the world by using the power of sport and play for development, health and peace."[75] The 2010 Annual Report identified Right to Play programs as reaching 700,000 children, 50%

of them girls, through weekly sport and play activities, with the help of nearly 13,000 local leaders and coaches.[76]

In 2002 and 2003, Andrew Guest undertook "participant observation" of a Right to Play program in an Angolan community that, for the purposes of his article, he pseudonymously called Pena. Guest wrote his article relying on ethnographic observations and field notes taken during his six-month stint in Angola.[77] The Right to Play program was a direct service model employing an ambitious rhetoric articulating what sport can do for diverse groups of children and youth. This rhetoric revolved around the "5 Rings Program" that used the Olympic Rings to represent different aspects of childhood development targeted through play.[78] This "5 Rings Program" no longer figures in Right to Play's programs, as they have moved from rhetoric to collaborative, inventive programs. This is important to understand. Right to Play today, though still an NGO employing a plus sport perspective, has a greater diversity of programs, some, according to their 2010 Annual Report, in collaboration with schools.[79] Therefore, Right to Play appears much more diverse than in 2002, but it still uses the type of program discussed in Guest's study, which is why Guest's analysis of the Angolan program retains its usefulness as a case study for this paper.

Guest starts his analysis of the Right to Play program at the volunteer training sessions, prior to departure for Angola. At one session, a volunteer suggested that they explain themselves to Angolans as a new type of missionary, a sports missionary. This suggesting was strongly refuted by the volunteer coordinator, but Guest uses it to highlight the missionary zeal that sport for development programs can invoke and that exists in tension with a liberal ethos that wants to respect cultural diversity.[80] Guest

observed this same tension on the ground, where well-intended programs that were based on a universal idea of the value of sport were confronted by distinct local understandings. The residents of Pena were originally from rural parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola. They had been displaced by war and many had fled their homes. The community of Pena comprised some 8,000 residents, divided into small camps; long-term settlements that had no gates. Many of the families had been living and sometimes working for five years in the community. The main language spoken was Portuguese, a carry-over from colonial rule, and, although education was highly prized, due to poverty and a sometimes-nomadic lifestyle, few residents had more than a year or two of formal education.[81] Pena residents maintained many patterns common to rural sub-Saharan Africa, including stringent gender roles, time for play in childhood, hierarchical social structures and a mix of religious beliefs.[82] The important point that Guest tries to convey is that local meanings for the community residents came from a context that was very different from that espoused by Right to Play, a Western organization.

The program that was set-up in Pena was that of a football league for men and boys. The program had initially met with enthusiasm from the community due to the overwhelming popularity of football.[83] However, the program was on the verge of falling apart when Guest arrived, a year and a half after the program had been established. The problem was that the program coordinators insisted that the coach training and the league itself would be run on an entirely voluntary basis. The goal of the program was to teach life skills. However, this goal did not resonate with Pena residents who wanted to be compensated for their efforts. Program coordinators finally compromised and bought new uniforms for the league. However, as the league progressed, the players were still

unhappy with not being compensated, and, in protest, some players broke in one night to the shipping crate where the uniforms were stored, thus effectively ending the program. The league folded and both parties, program coordinators and participants, left, frustrated with one another.[84]

Guest argues that although the failure of the football league was counterproductive to any explicit development through sport objectives, it did show local agency on the part of the Pena residents. However, the disunion could have been avoided had there been better communication between the program coordinators and the Pena residents. The problem was primarily that Pena residents did not see value in participation in sport unless they were being compensated. Program coordinators, however, thought that the league had value in and of itself because it gave the opportunity to play and to develop life skills. Part of this conflict of interpretation arose from differing understandings of life skills. When Guest asked a group of Angolan coaches what they thought self-esteem meant, only one person indicated familiarity with the concept and he defined it as being when someone spends a lot of time thinking about themselves. Right to Play, on the other hand, had visions of the league teaching life skills, which it defined as self-confidence, communication, teamwork, inclusion, discipline, respect and fair-play. [85] A father in Pena later confided in Guest that he did not view self-esteem as being important: "Where is the fruit, where is the future?" he asked.[86] This reaction from the community is in line with what Gary Armstrong witnessed with regard to the neighbourhood football programs established in Liberia following the civil war. Armstrong noted that "rehabilitation and re-integration projects [whether in sport or some other form] are doomed to fail if there is no better life offered to the disaffected…"[87] Bruce Kidd also states that the benefits of

participation in sport cannot be understood in isolation from other initiatives. To be successful, sport for development should be linked with other programs, especially those in education, health and employment.[88]

Guest, in his concluding remarks regarding his séjour with Right to Play in Pena, is restrained in his view of how sport can impact on development. Guest states that rather than assuming that sport will transmit values, sport can best be a site where negotiations, between Western and local ideals, definitions and practices are negotiated. He views an effective sport for development program as being one that simply provides a space for communities to build their own concept of healthy, fun, beneficial play.[89] His view regarding the potential of sport for development appears to lie more comfortably within the neo-liberal development ethos than within the more progressive, expansive sport for development dimension. This is evident through his emphasis on the provision of resources and opportunities. He suggests some examples, such as sport for development focusing on creating safe and functional spaces for the community to play according to their own interests or norms and providing resources, including equipment and materials available for community use, that are in line with his view of how sport for development initiatives could most effectively be implemented.[90]

MYSA: Sport plus

Fred Coalter, at the beginning of his article entitled "Sport-for-development: going beyond the boundary?", describes Mathare, in north-eastern Nairobi, as "one of the largest and poorest slums in Africa, with a population of about [9]00,000 living in an area of two kilometres by 300 metres. It is a maze of low, rusted iron-sheeting roofs with mud

walls. Housing is wholly inadequate, with most houses measuring about eight feet by six feet and holding up to 10 people. Few houses have running water, open gutters of sewage run throughout, the road infrastructure is extremely poor, refuse and litter dominate the area and the local authority provides few services."[91] Enter into this picture Bob Munro, a Canadian United Nations environmental development officer posted to Nairobi. In 1987, Munro established the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) as a small, self-help project to organize football.[92] In an interview with the Globe and Mail in 2011, Munro stated that he initially made a deal with kids kicking a makeshift ball of plastic bags tied together with string: he told them that if they cleaned up the field in the slums of Nairobi, he would give them a proper football; if they got rid of the garbage, he would volunteer to coach and referee the young players. His motivation for starting the football league in Mathare was linked to giving young players a safe place to play, cleaning up the slums, and to AIDS prevention[93]; thus, MYSA was born.

Today, MYSA is the largest youth sports organization in Africa, with more than 1,000 teams and 25,000 members. MYSA's teams range from under 10 to 18 years of age, and they are organized into 180 leagues across 16 zones.[94] MYSA also has two semi-professional men's teams, Mathare United A and B. These teams were established to provide a goal as well as role models for the younger players but also as a means to benefit from player transfers, which could then be used to provide economic security for the rest of the organization. MYSA is highly successful as a sport plus program, having supplied, in 2009, eleven players for Kenya's African Nation's Cup squad, plus its manager and its coach. Mathare United also won the Kenyan Premier League title.[95] MYSA has moved beyond sport to incorporate the arts, including photography, dance and

music. In the same way as the football league, MYSA's arts programs have spread throughout the 16 zones. The music program holds shows that educate about HIV/AIDS and teach Kenyan history. The dance program performs in schools and tackles reproductive health, a subject not taught in Kenya's curriculum. Through its highly successful programming, MYSA has also developed partnerships with other organizations, most notably with the Norwegian organization Fredskopset. Through Fredskopset, many MYSA youth have participated in North-South or South-South exchanges to expand their knowledge and horizons. Also through Fredskopset, MYSA teams compete in the Norway Cup annually, thus allowing players to travel internationally.[96] Furthermore, MYSA has been involved in supporting other organizations in Kenya, including Moving the Goalposts. This is a positive development, using local, indigenous knowledge to facilitate South-South learning. MYSA's "team", the Executive Director and the other Directors, are all Kenyan, born in Mathare. MYSA's main goal is to "give youth a sporting chance on and off the field" by using the power of sport to unite communities, to help girls shine, to develop leadership skills, and to fight HIV/AIDS. MYSA is built on seven core values: respect for self and others, fair-play, showing a good example to others, respect for rules, equality, helping yourself by helping others, and "if you do something, MYSA will do something; if you do nothing, MYSA will do nothing".[97] In 2003 and 2004, MYSA was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Although it began with modest goals, MYSA has become a model for other sport plus programs. The program initially attracted youth because it provided real footballs, a structured league, and a safe place to play. Now, the benefits for youth participants are many. First of all, MYSA provides a link between sport and community service.

Secondly, the youth who participate in the program are the owners and the decision makers of the program. Leaders are elected in each zone and then to the MYSA Executive Council. Munro was surprised by the determination and pride of the inaugural MYSA members. He says that his role, as Founding Trustee and Executive Chairman, is primarily that of advisor and that the youth really have control of the league. All of the representatives of the league are under 21, and half of them are girls.[98] Thirdly, the youth help themselves by helping others. Finally, MYSA helps young leaders stay in school. This is achieved via a points system that awards educational scholarship points for volunteer activities.[99]

MYSA is a sport plus program, but one that has modified the rules of football to ensure that they are in line with the "plus"; with the added benefits that MYSA hopes participants will receive. The rules of football have been modified so that if anyone other than the captain talks to the official, he/she is sent off and has to referee six junior matches to put himself/herself in the place of the referee. Only then will the player be allowed to re-join the team. Furthermore, a green card is awarded at the end of every game to the most sporting player. The recipient of the green card also receives educational scholarship points. Through two subtle rule changes, MYSA is teaching the players lessons about respect and fair-play.[100] Schooling in Kenya is free until the age of 14, but many schools require uniforms which can be prohibitively expensive, and schooling after the age of 14 requires fees. As part of its larger commitment to education, in 2010 MYSA awarded 500 leadership awards: 250 to boys and 250 to girls.[101] The awards are paid to the school of the winners' choice and are used to pay for tuition, books and uniforms. Points towards these awards can be won through community clean-up

work, volunteer work, attending HIV/AIDS awareness sessions, peer-leadership and coaching, and through the fair-play green cards.[102] Participants often try to accumulate points for their younger brothers and sisters, again demonstrating that, without resorting to overt lecturing, MYSA is providing children with opportunities to make decisions that can positively benefit them and their families. Finally, a more general commitment to community service is obligatory for all members of MYSA, including those at the semi-professional level. The aim of the work is to clean-up the slums by clearing drains, cutting grass and removing litter. Although, as Coalter notes, these efforts have little impact, the overall message is that of giving back and of responsibility.[103] Even Munro concedes that the dramatic changes do not come from the environmental efforts, because the garbage problem is so enormous; "the major changes are within the youth themselves, and what they think and what they do with their lives, on the field and off the field"[104]; people are a major product of MYSA. The MYSA social network provides clear, tangible rewards and advantages to members.

MYSA uses an approach that is characteristic of many sport for development organizations: youth leaders. This means that youth are involved at all levels of planning, implementation and decision-making. In MYSA, these volunteer youth leader roles allow youth to amass points toward an educational scholarship. They also give youth experience in managing, a sense of control and, perhaps most importantly, a sense of collective responsibility.[105] Using youth leaders has other advantages, one of them being that they become role models. Munro asks rhetorically; "role models for youth: is anything more important in development?" He argues that in many developing nations, the poor make up the majority of the population and that the majority of the poor are

youth. In addition to the obvious challenges of poverty, lack of food, education, and health care, there are other less examined challenges, including a lack of belief that a future outside of poverty is possible. Role models have a huge role to play in development, especially female role models. Female role models in sport for development confront traditional stereotypes, can positively affect gender norms, and can provide leadership for the next generation.[106] They can also change the perception of females by the male population. Brady and Kahn note that, through MYSA, "girls' participation can begin to change community norms about their roles and capacities. In this way, sports may be a catalyst for the transformation of social norms."[107]

MYSA's impact on gender relations is something that cannot be overlooked. MYSA has been running girls' football leagues since 1992. Today there are over 5,800 girls, playing on over 300 teams, in 60-plus girls' leagues.[108] At the beginning of the program, parents and community members were sceptical about girls playing football, but through a combination of determination on the part of girls and information distribution in the community by MYSA, the league has flourished. The league has changed not only the way that girls are perceived in the community, but also the way that they perceive themselves. Irene Esonga, a participant in both the football league and the arts and culture program, states that "[football] is believed to be a man's game, but [I] am grateful to MYSA to have introduced it to many girls from the slums of Nairobi and being one of them [I] am truly grateful for the impact it has created on my life." [109]

Coalter, in his article "Sport-for-development: going beyond the boundary?", focuses on the social capital produced by MYSA. He discusses how sport for development initiatives, through their emphasis on gender equality, education, personal

development and social responsibility, are trying to replace negative aspects of social capital with more positive forms.[110] However, he acknowledges that unless there is a larger "civic and government social capital", well-intentioned efforts such as MYSA will have a limited impact. This speaks to wider themes in the development literature, calling for support of government structures and partnerships, and highlighting the difficulty for civil society organizations to thrive without help from the state. Coalter examines this connection between grassroots initiatives and civic and government social capital by citing an example from MYSA. The Mathare United semi-professional teams were created to help with the sustainability of the MYSA organization. The plan was to use transfer fees from Mathare United players to provide economic security for other MYSA programs. However, reflecting wider corruption throughout Kenyan sport, football agents, in conjunction with the Kenyan Football Federation, did not deliver MYSA's legitimate share of two transfer fees.[111] After some conflict, these issues were resolved, but they serve to illustrate larger problems in development. These problems are broadly recognized and are addressed by the United Nations in their call for an integrated approach to sport for development "involving a full spectrum of actors in field-based community development including all levels of and various sectors of government, sport organizations, NGOs and the private sector."[112] This raises an important question regarding the necessity of a strong government to allow development, in this case sport for development, initiatives to operate effectively. In their article, "Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy", Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan argue that civil society organizations are not simply substitutes for the

state, and that they can only really thrive to the extent that they are encouraged by the state.[113]

Coalter concludes by arguing that it is not simply participation in sport that can hope to achieve favourable outcomes, it is sport plus; that it is not sport, but sport organizations that have the largest impact; an argument that was addressed in the "Claims and Realities" section of this paper. He also states that organizations that have been created for one set of purposes can also help in other areas. In this regard, he argues that the wider potential for sport for development organizations has yet to be explored.[114] MYSA, through its diverse programming, offers a glimpse of this wider potential.

Case studies: Evaluation

The case studies will be evaluated using select UN-IOC Forum recommendations. These recommendations have been chosen based on how often the themes that they address have been repeated in the sport for development literature. The recommendations that will be used to evaluate the case studies are: (2) …to interface with and influence national governments in the formulation of their development policies and to entrench sport within those policies…; (7) to underline the commitment of the Olympic Movement to continue its efforts to combat HIV/AIDS…; (8) …to stress…the Olympic Family's continuing commitment to engage with all of the MDGs…; (10) …in recognition of the fact that the education system is the most comprehensive way of reaching young people, to work with all relevant partners and stakeholders, in particular national and local government authorities, to ensure that the promotion of participation in sport and physical activity is included in school curricula worldwide in view of the

contribution of sport to health, wellbeing and education; (12) mindful of the priority given to gender equity and the empowerment of women in the UN Millennium Development Goals, to affirm the importance of sport as a vehicle for the achievement of gender equality and to continue to strive for equal opportunities for women in and through sport, both at grass roots levels and in leadership positions, while avoiding generalised, one-size-fits-all approaches. Furthermore, to give full recognition to the high-quality female role models in sport…; (17) to explore further the vast potential of "healing through sport", both in post-conflict situations and in equipping communities to cope with the profound trauma caused by natural disasters, recognising the need to customize sports interventions according to the situation on the ground and the need for collaborative efforts with established local community development networks including coaches and volunteers, as well as with UN agencies and NGOs, to build resilience and create durable, sustainable change within devastated communities.

The first observation from the case studies pertains to the question of gender equity, and how sport for development can help to advance the position of women and girls globally. This relates to the twelfth recommendation from the UN-IOC Forum, which identifies sport as a "vehicle for the achievement of gender equality and to continue to strive for equal opportunities for women in and through sport, both at grass roots levels and in leadership positions, while avoiding generalised, one-size-fits-all approaches. Furthermore, to give full recognition to the high-quality female role models in sport."[115] This focus on gender equity is particularly evident in MYSA's programming. Sport for development's role in gender equity places it outside the traditional neo-liberal development model, and shows some of its ties to the feminist worldview. The role of

feminism in international relations theory is to move questions pertaining to international relations towards areas that have previously been considered unimportant, such as the effect of gender, the body and sexuality as areas of control and of political significance[116]. Gender is important, in large part because three-fifths of the world's one billion poorest people are women and girls. In sub-Saharan Africa, 57% of those living with HIV are female, and in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, young women aged 15-24 are three to six times more likely to be infected with HIV than young men in the same age bracket.[117] Sport is one of the three primary factors (along with nutrition and non-smoking) that influence individual and population risks of chronic, non-communicable disease worldwide. There is further evidence that suggests that regular physical activity can help prevent cancer, particularly breast cancer in women.[118] Sport can also help to improve access to sexual and reproductive health information, education and services. Girls need relevant information about their bodies which can be limited by uneven access to education, limited health care services, social taboos that discourage women from asking questions about their sexual health or social norms that hold women accountable for sexual victimization. Sport can be used as a health information and education platform. Well-trained and well-informed sport facilitators can be in a unique position to engage young women on issues relating to their health.[119] An example of this comes from a MYSA participant, Beatrice Wumbai. Beatrice joined MYSA's girl's football program at the age of nine. Since then, she has been an active participant in MYSA's HIV/AIDS awareness programs. Beatrice is now the Resource Centre Attendant in the Huruma Zone where she teaches youth and students from nearby schools about reproductive health and HIV/AIDS.[120]

Sport can also help to change gender perceptions. When girls and women engage in sport, they necessarily challenge pre-established gender norms, simply through their participation. Sport is so heavily associated with masculinity, competitiveness, and aggression, that when girls participate, questions are raised about the viability of gender stereotypes.[121] When women demonstrate the same capacities as men, they move a step in the direction of gender equality. Evaluations of some programs, such as the Zambian case, have noted changing relationships between boys and girls who participate in sport. Boys begin to view girls as people who are on equal footing with them, and can thus forge more respectful, healthy relationships with members of the opposite sex. Changing viewpoints break through the "traditional" barrier. When people start to talk about a certain way of life or certain practices in terms of tradition, there is an implicit understanding that, because something is traditional, even if it does not seem particularly fair or just, it can be covered in a protective layer and spared embarrassing or insightful questions.[122] An example would be: Why do women stay at home with the children while men go off to work? The answer: Because it is traditional for men to conduct business in the public sphere. Through feminism and changing viewpoints, the acceptance of norms based on tradition is called into question.

An example of a woman who broke through barriers and challenged gender perceptions, all while underlining the importance of role models, is Esther Phiri. Esther's story is explored in an article by Marianne Meier and Martha Saavedra, entitled "Esther Phiri and the Moutawakel effect in Zambia: an analysis of the use of female role models in sport-for-development". The article focuses on Zambian boxer Esther Phiri, a 29 year old single mother, and, through her, examines how role models might operate to increase

girls' participation in sport and contribute to achieving goals set for sport and development projects, including positively altering gender roles and expectations.[123] Esther's story is particularly pertinent to this study as she got her boxing start in a sport for development program. In Zambia, there are several factors that restrict the sporting activities of girls and women, including access to education and work, as well as the particular burdens that women bear due to poverty and the HIV/AIDS crisis. Girls and women are responsible for household chores and have little personal free time.[124] Esther Phiri was born into these difficult circumstances: a country that ranked in the bottom third in gender equity indicators, a disadvantaged area, a life of trying to earn a living following the death of her father, the birth of a child when she was only 16. However, her life took a turn when Esther became involved in an Africa Directions AIDS prevention program. The program combined sport and health education. Esther was the only female participant in the boxing program.[125] Esther demonstrated the power of sport to change gender norms when, in 2007, in front of 8,000 spectators at the Mulungushi Conference Centre in Lusaka, she defeated Monika Petrova of Bulgaria in an eight-round unanimous decision to retain the Women's International Boxing Federation Intercontinental Junior Lightweight title.[126] Her victory was celebrated across the country.

Although Esther is just one woman, role models can have a huge impact on changing norms and ideas. Once enough people see one person do something, it can change their perception about what they are able to do themselves. It allows people to think beyond their current situation.[127] Role models are most effective when the population can relate to them. Role models from outside the country or group are generally not as effective as role models that share similar characteristics or experiences

with the targeted population. For role models to be effective they must be embedded; a major factor in the effectiveness of role models is their perceived similarity to the participant.[128]

Therefore, sport for development, through its explicit focus on gender empowerment that is built into the core goals of the movement, provides, through this focus, a feminist view of international relations. Though not all programs will explicitly emphasize gender empowerment, the goal remains a cornerstone of the movement, stated in the Right to Play, United Nations and MYSA manifestos.[129] When implementing programs that have gender equality enshrined as a goal, it is important that adequate consultation has been undertaken and that there is regard for local culture and for the current status of gender relations. There is a need to insure that girls will not be punished for undertaking new, sporting activities. Also, attempting to empower girls can very often be doomed to fail without also involving boys and men in the process.[130] Gender issues are not women's issues, but issues that affect how half of humanity is involved in daily global life. It is equally important that boys and men understand and respect women, and that they contribute to the fight for gender equity. By targeting gender empowerment responsibly, sport for development is challenging traditional norms and emphasizing previously neglected areas of study. Sport for development is having a positive feminist impact, empowering girls and women and providing them with new opportunities. In addition to taking up the call for the UN-IOC's twelfth recommendation pertaining to gender, MYSA is also active in fighting HIV/AIDS (recommendation 7) through its awareness initiatives, and striving for environmental protection and sustainability (recommendation 8) through its slum clean-up initiatives.

Another way in which sport challenges the traditional neo-liberal ideology is the structuring of its programs through the education system, as neo-liberalism does not endorse implementing programs through government structures. The example of this implementation of programs through schools is the Zambian case. The use of the public school system to advance sport for development goals in Zambia also relates to the second and tenth recommendations from the UN-IOC forum, which call for working with and through government and for "recognition of the fact that the education system is the most comprehensive way of reaching young people, to work with all relevant partners and stakeholders, in particular national and local government authorities, to ensure that the promotion of participation in sport and physical activities is included in school curricula worldwide in view of the contribution of sport to health, wellbeing and education" respectively.[131] The Zambian example, and the impact that staff indicated physical education had on gender relations in the classroom, also speaks to the advancement of gender equity (recommendation 12).

The Right to Play case highlights the seventeenth recommendation from the UN-IOC forum, which states "the need to customize sports interventions according to the situation on the ground and the need for collaborative efforts with established local community development networks including coaches and volunteers."[132] The Right to Play program in Angola, although well-intentioned, failed because it did not have a full understanding of the situation on the ground. It tried to import Western ideas regarding sport into a community that a) didn't understand them and b) didn't necessarily agree with them. This example shows the need for sport for development programs to learn the cultural subtexts in the area where the program will be held. It also highlights the need,

where possible, to co-ordinate with local programs to advance community goals. This is very important and has been highlighted in countless progressive development documents. The Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness calls on developing countries to own their own strategies for poverty reduction and for donor organizations to align behind the stated objectives and to use local systems.[133]

The three case studies represent different successes and shortcomings in the sport for development movement when evaluated using the UN-IOC recommendations. The identification of these successes and shortcomings is very useful as it provides information as to what works, what doesn't, and what should be attempted in the future. Although development projects need to be undertaken on a case by case basis, need to reflect the realities on the ground, and need to be based on the real and not perceived needs of the community, the three case studies allow for the identification of what could be tried in the future, given the correct situation, and what should be avoided. The case studies also provide a strong argument for why sport should be taken seriously as a tool for development. When used correctly, sport can empower women and can instil in men a sense of fairness and of responsibility. This is achieved through the communication necessary in sport and through the way in which sport brings girls and boys, women and men, into the same arena, and gives them the opportunity to participate together, and to appreciate each other's worth. Sport provides an ideal meeting place for participants of all ages and can be adapted to be inclusive of people with disabilities, mental health issues, and members of other traditionally marginalized groups. Games can be tailored to be educational and can serve to disseminate important information, particularly regarding sexual health. Sport can be mainstreamed in the education system and can also be taught

outside of school for children who are unable to attend. Sport is not the answer to the development question, but it is an important part of the equation on how to move development forward and how to do development differently.

Conclusion

Sport for development has emerged at a time of change for development initiatives. The Paris Aid Effectiveness Principles, the Accra Agenda for Action, and the Responsibility to Protect all demand a higher standard from the international community. There is a global, a collective, sense of responsibility. This means that, as the Commission on Human Security states, "people's horizons extend far beyond survival to matters of love, culture and faith."[134] It is no longer enough to be protected and fed; everyone deserves more. Sport is part of this "more".

Sport for development still suffers from many of the traditional development challenges: neo-colonialism, top-down approaches, having little discernible impact, a lack of regulation and little or no donor accountability. However, sport for development is responding to these challenges in unique ways, due in part to the movement's push outside the boundaries of traditional modernization and neo-liberal development structures. Sport for development programs, "when conducted in responsible, culturally appropriate ways, with community support, have enhanced the education, health and well-being of participants."[135] To continue to move forward, sport for development programs will have to take context as a starting point, and ensure that the needs of the community take precedence. Programs will also have to be sustainable. This can be done by having the community take the reins in the decision-making processes, and also by

demonstrating the tangible benefits that stand to be derived from those programs once they are implemented. Through successful programs, role models can also be created, lifting the aspirations of the younger generations. Gender considerations must also be addressed to ensure successful sport for development programming. This means involving both girls and boys in activities and in positions of influence. Programs can take on different forms, according to the needs of the community. This is demonstrated by the success of both plus sport (Zambian schools) and sport plus (MYSA) initiatives; both have value in their own right. The Commonwealth Games Association of Canada, which works extensively in sport for development, indicates that plus sport and sport plus initiatives can re-enforce one another. Furthermore, whenever possible, sport for development programs should be implemented through the public school system. This could be achieved through government, NGO, and UN cooperation. Teacher training could then be systematically supplemented by local and international NGO training. However, recognizing that school enrolment is not universal (worldwide, 57 million school-age children do not attend school; 39 million of those children live in Africa)[136], sport for development organizations still have a role to play outside of schools. Programs should be tailored to fit specific circumstances, and should provide an opportunity for advancement to out-of-school children. Collaborations can therefore be used to mainstream physical education in public schools, and also to teach health, especially as it pertains to HIV/AIDS, whether in schools or not. This can be achieved through government and NGO collaboration with health professionals.

To take the discussion regarding the future of the sport for development movement a step further is to begin to discuss the necessity of monitoring and evaluation (M + E)

for sport for development programs. This paper has touched on the necessity of providing evidence that sport for development programs are having the desired impact. This paper will conclude with analysis and reflections on how M + E can assist the sport for development movement, and how best it can be implemented. The sixteenth recommendation of the UN-IOC forum is to "consider the creation of a web-based information-sharing network for sport in peace and development, through which information, expertise and know-how on local, national and regional initiatives, case studies, research, best practice and impact [monitoring] and evaluation of projects can be shared."[137] Since the 1980s, there has been recognition of the need to consider factors other than the economy in measuring development. This has led to an end on reliance on gross domestic product as the be-all and end-all of development measurement, and the beginning of looking at the human dimension of development, which starts from the premise that people are the real wealth of a nation. This type of human evaluation is most widely undertaken in the Human Development Index, which measures health and education, among other factors.[138] This shift in focus with regards to how development is measured can clearly be seen in current debates surrounding M + E. The mention in the UN-IOC recommendation of M + E echoes the call of many sport for development scholars regarding the need to improve M + E evaluation techniques in the sport for development movement to be able to adequately answer the questions such as why exactly sport helps, in what circumstances, and for how long. M + E programs can, when correctly implemented, hold donors to account regarding development programs. However, Tess Kay, in her article looking specifically at M + E in sport for development notes that oftentimes, if incorrectly integrated, M + E concerns, and the need to provide

data, can take precedence over the development programming.[139] Many recipient countries are often accountable to multiple donors through M + E processes that can be very costly and time-consuming.[140] M + E can be shaped by those requesting the data and can also suffer from a lack of funding. Furthermore M + E methods tend to privilege Western methods and requirements, prompting a sport for development program recipient to note that "we have to fit our visions, our way of thinking, into your template. Gone are our free expression, our long paragraphs and our way of seeing and interpreting our reality. We are now forced to express ourselves in a way that you understand and want."[141] Therefore, M + E needs to be participatory; locals need to be involved as much in the M + E procedures as they are in the program creation and implementation. M + E also needs to focus on learning: self-reflexive learning on the part of donors as well as shared learning between different organizations.[142] M + E programs imposed by donors are often inappropriate and can actually lead to a destruction of local knowledge when donors teach recipients how to evaluate programs in ways that make little sense or are of little relevance to what recipients perceive to be the end goals. In the context of sport for development, Kay argues that this type of imposition of norms by external providers "reinforces the construction of sport as an externally imposed, ethno-centric institution."[143]

Perhaps qualitative research will be the answer to how sport for development programs go about collecting information for their M + E processes. As for the case studies examined, the main M + E tools used are concrete data, with both Right to Play and MYSA's annual reports showing the number of children affected by and involved in the programs. Also, in both cases, and in the Zambian education case, there is recipient

feedback on opportunities gained through programs. For me, this is the most valuable. Kay concurs with this point of view and argues that qualitative approaches can provide a wide lens through which to view the effects of a program, reaching beyond the program itself into family and community contexts. Qualitative research also provides a step towards democratizing the research relationship and, is at the very least, a legitimate indicator of the successes and shortcomings of sport for development programs.[144] Everjoice Win, a Zimbabwean development worker, says it best when [she] states that "development is not about words and procedures. It is about changing the reality of people's lives. We need procedures, concepts and methods, but only as tools that help us do the work that needs to be done. When development is reduced to fitting things on blue squares, then we create more problems than we claim to solve. When these tools begin to imprison and consume all our energies, where will we get the extra energy to do real work?"[145]

Kay completed three case studies pertaining to M + E in sport for development programs. One of those was the GOAL program in Delhi, India. The aim of the program was to empower women to become leaders and social activists in their communities. Twice-weekly netball practices were supplemented by education models that covered personal issues such as hygiene, health and communication, social issues including the environment, and economic issues such as micro-finance and computing.[146] Kay's information on the program came from interviews with staff and participants in the program. Kay's data is presented under three themes. First of all, what are the problems that the project is trying to address? These problems centered around living in a strongly patriarchal society. The second theme is: what benefits did the project offer? Kay found

that the young women gave detailed accounts of how they were more informed, especially relating to issues surrounding health and reproduction, and also how they had a newfound ability to express themselves. Several of the young women also spoke about the impact of the program on their aspirations.[147] The third theme that Kay examines is the role of sport in the benefits accrued through participation in the program. First of all, GOAL provided the opportunity for young women to remove themselves from domestic responsibilities and from the home as a physical space. Also, several of the participants and leaders highlighted the fact that netball made specific contributions to the assertiveness and self-confidence of the young women because it was a team sport that necessitated communication and working together. One participant remarked, "I have learnt a new game, and also because of the team activity that goes on…I have learnt how to interact, which I would never have done before."[148] Kay's study offers a contribution to the literature on M + E in sport for development programs and highlights the contribution that qualitative evaluation can have. Kay notes that there was consistency in the reactions to the program across the different categories of interviewee, and that "the outcomes of the study overall concur with theoretical and empirically based analyses which attribute sport with the potential to contribute to positive social outcomes."[149] Qualitative evaluations may help to capture the complex, multi-faceted benefits derived from sport for development programs.[150] Qualitative research could also help proponents of sport for development move away from a reliance on the demonstrated benefits of sport in the Western world, which has been at the heart of much of the criticism levelled at the sport for development movement (that its benefits are overblown and Western-centric) and develop a cache of information pertaining to the benefits of sport as

demonstrated in the Global South. Qualitative research could mute the criticism and could also help to capture local voices on the benefits and challenges of sport for development.

Development is about more than numbers and evaluation, it is about people. Though I agree that organizations need to be self-critical and that there needs to be a sharing of information, I think that the "right fit" for different regions and people will come through collaboration and communication, and not necessarily through data collection. Modified M + E can be very useful in arguing for and proving the benefits of sport for development programs. There is also a call for sport for development workers to seek out the expertise of those who have worked for decades in the development field, to adapt their M + E evaluations to sport.[151] In this way, sport for development organizations could adapt established M + E processes to fit the unique needs of sport evaluation. Ultimately, if organizations are working together, using established guidelines such as those published by the OECD and the UN, then they are moving in the right direction and they will foster effective, enduring change. In this same vein, if M + E programs are well structured, they can provide important information from recipients to donors and they can hold donors to account for their programs. M + E could thus be useful if properly integrated into the sport for development program structure and if providing genuine, recipient-led feedback that prioritizes recipient goals over those of donors.

All of the viewpoints and all of the themes explored in this paper provide valuable contributions to furthering the sport for development movement. They also provide different perspectives and open up the field to analysis and improvement. To conclude, I

would like to re-iterate the assertion made at the beginning of this paper: sport is doing things differently. By looking beyond the traditional neo-liberal approach to development, sport is having a broad impact. Although sport is not the answer, it is part of the development equation. Sport, because of its intrinsic values, including its rules-based framework, its focus on fair-play, and the necessity of communication amongst teammates, is an ideal vehicle to advance the development agenda. There are many questions that remain to be answered pertaining to the sport for development movement, but one has to look no further than the Mathare Youth Sports Association to see that sport can have a long-term, sustainable, positive, gender equitable impact. Sport can also be a gateway to engage in other aspects of development, including the arts, health, and education. Through collaboration between grassroots organizations, NGOs, government, health professionals, and the education sector, sport, through plus sport or sport plus initiatives, can have a positive impact on increasingly large numbers of of youth in the Global South. Through this co-operative approach, sport for development initiatives can also be at the forefront of a new wave of development, one that is inclusive and focuses on gender equity, one that is sustainable and, most importantly, one that is effective.

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