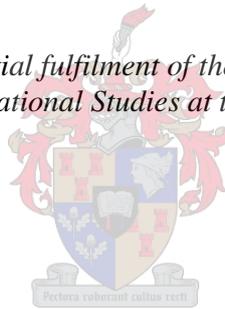


The Sport for Development Legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup

by
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Declaration

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Abstract

During the last decade, a significant trend could be observed with regards to the growth of the number of sport for development initiatives globally, as well as the increasing range of stakeholders involved in the sport for development field. Many international organisations and institutions began to put more emphasis on the use of sport and sport activities to initiate social change. This was further observed with the growing trends in sport for development activities within the Global South. In order to explore the impacts of the trends in sport for development, this study examined the recent sport for development trends in South Africa and in what way the 2010 FIFA World Cup has affected it. This study attempts to do this by exploring the historical underpinnings of sport for development in South Africa, as well as current trends in the field. The study further examines the sport for development initiatives that have been implemented during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and explores their ramifications for the sport for development landscape in South Africa.

With its assessment of the sport for development legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, this study builds on the existing international literature by an increasing number of scholars assessing the trends in sport for development as well as evaluating the effectiveness of the field for promoting development. Moreover, due to the recent increase in developing countries in the Global South hosting sport mega-events, with a purpose to achieve social development objectives through the event (for example, South Africa and the 2010 World Cup), this study builds on literature examining a potential link between sport mega-events and sport for development. As a point of departure this study looked to provide an overview of the sport for development field, the recent debates raised among scholars as well as a theoretical framework informing the field. The study then looked towards the historical underpinnings of sport for development in South Africa, creating a framework for the analysis of the empirical study regarding the sport for development initiatives implemented during the World Cup.

The main findings of this study included the rapid growth of sport for development initiatives during the World Cup period, the increase and range in public and private actors forming institutional arrangements and partnerships in sport for development initiatives and the outcomes and implications of those trends for the South African sport for development context. Through the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it was found that the sport mega-

event was ultimately used as a strategic opportunity for initiatives to achieve objectives and aims including the creation of awareness of initiatives, potentially meeting new partners and funders, and increasing participant numbers. Moreover, through the formation of institutional arrangements and partnerships, implementing organisations could potentially ensure sustainability of the initiative due to the resources made available by the range of partners involved. It must be noted however, that although the 2010 FIFA World Cup was used strategically by the sport for development initiatives implemented during that period, sport mega-events cannot be said to achieve social development objectives, especially those of sport for development, due to the many neoliberal tendencies that is found in the hosting of the event.

Opsomming

Gedurende die laaste dekade was 'n kenmerkende / belangrike trant opgemerk, t.o.v. die groei van die getal globale sport vir ontwikkeling, sowel as die toename van rolspelers betrokke by die ontwikkeling van sport. Baie internasionale organisasies en inrigtings sit meer klem op die gebruik van sport en aktiwiteite om sosiale verandering uit te oefen. Die is verder opmerkend met die groeiende trant van sport-ontwikkeling in die Globale lande. Om die impak van sport-ontwikkeling te ondersoek, het hierdie studie die onlangse sport-ontwikkeling trant in Suid-Afrika getoets, asook die manier hoe die 2010 FIFA Wêreld-beker dit beïnvloed het. Die navorsing probeer dit doen deur die historiese ondersteuning van sport-ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika te ondersoek, sowel as die huidige trant. Dié navorsing ondersoek ook die sport-ontwikkeling inisiatief wat geïnspireer was gedurende die 2010 FIFA Wêreld-beker, asook die vertakking van sport-ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika.

Met die assessering van die sport-ontwikkeling van die 2010 FIFA Wêreld-beker, gaan hierdie studie op die huidige internasionale literatuur bou by die groei van die getal navorsers wat die trant in sport-ontwikkeling en evaluering wat die uitwerking op sport-ontwikkeling bevorder. Sodoende, met die onlangse groei van ontwikkelende lande tussen Globale lande wat groot sport byeenkomste huisves, met die doel om sosiale ontwikkeling te bereik (bv. Suid-Afrika en die 2010 Wêreld-beker), gaan hierdie studie die Literatuur ondersoek van 'n potensiale koppeling tussen mega-sport byeenkomste en sport-ontwikkeling opbou.

Hierdie studie verskaf 'n oorsig van sport-ontwikkeling as 'n vetrek-punt om die onlangse debatte tussen leerders en die teoretiese raamwerk in die veld in te lig. Die studie kyk ook na die historiese ondersteuning vir sport-ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika, deur 'n raamwerk in die analise van die studie m.b.t. sport-ontwikkeling inisiatief tydens die Wêreld-beker te skep.

Die hoof bevindings van hierdie studie sluit in die vinnige groei van sport-ontwikkeling inisiatief tydens die Wêreld-beker; die toename en reeks publieke en private ondersteuners wat instansie reëlings vorm en verhoudings in sport-ontwikkeling en die uitkoms en implikasies in die Suid-Afrika konteks. Deur die 2010 FIFA Wêreld-beker te huisves, het hierdie mega-sport gebeurtenis eintlik 'n strategiese geleentheid om doele te bereik, insluitend die bewustheid van inisiatief, die ontmoeting van nuwe genote en skenkers, asook die groei in

deelname. Verder, deur die formasie van instansie r elings en verhoudings, implementerende organisasies kan potensiale Suid-Afrikasies kan potensiale steun verseker, a.g.v. die bronne beskikbaar gemaak deur die betrokke vennote. Kennis moet geneem word dat al was die 2010 FIFA W reld-beker strategies gebruik om sport-ontwikkeling te implementeer tydens hierdie periode, groot sport byeenkomste kan nie verantwoordelik gehou word vir sosiale ontwikkeling doelwitte, veral vir sport-ontwikkeling, a.g.v. die neo-liberale tendens wat by die huisvesting van hierdie geleentheid gevind word.

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Contents

Abstract	i
Opsomming	iii
Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations and Acronyms	ix
Chapter 1	1
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Rationale for study	5
1.3 Research questions	6
1.4 Significance of study	7
1.5 Literature review	8
1.6 Research Methodology	12
1.7 Limitations and Delimitations	14
1.8 Thesis structure	15
Chapter 2	16
2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 The nature of sport for development	17
2.2.1 Defining sport for development	17
2.2.2 History of the development of sport	19
2.3 Theoretical framework: theory informing sport for development	21
2.3.1 Trends in development paradigm and effects on the sport domain	22
2.3.2 Neoliberalism and sport for development	27
2.3.3 Shortcomings of the neoliberal approach	31
2.4 Sport mega-events and sport for development	33
2.4.1 Growth of sport mega-events in the Global South	34
2.4.2 The link between sport mega-events and sport for development	35
2.5 Conclusion	38
Chapter 3	39
3.1 Introduction	39
3.2 The role of sport historically in South Africa	39
3.2.1 Sport during apartheid	40
3.2.2 Early post-apartheid period: sport helping to create a new society	43

3.3 Sport for development via policy and implementation	45
3.3.1 1998 White Paper priorities	46
3.3.2 National endeavours and implementation of policy	47
3.3.3 Outcomes: Were objectives achieved?	49
3.3.4 SRSA 2010 White Paper Draft 1	51
3.3.5 Significance to change in policy	53
3.4 Sport for development within the South African context	54
3.4.1 Sport for development and the aims of SRSA	55
3.4.2 External actors in sport for development South Africa	56
3.5 Conclusion	60

Chapter 4 **62**

4.1 Introduction	62
4.2 Descriptions of programmes	63
4.2.1 FIFA Football for Hope Centre, Khayelitsha	63
4.2.2 Youth Development through Football	65
4.2.3 Green Goal 2010	66
4.2.4 Amandla Edufootball	67
4.2.5 Summary	68
4.3 2010 World Cup sport for development programmes aims, processes and activities	69
4.4 Developing partnerships among different types of organisations	73
4.5 Discussion: implications, obstacles and outcomes	75
4.5.1 Outcomes	75
4.5.2 Obstacles	79
4.5.3 Discussion	81
4.6 Conclusion	84

Chapter 5 **85**

5.1 Introduction	85
5.2 Rationale	85
5.3 Summary of main findings	86
5.4 Suggestions for future research	91
5.5 Conclusion	92

Bibliography **94**

Appendices

Appendix 1: Table 3.2 List of sport for development initiatives in South Africa by external actors before the 2010 FIFA World Cup	100
Appendix 2: Table 4.1 details the range of sport for development initiatives implemented as well as the specific programmes that were interviewed as part of the study	101
Appendix 3: List of interviewees	103

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
CCMF	Chris Campbell Memorial Field
CSR	Corporate Social responsibility
DSR	Department of Sport and Recreation
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GIZ	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	International Olympic Committee
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
KDF	Khayelitsha Development Forum
LOC	2010 FIFA World Cup Local Organizing Committee
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNCs	Multi-National Corporations
MYSA	Mathare Youth Sport Association
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOCs	National Olympic Committees

NIF	Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports
NORAD	Norwegian Olympic Development Agency
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFA	South African Football Association
SANGALA	South African National Games and Leisure Activities
SANOC	South African National Olympic Committee
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAPIA	South African Petroleum Industry Association
SAPPI	South African Pulp and Paper Industries
SCORE	Sports Coaches Outreach
SCSA	Supreme Council for Sport in Africa
SMPP	Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SRSA	Sport and Recreation South Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nation's Children's' Fund
UNOSPD	United Nations Organisation for Sport for Development and Peace
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
YDF	Youth Development through Football

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

Mega sports events such as the Olympics Games and the Football World Cup present tremendous opportunities. They have the potential to boost social, economic and environmental development. They can positively be used as platforms for outreach, advocacy and fundraising activities. As the eyes of the world are watching, sport events can be used to promote development objectives such as the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and bring Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) initiatives to the spotlight, (Lemke, 2010).

There has been an increase in recent years in the number of developing nations, especially in the Global South¹, bidding to host sport mega-events such as the Olympic Games and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Football World Cup - events that have large economic, political and social significance. During 2010, South Africa hosted the very first FIFA World Cup on African soil. The government of South Africa was expecting many long-term, widespread and positive economic, social and political legacies from the event.

According to the South African government's official 2010 FIFA World Cup website, South Africa bid for the hosting of the 2010 World Cup on the basis that the tournament should leave a lasting legacy for the country and the African continent (Government Communication and Information System, 2010: 1). Some of those expected legacies were built on political aspirations, as through the hosting of such a prestigious event, South Africa would be able to show the world the levels of development of the country and the continent. It was hoped that this would boost the country's international image, and prove to the international community that developing nations like South Africa were capable of hosting events of that scale (Government Communication and Information System, 2010: 1). Furthermore, the World Cup was meant to give momentum to the country's African Renaissance agenda, in which the

¹ "The term 'Third World' was coined in the 1950s to describe a group of developing countries. In the 1970s it became fashionable to refer to the Third World as the South since most of the countries were in the southern hemisphere. In the 1990s the terminology was replaced by that of 'Global South' partly to indicate that fact that conditions of poverty and marginalisation occurred in advanced industrial societies; thus the term referred to people regardless of their geographical location. But whether one uses developing, Third World, South or Global South, the grouping is invariably the same" (O'Brien and Williams, 2007: 299-300).

continent strives towards growth and development in all spheres. In a letter to FIFA President, Sepp Blatter, contained in South Africa's Bid book, then President Thabo Mbeki said that the successful hosting of the World Cup in Africa, will provide a powerful momentum to the African renaissance (Government Communication and Information System, 2010: 1).

A further legacy that the South African government expected from the event was an economic legacy where the 2010 FIFA World Cup would potentially contribute "R55, 7 billion to the South African economy, generate 415, 400 jobs and contribute R19, 3 billion in tax income to the Government" (Government Communication and Information System, 2010: 3). Moreover, tourism was also expected to be boosted, as well as job creation and skills development, and infrastructure and transport development. In addition to the expected economic legacy, the South African government also hoped to achieve a lasting social legacy, where a significant amount of social development would take place and where many of the country's population would benefit, especially considering the high rate of socio-economic issues in South Africa as well as the African continent – the majority living in poverty, unemployment and with an increasing Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and AIDS epidemic (Anonymous, 2010). According to Desai and Vahed (2010: 155), South African soccer officials and government thus justified hosting the major event on a number of levels.

In the build-up to the event, government officials and the 2010 World Cup Local Organizing Committee (LOC) expressed sentiments about the many social benefits the World Cup would leave for the country and continent. The South African government would collaborate with African countries on a number of projects that would lead to an African legacy including in the areas of: peace and nation-building; football support and development; environment and tourism; culture and heritage; communication; information and communications technology (ICT); and continental security cooperation (Government Communication and Information System, 2010: 1). In 2007, a workshop was held by the LOC where an African legacy programme was launched with members of the African Union and the South African government calling for the development of an Africa-wide sport policy to harmonise the free movement of sports persons; use of football for socio economic redress; sport for peace campaigns and the development of football as a successful commercial enterprise (Desai and Vahed, 2010: 156).

For this reason, an important aspect and field of study that this particular event has brought to the fore has been the growth of the sport for development field – a field in which the UN, many of its member states and agencies; international organisations and bodies; non-governmental organisations (NGOs); and sports clubs and federations believe that sport can be used as a tool for development and peace. As cited above, Wilfred Lemke, special advisor to the General Secretary of the UN on sport for development and peace, claims that sport mega-events can create useful opportunities for development via sport – in economic, social and environmental development. Moreover, a 2003 report by the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace suggested that sport can help achieve the MDGs. In this regard, sport is understood to include physical activities that go beyond competitive sports, and contributes to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction (Anonymous, 2010). Levermore (2008: 56) notes that in the sport for development field sport is viewed as an engine to drive development in: conflict resolution; the promotion of cultural understanding; the development of infrastructures (physical, social, community and sport); the raising of educational awareness (such as the dangers of HIV and Malaria); to increase gender awareness; and to encourage healthy participation in sport.

During the last decade, and especially since the UN declared 2005 to be the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, significant expansion in the use of sport as a tool for initiating social change has been seen (Levermore and Beacom, 2009: 1). Thus one of the major phenomena that has risen within the field of sport for development, and has been acutely demonstrated during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, has been the increase in sport for development programmes and initiatives. During the 2010 World Cup, there was a major increase in the number of sport for development initiatives implemented, with both public and private actors (international organisations and sports federations, local and international NGOs, government, corporate actors) seeking to use the platform of the World Cup to create awareness of initiatives. As South Africa was the first African state to host the World Cup, it was “targeted as a gateway for international agencies to explore and export their sport development initiatives into the rest of the African continent” (Burnett, 2009: 1193).

Thus during the build-up to the event, an increase in the number of projects were observed with many new stakeholders becoming involved in the field. A number of existing organisations implemented World Cup-specific projects over that period. Some of the initiatives implemented during this period included: the “20 Centres for 2010” campaign

under FIFA's Football for Hope Movement; the "Green Goal 2010" project, developed by the City of Cape Town; the "Youth for a Safer Africa" programme – an initiative brought together by UN-HABITAT aimed at "making Africa's young people more productive and keep them away from delinquency" (Anonymous, 2011) and the "Youth Development through Football (YDF)" project, initiated in order to develop youth through the use of football. These initiatives have taken place at various levels of development – local (grassroots and community-based programmes), national (country-wide programmes) and international (continent-wide programmes).

In December 2010, FIFA launched its 2010 FIFA World Cup Legacy Trust for South Africa (FIFA, 2010). This Trust was initiated to support a wide range of public benefit initiatives in the areas of football development, education, health and humanitarian activities in South Africa. Forming part of FIFA's 2010 World Cup-related legacy programmes, the Trust delivered on FIFA's pledge to ensure that South Africans will continue to benefit from the World Cup. The Trust amounts to USD 100 million, USD 80 million of which is being allocated directly to social community projects. The remaining USD 20 million was provided to the South African Football Association (SAFA) in the build-up to the event for preparations and for the construction of SAFA House (FIFA, 2010). Projects that were selected are within the following four areas:

- Football: administration, development, coordination or promotion of non-professional football.
- Education and development: provision of education by a school as defined in the South African Schools Act.
- Health care: provision of health care services to disadvantaged communities, including prevention of HIV infection and other preventative and education programmes.
- Humanitarian activities: community development for disadvantaged persons and anti-poverty initiatives (FIFA, 2010).

Against this background, this study has been written with a purpose to offer some insights into the evolution of sport for development activities during the 2010 World Cup period (before and during the event). This study further aims to address how the 2010 FIFA World Cup may have brought changes to the South African sport for development landscape and what the long term ramifications of this could be.

1.2 Rationale for study

Part of the rationale for this study lies in the recent international importance given to the sport for development field. According to Levermore and Beacom (2009), since the UN declared 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education among its other sport for development and peace activities, the field has increasingly become popular among many international development actors and national governments. Increasingly, a variety of actors have come together to promote the notion that sport can be used as a tool for development. This has been done by developing and implementing programmes and initiatives that use sport and recreational activities to address development issues and that attempt to effect social change. As Kidd (2008: 370) notes, sport for development programmes are “all part of a rapidly mushrooming phenomenon” where the use of sport and physical activity to advance sport and broad-based social development in disadvantaged communities are on the increase. Thus in the last decade, a huge growth has been seen in the number of sport for development initiatives globally, as well as the variety of public and private actors that have come to implement initiatives.

With the shifts in international development and lack of developmental success among developing nations, there was a new focus on social capital and social development in the 1990s. It was during this time that new approaches to development were produced and new agents of development were established - such as international institutions and NGOs - that the sport for development sector also came to be. This coincided with a process of institutionalisation where many international organisations and institutions began to put more emphasis on the use of sport and sport activities to initiate social change. According to Levermore and Beacom (2009: 1), the recent expansion of sport as an actor of social change, especially in the Global South, is partially a result of the recognition of orthodox policies of development failing to deliver their objectives.

With state interventionist models discredited by neoliberal approaches, there was a new focus on entrepreneurship as a strategy of social development, thus creating new openings for the development of strategies, methods and institutions/actors such as NGOs and private foundations (Kidd, 2008: 374). Thus among the emergent actors engaged in the sport for development process, were a range of sports institutions/associations, multinational sports

corporations and sports NGOs. Similarly, a growing number of traditional mainstream development NGOs were using sport to further some of their development goals (Levermore and Beacom, 2009: 2). Moreover, institutional actors such as the UN, its agencies; sports federations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and FIFA; and international NGOs began to promote the field and the use of sport as a tool for development. Overall, a growing number of private and public actors have become involved in sport for development, with many governments implementing sport for development as part of national policy. The thesis aims to discern what the concrete consequences for development are of such forms, thus it has become necessary to investigate this institutionalisation.

As noted, in the build-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup, much emphasis was placed on the use of sport for development. Before the World Cup, the South African government and the LOC made many claims about the use of sport and the mega-event for achieving various development objectives. Further, many initiatives and programmes were implemented in the country as well as with other African countries to ensure that these goals were delivered and objectives achieved. Thus, with the collaboration of the LOC and FIFA, the South African government initiated programmes such as the “Football turf programme,” “Win in Africa with Africa,” and the “My 2010 School Adventure” programme. These were all programmes aimed at achieving positive social legacies from the event. As will be illustrated in the rest of the study, many other sport for development initiatives were implemented during the World Cup period.

This thesis aims to assess whether the World Cup did achieve what it set out to achieve in terms of a social legacy, and what the role, and long-term ramifications of the numerous sport for development programmes that were initiated are in this regard. An underlying question is whether mega-events can help achieve the objectives of sport for development?, that is, to promote development and peace, to address social issues and to achieve development? How, in other words, can a sport mega-event be used as a catalyst for social development through the launching of sport for development initiatives?

1.3 Research questions

The primary research question for the study is:

What have been recent trends in sport for development in South Africa and in what way has the hosting of the FIFA 2010 World Cup affected it?

This study attempts to answer the research question by examining the historical underpinnings of sport for development in South Africa, as well as current trends in the field. Further, the study examines the sport for development initiatives that have been implemented during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and explores their ramifications for the sport for development landscape in South Africa.

1.4 Significance of study

This study fits into existing international literature on sport for development. With the growth of the sport for development field in the last decade, there has been a significant increase in the number of scholars assessing the trends in sport for development as well as evaluating the effectiveness of the field for promoting development. Thus this study, with its assessment of the sport for development legacies of the 2010 FIFA World Cup builds on that literature. Furthermore, because this study is written in the South African context, with a focus on sport for development in South Africa as well as the 2010 FIFA World Cup, this study contributes to the literature on sport for development in South Africa in terms of the major processes, thrusts and trends observed in the field.

This study further takes on an important and significant theoretical examination as it explores questions related to whether sport mega-events can be used to achieve sport for development objectives. This is significant in terms of past literature suggesting that more often than not, mega-events are dominated by neoliberal principles with their major emphasis and focus on economic development (in terms of new physical infrastructure, new tourism flows, and so on) (Cornelissen, 2010), while the sport for development field aims to achieve developmental goals that are based on social development factors and concerns. Therefore although the two fields have similar elements and objectives, there are differences found with regards to the kind of development aimed for.

This study is further significant in that it seeks to discover whether sport for development achieves what it sets out to achieve. In the case of South Africa and the 2010 FIFA World Cup, there were huge expectations about the event's legacies. Moreover, the sport for

development programmes and initiatives implemented during the World Cup had many aims for the event period as well as the post-World Cup period. Thus this study attempts to determine the effectiveness of the sport for development sector.

1.5 Literature Review

This study has found that the underpinnings of sport for development exist within international development theory and the trends observed in the global political economy. Through the shifts in international development from the early 20th century, there was a new focus on social and economic development of the Third World (this due to changes in the global system: the decolonisation process, the end of the Cold War and the rise of Third World countries embarking on a struggle for development) (O'Brien and Williams, 2007: 120), to the late 20th century, with a new approach to development, by means of neoliberalism and its emphasis on international organisations, institutions and the private sector. By increasing the freedoms of the private sector, neoliberal ideas said that wealth would “trickledown” to the rest, thus social development would automatically take place alongside economic development (Martinez and Garcia, 2000 quoted in Millington, 2010: 14). According to Simon (2002: 87), this ideology rapidly became the economic orthodoxy in the North and was exported to the global South via aid policies.

Due to the emphasis on rapid economic growth, the industrial sector and urban areas, many other areas, sectors and social groups have been left behind, possessing neither the means nor the power to keep up with the pace of progress and change (Parnwell, 2002: 112-113). Thus a by-product of the orthodox capitalist system has been uneven development. This led to the establishment of the notion of ‘bottom-up development,’ arguing that large-scale, universal, government-driven national development programmes frequently failed to meet the particular needs and wants of local communities (Parnwell, 2002: 115). This led to the growth of NGOs from the 1970s. Due to the neoliberal thrust of the disbursement of overseas aid, NGOs were favoured both as “vanguards of civil society” and as more dependable partners in economic and social development. For this reason the late 20th century witnessed an expansion in the numbers of NGOs engaged in development activities in developing countries (Laird, 2007: 470).

As shifts occurred in the global development setting, so too did ideas of development. In the early 1990s the expression “social capital” emerged, soon becoming one of the key terms used in development. The World Bank (1997a:114) defined social capital as “the informal rules, norms and long-term relationships that facilitate coordinated action and enable people to undertake cooperative ventures for mutual advantage” (McAslan, 2002: 139). Moreover, in the early 1990s, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) created the “Human Development” approach which arose “in part as a result of growing criticism to the leading developing approach of the 1980s, which presumed a close link between national economic growth and the expansion of individual human choices” (United Nations Development Programme, 2011).² It was felt that there was a need for an alternative developmental model due to many factors: “growing evidence that did not support the then prevailing belief in the “trickle down” power of market forces to spread economic benefits and end poverty; social ills (crime, weakening of social fabric, HIV/AIDS, pollution, etc.) were still spreading even in cases of strong and consistent economic growth; and a wave of democratisation in the early 1990s raised hopes for people-centred models” (United Nations Development Programme, 2011).

According to O’Brien and Williams (2007: 297) the Human Development Index (HDI) pioneered by the UNDP was based on a definition of development that took account of social factors, arguing that “the real wealth of a nation is its people. And the purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy creative lives” (UNDP, 1990: 9 quoted in O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 297). According to Coalter (2010: 1375), in an earlier document the UN stressed the centrality of volunteering in sport and argued that it contributed to social welfare, community participation, generation of trust and reciprocity, and the broadening of social interaction through new networks. According to Coalter (2010: 1375) consequently, there was a need to promote partnerships which enable resource mobilisation “both for and through sport” as “effectively designed sports

² Some of the issues and themes currently considered most central to human development include: Social progress - greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services; Economics – the importance of economic growth as a means to reduce inequality and improve levels of human development; Efficiency - in terms of resource use and availability. Human development is pro-growth and productivity as long as such growth directly benefits the poor, women and other marginalised groups; Equity - in terms of economic growth and other human development parameters; Participation and freedom - particularly empowerment, democratic governance, gender equality, civil and political rights, and cultural liberty, particularly for marginalised groups defined by urban-rural, sex, age, religion, ethnicity, physical/mental parameters, etc; Sustainability - for future generations in ecological, economic and social terms; and Human security - security in daily life against such chronic threats as hunger and abrupt disruptions including joblessness, famine, conflict, etc (www.undp.org).

programmes... are a valuable tool to initiate social development and improve social cohesion.” This emphasis on the potential role of sport in civil society (partnerships, social development, and social cohesion) reflected a broader shift in the “aid paradigm”, illustrated in the World Bank’s emphasis on the potential of social capital to contribute to various types of social development and economic growth (Coalter, 2010: 1376). Thus during the 1990s there was a new focus among development agencies and institutions, a focus on social development and social capital. As a result new strategies and methods were required to achieve development and here the sport for development field can be said to have found its place.

Further underpinnings of sport for development can be viewed as a subset of the shifts and trends in the global political economy. According to O’Brien and Williams (2007: 215-316), national development aspirations and efforts are shaped by international organisations, the policies of donor states, and ideas concerning the meaning and practice of development, thus a major issue in the global political economy of development is the role of international organisations in this process and their importance in organising the global political economy [GPE]. Three sets of organisations are given precedence in GPE: the UN, international economic organisations and corporate and civic associations. The UN’s specialised agencies are an element that has particular significance for GPE as they are designed to promote cooperation and address particular issues. The United Nation’s Children’s’ Fund (UNICEF) concentrates on improving the welfare of children and since 2005 the United Nations Organisation for Sport for Development and Peace (UNOSDP) focuses on the promotion of using sport as a tool for development and peace. These agencies are said to attempt to cope with the casualties of the global political economy (O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 124-125).

Moreover, the multiplication of inter-state organisations means that states, corporations and citizens are increasingly governed through international organisations. NGOs have been particularly active in international development, playing roles as service providers bringing welfare, development relief and social services to the poor (O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 313). This emphasis on the role of NGOs has been supported by national governments in the industrialised world and by multilateral development agencies. Increasingly bilateral funds have been channelled through NGOs and multilateral agencies have also increased funding to NGOs (O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 313). In terms of the sport for development field, this

can be seen in the increase of sport for development NGOs and the funding they receive for projects from multilateral development agencies.

According to Levermore and Beacom (2009: 1), the recent expansion of sport as an actor of social change, especially in the Global South, is partially a result of the recognition of orthodox policies of development failing to deliver their objectives. With state interventionist models discredited by neoliberal approaches, there was a new focus on entrepreneurship as a strategy of social development, thus creating new openings for the development of strategies, methods and institutions/actors such as NGOs and private foundations (Kidd, 2008: 374). Among the emergent actors engaged in the sport for development process, were a range of sports institutions/associations, multinational sports corporations and sports NGOs. Similarly, a growing number of traditional mainstream development NGOs was using sport to further some of their development goals (Levermore and Beacom, 2009: 2).

Further underpinnings of the sport for development field can be found in the neoliberal emphasis of the global political economy on the sport for development agenda. In the current global political economy, there is an emphasis on neoliberal principles with the increase of the private sector, open markets and the need for economic growth in order to spur on social development in developing states. With the recent growth of the sport for development field and the manner in which it has grown - the institutionalisation of the field and the diverse group of actors and stakeholders increasingly involved in the field - the approach to development predominating in the sport for development field today is that of neoliberalism. Reasons for this can be observed in the similarities of elements of the sport for development field to the neoliberal approach – for example, sport for development organisations from the Global North taking their projects and ideas mostly to developing countries, doing this through partnerships and private funders, which is similar to the neoliberal approach of using NGOs to deliver aid to developing states (Simon, 2002: 87). Moreover, the dominant actors are the same, international institutions and private actors, ultimately viewed as the key actors to deliver on economic and social development objectives in the current global political economy and international development setting (Skinner et al, 2006). In the case of sport for development, dominant actors are institutions such as the UN, sports federations like FIFA and the IOC and also major international NGOs.

Thus similarities can be found in terms of issues such as individualism, capital and power. The neoliberal emphasis on rapid economic growth and private actors, the influence of international institutions for the purpose of economic and social development tend to have a negative impact on social change. This happens due to competition among stakeholders and an emphasis on individualism ultimately not leading to the achievement of social development goals (Huish, 2011; Darnell, 2010; Kidd, 2008). In terms of the sport for development field, these issues in the neoliberal approach to development are important to address as the field grows more and more, especially throughout the Global South, and the range of actors involved increasingly includes private actors and international institutions, forming partnerships and institutional arrangements with implementing sport for development NGOs. Huish (2011: 421) suggests that “the positioning of SDP within frameworks of corporate philanthropy and donor-driven charity can encompass moral frameworks that embody Northern values, and with them hegemonic coercion of communities to conform such agendas,” thus it necessary to note the impact of a neoliberal emphasis on the sport for development field.

1.6 Research Methodology

The study follows a qualitative, interpretive and inductive research approach. This study uses an inductive research approach due to the observations collected through field research and the conclusions made through those observations. This study is also descriptive and exploratory, as the sport for development field and the link to sport mega-events is relatively new in academic literature. This research approach was taken in order to gain new insights into the sport for development field. This study was cross-sectional as the sport for development initiatives of the 2010 FIFA World Cup period were observed, a phenomenon at a given point of time (Mouton and Marais, 1988: 41). This time period was selected in order to examine the impacts of the initiatives implemented in that period and how they will impact the existing sport for development field in South Africa. For the purpose of this study, the qualitative approach was merited. The merits of qualitative research is that it is flexible and it is open to unanticipated data, especially with regard to field research, interviews and the process of examining ideas, observations and transcripts. The demerits of this approach however, is that it is less organised and systematic than a quantitative approach, thus it is not a means for arriving at statistical descriptions of a large population (Babbie, 2007: 312).

Also, qualitative data cannot be tested like quantitative data; however it can be richer in meaning than quantitative data (Babbie, 2007: 312).

This study draws on secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources included books and academic articles; government reports and policy documents; and press reports. Additionally, information and news stories off the official websites of some of the main sport for development organisations (Youth development through Football, Grassrootsoccer, Amandla Edufootball) and sports federations like FIFA and the IOC were used. Primary data were obtained through face-to-face key informant interviews. Interviews were the most appropriate means to gain information for this particular study, particularly with regards to the sport for development initiatives of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. As noted by Cassel and Symon (2004: 21), “the qualitative research interview is ideally suited to examining topics in which different levels of meaning need to be explored.” Qualitative interviews were most appropriate for this study.

A standardised questionnaire was used as it has an important strength to measurement (Babbie, 2007: 276). However, as Babbie (2007: 276) notes, the weakness of this is that “by designing questions that will be at least minimally appropriate to all respondents, you may miss what is most appropriate to many respondents.” Furthermore the pitfalls of this research approach is that developing an interview guide, carrying out interviews, and analysing their transcripts can be highly time-consuming activities (Cassel and Symon, 2004: 211). Interviews are also time-consuming for interviewees, and this may cause problems in recruiting participants in some organisations (Cassel and Symon, 2004: 21).

Particular sport for development initiatives were chosen for the study. An attempt was to target sport for development initiatives or programmes active during the World Cup period. Second, operations at different levels were targeted. Organisations and/or operations were selected active at the: international level of operation (Football for Hope); national level (Youth Development through Football and Green Goal); and the local and community-based level (Amandla Edufootball). Also, consonant with literature on sport for development that suggest that the private sector plays an increasingly important role in the field, a mixture of private and public actors were targeted for interviews. This included governmental and NGO actors from Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA), the City of Cape Town, Konrad

Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) and the various project directors or programme managers of the sport for development initiatives.

Key informants were selected for interviews on the basis of their position in the relevant sport for development programme or organisation, or their position in government. Informants were further selected for their in-depth knowledge of the sport for development initiative as well as the role they might have played during the World Cup period. Appendix 3 details the persons who were interviewed for this study. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted. The interviews took place between October 2010 and May 2011 and were recorded by audio tape. A long period of time was required to finalise the logistics for the interview process, as finding suitable informants willing to partake in the study proved an obstacle. This was mainly because many of the informants were travelling, or, in the post-World Cup period, involved in drafting reports. Also, some of the informants selected for interviews resided in a different province to the researcher, thus accessibility was a problem and more time and resources were required in such instances. Interviews lasted approximately 30 – 45 minutes. Interviews were transcribed. Once the interviews were transcribed, they were thematically coded and analyzed with the aim to identify key themes. Coding thus consisted of identifying recurring themes in the discourse. The results were analyzed with reference to the scholarly literature on sport for development as well literature on sport in South Africa.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations

Due to the relative recentness of the sport for development field, there are few existing scholarly studies of the nature and key aspects of the field. According to Levermore and Beacom (2009), given its recent development, an assessment of the roles of sport based initiatives as a potential engine of development is largely absent from the social sciences literature. Furthermore, it is not just scholars, but many development agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, or mainstream development NGOs that have failed to assess the sport/development interaction (Levermore and Beacom, 2009: 16). Academic sources were further limited in relation to the South African context, with very few sources available on the field here. Thus the data collected regarding the history of sport for development in the South African setting primarily came from government policy reports as available on the official South African government website.

The empirical process was hampered by time and geographical constraints, and limited financial resources, as noted above. Finally, a greater number of community-based projects would have enriched the study. Due to empirical constraints, only a small number of CBOs were included in the study.

1.8 Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured as follows. The first chapter provided an overview of the background to the study, the rationale for the study, the research methodology used as well as its theoretical framework. Chapter two consists of a literature review, in which an extensive overview of the sport for development literature is provided. Chapter three provides background on the history and current shape of sport for development in the South African setting. In this chapter, the historical underpinnings of the sport for development field in South Africa are discussed, as well as the nature and evolution of sport policy in the country. The chapter examines the presence of sport for development in policy objectives in the post-apartheid era. Chapter four explores the sport for development initiatives implemented during the 2010 World Cup. In this chapter the various patterns and implications of the initiatives are examined. Chapter five is a conclusion to the thesis. It revisits the primary research question, presents a summary of the main findings, and offers recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: The Sport for development field

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews scholarly literature on three aspects: the nature of the sport for development field; theories informing the field; and the conceptual and theoretical linkage between sport mega-events and development. In the last decade, strong claims have been made by the stakeholders involved in the field (i.e. NGOs, donors, and organisations such as the UN) about the positive effects of sport in the development process. Their claim is that sport has the ability to transform societies, to help accomplish social development goals and to empower individuals, among other things. Many debates have arisen among sport and development scholars about the evidence for such claims. Although there are many advocates in the sport for development field, there is a notable lack of substantive monitoring and evaluation of programmes and their related impacts. This has meant that many scholars question the true transformative potential of sport. The recent neoliberal emphasis in sport for development, in which the private sector has emerged as a key player, adds an additional layer of complexity.

This chapter notes that many of the ideas in sport for development have developed from broader trends in international development theory and are linked to the many shifts that have taken place in the development sector in the international arena. As a result, much of the sport for development that takes place in the Global South is shaped by prevailing paradigms of donor assistance and aid relations between the Global North and South. Theoretically, sport for development has also reflected the shift in thinking from the modernization paradigm in the 1960s to neoliberalism in the current era. Moreover, there has been an increase in the number of countries from the Global South hosting sport mega-events, which has raised the question of whether there is a link between such events and development, to prominence. It can be argued that sport for development and sport mega-events are underpinned by similar philosophies, however their ideas of what constitutes ‘development’ are quite different.

The chapter has three parts. The first provides an overview of the sport for development field. This is done by reflecting on key scholars’ interpretations of the concept of sport for development as well, as the historical underpinnings of the field. The second part of the chapter examines the theoretical frameworks informing the international development

movement, and how the trends and paradigms in international development have impacted the sport for development domain. Some of the main themes and debates in sport for development recently raised among scholars are discussed. These include trends in the institutionalisation of the field, as key institutions such as the UN, the IOC, and FIFA, by promoting objectives around sport and development, have played a role in the growth of the sport for development movement in recent years. There is also discussion of some of the major shortcomings of the field, such as the lack of an evidentiary base for many of its key claims. This part of the chapter ends with an examination of the significance of the rise of a neoliberal emphasis in the sport for development field. The third part of the chapter explores the link between the literature on sport mega-events and sport for development.

2.2 The nature of sport for development

Sport for development has come to play an important role in the development process, especially to the range of stakeholders involved in the movement such as the UN and its agencies; national governments; and many NGOs, sports federations and clubs that have endeavoured to use sport to effect social change. This part of the chapter provides an overview of the field. It conceptualises sport for development, discusses the history of the movement's development and illustrates key trends in its growth over the past number of decades.

2.2.1 Defining sport for development

The "sport for development" concept is used widely and broadly among those involved in the field and by sports federations, UN agencies, NGOs and those who study the field. Due to the broad and "looseness" of the concept (Kidd, 2008) other terms have been used by scholars to describe sport for development such as "sport development," "development through sport," "sport-in-development" and "sport and development." Kidd (2008: 373) suggests that there are three broad, overlapping, approaches to the sport for development movement: (1) traditional sports development in which the provision of basic sports coaching, equipment and infrastructure is the central concern; (2) humanitarian assistance in which fund-raising in sport is used to provide forms of aid assistance (for example, the early work of Olympic Aid, some of the subsequent work of Right to Play); (3) and the "sport-for-development-and-peace" movement which covers a wide variety of organisations and loose coalitions. While

“sport development” is largely a project of sporting organisations, “sport for development” is increasingly pursued by NGOs in partnership with government departments of education and health (Kidd, 2008: 373).

Levermore and Beacom (2009: 8) suggest “development through sport” is an activity that is designed to use sport as a vehicle to achieve a range of social, economic and political objectives. This could be through specific development assistance programmes/projects, on a broader level within regional and national development strategies, or via benefits generated with the hosting of sport events. Thus a much broader meaning is given to the term by stating that sport could be used to achieve a variety of developmental objectives on different levels. Levermore and Beacom (2009: 9) prefer to use the term sport-in-development rather than sport-for-development or “development through sport” as for them the latter implies that the use of sport in the development process is an overwhelmingly positive one. Coalter (2008: 1) suggests “sport-in-development” has a wide variety of aims and objectives, including traditional sport development objectives to increase participation in sport and to enhance sporting skills. It can also include sport’s contribution to broader social goals.

Coalter (2010: 298) suggests a simpler approach based on to the use of sport to achieve certain objectives: “sport plus”, in which sports programmes are adapted with parallel programmes in order to maximise their potential to achieve developmental objectives such as the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA), a youth soccer programme in the slums of Mathare, Nairobi Kenya; and “plus sport”, in which sport’s popularity is used to attract young people to programmes of education and training, with the development of sport rarely being a strategic aim.

Levermore (2008: 56) further proposes an interpretation that is based on the desired outcomes of the sport for development initiative or organisation. In this interpretation,

sport acts as an engine for development schemes that cover a variety of areas such as conflict resolution; the promotion of cultural understanding; the development of infrastructures (physical, social, community, and sport); the raising of educational awareness (such as the dangers of HIV/AIDS); empowerment (often on how sport can empower girls and women); the encouragement of healthy participation in sporting activities (often assisting physical and mental health campaigns); and, finally, driving economic development (national development strategies of some low-income countries

that aim to encourage an increase in foreign direct investment and sport tourism through, for example, staging sports events).

Levermore (2008: 58) refers to organisations such as MYSA and the IOC's Right to Play as examples of organisations initiating sport for development projects. These organisations use sport to address a multitude of developmental issues such as individual, community and social development as well as addressing issues in areas of conflict.

Thus, there are many terms and interpretations given to the concept of "sport for development," however, most refer to the desired outcomes of the concept - using sport for the purpose of achieving developmental goals. From the interpretations above, it is clear that some scholars use traditional understandings of "sport development" in their conceptualisation, however, most scholars agree that the kind of development sought through sport for development focuses on *social* aims and objectives – from health and educational awareness to conflict resolution in war-torn or conflict areas. As a result, for the purpose of this thesis, the "sport for development" term is adopted as it refers to the field more broadly, where sport is used as a tool for the development or achievement of social objectives and change.

2.2.2 History of the development of sport for development

Levermore and Beacom (2009: 11) suggest that aspects of sport for development can be traced to colonial times. Within the context of development assistance, evidence points to a long history of development interventions involving sport, taking the form of support for institutional development, logistical and material assistance for athletes from colonies, as well as the use to sport to promote certain cultural (western) values. Kidd (2008: 371) further claims that aspirations around social development through sport can be traced to the "rational recreation" interventions of the growing middle and working classes in the Global North in the late nineteenth century, the "playground movement" of the early twentieth century, and the "confessional and workers" sports movement of the interwar period.

Some commentators, however, suggest that the current sport-for-development movement emerged from an evolutionary history of the extension of human rights, for example through humanitarian assistance programmes by athletes competing in the Olympics, and the South African sports boycott in the international arena which aimed to address human rights in

sports (Kidd, 2008: 374; Donnelly, 2008). As the international community's awareness of human rights issues grew, it was during this time that the sports field served as a conduit for the promotion of such rights. One of the initiatives that provided an important platform for the sport for development field was the humanitarian sports assistance programme, Olympic Aid, established in 1992, by the Lillehammer Olympic Organising Committee as part of its preparations for the 1994 Olympic Winter Games. In partnership with organisations such as Red Cross and Save the Children, among others, Olympic Aid used sporting personalities and sports networks to raise funds to contribute to a range of humanitarian projects in war zones such as Sarajevo, Guatemala, Afghanistan and Lebanon (Coalter, 2010: 300).

At the same time, Kidd (2008) suggests the articulation of the 'right to protect' in the wake of frightening genocides in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, and the visibility of appeals to combat famine and the pandemic of HIV/AIDS in Africa, contributed to a popular spirit of humanitarian intervention. These efforts resonated with the growing use of sport in the developed world to address 'social problems', the increasing inclusion in human rights campaigns of the right to sport, physical education and play, and the reassertion of the benefits of sport and physical activity through the World Health Organisation (WHO), the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNESCO), and other international bodies (Kidd, 2008: 374). It was also during this time that the UN adopted a broadly human rights framework for the field by "highlighting the inclusion of play and recreation in the 1959 UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the 1978 UNESCO adoption of the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, the 1979 recognition of women's right to sport and physical education in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the 1989 adoption by the UN of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, which reinforced every child's right to play" (Coalter, 2010: 299-300).

Further historical underpinnings of the sport for development field can be found in the political and economic transformations of the early 1990s, such as the international sports boycott against apartheid South Africa (Kidd, 2008: 374). In the Commonwealth, where "solidarity with the struggle against apartheid had become the issue on which the entire future of the association hinged," the fall of apartheid quickly highlighted the need for international assistance in sport. Consequently, in the early 1990s, several initiatives were started to provide those affected by apartheid with the opportunity to engage in sport, including the

Canadian-based Commonwealth Sport Development Programme, where sport and facilities were made available to those who previously could not access it (Kidd, 2008: 374).

In this way, sport played a major developmental role, not only in the development of athletes but also in the transformation of a society by building sports facilities for previously disadvantaged communities. Other political and economic changes that provided stimulus for the sport for development movement included the ending of the Cold War. During this time there was a new focus on development in the international community and new strategies for development were initiated, including a focus on entrepreneurship as a strategy for social development, which created openings for NGOs and private foundations (Kidd, 2008: 374). As a result the NGO fraternity began to grow, with an emphasis on addressing social development with new engines of development including the use of sport.

2.3 Theoretical framework – theory informing sport for development

The international development framework has transformed over time, with trends observed in the shifts of ideas and approaches to development. The idea of using sport as a tool for development was an approach that changed in different institutional settings within international organisations such as the UN and international sports federations like the IOC and FIFA. These shifts ultimately took place in line with ideas and trends in the international development arena. From the early 20th century, after the Second World War and in the wake of decolonisation, new ideas were formed regarding development as a response of the situation of many countries. Thus, ideas around development centred on the economic and social development of states.

Later new schools of thought arose with new ideas concerning development strategies, prominent of which was the neoliberal approach. As development approaches changed, so did the strategies and methods used to achieve developmental objectives, also impacting on ideas about how sport could be used as a tool for development. In order to understand how the shifts in development impacted in relation to the sport domain, the main ideas and trends of the development field are important to examine.

2.3.1 Trends in development paradigm and effects on the sport domain

Some of the main themes of the post-1945 political economy era include the “growth in United States (US) power, and growing dominance of a Western liberal economic order; decolonisation and the struggle for development; transformation of the role of the state; the rise of international organisations; and the information technology revolution” (O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 115). Using its unparalleled dominance the US constructed a set of institutions to manage the world economy based on liberal economic principles (O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 119). Decolonisation, and the emergence of the “Third World” as a political and economic actor, ensued. One of the primary focuses for the new states of the Third World, was the quest for development (O’Brien and Williams, 2007: 120). On 20 January 1949, when Harry Truman delivered his inaugural address as president of the US, he spoke of the need for economic, social and political improvements in the world’s “underdeveloped” areas. Urging northern, democratic and “developed” nations to commit to greater prosperity for the world’s poor, the address served as a “watershed moment for the first wave of a global development project characterised by three themes of late modern capitalism – decolonisation, rationality and development” (Sylvester 1999 quoted in Darnell, 2010: 55-56). According to Darnell (2010: 55-56), Truman’s speech imbued the concept of development with new meanings, designed to meet the challenges of poverty, poor health care and the lack of access to education.

From the early 20th century a variety of trends in “approaches” to development could be observed. Modernisation theory was developed in the 1940s, laying the foundations for classic development discourse. According to Hettne (2002: 7), modernisation ideas of development were largely sociological and political in nature; under-development was defined in terms of differences between rich and poor nations; and “development” thus implied that developing countries should imitate the qualities of developed states. Many critics in the Third World called for different approaches to development. Dependency Theory emerged in the late 1960s, in response to (the failure of) interventions led by northern organisations. Dependency Theory, a school of thought with origins in Latin America, challenged ‘developmentalism,’ and linked the marginalisation of the Third World to hegemonic international capitalism (Darnell, 2010: 56).

A further development was the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s. Neoliberalism advocates decreased state intervention and increased market freedoms within a global economy (Darnell, 2010: 56). Neoliberalism was promoted by international organisations such as the World Bank, and multilateral free trade agreements constituted vehicles for its international expansion. “The movement towards neoliberalism was guided by the belief that the role of the state in economics and social services should be reduced to allow financial institutions and TNCs to be the driving force for major social and political decisions within a free-market” (George, 1999 quoted in Millington, 2010: 14). According to Martinez and Garcia, (2000 quoted in Millington, 2010: 14), the central facets of neoliberalism included deregulation and privatisation, and aimed at generating wealth which would “trickledown” to the rest. This ideology rapidly became the economic orthodoxy in the North and was exported to the Global South via aid policies (Simon, 2002: 87).

One by-product of the orthodox capitalist system has been uneven development. Due to the emphasis on rapid economic growth, the industrial sector and urban areas, many other areas, sectors and social groups have been left behind, possessing neither the means nor the power to keep up with the pace of progress and change (Parnwell, 2002: 112-113). As a result, the notion of ‘bottom-up development’ was established. According to this idea, large-scale, universal, government-driven national development programmes frequently fail to meet the particular needs and wants of local communities, and the top-down channelling of commands and support fails to provide a mechanism for evaluating the effectiveness of development initiatives (Parnwell, 2002: 115).

Bottom-up development therefore emerges from the communities themselves, examples of which are various industrialisation schemes, which have attempted to strengthen the non-farm sector; HIV/AIDS support; ethnic and human rights organisations and environmental movements (Parnwell, 2002: 115). Accompanying the bottom-up approach has been the growth of NGOs from around the 1970s. Initially taking the shape of charitable, often religious bodies in the North, NGOs focused on particular development problems such as distribution, persecution, hunger and disaster (Parnwell, 2002: 115).

Through the 1980s, Southern NGOs began to form and flourish. Initially these NGOs relied on alliances with organisations from the Global North, but more recently NGOs from the Global South have become more autonomous (Parnwell, 2002: 115). Due to the neoliberal

thrust of the disbursement of overseas aid, NGOs were favoured both as vanguards of civil society and as more dependable partners in economic and social development. For this reason the 1980s and 1990s witnessed an unprecedented expansion in the numbers of NGOs engaged in development activities in developing countries (Laird, 2007: 470).

As changes occurred in the global development setting, so too did ideas of development. In the early 1990s the expression “social capital” emerged, soon becoming one of the key terms used in development. At the time social capital had been classified into three different approaches. Bourdieu (1985 quoted in McAslan, 2002: 139-140) regarded it as a social resource that enabled individuals to navigate their position within a hierarchical social structure, through the exchange of symbols within an established group boundary. Coleman (1988 quoted in McAslan, 2002: 139-140) considered social capital within the context of the family in school-community collaboration. In this view social capital was closely connected with human capital and the accumulation of education and various skills. The third approach regarded social capital as a property of communities and nations, rather than individuals. According to Putnam (1993 quoted in McAslan, 2002: 139-140), social capital can be defined as the “features of social organisations such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit.”

Social capital, which the World Bank considered to be the missing link in the development equation, has been adopted enthusiastically by international organisations, national governments and NGOs (Harris and De Renzio, 1997: 920 quoted in McAslan, 2002: 139). The World Bank (1997a: 114 quoted in McAslan, 2002: 139) defined social capital as “the informal rules, norms and long-term relationships that facilitate coordinated action and enable people to undertake cooperative ventures for mutual advantage.” Skinner et al (2006: 5) suggest the concept of social capital “gained salience as a means of understanding how communities might operate to become safer and more productive, and places where positive identities and lifestyles might be forged.” While the concept of social capital has a history extending over the last two decades, it has gained greater cache in recent years, becoming central to social development concerns (Skinner et al, 2006: 6).

According to O'Brien and Williams (2007: 215-316), national development aspirations and efforts are shaped by international organisations, the policies of donor states, and ideas concerning the meaning and practice of development. Thus a major issue in the global political economy (GPE) of development is the role of international organisations in this process and their importance in organising the GPE. Three sets of organisations are given precedence in GPE: the UN, international economic organisations and corporate and civic associations. The UN's specialised agencies are an element that has particular significance for GPE as they are designed to promote cooperation and address particular issues. The WHO attempts to improve global public health, the United Nation's Children's' Fund (UNICEF) concentrates on improving the welfare of children and since 2005 the UNOSDP focuses on the promotion of using sport as a tool for development and peace. These agencies aim to ameliorate the negative aspects of international economic growth (O'Brien and Williams, 2007: 124-125).

Moreover, the multiplication of inter-state organisations means that states, corporations and citizens are increasingly governed through international organisations. NGOs have been particularly active in international development, playing roles as service providers that bring welfare, development relief and social services to the poor. This emphasis on the role of NGOs has been supported by national governments in the industrialised world and by multilateral development agencies. Increasingly bilateral funds have been channelled through NGOs and multilateral agencies have also increased funding to NGOs (O'Brien and Williams, 2007: 313). In terms of the sport for development field, this can be seen in the increase of sport for development NGOs and the funding they receive for projects from multilateral development agencies, an example of which is the Grassrootsoccer organisation obtaining funding from the US development agency, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

With these broad shifts in the international development context, there have also been shifts in the sport for development movement. For many decades the idea that sport can act as a conduit to bring people together, has been well-established. With the shifts in the international development system and the lack of developmental success among many developing countries, the implementers of sport for development saw a gap in which they could address issues of social development. It was during this time that new approaches to development were produced and new agents of development were established - such as

international institutions and NGOs - that the sport for development sector also came to be. According to Levermore and Beacom (2009: 1), the recent expansion of sport as an actor of social change, especially in the Global South, is partially a result of the recognition of orthodox policies of development failing to deliver their objectives. Kidd (2008: 374) notes that with state interventionist models discredited by neoliberal approaches, a new focus on entrepreneurship arose as a strategy of social development, creating new openings for the development of strategies, methods and institutions/actors such as NGOs and private foundations.

For Levermore and Beacom (2009: 2), these aspirations highlighted two trends: firstly, the growing emphasis on culture and vehicles of culture to help deliver social as well as economic development; and secondly, the increase of institutions such as multi-national corporations (MNCs) in the development process. Thus among the emergent actors engaged in the sport for development process, were a range of sports institutions/associations, multinational sports corporations and sports NGOs. Similarly, a growing number of traditional mainstream development NGOs were using sport to further some of their development goals (Levermore, 2008). An example is the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD), which developed projects that include using football to help re-integrate former child soldiers into Liberian society by providing them with life and social skills. Few other traditional development agencies - such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO), UNICEF and the WHO - appear to have embraced the use of sport with the same conviction (Levermore, 2008: 185).

Moreover, Northern governments such as the Netherlands, Switzerland, Canada and Norway have attempted to harness some of sport's attributes to assist in objectives linked to their international development/relations objectives, while some Global South states have used sport for macro-development purposes. Countries such as Zambia include sport in their national development plan to stimulate education, highlight health awareness and encourage participation in sport (Levermore and Beacom, 2009: 3-4).

According to Coalter (2010: 1376) this emphasis on the potential role of sport in civil society (partnerships, social development, social cohesion) reflects a broader shift in the 'aid paradigm', illustrated in the World Bank's emphasis on the potential of social capital to

contribute to various forms of social development and economic growth. Woolcock and Narayan (2006 quoted in Coalter, 2010: 1376) argue that the new emphasis on social capital constitutes acknowledgement that the concentration of development policy on the economic dimension is too narrow. “This broad shift from an emphasis on top-down economic aid to an increased emphasis on aspects of civil society and bottom-up community development, from economic capital to social capital, permitted the sport-for-development lobby to argue for sport’s utilitarian contributions to aspects of the new aid paradigm” (Coalter, 2010: 1376).

2.3.2 Neoliberalism and sport-for-development

In recent years the sport for development field has significantly grown. The manner in which it has grown - the institutionalisation of the field and the diverse group of actors and stakeholders increasingly involved in the field – has been noteworthy. The approach to development predominating in the sport for development field today is that of neoliberalism. Sport for development organisations (governmental and non-governmental) such as *Streetfootballworld*, *Grassrootsoccer*, Right to Play and FIFA’s Football for Hope movement are examples of organisations and initiatives that have neoliberal tendencies.

Reasons for this can be observed in the similarities of elements of the sport for development field to the neoliberal approach – for example, sport for development organisations from the Global North taking their projects and ideas mostly to developing countries, doing this through partnerships and private funders, which is similar to the neoliberal approach of using NGOs to deliver aid to developing states. Moreover, the actors are the same, i.e. international institutions and the private sector who, in the current international setting, are viewed as key and efficient development actors. According to Harvey (2005 quoted in Skinner et al, 2006: 3), over the last decade sport and recreation policy-makers have had to adjust to neoliberal and globalisation processes. “In the ‘neoliberal state’ private-public partnerships, tax advantages (and expectations) for corporate social responsibility (CSR), and the reduction of social solidarity become key aspects of the new institutional framework” (Harvey, 2005; Mellor, 2008 quoted in Skinner et al, 2006: 3).

Such strategies for development can be seen in the current sport for development movement, where most sport for development initiatives are being promoted and implemented by international organisations like the UN and international NGOs distributing and implementing their projects mostly in the Global South. Levermore (2008) suggests neoliberal oriented development can be viewed in the use of sport to increase business interaction in development in the Global South, either as a “top-down” process (Northern MNCs initiating or supporting sport-in-development), or from support generated by Southern MNCs and smaller businesses.

Furthermore, the neoliberal approach to development can be viewed in the institutionalisation of the sport for development field by international organisations and sport federations. The UN, a popular promoter of the field has become an important institutional player in the field. The IOC and FIFA on the other hand have both established sport development programmes that have morphed into sport for development. They are further important to examine due to their developmental initiatives linked to their mega-events. There is also a notable neoliberal undertone to sport mega-events these days.

From the late 1990s a group of sport for development organisations convinced the UN and other agencies about the contribution that sport could make to their aid agendas. At the time, these lobbying efforts were spurred on by the establishment of the UN’s MDGs plan – a plan that represented an attempt to achieve a comprehensive and co-ordinated strategic approach to tackling the issues of development. Many of the goals, according to Coalter (2010: 301) and Kidd (2008) focused on personal and “social inclusion” issues that, in the late 1990s, had become associated with sports policy in the more economically developed societies – strengthening education, improving community safety, public health and social cohesion, and helping girls and women and youth at risk. From 2001 the UN’s contribution to the sport for development field was well-established. Many initiatives were implemented. These included the adoption of Resolution 58/5, which affirms the UN’s commitment to sport as a means of promoting education, health, development and peace and the achievement of the MDGs (Levermore and Beacom, 2008: 3).

Created by the founder of the modern Olympic Movement, Pierre de Coubertin, the IOC has a very long history of development embedded in Olympism ideology. The IOC was officially established in 1894 by de Coubertin whose vision for the Olympic Games was “to ennoble and strengthen sports, to ensure their independence and duration, and thus to enable them better to fulfil the educational role incumbent upon them in the modern world” (IOC, 2010: 1). One of the ways in which the IOC has continued to build on this philosophy has been the Olympic Solidarity programme established in the 1960s to help the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) to gain access to financial, technical and administrative assistance (Olympic Solidarity, 2009: 6). The Olympic Movement has since developed more concrete development programmes such as the Right to Play, which evolved out of the long-standing awareness and fundraising IOC organisation, Olympic Aid (Right to Play, 2010).

With its incorporation in late 2000, Right to Play made the transition from “fundraising vehicle” to implementing NGO with many new activities initiated. This transition allowed Right To Play to include both Olympic athletes and other elite sports figures as Athlete Ambassadors; to increase relationships to non-Olympic sports; to partner with a wider variety of private sector funders; and to deepen involvement at the grassroots level (Right to Play, 2010). This transition in the IOC displays neoliberal thinking towards development, i.e. the building of partnerships with a wider range of actors, especially private sector funders.

Using sport and the development field in a more strategic and neoliberal way, FIFA has instituted its sport for development initiatives within its CSR department. In 2005 FIFA was one of the first sports federations to create an internal CSR department to manage the organisation’s duties towards people, society and the planet, and to conduct programmes in the field of “Development through Football” (FIFA, 2011). Following the UN’s appeal to industrialised countries for development financing, FIFA agreed to sign at least 0.7% of its total revenues to its CSR initiatives, which as of 2005 has been grouped under the umbrella initiative, Football for Hope (FIFA, 2005). UNICEF and FIFA have expanded their partnership to focus on country-level collaboration and encouraging national partnerships to use football to achieve goals for children and youth. The partnership’s most recent collaboration, “Goals for Girls!” used the platform of the 2007 FIFA Women’s World Cup in

China to highlight the importance of gender equality, educating girls and the establishment of child-friendly schools (United Nations Children's Fund, 2007). Moreover, in 2005 FIFA began working with the non-profit organisation *streetfootballworld* to reach out to other NGOs and community-based organisations (CBOs) around the world.

The institutionalisation of the sport for development field is accompanied by many claims about sport's positive spin offs. Even though many of the organisations named above have been instrumental in promoting the sport for development movement, they were less successful as far as implementing concrete measures were concerned. The positive results that are often claimed for sport for development projects are often not backed up by systematic monitoring and evaluation. Furthermore, organisations such as FIFA and the IOC have keen commercial interests in mega-events. The boosters of sport mega-events tend to emphasise such events' economic, rather than social development impacts.

In addition to the institutionalisation of the sport for development field, new stakeholders have increasingly become involved, which has led to the institutionalisation of strategic partnerships and collaborations. This strategic approach in the sport for development field also has elements of the neoliberal approach to development that emphasises public and private partnerships to achieve developmental goals. According to Burnett (2010: 29), since the UN declared 2005 the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, a myriad of stakeholders, operating at all levels of society have devised initiatives to achieve the MDGs. It is not only governments that invest heavily in sport for development programmes, but increasingly, also MNCs. Thus "international stakeholder clusters such as the Commonwealth, the IOC, FIFA, UNICEF in partnership with UK Sport and the British Council and a myriad of Foundations (for example, Lares Sport for Good Foundation) have formed partnerships in the name of sport and development" (Burnett, 2010: 29).

According to Skinner et al (2006: 16) key success factors in servicing the needs of disadvantaged communities involves "developing, engaging, and retaining multiple partners that can support the delivery of programmes and outcomes through a range of different mechanisms including funding, delivery, expert advice, and referrals" - very much within the practices of neoliberalism. Street League, an example of a sport for development programme in the UK has in excess of 80 different partners, of which 20 are funding partners. Partners not only provide financial support, but CSR activities such as volunteering to support

programme delivery and the provision of office space (Skinner et al, 2006: 16). Funding in the UK is increasingly being generated from non-sport focused government agencies, and public-private initiatives are on the rise.

Overall, the increase of NGOs in the sport for development sector underlines the strong neoliberal underpinning to activities in the field. As “social entrepreneurs,” NGOs often advocate sport as antidote to many illnesses of society (Burnett, 2010: 32). Under this approach NGOs are advantages over institutions of the state in terms of achieving development at the grassroots level. However, critics have claimed that they simply represent a new form of top-down development occurring further down the development hierarchy (Parnwell, 2002: 116).

2.3.3 Shortcomings of the neoliberal approach

The neoliberal emphasis on rapid economic growth and the privileging of private actors as agents of development can have certain negative effects. This is due to things such as competition among stakeholders, and an emphasis on individualism. The emphasis on individual enhancement can enhance inequalities. Furthermore, without the regulation of the state, the development process may be skewed. In terms of the sport for development field, such shortcomings are important to address as the field progressively expands, especially throughout the Global South, and the range of actors involved increasingly includes private actors and international institutions in partnerships with development NGOs. Huish (2011: 421) suggests “the positioning of SDP within frameworks of corporate philanthropy and donor-driven charity can encompass moral frameworks that embody Northern values, and with them hegemonic coercion of communities to conform such agendas.”

Huish (2011) suggests many sport for development programmes have viewed sport as a mechanism to advance individual betterment out of conditions of poverty and disadvantage, but as Darnell (2010) argues, “notions of individual responsibility, economic prosperity, personal esteem and success” are conducive to values of neoliberal hegemony that emphasises the role of individuals as the principal bearers of responsibility for overcoming the perils of underdevelopment (Huish, 2011: 421). Thus the implications of the neoliberal approach on the sport for development field can be quite individually centred, where Huish (2011: 421) suggests the inherently competitive nature of sport for development programmes

may give certain individuals the chance for social mobility; at the same time this paradigm of individual success may do little to enhance capacity-building efforts in other areas of social development.

The neoliberal emphasis on individual enhancement can also be seen in the increase of the private sector in the sport for development domain. More and more MNCs are using sport initiatives as a focus for their CSR activities (Levermore, 2010). Thus sport for development activities may be used as a mechanism for corporate institutions' advancement or chiefly to appear philanthropic. This can be viewed as a shortcoming as it may take away from the primary objective of social development. Moreover, Kidd (2008) points out, even the competitive funding of sport for development sees numerous NGOs clamouring for support for narrow "hallmark" projects rather than using their collective strength and energy for broader social development. The sport for development movement thus largely aligns with, and therefore may effectively strengthen, hegemonic relations by reinforcing social and economic hierarchies and the neoliberal logic of competitive social and economic relations.

Another important link and shortcoming of the neoliberal approach in the sport for development agenda can be found in the debate among scholars on the true transformative potential of sport in achieving social development goals and change. Although many stakeholders involved in the sport for development field believe in the positive impact of sport on development, some scholars suggest that the sport for development field lacks the capacity to achieve social change. This is based on a critique against the uncontested belief about the "good" of sport, and the lack of an evidentiary base for claims about the impacts of sport for development initiatives (Crabbe et al, 2006 quoted in Skinner et al, 2006: 20). Within major international organisations, sport has come to be positioned as a "duality" – that is both as a human right in and of itself, and as an appropriate instrument for meeting broader development goals (Darnell and Black, 2011: 366).

Coakley (2011: 1) says it is because of this dual assumption that there has been an increase in the range of actors from all levels of power, who take decisions that allocate public and private resources to sports and sport programmes. Because of this dual assumption, it has become necessary for scholars to identify and make clear the limitations as well as strengths of sport (Coalter, 2008: 72; Levermore, 2008). Evaluation of sport-in-development schemes needs to consider the strengths that sport has in improving holistic development objectives,

but also its limitations, “ranging from the contradictions inherent in the messages sport delivers to the motives of those organisations involved in the sport-in-development partnerships” (Levermore, 2008: 64).

Thus an important theme raised among scholars has been how sport’s transformative capacities are empirically substantiated. According to Coalter (2009: 56) the UN Business Plan for the International Year of Sport (UN, 2005a: 11) referred to the need for monitoring and evaluation of sport and development programmes and the selection of impact indicators that would show the benefits of sport for development in the field. Due to the relative newness of the sport for development field however, many organisations have limited access to technical and financial resources and are not able to fully evaluate the impacts of their programmes. In addition to posing major methodological difficulties, the nature of sport-in-development organisations, according to Coalter (2009: 56), also raises fundamental issues about the purpose of, and approach to, monitoring and evaluation. According to Cornelissen (2011: 507), there is also the question of the bases upon which sport for development programmes are designed and channelled. “Although heavily ensconced within the NGO world, the sport for development sector still lacks the programmatic and methodological sophistication of the older development industry” (Cornelissen, 2011: 507). Ultimately, effective evaluation is needed to determine more conclusively whether sport has a long-term future in assisting development, or whether it is “simply a short-term fad that promises much but delivers little” as noted by Levermore (2008: 65).

2.4 Sport mega-events and sport for development

Due to the recent growth of sport mega-events in the Global South, there has been increased emphasis on the need for social development goals to be achieved from hosting mega-events. The question is whether there is a link between sport for development and sport mega-events. This part of the chapter aims to illustrate that although the two fields have similar underlying philosophies in that they aim to achieve certain developmental goals, they have very different ideas concerning development and in what they aim to achieve.

2.4.1 Growth of sport mega-events in the Global South

In recent decades, especially the last, there has been an increase in the number of countries from the Global South that bid for the rights to host mega-events. Developing countries such as China, South Africa, India and Brazil have won bidding contests and have hosted major events. Many of these hosts profess to do this in the name of development as sport mega-events are said to have the potential to bring about grand scales of development for the hosting country. Much of the legacy expected from South Africa's hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup was centred on the creation of developmental opportunities for the country and the African continent.

Cornelissen (2009: 76) suggests major sports events are prominent in the planning and development itineraries of many urban and national governments across the world. They are viewed as possible stimulants for short term and more permanent economic growth. In both the Global South and North, common objectives can be found among governments with regard to the hosting of such events, however, due to the unique conditions of the Global South distinctions can be found in their objectives to host a mega-event. There has been a tendency for countries of the Global South to assume or expect social development to occur alongside the economic and political benefits of the event. This may be in the form of socio-economic issues being addressed such as unemployment, poverty, youth development and the improvement of disadvantaged communities.

As mega-events like the FIFA World Cup, the Olympic Games and many other world championships become more and more popular to viewers, participants and the corporations and sponsors investing in them, the more popular it has become for nations across the global North and South to enter extravagant bidding wars to host them. In earlier years sport mega-events were predominantly hosted in the developed "North" or "Western" states, those with the infrastructure and facilities to host the event. The IOC for example, had predominantly awarded the Olympic Games to western, industrialised nations. Fourteen of the twenty-five Summer Games between 1896 and 2004 were held in Western European cities (Matheson and Baad, 2003: 2) whilst the Olympic Games have never been held on the African continent. In the last decade, however, this tradition has changed somewhat as the rights to host mega-events have increasingly been awarded to developing states in the Global South. Examples include China's hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games; the 2010 South Africa FIFA World Cup

and in 2014 Brazil is set to host the FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games (Cornelissen, 2010).

Given such trends, many academics have debated the reasons underlying bids by developing countries to host mega-events, and the implications for development supporters of mega-events claim that these events attract many visitors and that they can lead to lasting economic benefits for the host regions (Matheson and Baad, 2003). Often economic impact analyses are made before the event, predicating economic windfalls from hosting mega sporting events. According to Matheson and Baade (2003: 6-7) boosters for the 1994 World Cup in the US predicted it would bring thousands of visitors to the country and result in a US\$ 4 billion to the United States economy. Thus proponents assert that the hosting of a mega-event will result in economic benefits that far exceed initial investments.

“Legacies” built from the events – whether social, cultural, environmental, political, and economic or sporting - form a major part of the rationale to host them, according to Horne and Manzenreiter (2006: 9). Economic and political development can take place on a significant scale, as new infrastructure (new roads, bridges, buildings, transport systems, technology) is created. Events can also generate new tourism and be major opportunities for marketing and branding (Pillay et al, 2009; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Black, 2007). Further, hosting sport mega-events is also noted to provide opportunities for skills development and job creation and the development of public and private sector partnerships (Swart and Bob, 2004: 1313).

Mega-events have thus become viewed as global economic events, focused on economic opportunities and impacts as well as the global images that could be gained from the hosting of the event. With the increase in mega-events hosted by states in the Global South, there is the requirement for more creative bids and for events to be organised on a grander scale. As a result, states no longer only focus on the economic impacts of the event, but also the political, social and environmental impacts.

2.4.2 The link between sport mega-events and sport for development

It must be noted that while there has been substantial growth in the study of the field of sport for development, extensive research regarding the link between the field and the hosting of

sports mega-events has not been done. However, what has recently become important is to use events like the South African 2010 FIFA World Cup not only for economic development and investment, but also for social development, where social concerns of the host nation can also be addressed. This part of the chapter discusses some differences found between the two fields, provides examples of host states that have begun to use sport mega-events for purposes other than economic development and finally, discusses how the emphasis on the economic gains of mega-events resonate with the neoliberal undertone in the sport for development field.

The sport for development field and the mega-sports events sectors are vastly different; they have different approaches to and emphases regarding development. Cornelissen (2011) suggests there are noteworthy differences between the two. “For one, the planning horizons of sport for development programmes differ significantly from those of mega-events which by their nature have very focused and short-range planning targets, i.e. the effective logistical delivery of the event. Second, the conceptualisations of development in both fields are highly divergent” (Cornelissen, 2011: 508). In the case of sport mega-events, the event itself takes place over a very short period therefore much of the objectives of the event are centred on that specific time period. Sport for development programmes and initiatives, however, often set developmental objectives that are based on a long term sustainable establishment. Moreover, development in the case of sport mega-events most often refers to the economic, political and sometimes social benefits of the event. In most cases, the economic impact is given most recognition. In sport for development, ideas around development generally centre on social development and aspects related to social change. It is only in recent years that sport mega-events have focused on incorporating a social development aspect to the event. However, as noted by Cornelissen (2009), much emphasis is still given to the economic impacts and legacies of the event.

In recent years sports federations have, however, called on mega-event hosts to include in their bids a potential social legacy, where hosts have to detail the possible socio-economic impacts of an event. Within the Olympic Movement, there have been attempts to improve the sustainability standards of the Olympic Games, expressed in “triple bottom line components (i.e. economic, environmental and social impacts);” thus the IOC has called on member states to seek sustainable development through sport (Cornelissen, 2009: 78). The problem with this initiative according to Cornelissen (2011), is that currently most sports federations do not

have evaluation mechanisms in place that could validate those aspects of events' planning processes. Also, Cornelissen (2011: 508-509) argues that by the time reports are written for federations and assessments made about the success of the event, it is usually the organisational efficiency and logistical achievements that are evaluated, not the long-term socio-economic ramifications.

An example of a host nation that did have some social development objectives as part of the event is the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. A large and successful volunteer programme (70 000 game-time volunteers) was set up not only to help the Games run smoothly but also to ensure that a positive legacy would be established as volunteers gained new skills. In the case of student volunteers, the programme set out to help them in their studies. According to Zhuang (2010), the activities of volunteers at the Olympic Games are considered to be the fundamental social and cultural base of the Olympic Movement. Moreover, Dr Jacques Rogge, president of the IOC said of the Beijing volunteers, "the Games have been a dream fulfilled and a source of inspiration for a generation of young Chinese people. Some of the friendly volunteers we have met over the past two weeks will be tomorrow's leaders. They have emerged from this experience with new confidence and a better understanding of Olympic values. That may ultimately be the greatest legacy of these Games" (12th IOC session, 2008 quoted in Zhuang, 2010: 2843). Zhuang (2010) further suggests that the fact that 90 per cent of the Beijing Olympic volunteers were university students illustrated that the volunteer project was seen as a platform to nurture China's younger generations.

In a further example of possible social development being achieved through sport mega-events, Coalter (2008) looked at how the 2010 FIFA World Cup might contribute directly or indirectly to increased "social cohesion" in South Africa through sport for development programmes and initiatives. Coalter (2008: 11) predicted that the World Cup can act as catalyst for commercially-led sponsorship and investment in various forms of football development. However, according to him, there was a need to understand the precise nature of the contribution of football (and sport in general) to personal and social development. As Skinner et al (2006: 19) suggest, mass sporting events can engage individuals in sport development and can increase their active participation through training for and participating in the event. Events of this nature can also attract the involvement of volunteers and help to foster community identity. However, while one-off events are important for strengthening

people's connection to their community, sustainable, ongoing development through sport programmes and interventions are likely to have the most significant social capital impacts.

A final point to be observed in the link between the two fields is the fact that, because sport mega-events are typically shaped by economic aspirations, the neoliberal emphasis of the event may impact the sport for development agenda. Cornelissen (2010) claims sport mega-events are heavily shaped by corporate interests and profit motives. "Football's commercial and instrumental potency has become even more explicit through the growth in magnitude and significance of the World Cup tournament in recent years... It is also due to the greater presence of sport-related and non-sport corporate actors in the World Cup" (Cornelissen, 2010: 131). Thus not only are the host states keen on profiteering from the event, the mega-event is also formed in a way that the corporate sector has opportunity to draw profit from the marketing of companies, via sponsorships, and through sales. Cornelissen (2010) suggests the FIFA World Cup, whilst sharing many of the features of other sport mega-events, is distinct in the extent to which the capitalization of the event has over the years solidified around a few commercial players. This "incorporates FIFA, which as a sport federation presides over a very lucrative international sport industry and has a key interest in maintaining influence over this industry; large corporations that draw profit out of the commercialisation of sport apparel and other good and media organisations" (Cornelissen, 2010: 132).

2.5 Conclusion

This literature review examined a number of issues concerning the sport for development movement and its growth in the last decades. The chapter discussed various interpretations of the concept and its history. The theoretical framework underpinning sport for development was examined, centring on the trends in development and aspects of the global political economy. It was emphasised that neoliberalism currently predominates the field, an aspect which can have both positive and negative effects on sport for development endeavours. Finally, the link between sport mega-events and development was examined. Although sport for development and development as promoted in the sport mega-event field overlap, there are significant distinctions between the two fields in terms of what they aim to achieve.

Chapter 3: Sport for development – the South African case

3.1 Introduction

As was noted in chapter two, the sport for development field has grown significantly over the past decade, with a noteworthy trend observed in the increase of sport for development programmes and initiatives in the Global South. South Africa is one of those countries where there has been a tremendous growth within the field. This has been due to the growth in public and private actors initiating programmes as well as initiatives brought by the recently held 2010 FIFA World Cup. In this chapter I aim to illustrate, however, that sport for development has long existed in South Africa. Sport has been used as a tool for change, and policy intended to use sport as an instrument for the creation of a new society. During the period of apartheid sport was an important part of the anti apartheid movement, and after 1994 sport was viewed by key political actors as a vehicle for transformation (Nauright, 2010; DSR White Paper, 1998). As such it can be stated that the concept sport for change has been a feature of discourses about post-apartheid development.

This chapter provides an overview of the role of sport during and after the apartheid era. It starts off with a review of the history of sport during apartheid and of the South African sports boycott. The second part of the chapter examines the early post-apartheid period. It is contended that foundations were laid for the use of sport as a tool in the creation of a new society through major events such as the 1995 World Cup, and that sports policy aimed to give momentum to these nascent nation building processes. The chapter thus examines two major sports policies, the Department of Sport and Recreation's (DSR) 1998 White Paper and the DSR's 2010 White Paper. Shifts in policy priorities and objectives between the two White Papers are highlighted. In the final part of this chapter, the sport for development field in South Africa is examined, how it has evolved within the boundaries of South African sports and recreation policy. The role of external players in the field, who can be identified as the main drivers of the sport for development agenda in South Africa, is also explored.

3.2 The role of sport historically in South Africa

The idea of sport for change and sport being used as a tool for development in the South African context was influenced by the impact of the racialised division of sport in the past

(DSR, 1998). During apartheid, sport like all other social domains was shaped by the system's discriminatory policies and societal inequalities were reflected in the sports sphere. In addition, Anderson et al (2004:47) note that "throughout the decades of apartheid, sports served both to define and to defy White superiority" As a result, sport became a domain of protest for the non-white sporting community. Also within the international community, ever more concerned with the respect for human rights, there was greater demand that South Africa's practice of racial division in sport should be abolished. This was part of a bigger movement internationally that criticised the apartheid system. According to a number of observers (Nauright, 2010; Alegi, 2004; Nauright and Black, 2002), sport further played a key role in the creation of a new South African society in the early post-apartheid period. For some a sense of national unity was created through success in hosting and winning major sporting events, while for others the implementation of appropriate sport and recreational policy was useful for redressing some wrongs of the past. "After the 1995 World Cup victory, South Africans were motivated across all sectors to work for the development and future of the country" says Nauright (2010: XVIII). This part of the chapter is an overview of the history of sport in South Africa, both during the apartheid and early-post apartheid periods, illustrating the role of sport as a site of process and later as a tool used for significant political and social change.

3.2.1 Sport during Apartheid

Discrimination during apartheid took many forms – the government creating and implementing policy on where people could live, work, be educated, socialise and who they could engage with (Adam and Moodley, 1986; Lodge, 1991; Worden, 2000). Since the system affected almost every aspect of South African life at that time, the sport sector was no different (Archer and Bouillion, 1982). The development and organisation of cultural activities, including sport, were conditioned by segregationist thinking. Sport was segregated by the first years of the twentieth century, with national representative teams for whites only and white only competitions organised in every sporting code (Nauright, 2010: 11).

"For most of the 20th century sport was an institutionalised feature of the country's racialised social and political landscape" (Sugden, 2010: 262). Sport at all levels (individual, community and organisational) was affected by apartheid policy. Sport could not be played between the different race groups which meant each group had to organise its own sports

leagues and competitions (Nauright, 2010: XIII). Whilst white South Africans were given sporting facilities and fields in their schools and playgrounds, the black population had to make do with poorly-maintained fields and almost no facilities (Merrett, 2009). Particular sports also became more aligned with certain social groups. According to some commentators (Anderson et al, 2004:47; Black and Nauright, 2002), white rule was celebrated through international sport, particularly through rugby. Thus when South African rugby teams won at the international level, their victory was hailed as a justification for White rule. Sport in South Africa thus represented a political system that favoured the white race in terms of allocation of resources, development of facilities and the encouragement of sport among youths.

According to Nauright, (2010: 12), during the 1950s and 1960s the South African government passed numerous new laws in attempt to achieve the ultimate goal of separate development and social isolation. Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, many urban areas occupied initially by black people were re-designated as areas for whites only. These forced removals impacted heavily on social and cultural life, especially disrupting sport. Many teams were lost and competitions damaged through forced removals, disrupting the growth of sport in the non-white community further. A further impact of apartheid policy on South African sport was the exclusion of black South Africans in national sports teams. This meant that national sporting colours and the Springbok emblem were generally the preserve of white teams and in the rare cases where mixed teams were allowed to participate internationally in the 1970s and 1980s, Springbok colours were not awarded to black participants (Nauright, 2010: 11).

The policies of apartheid and the effect that it had on the non-white sporting community were enormous, both in terms of individuals' sporting careers and the lack of development (Thomson, 2011). It had significant effects on communities too as apartheid policy ensured sporting facilities were not distributed equally among different race groups, ultimately leading to further discrimination and inequality. Furthermore, strict regulation by the apartheid state meant that even the cultural and social dimensions of sport were affected as apartheid laws determined how people could enjoy or participate in sport activities. In 1950, the black, coloured and Indian soccer associations opposed the legislation on social spaces being exclusively for whites by establishing their own federation, they were however, forced to split into separate organisations by 1960. In the sport of table tennis, the non-white South

African Table Tennis Board won recognition from the International Table Tennis Federation in 1956, and the white South African Table Tennis Union was expelled after non-white spectators were banned from the hall during an international tour (Merrett, 2010: 82). The anti-apartheid movement had its counterpart in the sport domain as from the end of the 1960s the non-white liberation movement targeted sport as a site of protest. By the 1970s greater support by the international sports community culminated in sanctions and the prolonged period of South Africa's isolation from international sport (Cornelissen, 2011).

Anti-racial sports organisations were organised in South Africa and internationally. In 1963, a number of anti-apartheid sportspersons formed the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). While they sought international assistance for non-racial sport within South Africa and to replace South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) as the national Olympic committee recognised by the IOC, their main goal was the expulsion of all white South Africans from international sport (Kidd, 1988: 652-653). SANROC later found an ally in the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA), formed in 1966 by the sports ministers of the newly independent nations of Africa. The SCSA wanted the international federations and national sports bodies to stop sporting contacts with South Africa, and threatened to boycott all major competitions to which South Africa was invited. The Supreme Council was forced to test its members' resolve almost immediately after its establishment. In 1968, the IOC voted to accept SANOC's entry for the games in Mexico, on condition it enter an integrated team. The SCSA immediately announced that 32 African NOCs would boycott any games in which South Africa took part. Faced with a long list of potential absentees and the resulting loss of revenue and prestige, the IOC quickly withdrew the invitation to SANROC and in 1970, it expelled South Africa altogether (Kidd, 1988: 654).

In 1961, FIFA suspended the South African body when it refused to do anything about racial discrimination (Kidd, 1988: 652). After South Africa was banned from competing in the Olympics, they were also banned from the Commonwealth Games in 1961 (Kidd, 1988: 643). At that time, the IOC and the Commonwealth Games Federation (CFG) were able to influence the cessation of contacts in sports such as rugby and cricket. By the mid-1960s, white players and administrators, desperate to play internationally, begged the government to abandon apartheid in sport (Anderson et al, 2004: 49). Since the late 1970s the government took further steps to change the face of apartheid in sports, permitting clubs and sports

associations to conduct or engage in ‘multi-racial’ competition on a regular basis and relaxing the prohibition of non-white competitors in international competitions (Kidd, 1988: 659).

In the end the international sport boycott against South Africa became too strong as many countries agreed not to send sports teams to South Africa or invite them abroad. Under the United Nations Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, 27 countries agreed to bar entry to athletes from other countries who have played in South Africa. This intensified the sense of isolation in South African sports, the primary goal of the international campaign (Kidd, 1988: 646). Thus, the non-racial sports movement was morally powerful and was successful in gaining support in isolating the apartheid government. This was one of the many strategies bent on forcing the apartheid regime to capitulate (Booth, 1998: 6). Therefore sport was an important feature of the contestation in the apartheid era.

3.2.2 Early post-apartheid period: sport helping to create a new society

Following South Africa’s re-entry into the fold of international sporting competition in late 1991, and through an IOC decision and the first post-apartheid democratic elections in April 1994, the landscape of South African sports governance was predictably characterised by a process of rationalisation and unification of the previously racially aligned sports bodies. There was increasing recognition of the need for “nation-building” also in the context of sport, and of the need to ensure the legitimisation of control over sport (Louw, 2006: 49).

In the 1990s, the new South African government seemingly became aware of sport’s potential to create a new society. This was seen in the use of new symbols of national unity to portray national unity among South African sport teams, and by extension the wider populace. In South Africa’s readmittance into the international sports arena, ample opportunity was provided for the utilisation of sports as an instrument for portraying the political shift of the nation (Huglund and Sundberg, 2008: 807). With the country’s re-entry to international sport, there was also the need for development of sports skills among the disadvantaged non-white communities. It was also during this time that the need to create new sports policies in order to further develop South Africa’s sports sector was recognised. In this way sport was viewed as a tool for the development of South Africa in many aspects – the creation of national unity via sports events and a way in which to right the wrongs of the past via sport and recreation activities (DSR White Paper, 1998).

South Africa's hosting and winning of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, symbolised the emergence of a new era in South African sport, a symbol of a nation united through sport and a single community in which collective interest transcended social differences (Chappel, 2005). At the time then President Nelson Mandela and Sports Minister Steve Tshwete further attempted to use sport to forge a national identity for the new 'Rainbow Nation' (Nauright, 2010: 22).

Believing that sport could be harnessed to the cause of constructing a new and transformed South African identity, Mandela articulated the philosophy that inspired his belief in the transformative power of sport when he said, "sport has the power to unite people in a way little else can. Sport can awaken hope where there was previously only despair. It breaks down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of discrimination. Sport speaks to people in a language they can understand" (Mandela, 2000 quoted in Sugden, 2010: 262).

In a country such as South Africa, where different ethnic groups existed, recreation was seen as an effective way of bringing people of differing cultures a sense of community and an opportunity to interact effectively (Tshwete quoted in van Blerk, 1996: 16)

Many would agree that the 1995 World Cup played a part in the idea that sport could be used for much more than competitive sporting achievement in South Africa. However, even before that event occurred instances of sport being used for development were found in South Africa. In 1991 one of the oldest and most successful sport-for-development programmes in the world was established in South Africa. The Sports Coaches Outreach (SCORE) organisation, which started out as a volunteer project and now trains community sports leaders, has implemented programmes all over the country and in other African countries since. The organisation is now an internationally recognised leader in the Sport for Development sector in Southern Africa (Coalter, 2010). Due to their success, many other programmes were implemented by local South African actors as well as foreign actors. However, as discussed in greater detail below, the majority of sport for development initiatives have been implemented by external actors and not by the primary governmental sport department, Sport and Recreation South Africa.

South Africa's department of sport and recreation did, however, attempt to use sport, through the development of policy, to address issues of the time. One of the most significant ways was to address sporting inequalities in the availability of sports facilities. Thus emphasis would not only be on the development of elite and competitive sport, but also on sport and recreational activities for all South Africans. Sport was therefore considered a vehicle for change through which socio-economic issues could be addressed through the development of new policies and agendas, with special emphasis on previously disadvantaged communities and sectors (DSR White Paper, 1998).

3.3 Sport for development via policy and implementation

In 1998 the South African National Department of Sport and Recreation produced a White Paper, the first official policy on sport and recreation, with the theme "Getting the Nation to Play". This policy paper had key objectives and strategies which included "increasing the levels of participation in sport and recreation activities; raising sport's profile in the face of conflicting priorities; maximising the probability of success in major events and lastly placing sport in the forefront of efforts to reduce the levels of crime" (DSR White Paper, 1998: 1). At the time it was felt that these objectives had the potential to address many of the national social and political priorities derived from South Africa's past. It was felt that policy had to address the imbalances among communities. Other motivations for national sports policy at the time were the lack of a strategic vision and policy for the development of sport and recreation, and the felt need for South Africa to take its rightful place in the global sporting community (DSR White Paper, 1998: 2). The focus was thus on mass participation, recreational sports, and elite and professional sport, as it was thought that sport played an important role in society and had huge potential as an instrument of transformation. Thus where the previous government narrowly focused only on a support service for the promotion of sport and recreation, the new DSR redefined this role and its main focus was to play the role of provider of sport and recreation (Nauright, 1997: 162).

South Africa's new sport and recreation policy was not only developed within the national priorities of the time, however. Additionally, the national policy also had to be responsive to global influences, such as SCSA, the IOC and the actions of the International Federations (IFS) (DSR White Paper, 1998: 2). The SCSA had a strong relationship with non-racial organisations like SANROC and played a leading role in the sports boycott on the part of the

African continent during apartheid. Thus the new South African government not only looked at internal factors whilst making policy but also considered the SCSA and its continental framework on sport and recreation. At the time the SCSA focused on the development of sport and athletes in Africa, as well as making opportunities available for all Africans to participate in sport. Moreover, as a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), South Africa signed the SADC protocol on sport, information and culture, where member states agreed to cooperate in sport in order to obtain the following objectives: the promotion of regional integration through sport and recreation; the promotion of active participation by stakeholders in sport and recreation activities with special emphasis on women, children and people with disabilities; and fostering the spirit of fair play, mutual respect, ethical and moral principles in sport (Art 24, 2000: 12). Thus within this regional framework and the influence of the continent’s sport and recreation framework, South Africa too committed to fulfil its sport and recreation policy by developing a strategic plan addressing a number of issues.

3.3.1 1998 White Paper priorities

The DSR defined a number of priorities that were outlined in the 1998 White Paper. These priorities listed the various areas of concern in South Africa’s sport and recreation sector. They included: plans concerning the responsibilities of the relevant stakeholders involved in the implementation of sport and recreation activities; the provision of multipurpose centres to previously disadvantaged communities; the development of human resource potential in the form of volunteers; motivating communities to become more active; developing high performance programmes geared towards the preparation of elite sports for major competitions; ensuring that all sport and recreation bodies meet their affirmative action objectives; developing a code of ethics for sport and recreation, and finally developing an international relations policy in concert with national government policy (DSR White Paper, 1998: 9-15). Table 3.1 illustrates the priorities, objectives and strategies outlined in the White Paper.

Table 3.1: 1998 Sport and Recreation priorities

Priorities	Objectives/Strategies	Intended Outcomes
Priority One to confirm roles and streamline the responsibilities of the various stakeholders in sport and recreation to ensure that coordination and economies of scale are realised	The DSR would focus on: Promotion of sport and recreation policy and its implementation, through the National Sports Council (NSC), National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) and the National Federations	

Priority Two to provide funds for the creation or upgrading of basic multipurpose sports facilities in disadvantaged areas	It is the considered approach of the Ministry and DSR to make multipurpose facilities the focal point of each community. The DSR and its agencies will endeavour to utilise local resources in the creation/upgrading of facilities, this will contribute to job creation.	This community – centred approach is to ensure that communities take ownership of the facilities, and assist in their maintenance and management.
Priority Three to develop the human resource potential required for the effective management of sport and recreation in South Africa	The DSR aimed to spearhead the following initiatives: recruitment of volunteers; training and accreditation of volunteers and the recognition of volunteers which would in effect develop South Africa's human resources.	
Priority Four to motivate the community to develop active lifestyles and to channel those with talent for development into the competitive areas of sport	Recruit and encourage youth and adults to participate in physical activities; motivate the populace to develop physically active lifestyles and mobilise non-participants and convert them to participants in physical activities. Two primary areas of focus: recreation and development sport. Special emphasis would be given to the following interest groups: women and girls, senior citizens, people with disabilities and worker sport.	Recreation would be harnessed to promote ethnic harmony, leadership opportunities and the development of a healthy society. "Development sport," would ensure the development of programmes in talent identification; skills acquisition and creating a nursery for high performance sport.
Priority Five to develop a high performance programme that is geared towards the preparation of elite athletes for major competitions.	A cogent and coordinated strategy would be sustained via key drivers identified: National Academy, SISA, Athlete's incentives and Competition.	
Priority Six to ensure that all sport and recreation bodies meet their affirmative action objectives.	Equity and access; development programmes for athletes and officials; competition; unity audit	
Priority Seven to develop a code of ethics for sport and recreation in South Africa.	The DSR will provide an ethical framework that encompasses fair play, anti-doping legislation, tobacco and alcohol sponsorship, the environment and player rights. The establishment of interest group forums like athletes associations and coaches associations will be accelerated.	The DSR will ensure that all role-players are encouraged to control violence or misbehaviour by players and spectators. The DSR has created a national Institute for Drug-free Sport
Priority Eight to develop an international relations policy, in concert with national government policy	The DSR will in close consultation with the Department of Foreign Affairs, enter into bi-national agreements to promote the sharing of technology and skills. The DSR will be signatory to international conventions appertaining to sport and recreation.	The DSR is committed to the development of sport and recreation on the continent. An essential part of this programme will be the development of a sport and recreation resource package, constituting a compendium of publications which relate experiences of South Africa's most successful sport and recreation projects.

(DSR White Paper, 1998: 4-16)

3.3.2 National endeavours and implementation of policy

The key aims of the DSR were to:

- increase participation in sport and recreation;
- raise the profile of sport and recreation, particularly among decision-makers;
- increase the probability of South Africa's sportspersons and teams to achieve success in major international competitions and place sport and recreation at the forefront of efforts to address issues of national importance such as unemployment; poverty, economic development, and individual and community health (South African Yearbook, 2003/04: 565).

One of the key objectives of the 1998 White Paper was to increase participation in sport and recreation. The DSR aimed to achieve this by introducing mass participation programmes and

building sport facilities in the form of multipurpose centres all around the country (White Paper, 1998; South African Yearbook, 2003/04)³. Mass participation initiatives focused on introducing as many people as possible to a wide range of sport and recreation activities. The emphasis was on the development of sport in communities and schools, as well as the development of communities through sport (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 5). All South Africans were encouraged to participate in sport activities and the ascent was placed on increasing the levels of participation of the historically disadvantaged and marginalised groups, including black South Africans, women, the youth, rural communities and people with disabilities in physical activities and programmes (South African Yearbook, 2003/04: 565). The overall purpose of these initiatives was to alter historical society social imbalances. Furthermore, the building of sport facilities, especially in previously disadvantaged areas, could further help find and develop un-nurtured talent in those communities previously not given a chance to actively compete (Burnett, 2010: 47).

The first programme implemented as part of the mass participation plan was the South African National Games and Leisure Activities (SANGALA) Programme (South Africa Yearbook, 2003/04). The programme was launched in February 1996 and it aimed to involve South Africans in healthy and physical recreational activities. The objectives of the programme were to promote awareness of participation benefits, enhance physical and mental well-being, promote self-esteem and self-confidence, and encourage personal development. Furthermore it also aimed to enable development of personal skills, to facilitate integration and to break down social barriers (van Blerk, 1996: 18). Another sport and recreation programme that was developed later as part of the initial 1998 White Paper's objectives was the Siyadlala Mass Participation Programme (SMPP). The programme was launched in 2004 to facilitate access to sport and recreation for as many South Africans as possible, especially those from historically disadvantaged communities. According to Burnett (2008: 229), Siyadlala was a national initiative implemented in all nine provinces. The intended outcome was to 'get the nation to become active,' and to provide access to a relatively wide variety of activities to impoverished communities, identified as 'hubs.' (Burnett, 2008: 229). Local implementers, mainly unemployed youth, were recruited and trained as coaches and

³ Between 1994 and 2001, the Reconstruction and Development Programme Fund provided for the completion of 138 basic outdoor sports facilities to the value of R49,5 million and one indoor facility in each province at a total of cost of R40, 7 million. During the same period, 26 projects with a total value of R1,2 million were completed countrywide with resources from the Central Sport and Recreation Fund (SA Yearbook, 2003/04: 566).

administrators to implement seven sporting codes⁴ at community facilities and local schools (Burnett, 2008: 229). Through these various initiatives the DSR intended that these activities could be used as a tool for development or addressing issues of national priority, both the individuals and the nation. The aim was to develop people by equipping them with skills on the field which as a spin-off would lead to development at grassroots, community and national levels.

3.3.3 Outcomes: Were objectives achieved?

Conceived soon after the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa's sport and recreation department's first policy can be said to have been broad and idealistic. The key objectives of the policy were to promote sport and recreation to all South Africans, make sport resources available to those previously disadvantaged, and to help return South African sport into the international sporting community (DSR White Paper, 1998: 1). Thus the first South African sport and recreation policy was very promising given the state of South African sport at that point, setting out to develop elite sports, to achieve success in the international arena and encourage and create an active nation. According to Burnett (2010: 50) "by introducing a community-based sport mass participation programme (Siyadlala), the government intended to provide widespread opportunities for active participation in sport and recreation that could change the relatively low profile of active participation in impoverished communities." This would not only provide a new pool of talent, from which future elite athletes could be recruited but the programme would also in the end stimulate social and community development providing sport participation opportunities in impoverished communities (Burnett, 2010: 53). However, Høglund and Sundberg (2008: 813) noted that although Siyadlala had several positive effects including its contribution to the "moral regeneration" of communities, it has been impeded by general lack of resources. In part this has been due to the rapid growth and popularity of the programme which has made the programme difficult to sustain (Høglund and Sundberg, 2008: 813).

It must be noted, however, that although there has been great progress in defining and institutionalising of sport and recreation policy in South Africa, there has been very little physical implementation of policy. According to Keim (2008), although sport played such an

⁴ General gymnastics, aerobics, fun run/big walk, indigenous games, and street ball games which included basket ball, soccer and handball.

important role “in the struggle for a new South Africa, in the effort to create better communities, a better society and a better life for all” the South African government has been slow to implement policy, preferring to put resources in the bidding for and hosting of sport mega-events (Swart and Bob, 2004; Cornelissen, 2011). Since the advent of South Africa’s democracy, the country has hosted the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 Africa Cup of Nations, the 2003 Cricket World Cup, the 2009 FIFA Confederations Cup and the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Cornelissen, 2004; Matheson and Baade, 2003). Moreover, South Africa put in an unsuccessful bid for the 2004 Olympic Games as well as the 2006 FIFA World Cup (Swart and Bob, 2004). These commercial events ultimately require a great deal of resources especially for developing countries with high levels of socio-economic concerns, like South Africa, thus it has to be noted that this emphasis on South Africa’s international standing in the global sport community has taken away from much needed assistance and emphasis on sport and recreation activities in and among the disadvantaged communities (Keim, 2008).

Although the implementation of programmes such as SANGALA and Siyadlala was relatively successful, one has to recognise the time lag between the two programmes and how long it took the DSR to implement Siyadlala after the 1998 White Paper was produced. According to Keim (2008: 1), in doing this, the South African government has ultimately neglected the “tremendous social transformative capacity inherent to sport and recreation activities” as she argues they remain driven by economic desires. Thus although policy was created and programmes encouraged, the implementation of them has been slow. Moreover, according to a national survey that established the participation patterns in South African sport, only 25 per cent of South Africans participate in sport on a regular basis. Factors such as age, inadequate training facilities and the lack of interest are contributors to this state of affairs (HSRC, 2006). Thus even though nobly aiming at the promotion of sport and recreation activities, it can be said that the DSR policy has not been fully successful.

Further, in terms of the growth of the sport for development sector and sport being used as a tool for development, the 1998 White Paper appeared to be less successful and misaligned with reality. The post apartheid government put a lot of emphasis on the power of sport, and the 1998 White Paper itself mentioned the many issues that sport could tackle. However, there was no specific policy development; rather the emphasis fell on developing sport and recreation activities to address social ills of society. Progression was slow in terms of the implementation of programmes as well as policy on sport for development (Keim, 2008).

Indeed, most of the sport for development sector's activities and programmes has been implemented by external actors and not by the national government.

3.3.4 SRSA 2010 White Paper Draft 1

The 1998 White Paper by the then DSR was created with the intention to address many of the issues facing the country at the time. Relatively early into the country's democracy, sport and recreational activities were to be used for the purpose of re-entering South Africa into the international sporting community and competitions by developing elite sport, using sport to address many of the inequalities among the population in the wake of apartheid, this done by making sport and recreation available to all of South Africa and especially the previously disadvantaged communities (DSR, 1998). In November 2000, after South Africa's poor showing at the Sydney summer Olympic Games, the former minister of sport and recreation, Ngcondo Balfour, appointed a Ministerial Task Team (MTT) to investigate the poor performance of elite sport in South Africa (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 14). In the end the report provided direction for improving the overall South African sport system, which at the time also consisted of many gaps in the mass participation programmes, a lack of resources preventing facilities from being built in many communities. Thus changes were necessary and effected by the implementation of the MTT recommendations which effectively resulted in the 1998 White Paper being outdated as it was "no longer a true reflection of the new dispensation," thus it was necessary for new policy on sport and recreation to be created (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 14). The implementation of the MTT recommendations further led to the repeal of the South African Sports Commission Act in 2004 and the establishment of Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 14).

Some shift in strategic aim can be identified in the 2010 White Paper that differs from the 1998 White Paper. The objectives of the SRSA 2010 White Paper draft include:

- increasing the number of participants in sport and recreation activities in order to contribute to a healthy nation;
- providing and facilitating access and opportunities in the delivery of sport and recreation programmes;
- furthering education and training opportunities for athletes and sports administrators, coaches and technical officials;

- developing and sustaining infrastructure for the delivery of sport and recreation;
- enhancing sport development and transformation at all levels of participation;
- ensuring that talent identification and development programmes are in place and well coordinated;
- ensuring that South African athletes at all levels of the integrated development continuum receive support services that will maximise performance;
- supporting the participation of South African athletes and teams at national and international levels and;
- contributing to the economic growth of the country and finally, ensuring effective programme implementation through monitoring and evaluation (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 21).

Key differences between the 1998 and 2010 White Paper is that emphasis is now placed on aspects such as sport tourism, sport for peace and development, sport and the environment as well as the development of code of ethics in sport the promotion of no drugs and transformation (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 40). These “critical areas” are important to note as previously they were not included in the policy framework of the department of sport and recreation. They illustrate the shifts in policy as well as new priorities in sport and recreation that has risen in the last decade. It’s not only the inclusion of new priorities but also the definition of strategies, and how it is to be implemented.

An important area of concern for this particular study is the “sport for peace and development” critical area which is now addressed in the SRSA White Paper, as it was noted before that thus far there has been a lack of policy on sport for development in South Africa. In the new 2010 White Paper, SRSA has noted that to fully harness the potential of sport for development and peace initiatives, it should be integrated into national policies, investments and institutional capacity must be put in place to permit programmes to be scaled up nationally and sport and recreation should be utilised as a tool to reduce crime and violence, (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 45). SRSA has committed to integrate ideas in sport and recreation policy and to implement sport for development ideas into national sport and recreation policy.

3.3.5 Significance to change in policy

Worldwide, sport strategies are focused on increasing levels of sport and recreation participation as well as achieving success in high profile sports (Coalter, 2008). This is also reflected in the vision of SRSA's 2010 White Paper, namely to be "an Active and Winning Nation" (SRSA, 2010:17).

According to the SRSA White Paper "through its endeavours to create an active and winning nation, SRSA expresses firm commitment to do whatever it takes to have a significant and positive impact on the entire South African nation, including efforts to enhance inclusive citizenship and nation building. Despite the delivery of sport and recreation in all spheres of Government, all of the actions and initiatives will be optimally integrated and coordinated for maximum impact. Delivery will be in partnership with civil society," (SRSA, 2010: 17).

In the 2010 White Paper it was recognised that it would remain a paper exercise if it was not implemented and if there was not a conscious effort to implement policy built on the commitment from a variety of stakeholders including government, NGOs, the private sector and South African society in general (SRSA, 2010: 12). To ensure this, it was undertaken in the White Paper to develop a national sport plan to give flesh to policy directives.

In April 2011, SRSA released a draft framework for a National Sport and Recreation Plan (on) which encompasses a framework for increasing levels of participation in sport and recreation, as well as achieving success in high-profile sports. The framework further focused on enablers required for these two focus areas and a successful sport system. The National Sports Plan which sets out a number of practical targets, suggests that a serious attempt is being made to implement policy objectives' a key difference from the 1998 White Paper (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 6).

It is further significant that the 2010 White Paper was drafted in the same year that the 2010 FIFA World Cup was hosted in South Africa. The build up to the event created an opportunity for SRSA to establish new policy as well as to define strategies and objectives that were realistic in terms of current national priorities and global influences. The emphasis on making South Africa a "winning nation" may have come as a result of the country's increased desire to host sport mega-events and might have also been influenced by the country's recent poor performance record in the international sporting arena. The emphasis

on an “active nation” is also significant because of South Africa’s long standing history of development through sport initiatives. Because of the recent growth of the sport for development field and many countries as well as sporting federations including sport for development initiatives in their activities, it was necessary for South Africa to include this in its sports policy. This was also due to the global platform and reach that comes with the hosting of events such as the World Cup.

The significance of the SRSA 2010 White Paper can also be found in the change in the department’s thinking. Before, it was believed that sport could be used for the purpose of national unity and creating a new society, now the SRSA believes that there is substantial evidence to show that sport has the ability to overcome social barriers and to empower individuals. Thus under the goals of the 2010 White Paper’s “active nation” theme, the value of sport and recreation as a social connector is regarded as one of its most powerful development attributes. Community sport and recreation networks are thus seen as important sources of social networking, helping to combat exclusion and to foster communities’ capacities to work collectively to realise opportunities and address challenges (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 21).

Sport can help to increase social cohesion, and provide opportunities for engagement in community life through voluntary work (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 22). The SRSA believes that well-designed sport and physical activity programmes are powerful tools for fostering healthy child and individual development, teaching positive values and life skills, reducing conflict and criminal behaviour, strengthening education and preventing disease (particularly HIV and AIDS). These programmes are also believed to help empower and promote the inclusion of marginalised groups, especially women, the youth, rural and people with disabilities (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 22). In this emphasis, the 2010 White Paper appears heavily influenced by thinking prevalent in the sport for development field.

3.4 Sport for development within the South African context

Although numerous organisations have developed and implemented sport for development programmes in South Africa, in the early democratic years most programmes that promoted development through sport and recreation activities were included under the objectives of the national department of sport (Burnett, 2009). Sport for development has been an aspect of

sport and recreation policy as suggested above. Implicitly, much of South Africa's sport policy has been informed by similar principles as those present in the sport for development field, however, there has thus far been little explicit implementation of those principles in the South African context. In addition the sport for development sector in South Africa has significantly been shaped by the involvement of external actors such as international NGOs in the past. In this part of the chapter the aim is to illustrate the close match between broader sport for development objectives and those of South Africa's sport and recreation policy. There's also a discussion of the role of external players in South Africa's sport for development sector, commencing with a review of the international sport for development framework as has been shaped by processes within the UN system.

3.4.1 Sport for development and the aims of SRSA

Broadly the objectives of South Africa's sport and recreation policy and the objectives of the sport for development field have some commonalities – both ultimately using sport to achieve greater objectives regarding the development of individuals, communities and society as a whole. According to Coalter (2009: 58), sport-for-development projects can be classified under two broad approaches. "Sport plus" programmes give primacy to the development of sustainable sports organisations and programmes whilst sport is also used to address a number of broader social issues such as gender equity and HIV/AIDS education. "Plus sport" programmes give primacy to social and health programmes where sport is used to achieve some of their objectives such as HIV/AIDS education, and much more ambitiously behaviour changes which are more important than the longer term sustainable development of sport (Coalter, 2009: 58). Thus one can observe that while in some sport for development initiatives like the "sports plus" programmes, emphasis is placed on sport, those initiatives are also used for further development, like the "plus sport" initiatives.

In the DSR's 1998 White Paper, the following definitions were given to sport and recreation:

Sport may be defined as any activity that requires a significant level of physical involvement and in which participants engage in either a structured or unstructured environment for the purpose of declaring a winner, though not solely so; or purely for relaxation, personal satisfaction, physical health, emotional growth and development.

‘Recreation’ was defined as “a guided process of voluntary participation in any activity which contributes to the improvement of general health, well-being and the skill of both the individual and society” (DSR White Paper, 1998: 3).

The DSR further noted the most important role of sport, at that time being its ability to foster national unity. According to the DSR the impact of sport and recreation extended beyond the confines of participation to many other spheres of life like health, education, economy, crime, nation-building and international relations (DSR White Paper, 1998: 3).

According to Burnett (2010: 47), sport in South Africa has been increasingly viewed as a vehicle to address political objectives in terms of contributing to social cohesion, enhancing health for all, improving international relations, enhancing peace, development, tourism, human empowerment, the development of infrastructure and the hosting of sports mega-events (SRSA, 2010). Sport for development programmes and initiatives use sports and related physical activities to address social issues in communities by not only providing sporting activities but also educational activities that ultimately are intended to aid the social development process of societies in need. The sport and recreation policy on the other hand has aimed at achieving objectives that include addressing social ills, providing sports facilities and equipment to those disadvantaged before. Moreover, the DSR aimed to develop sport in general in South Africa but also to provide recreational activities that aim to get everyone participating, thus the notion of “getting the nation to play.” Finally, the department of sport and recreation also believed that ultimately sport and recreation activities could benefit all South Africans by building the nation, creating unity and also initiating the creation and development of a new South African society. Although sport for development has been an espoused value of sport and recreation, it has seen little concrete implementation by the government.

3.4.2 External actors in sport for development South Africa

The sport for development sector in the country has been defined by the involvement of external actors. This is due to several NGOs and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) implementing programmes and the methods they have used to achieve the objectives of the programmes. As discussed in greater detail in chapter four such actors affected the field of sport for development in South Africa through the establishment with

partnerships with local entities, the use of particular arrangements and by involving the private sector. South Africa is not unique in this regard; internationally there is a strong trend in many developing countries that more often than not it is external actors that dominate the sport for development field, even if it is governments that place greater importance on sport for development and its use in societal transformation. Moreover, within the UN system, specific processes of institutionalisation have had profound influences on the international sport for development field. The field in South Africa have been affected by these processes. This is evident, both in the growth of sport for development initiatives as well as recent changes in policy frameworks.

In South Africa there are currently over 40 sport for development programmes and initiatives listed (as listed on the International Platform for Sport and Development) (Levermore, 2009) that the majority of these programmes and initiatives have been both organised and implemented by foreign actors as is evidenced, in table 3.2 (Appendix 1) including those of foreign agencies and foreign governments like the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ); INGOs such as streetfootballworld; and sporting federations initiatives such as the FIFA Football for Hope movement. Additionally, in recent years there has been an increase in partnerships and cooperation between SRSA and external actors on sport for development initiatives. This part of the chapter mainly aims to discuss the sport for development sector in South Africa with a focus on the influence of foreign actors on the field. It paves the way for a more extensive analysis in chapter four regarding the sport for development initiatives developed during the 2010 FIFA World Cup period.

Since the declaration of the International Year for Sport and Physical Education by the UN in 2005, and the appointment of an Inter-Agency Task Force to promote the systematic and coherent use of sport-in-development activities, sport for development projects have proliferated in developing countries (UN, 2005). The sport for development field has thus been spurred on by the UN and its SDP resolution (UN, 2005) - ultimately encouraging states to develop initiatives that use sport as a tool for development. South Africa is no less encouraged. In 2006, the South African Deputy Minister of Sport and Recreation acknowledged UNESCO's leadership in addressing 'wellness and development.' He pledged the government's commitment to 'massifying participation in sport and recreation' (Burnett, 2010: 45). Given the government's stated commitment to the UN agenda on sport for development, as well as SRSA's recent activities in drafting a White Paper (SRSA, 2010) that

includes strategic objectives around sport for development initiatives, South Africa has undertaken to implement the objectives of this field more concretely. This has been under the influence and guidance of the UN.

In the formulation of the SRSA White Paper draft (2010: 14), cognisance was taken of the strategic environment in which sport and recreation is delivered both in South Africa as well as globally. For SRSA, that strategic environment included the UN stance on sport and recreation, which included factors such as sport being viewed and accepted as a fundamental right, the achievement of the MDGs and goals informing the SDP field. As a signatory to the MDGs, South Africa has recognised that sport and physical activity have globally gained recognition as simple, low-cost, and effective means of achieving development goals. Thus SRSA will continue to use sport and recreation as a mechanism to impact on the achievement of the MDGs (White Paper, 2010: 14). In the field of SDP “sport, at the elite and community level, is increasingly being used in a wide variety of ways and to enhance peace within, and between nations” (SRSA White Paper, 2010: 15). One of the strategic initiatives that SRSA commits itself to in the 2010 White Paper is to use sport and recreation as a tool to promote promoting development and peace in close collaboration with other national departments (White Paper, 2010: 15).

South Africa makes a unique case for the study of the sport for development field due to its history of sport and recreation activities used for social change in the post-apartheid period. According to Hoglund and Sundberg (2008: 806), “the government has explicitly linked sports to development and reconciliation... however, there have also been initiatives by local and international NGOs to build capacity at the community level. In the early post-apartheid period the then DSR implemented programmes such as Siyadlala and the School Sport Mass Participation Programme (SSMPP) in conjunction with other private and public actors. During the time when the South African government set itself the task of redressing past inequalities by funding infrastructures in the disadvantaged areas, introducing sport development programmes and initiatives, and prioritizing the funding of elite competitive sport to be utilised for nation-building and international prestige, countries such as Britain and Australia were key allies to assist in the restructuring and development of sports development programmes and the training of human resources to facilitate sports development at the grassroots level (Burnett, 2002:180). There has thus been a long history of external involvement in the sport and recreation activities in South Africa.

In recent years, however, there has been a significant increase of external actors playing a role in the South African sport for development sector, many of them implementing their programmes and initiatives in the country's disadvantaged communities, and thus becoming main drivers of the sport for development movement in South Africa. According to Burnett (2010: 53), the global recognition for the role of sport in development work has gained prominence in developing countries. More and more developing countries have begun to recognise that sport can be used as a tool for a variety of developmental objectives, thus in the last decade many new organisations and initiatives have been established. In South Africa, as well as the African continent the growth of this movement came in part from the work and influence of external actors such as the UN as previously illustrated, foreign organisations (governmental and non-governmental), as well as foreign governments providing funding towards sport for development initiatives. An example is the Kicking AIDS Out network, an initiative of the Edusport foundation (a Zambian sports NGO) which is supported by NORAD (the Norwegian Olympic Development Agency) and the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF). The Kicking AIDS Out network has grown to become an international network of organisations rallying around the power of sport to effect positive change in communities. The Network was established in Nairobi, Kenya in 2001 via the platform created by the successful MYSA programme. Partners of this network include NGOs of the UK, Canada, Kenya, Botswana, Namibia, Fiji and South Africa among others (Kicking Aids Out, 2009).

A further noteworthy sport for development initiative by external actors has been the Peace Players International (PPI) organisation, founded in 2001. PPI is an organisation that uses basketball to bring children together and teach them tactics for improving their communities. PPI currently operates in South Africa, Northern Ireland, Israel and the West Bank and Cyprus. PPI- South Africa is an independent registered charity (non-profit organisation) in South Africa that uses basketball to help young people of Kwa-Zulu Natal overcome threats such as HIV/AIDS and a lack of viable educational and employment opportunities (Peace Players International, 2011).

A further sport for development initiative by external actors implemented in South Africa has been the Africaid Whizzkids United initiative. Africaid is an HIV children's charity established in the UK in 2002. In 2003 Africaid funded and built a youth sports centre/ HIV

clinic in northern Ghana, and in 2005 Africaid developed Whizzkids United – an approach that uses football to teach life skills to young people and about HIV prevention. In 2006 Whizzkids United launched in Edendal, Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa in 2008. Africaid became a programme partner of FIFA’s Football for Hope movement and has partnered with Kwa-Zulu Natal governmental departments to roll out more programmes (Africaid Whizzkids United, 2009).

Recently, one of the ways that SRSA has been involved in sport for development initiatives has been via forming partnership with external actors such as INGOs (for example, the Whizzkids United initiative with Africaid partnering up with the Kwa-Zulu Natal sport and recreation department) or foreign governments forming partnerships with the SRSA or implementing their own programmes and initiatives in South Africa. The GTZ has in particular begun to play a more dynamic role with its cooperation and partnership with the SRSA in promoting and implementing the YDF programme. Also, external actors become involved with local and provincial government departments. This is an important means of these external actors to gain access to local communities at the grassroots level (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

Foreign actors enter South Africa with their own sport for development programmes and operations including staff members and by way of offering internships in the programme to foreign students as part of their university course (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Moreover, the sport for development field in South Africa has been shaped by foreign actors in that much of the funding for these kinds of programmes come from foreign funding, many of the INGOs receiving funding from international development agencies and their country’s resources (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). Thus there is a trend not only in South Africa but in other developing countries where INGOs have been increasingly establishing their sport for development initiatives and through partnerships with local and other international actors.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to illustrate the sport and development field in the South African context. Through the review of the historical role of sport in the country as well as the many facets of the country’s’ sport and recreation policy, the chapter has illustrated that the idea of

“sport for change” has ultimately come from South Africa’s past. This was via sports role in the apartheid period especially during the international sports boycott, as well as the early post-apartheid period, where sport was used as a tool for national unity and as a vehicle for transformation. Further, the chapter aimed to illustrate the historical evolution of the sport for development sector within the South African sport and recreation context – development through sport activities having mainly come from the national level and its policies but also due to the role played by external actors. The chapter therefore reviewed the evolution of the involvement of external actors in the South African sport for development sector and concluded that they have been and continue to be the main drivers and implementers in the field.

Chapter 4: Sport for development initiatives during the 2010 World Cup: patterns and implications

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the different sport for development initiatives implemented during the 2010 World Cup period (before and during the event), their world cup operations' objectives and aims, and the types of partnerships that were formed towards the implementation of these initiatives. The chapter further examines the impacts and obstacles faced by actors in the implementation of such initiatives. Finally, the chapter explores the ramifications of World Cup initiatives for the wider sport for development landscape in South Africa. One of the most notable factors of the FIFA 2010 World Cup period was that there was a significant increase of sport for development initiatives. There was also a diverse group of public and private actors involved in the organizing and implementing of such initiatives. The World Cup provided a unique platform for many development initiatives to tackle a variety of "social issues" in South Africa such as "poverty, inequality, the impact of HIV and AIDS and continuing racial tensions" (Cornelissen, 2010: 510). Many of the sport for development initiatives that were implemented at the time thus had similar objectives and aims – to implement and showcase how sport could be used as a tool for development, to create awareness of sport for development organisations and initiatives, and to take advantage of the strategic opportunity and platform of the World Cup. A further trend noted during this study was the growth of institutional arrangements and partnerships in the sport for development sector. Partnerships were developed with many in sport for development viewing the partnership route as a key vehicle in the development process. As a result, the aim of this chapter is to explore the different sport for development initiatives observed during the 2010 World Cup period, their World Cup operations, objectives and aims and reasons for building particular partnerships for the implementation of initiatives.

The chapter structure has three parts. Firstly, broad descriptions of the sport for development initiatives implemented during the 2010 World Cup are provided. Some of the main forms of programmes and levels of operation of the sport for development initiatives are discussed. The second part of the chapter discusses the main objectives and aims of the programmes; the activities and processes that took place, and some of the expected outcomes. That part of the

chapter further looks at the obstacles that many of the initiatives encountered. A concluding section presents a summary of findings and a discussion of the long term impacts on the sport for development agenda in the post-world cup period.

4.2 Descriptions of programmes

The wide variety of sport for development initiatives implemented during the 2010 FIFA World Cup came in a number of forms, the operations and objectives of the initiatives were different, yet similar in a number of ways. Some of the programmes were developed on an international scale (implemented continent-wide), while other programmes were developed on a national level (implemented nationally) or on a community-based level (implemented for and in specific communities). Moreover, the sport for development initiatives were different in the types of partnerships that formed them, some via multiple partners – such as SRSA, FIFA, South African provincial sport departments, foreign governments, INGOs and local organisations.

Thus distinct levels of operation could be observed in the different sport for development initiatives during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. While several large-scale projects developed by FIFA and multiple partners were intended to generate impact beyond South Africa to the remainder of the African continent, they were further accompanied by national-level initiatives. Some others, particularly those run by domestic NGOs or CBOs were small in scale and capacity and locally focused (Cornelissen, 2011: 510-511).

Table 4.1 (as shown in Appendix 2) details the range of sport for development initiatives implemented as well as the specific programmes that were interviewed as part of this study.

4.2.1. FIFA Football for Hope Centre, Khayelitsha

One of the key sport for development campaigns during the 2010 FIFA World Cup that had a purpose of building a lasting social legacy was the FIFA Football for Hope Movement. The campaign intended to create a social legacy not only for the host country but also the broader African continent. Under the Football for Hope Movement, many projects were initiated by FIFA while others were directed by the football federation but implemented by local actors. One of the FIFA-directed initiatives was the “20 Centres for 2010” campaign, the aim of

which was to achieve positive social change through football. Under this initiative the intention was to build 20 Football for Hope Centres for public health, education and football across the African continent. Five of these Centres were to be constructed in South Africa, and the first of the 20 was opened in the township of Khayelitsha in Cape Town in December 2009 (Government Communication and Information System, 2010: 1). To date Football for Hope Centres has been built in Khayelitsha, Cape Town; Baguineda, Bamako, Mali; Mathare, Nairobi, Kenya; Windhoek, Namibia; and Maseru, Lesotho. Moreover, Football for Hope Centres currently under construction are Centres in the Cape Coast of Ghana; Kigali, Rwanda; Qwa Qwa, Free State South Africa; and Alexandra, South Africa (FIFA, 2011).

The overall objective of Football for Hope Centres is to “promote social development within the community and (to) strengthen local organisations (the ‘Centre Hosts’) with vital infrastructure” (FIFA, 2010). FIFA’s main partner under the movement was Streetfootballworld. They selected and collaborated with centre hosts (local organisations managing the centre). The aim of the programme was to develop elements for all Football for Hope Centres to be adapted and implemented according to local needs. This depended on community involvement and the fostering of ownership and partnerships with selected international organisations and companies to ensure long-term sustainable development for the Centres (Open Architecture Network, 2010).

The Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre came about through an application by the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) to the City of Cape Town for Khayelitsha to be the area selected for a centre. Due to the many social issues plaguing Khayelitsha, the City identified it as an important community to receive the Football for Hope Centre (Interview, Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Grassrootsoccer, a sport for development INGO based in South Africa, was then identified to host the Centre (Interview, Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Grassrootsoccer thus plays a key role in managing the Centre, running the programmes, and ensuring community involvement and ownership. The Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre contract is a three-way agreement between the main stakeholders, Grassrootsoccer and Streetfootballworld and the City of Cape Town. Grassrootsoccer’s mandate is to run the Centre so that through the use of football, health education is promoted. The City of Cape Town’s obligation is to oversee the project and help with particular areas such as insurance and maintenance while, for its part Streetfootballworld should ensure that the Centre and Grassrootsoccer do what it’s supposed to do (Interview, Grassrootsoccer, 2

November 2010). The Centre will act as a dedicated space for Grassrootsoccer to carry out its HIV/AIDS awareness programmes and to equip football coaches and others working with children with the tools to promote life skills and health awareness (FIFA, 2010).

4.2.2 Youth Development through Football

The YDF project has its roots in the 2006 FIFA World Cup. It was launched in South Africa in 2007 and will run until 2012. The project is part of the institutional cooperation that arose between South Africa and Germany after the 2006 World Cup and is funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). It is implemented by the GTZ (now known as the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit [GIZ]). The main South African partner of the project is SRSA. The project currently operates in all nine provinces of South Africa and also in nine other African countries (Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Swaziland, and Zambia) (Youth Development through Football, 2011). According to Stofile (2010), YDF presented an opportunity to intensify and expand the work government has already undertaken with various sectors of society to ensure the achievement of strategic priorities. YDF is thus a football project aimed at the development of South African youth, the project aims to support socially disadvantaged boys and girls and shape them positively. By utilizing the popularity of football, the YDF project seeks to promote youth and community development in economically disadvantaged communities and to afford boys and girls the opportunity to receive education and enhance their skills (Burnett, 2010: 36).

While the national partner of the YDF project is SRSA (who jointly defines and decides on the project initiatives with the GIZ), the co-funding partners of YDF are the European Union and the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. The GIZ also works closely with South African provincial departments of arts and culture, sport and recreation and municipalities around the country. Moreover, the GIZ works with local and international NGOs in South Africa, who are viewed as collaborating partners of the projects because they implement and integrate the YDF project and courses into their own local programmes (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011).

4.2.3 Green Goal 2010

Green Goal 2010, an initiative developed primarily for the duration of the 2010 World Cup, was initially conceived from the 2006 FIFA World Cup Action Plan. After numerous workshops and discussion forums held in 2008, the City of Cape Town and a range of stakeholders identified key priorities for the project⁵ (Green Goal, 2010). As an outflow, the City of Cape Town launched its Green Goal Action Plan in 2008 with 41 projects – some of which related to the World Cup and some not⁶ (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). Cape Town's 2010 World Cup greening programme had the following aims:

- To raise awareness of environmental issues;
- To minimise world cup waste;
- To diversify and use energy efficiently during the world;
- To consume water sparingly;
- To compensate for the event's carbon footprint;
- to practice responsible tourism and;
- to construct infrastructure with future generations in mind (Green Goal action plan, 2010).

⁵ NGOs, business, civil society, the media, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, the 2010 Local Organising Committee, the City of Cape Town and the Provincial Government

⁶ List of projects: 1. Energy efficiency and climate change: Determining the carbon footprint of the 2010 Event; Identifying and implementing carbon mitigation project(s) in Cape Town/Western Cape; Installation of energy-efficient technologies in stadia and training venues, and at the FIFA Fan Fest and PVAs. 2. Water Conservation: Identifying alternative sources of water for irrigation of Green Point Common, and implementing most feasible option; Installation of water-saving devices in stadia (Cape Town, Athlone and Philippi) and training venues. 3. Integrated Waste Management: Operational waste minimisation in stadia, the FIFA Fan Fest™, PVAs and training venues in the run-up to and during the event; Green Goal branding of recycling bins and waste minimisation signage; Recycling drop-off centres in the CBD and on the Atlantic seaboard. 4. Transport, Mobility and Access: Development of bicycle and pedestrian facilities; Development of public transport infrastructure; CBD bicycle services; Eco-taxis/fuel-efficiency programme. 5. Landscaping and Biodiversity: Indigenous gardening training programme for Green Point Park staff; Biodiversity showcase garden at Green Point Park; Student landscape design competition for Mouille Point beachfront and promenade; City beautification and tree-planting campaign. 6. Green building and Sustainable Lifestyles: Smart Living Centre in Green Point Park City; Undertaking and monitoring green review for Cape Town and Athlone stadia; 2010 Green Goal volunteer training module; Green Goal soccer club competition; Soccer and environment educational poster and guide; Green Goal short films; Anti-littering and waste recycling campaign; "Drink tap water" campaign; Green procurement for 2010 events; Greening of 2010 events. 7. Responsible Tourism: Code of responsible conduct for visitors; Responsible-tourism awareness and training; Environmental certification system for accommodation sector: GreenStaySA; Smart Events Handbook. 8. Green Goal Communications: Green Goal workshop series 1 and 2; Green Goal brand development and activation; Briefing for potential Green Goal funders; Green Goal marketing and communications plan and roll-out; Green Goal ambassadors; Green Goal website and online resources; Online press resources and materials Green Goal expo; Green Goal 2010 awards. 9. Monitoring, Measuring and Reporting: Procedures and methodologies; Targets and baseline studies; Annual reports and legacy report. (Green Goal legacy report, 2011: 46-48)

The initiative had three overriding aims. Green Goal 2010 wanted to make sure they lowered the impact of the event on the environment so to reduce resources and resource-use. Another objective was to leverage the platform of the World Cup to increase awareness among a large sector of society. Third, the aim was to leave a positive environmental legacy. Initiatives “to green” Cape Town stadium and the Greenpoint Park, officially launched in February 2011, are examples in this regard (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). Greenpoint Park, built on the western edge of Greenpoint Common and the Cape Town Stadium was designed according to ecological principles. It has a biodiversity garden showcasing the indigenous vegetation of the region as well as ponds and wetlands with spring water from the slopes of Table Mountain. Moreover future development projects for the legacy park include a Smart Living Centre to promote sustainable living in an urban environment (Green Goal legacy report, 2011: 31). The intention was to effect positive environmental, social and economic legacies beyond the World Cup.

From the perspective of Green Goal’s implementers, the 2010 World Cup offered the City Cape Town an opportunity to sensitise the local and international football communities and fans to environmental issues (Green Goal, 2010). The main partners of the Green Goal 2010 project included Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS - the facilitating partner), Sustainable Energy Africa and South African Pulp and Paper Industries (SAPPI) – whom were called Green Goal contributors. Green Goal also had a specific project with South African Petroleum Industry Association (SAPIA) who sponsored the eco-driving project (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). The implementation of the project was the ultimate responsibility of the City of Cape Town while KAS’s role was as facilitator (Interview KAS, 15 November 2011).

4.2.4 Amandla EduFootball

Amandla EduFootball is a recognised German and South African non-profit organisation. The programme was created in 2006 and in the first year (2007) it had 10 residential childcare facilities around Cape Town participating in a co-educational soccer league and engaged in life-skill activities. Amandla provides educational football programmes to children and youth in Cape Town, identified as being at risk. Using football as a tool to educate children and provide a variety of life-skills, Amandla strives to create young leaders and role models who influence their peers in a positive way (Amandla Edufootball, 2010).

During the 2010 FIFA World Cup period, Amandla implemented a new project called the Ikamvalethu Cup 2010 where they ran five-a-side football tournaments for six different age groups. They reached out to more than 2000 youth during the world cup period (Amandla Edufootball, 2010). In this particular project, each participating team had to represent a nation participating in the 2010 World Cup tournament the aim being to enable youth to learn educational facts about the nations they represented. Further objectives of the project were to build strong partnerships with the Local Football Association in Khayelitsha and the local community in order to raise the chances of a successful tournament. A final objective of the project was to use the exposure the 2010 World Cup provided to create awareness of the organisation and its projects and to secure new funding (Edufootball, 2010: 2). The 2010 project only operated in Cape Town, focusing on Khayelitsha. Amandla has partnerships with 38 children's homes in Cape Town that have teams that regularly participate in the organisation's programmes but for the World Cup programme, many new teams were invited to participate. The 2010 programme ran throughout the World Cup period, thus running like a world cup tournament itself (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011).

The strategic partners of the Amandla Edufootball organisation are the UN Office on Sport for Development and Peace; the CTC Ten Foundation; streetfootballworld; Coaching for Hope and the International Platform on Sport and Development. The funding and technical partners of the organisation include: FIFA Football for Hope movement; INAPA Group; Soccer shots; Empower Foundation; Olaf Heine; GameDuell and many others (Amandla Edufootball, 2010). During the 2010 project however, Amandla EduFootball ran the tournament in partnership with CTC Ten represented by the Chris Campbell Memorial Field (CCMF) Project Team and with the Local Football Association and community of Khayelitsha. Other partners that covered portions of event expenses included Investec, a few German corporations as well as FIFA, the latter through its sponsorship of the Football for Hope programme. Thus the 2010 project was primarily built from partnerships of the corporate sector.

4.2.5 Summary

In sum, during the 2010 World Cup period there were a variety of types of sport for development initiatives developed. Some programmes and partnerships were implemented on

a macro - international level, others developed on a national level and some developed as community-based initiatives.

The sport for development initiatives taking place on an international or supra-national level were developed between national governments, the national sports ministry, and either an international sport federation such as FIFA or an international organisation such as the UN. Initiatives formed at this level were projects initiated in many countries or continent-wide like in the case of FIFA's 2010 Centres for 2010 campaign. Because of the large scale of the initiative, large sums of funding and many stakeholders are involved.

In another level of operation, sport for development initiatives were developed on a national or intergovernmental level, where partnerships were established between national sport ministries, foreign donors including foreign governments and/or INGOs. These types of initiatives further included provincial or local government departments as well as local NGOs, however, the main partners or stakeholders were often governmental actors. An example of the latter is the YDF project. Other stakeholders included the private sector as well as local NGOs. Another example of this type of partnership was the Green Goal 2010 initiative.

Finally, the last level of operation observed in sport for development initiatives were programmes established at the local level, through which initiatives were developed between international NGOs and community based organisations. These arrangements often become necessary for the international organisations as they are able to reach local communities much easier via the local NGO. As noted in recent years there have been an increasing number of INGOs coming to developing countries and establishing sport for development projects. The YDF and Amandla Edufootball projects are examples of that phenomenon.

4.3 2010 World Cup sport for development programmes aims, processes and activities

A prevailing theme that arose from the interviews were that many of the sport for development initiatives that were created and implemented in the time of the 2010 World Cup was used as a platform for specific purposes and strategic aims and objectives. Many of these aims were centred on making full use of the event to not only promote the cause of sport for development but also create awareness of particular projects. The platform the

World Cup provided also gives the sport for development organisations and initiatives an opportunity to gain support from new stakeholders, such as funders in the form of commercial sponsors or international organisations. Some initiatives were developed however, with the purpose of building on development programmes or schemes formed during previous World Cups such as FIFA and its Football for Hope “20 Centres for 2010” campaign.

Prior existing initiatives such as those established by Amandla Edufootball gained momentum from the 2010 World Cup. The aim of the organisation’s activities, which included a football tournament that played out for the period of the 2010 World Cup, was to use the exposure the event provided to create awareness of the organisation and existing programmes, and to establish new partnerships. “All actors involved in this sector wanted to take advantage of the World Cup as there was so much focus on South Africa at that time” (Florian Zech, Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). Amandla Edufootball’s also had a specific World Cup project which sought to build strong partnerships with the Local Football Association and the community in Khayelitsha. By strengthening those relationships and partnerships, the intention was to boost existing programmes and to increase the number of participants (Amandla Edufootball: 2010). The 2010 World Cup was thus viewed as a good opportunity to further the objectives of the organisation.

In the “Green Goal 2010” campaign, an initiative specifically implemented for the 2010 World Cup period, the City of Cape Town implemented the programme with the main aim of reducing the total carbon footprint of the event. This was to be achieved by incorporating sustainable development principles into every aspect of the event (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). The City of Cape Town also sought to create a basis for a far more environmentally friendly South Africa after the tournament. As noted, Green Goal had three main objectives as well as intended outcomes for the event. A Green Goal action plan was designed for the event that listed more than 40 different projects intended to ensure that events around the World Cup were environmentally conscious. Projects included the use of activities in:

- dry and wet waste bin systems around stadiums and fanparks;
- the promotion of waste separation and recycling;
- raising awareness regarding environmental concerns;

- the minimising of waste;
- diversifying and using energy efficiently;
- consuming water sparingly;
- compensating for the event's carbon footprint and;
- practicing responsible tourism and constructing infrastructure with future generations in mind (Green Goal legacy report, 2011).

Under the FIFA Football for Hope project, FIFA aimed to build on previous development initiatives implemented during previous world cups' (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2011). A model used by FIFA in the past was to run a charity campaign to generate funds. Some of that money then went to a chosen organisation. During the 2006 World Cup the project that was developed in that way was called "6 Villages," and all the money raised during a fundraising campaign went to the SOS Children's Villages (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). It has thus become part of FIFA's CSR mandate to establish or initiate a social development legacy from the World Cup. The Football for Hope "20 Centres for 2010" campaign established during the 2010 FIFA World Cup was meant to be an initiative that created social development opportunities and ensured that a long term, sustainable legacy was put in place once the event came to end. The idea behind the 2010 Centres for 2010 campaign was to raise enough money during the event to build 20 Football for Hope Centres all around the African continent.

The objectives of the Football for Hope Centre were to use football activities in order to boost teach the importance of children's health and to bolster education (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). The activities implemented in the Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre included holiday programmes for the youth, community football leagues as well as educational programmes at the centre on reading, HIV/AIDS and good health. In addition, Grassrootsoccer, the host NGO implemented a number of other activities at the centre including schools visiting programmes and a referral programme, where children get more information about educational opportunities and can receive counselling (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

The YDF project, a football project aimed at the development of South African youth, has its roots in the 2006 FIFA World Cup and its associated social legacy project. It formed part of

the institutional football between South Africa and Germany (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011). The programme, which continues until 2010, has an objective to drive a 'legacy programme' in commemoration of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. According to Thulani Mahlangu (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011), a YDF project made opportunity of the appeal of the 2010 World Cup, since football is a popular sport, particularly within disadvantaged communities. YDF took advantage of the popularity of football in order to access young people and to execute their programme. Their main aim was to transfer skills, knowledge and information through the medium of football (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011). SRSA, the institutional partner of GIZ saw the YDF project as complementary to the work done by SRSA. Also in terms of the agreement made with the GIZ, they would provide assistance to SRSA where national sport and recreation projects were lacking (Interview SRSA, 11 May 2011). The YDF project, and many of the other sport for development initiatives, were therefore formed for a variety of reasons. More often than not, to make proper use of the strategic opportunity of the event itself and to create awareness of their activities, new initiatives were undertaken.

The target groups of the programmes were more often than not the youth, however, in terms of creating awareness of the programmes, a variety of stakeholders were also targeted for funding, capacity support and resources. In certain programmes like the Green Goal 2010 initiative, the target groups were all South Africans. These included people attending the World Cup matches and the people watching the World Cup events through various media forums (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). In the case of the Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre, the ultimate target group of the initiative were the youth. Khayelitsha is a district suffering from many social ills including unemployment, poverty, effects of crime and disease, and a lack of housing, where over a quarter of the population are aged between ten and fourteen, and young people in the community are often both the perpetrators and victims of criminal acts (City of Cape Town, 2006). These disadvantaged young people were the target group for Grassrootsoccer, the implementing partner for the Centre. Grassrootsoccer aimed to conduct HIV/AIDS awareness programmes, and to equip football coaches and others working with children with the tools to promote life skills and health awareness (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Furthermore, Amandla EduFootball provides educational football programmes to youth in Cape Town. For their World Cup programme, activities were directed at youth in residential care and disadvantaged communities. Using football as a tool to educate children and to provide a

variety of life-skills, Amandla strives to create young leaders and role models who influence their peers in a positive way (Edufootball: 2011).

4.4 Developing partnerships among different types of organisations

An important finding in this study has been that many of the sport for development initiatives were developed and implemented via institutional arrangements and partnerships, which for many of the implementing organisations, is a preferred vehicle for the development process. As a result, understanding the reasons for many of the types of partnerships developed is important. The motivations for developing partnerships vary among different types of organisations or institutions. As is clear from the interviews, these motivations range from funding; access to potential participants; lack of capacity on the part of local organisations; accessing the necessary stakeholders in skills and development; boosting cooperation with and support from other organisations; gaining outside expertise; and finally the promoting and marketing of a project. In the case of the Green Goal 2010 project, the City of Cape Town initiated and built partnerships and coordinated the networks of action necessary to ensure the aims of the Green Goal project was achieved (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). Thus for particular projects, partnerships are ultimately important for the implementation of the project.

In the case of the Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre, the idea was that the FIFA Football for Hope Movement raised money to build the centres during the 2010 World Cup through the selling of match tickets and events initiated by FIFA. The Centre host is, however, the organisation that implements the sport for development programmes at the Centre; FIFA thus chooses existing sport for development organisations for this role (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). The Centre hosts are responsible for raising 70% of the Centre's operating costs, which means that FIFA contributes a maximum of 30% of the total cost of the Centre. As a result, Grassrootsoccer has to develop partnerships especially for the purpose of funding. Currently, Grassrootsoccer receives funding from a variety of partners including corporate actors like Adidas, who is both a FIFA sponsor and a main partner of the Centre. In addition Grassrootsoccer receives funding from development agencies like USAID, which is one of the principle funders for other programmes by Grassrootsoccer, and a significant contributor to the Football for Hope programme (Interview Project Director Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Another partner that Grassrootsoccer has is the City of Cape Town's

sport and recreation department which helps pay for insurance and maintenance as well as the local Khayelitsha Development Forum. These partnerships are important as they fulfil two functions: first, they provide financial resources for local organisations; second, as in the case of the KDF, they provide a channel for international organisations to access communities with the help of local actors (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

Given the close match between the GIZ's YDF project aims and that of the SRSA's mass participation mandate focused on the "development of communities through sport", GIZ found SRSA to be a key partner in the implementation of the project. GIZ was also viewed as an important partner by local NGOs. This was significant since the national government had encountered difficulties in the past when they sought to work with those NGOs (Interview SRSA, 11 May 2011). According to Kelly Mkhonto (Interview SRSA, 11 May 2011), although SRSA has established local hubs as part of its mass participation mandate and programmes initiated at schools, SRSA was never very successful in working with local NGOs. The partnership with GIZ is now a platform by means of which SRSA could strengthen its relationship with NGO sector. Ultimately, "they as civil society understand the needs of the communities, even much better than us, sitting at national office" (Kelly Mkhonto, Interview SRSA 11 May 2011). According to then minister of Sport and Recreation Makhenkesi Stofile, the YDF project "presented an opportunity to intensify and expand the work government is already undertaking with various sectors of society to ensure that we achieve our strategic priorities" (YDF Newsletter: 2010).

During the 2010 World Cup, Amandla EduFootball ran their football tournament in partnership with American based CTC Ten represented locally by the Chris Campbell Memorial Field (CCMF) Project Team, and with the Local Football Association of Khayelitsha. A certain portion of the 2010 project was covered by South African financial bank Investec; other financial contributors were FIFA through the organisations Football for Hope Movement; and a number of German corporations. Thus many of the partnerships formed by Amandla were with the corporate sector. According to Florian Zech (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011), although Amandla Edufootball tried to get the South African corporate sector involved, it was much easier to find funds overseas for the project. In future Amandla wants to develop partnerships with the South African government because corporate actors mostly sponsor very large projects rather than smaller local initiatives. The

latter are generally viewed as not financially viable and therefore less attractive for the corporate sector (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011).

Bureaucratic blockages within the government sector were named as an additional reason by interviewees for their establishment of partnerships between international actors and local NGOs. Often, due to government processes and systems, initiatives can take lots of time before it is approved and implemented, while NGOs are viewed more flexible, with less institutional obstacles. The implementation of programmes can be thus achieved faster with NGOs.

As soon as we agree, they put systems in place. They have no constraints that we have as government. NGOs – their systems are really easy... we still have to get permission and involve other sections. They [actors such as GIZ and local NGOs] actually leave us behind and whilst we still in discussion mode, they are already in implementing mode, and when they implement you find we are caught napping – in terms of putting in proposals in shape and ensuring everyone is fully aware what really needs to happen (Kelly Mkhonto, Interview SRSA, 11 May 2011).

4.5 Discussion: implications, obstacles and outcomes

Many of the sport for development initiatives developed during the 2010 World Cup had broad aims. This part of the chapter considers the outcomes of the programmes and the obstacles that were found to hinder some of the initiatives. The discussion also reflects on the effects that institutional arrangements and partnerships had on the success or lack thereof in initiatives. In this discussion linkage is made with debates on sports impacts on social development in the literature. This part of the study also explores the significance and consequences for social development of institutional partnerships.

4.5.1 Outcomes

When considering the impacts of sport for development initiatives, there is a temporality to take in account. Given the variety of initiatives, a range of impacts and consequences can also be observed. Not only were projects active during the World Cup period, but many of them have continued after the tournament. Some of the Green Goal 2010 projects developed for the World Cup, for example, continued in the post-world cup period. The City of Cape Town had

finances committed for the project until 2010. Green Goal thus continued projects such as the biodiversity project and the showcase gardens in the Greenpoint Park and the eco-driving campaign. Moreover, the City of Cape Town and KAS published a legacy report in which early assessments were provided of the objectives and preliminary outcomes of Green Goal (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010).

For the Amandla Edufootball programme, the organisation's established programming continued when the World Cup came to an end and some other long term projects were started such as the development of football leagues (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). For the Khayelitsha Football for Hope programme, the Centre was built and the concept developed with the aim for it to exist long after the World Cup and thus to build on the event's social legacy. The Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre thus has daily programmes that include community leagues where youth play soccer. Grassrootsoccer also has their holiday programmes. Further, Grassrootsoccer planned to develop many new projects at the Centre in 2011. These include training events, reading programmes and inter-school programmes where different schools play soccer and learn at the Centre (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). In this way Grassrootsoccer has continued to link football activities with education and health programmes, the main objective of the 20 Centres for 2010 campaign.

An important outcome of the Green Goal 2010 initiative was the development of a legacy report by KAS in cooperation with the City of Cape Town and the provincial government. The legacy report was launched in July 2011, one year after the FIFA 2010 World Cup (Green Goal Legacy report, 2011). It will be used as a basis to extend the Green Goal concept and to make Cape Town's experience available to host cities of future mega-events (Interview KAS, 15 November 2010). KAS has initiated a new study that seeks answers to how sport mega-events such as the World Cup can promote sustainable development of mega-cities in developing countries (Interview KAS, 15 November 2010). This study has been rolled out in India, Brazil and Cape Town. These locations were viewed as three good sites for research on how to make mega-events more green and sustainable and catalysts for development. The intention is to produce a manual that could be used by future hosts of mega-events in the developing world (Interview KAS, 15 November 2010).

A further outcome of the 2010 World Cup was raising the awareness of sport for development among tournament visitors and the media, but also “normal” people. The event, in other words, functioned as an effective platform for awareness raising (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). Also, many new stakeholders became involved in programmes and initiatives and many people, including sport participants became aware of sport for development programmes in their communities (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). For organisations such as Amandla Edufootball this led to the fostering of new partnerships and the gaining of new donors. As noted by one of the organisation’s representatives, “At the end of the day what really counts is whose going to support us in the long term,” and make the programme sustainable (Florian Zech, Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011).

Many other initiatives gained through the forming of (new) institutional arrangements and partnerships. SRSA and the YDF project benefited from the building of sport facilities by the GIZ. Where local funders in South Africa tend to find it difficult to build facilities due to a lack of resources, partnerships can be a channel for resources. According to Kelly Mkhonto (Interview SRSA, 11 May 2011), many sport facilities are not accessible for communities. The GIZ’s project thus supports the programmes of SRSA in local communities. The Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre, and the football pitch and clubhouse linked to it, are also good examples of infrastructure being built and facilities being provided. Through initiatives such as these and the various partnerships fostered to implement the projects, positive outflows could be observed for many communities, mainly in the form of physical structures that were built and the provision of new resources (Interview SRSA, 11 May 2011). It must be noted, however, that although the building of physical structures is a positive outflow, the maintenance of the buildings can be expensive and difficult to manage and sustain (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

Institutional arrangements and partnerships that have diverse actors with different roles in the sport for development initiative can often make things easier for the implementation of the programme. In the case of Football for Hope in Khayelitsha, the Centre host, Grassrootsoccer, has various partners, some of whom are there to implement the programmes (Grassrootsoccer volunteers), some to manage the Centre (Grassrootsoccer) and some to look after the actual Centre and football pitch (City of Cape Town and the KDF). Other partners include private actors or sponsors who provide the financing for the project. Significant

funding is required to maintain the Centre and project, thus numerous sponsors are necessary (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Thus differentiation in the roles of different partners can be said to hold positive outflows for the sport for development process. It can also help ensure that social development objectives are that much closer to being achieved.

Partnerships also seem to affect capacity building. In South Africa, as in many other parts of the developing world, there is not only a scarcity of resources and physical structures in the sport for development field, but there is also a need for capacity building and skills training. Thus programmes such as the YDF can have an impact on capacity building in the country. The GIZ has a strategy where it uses NGOs for the implementation of the YDF sport for development curriculum (YDF toolkit) that contains methods on how to use sport as an educational tool. By doing this and having these partnerships with NGOs, the GIZ can be said to not only strengthen the connection between local NGOs and SRSA, but it also provides training for a greater number of people in the effective implementation of sport for development initiatives. An example of this type of partnership is the GIZ working together with the Soccer 4 Hope project in Cape Town, an NGO who implements the YDF toolkit into their own programmes (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011). Further, this particular way of doing things ensures that more people participate in sport for development programmes as well as those set up by the national sport ministry and its local departments of culture and sport (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011).

Another example is Amandla Edufootball's programme in Khayelitsha. By building partnerships with the Local Football Association and community members, Amandla was able to reach larger groups of youth in the community (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). By making the programme attractive to community members and also including them in the organisational process of the programme, Amandla was able to both gain more participants and interest in the programme as well as ensure that there programme has a support base in the community (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). For communities with many socio-economic challenges such as in Khayelitsha, building or strengthening communal ties can be said to be important for the success of a programme (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011).

In this way, partnerships between local and external players appear to be vehicles to more efficiently attain social development objectives as NGOs, those closest to the communities

are able to reach and operate in all levels of society. As Burnett (2010: 39) notes about the YDF project, “In such multilevel and diversity in stakeholder collaboration, the delivery and success of the corporation will largely be determined by the partnerships.” Thus the involvement of external players appears significant and necessary for the sustainability of programmes. Due to the contributions external players make towards the partnerships, one can observe why external players played a major role in South Africa’s sport for development landscape (as illustrated in chapter three) in earlier years and can be considered the main drivers and implementers of sport for development activities in the country. One could even go as far as saying that in order for sustainability to occur, such diversity in partnerships is necessary, especially with regards to capacity building and the expertise that a variety of stakeholders may bring to the field.

4.5.2 Obstacles

Many of the programmes faced numerous obstacles or constraints, during the World Cup period, some on a programmatic level, some in terms of the nature of the event itself, and some in terms of the partnerships formed. For Green Goal 2010, one of the biggest obstacles at the beginning was funding, especially because there was no environmental agreement contained in the host nation agreement with FIFA. Environmental and social issues were left to the host cities to deliberate on, thus the government did not provide much for these aspects of host city projects (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). Other obstacles emanated from the relationship with FIFA and the LOC. According to Lorraine Gerrans (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2011), “it was not strained but FIFA did not come out at an early stage in support of the greening project. They only launched the Green Goal logo six months before the event.” According to the KAS representative, they tried to secure FIFA’s buy-in and moral, not financial, support at an early stage of the project, but failed to do so. At first they therefore never knew whether FIFA was interested in the project or not (Interview KAS, 15 November 2010).

KAS further found “cooperation” with the World Cup LOC to be a challenge (Interview KAS, 15 November 2010). According to the KAS representative the City of Cape Town and the LOC both expressed their interest in the project, however, in the view of the organisation the LOC should have played a stronger coordinating role by promoting the Green Goal 2010 project to other host cities beyond Cape Town. Thus the relationship between the LOC and

KAS was strained at times, as responsibilities were not always clarified. In the view of the KAS representative, the German foundation could have provided more assistance for the other host cities' green projects, however their assistance was not really made use of, and that was "challenging and a little disappointing" (Interview KAS, 15 November 2010). For its part the LOC had hired a greening manager very early in the process in the build up to the World Cup. His mandate was limited, however, to 'greening' the LOC's activities, as well as those of FIFA and the federation's commercial affiliates. As part of this he provided support to the nine host cities, although his scope in this regard was fairly small (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010). Also, according to the KAS representative, it was an initial challenge to secure the buy-in of the relevant stakeholders from the city and provincial governments in the Cape Town-based project. This was because relations between the two levels of government were quite strained at the time (in 2007 there was conflict between the city and provincial government departments), a fact reflecting broader political tensions and representation by different political parties in Western Cape province (with the city led by the African National Congress, and the province under the leadership of the Democratic Alliance). However, when the Green Goal action plan was launched, the two parties came together and supported the programme (Interview Green Goal, 26 October 2010).

For the Khayelitsha Football for Hope project, "expertise" was an obstacle in terms of how to run certain projects at the Centre. "It's something we don't necessarily have, like how to organise good membership programmes and how to make kids excited about what's to come" (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Yet, Grassrootsoccer struggled to find the staff experienced enough to work at the Centre (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). A further challenge at the Centre that could possibly be solved in the long term is the "referral process of participants" (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Children frequenting the Centre often confide in the Grassrootsoccer coaches, and often about serious personal problems such as abuse or rape. This can be harrowing for the coaches, as well as the process to report incidents to the police or referring children to counselling (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Grassrootsoccer tries to deal with this by working with many applicable organisations including Doctors Without Borders (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

Another obstacle for the Khayelitsha Football for Hope project stemmed from how the 20 centres for 2010 campaign was driven by FIFA. Many people remained unaware or ill-

informed of the project, even though it was meant to be the main World Cup project for FIFA (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Also, during the same period, Sepp Blatter became involved with the 1Goal project, a global education campaign. As a result, during the World Cup, there was a lot of advertising for both Football for Hope and 1Goal, and people tended to confuse the two (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010). Also, many corporate actors and government officials paid more attention to sport for development initiatives in the build-up to the World Cup, but lost interest once the event was over (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 2 November 2010).

A further obstacle for Amandla Edufootball was in terms of partnerships and finding support for their projects. According to Florian Zech (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011), there was no government institution supporting the Amandla Edufootball project. Therefore Amandla Edufootball had to rely on foreign funding and partnerships. The problem or challenge with that however, as noted before, is that there tends to be a bias towards smaller initiatives from the private sector thus Amandla was only able to find one South African corporate sponsor while the rest were foreign donors. Amandla Edufootball is, however, attempting to develop partnerships with the South African government institutions (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011).

For YDF, challenges existed in the capacity of NGOs to implement programmes, many of them not having the institutional capacity or resource to implement programmes. In the words of the YDF representative,

YDF is not a funder... we expect that the NGO will integrate the YDF project into their own... but we find that they don't always have the institutional capacity to integrate and to implement. In these cases, however, YDF has a Grants system where we provide funds to the NGOs to build capacity in the implementation of their toolkit. (Interview GIZ, 11 May 2011)

4.5.3 Discussion

Since the 2010 FIFA World Cup was held in South Africa, emergent changes as a result of the event could be found in the sport for development field. Changes in terms of the growth and increase in sport for development initiatives and the range of stakeholders involved. Changes were also found in terms of South Africa's sport and recreation policy as national

government thinking on sport for development changed by way of sport for development being included in policy objectives (SRSA White Paper, 2010). This has ultimately had an effect on the sport for development landscape in South Africa as there is now greater recognition of the possible use of sport and sport events for development purposes. This, however, has led to questions of longevity as many of these programmes, those developed during the World Cup period, are seemingly viewed as “fly by night” initiatives due to their prime activity taking place in the period of the event (Cornelissen, 2011).

In terms of SRSA including the sport for development movement in its sport and recreation policy, this has the potential to impact the sustainability of the field. By SRSA creating strategic aims and targets for the implementation of sport for development initiatives, this could have an impact on the potential of many sport for development programmes that have recently been established. This is now due to the availability of support from the government and the sports ministry as well as opportunities for partnerships to be established between the authorities (SRSA and its departments) and the local NGOs, who are recognised as being much closer to communities and thus have better chances of addressing social issues at the grassroots level with. This potential long term impact can be observed in the example of the GIZ partnership with SRSA and the YDF project. This project ultimately makes the best of both worlds, including SRSA in its decision making process and using local NGOs to implement the projects.

Ultimately the sport for development initiatives implemented during the 2010 World Cup period was used as a strategic opportunity to create awareness of the sport for development field; to create awareness of specific projects and particular topics like environmental awareness in the case of the Green Goal 2010 campaign; and to use the platform of the event to reach new participants and stakeholders. As Levermore (2010: 229) notes, “sports programmes and events provide a natural and non-political arena where partners can meet up and therefore strengthen the interaction of business, NGOs, civil society and political institutions.” Thus a number of positive and negative outcomes were observed.

As was illustrated earlier in this study, sport for development organisations and initiatives have long existed in South Africa thus new initiatives implemented during the World Cup period may now have to compete with existing programmes. Due to the growth in the number of sport for development projects during the World Cup, competition has been found among

the organisations in order to attract participants to their projects (Interview Amandla Edufootball, 31 May 2011). More often than not programmes are implemented in disadvantaged communities and schools where children and the youth are easily accessed. Thus one finds that there are many NGOs implementing programmes in the same vicinity that often the primary goals of the initiatives gets lost in the process of competition. Also, during the 2010 World Cup period everyone wanted to take advantage of the event thus NGOs had to compete for funding, partners and participants which could then have a negative impact on the initiative as attention is not primarily on the social objectives and aims. Moreover, for this reason, the sustainability of the initiative is also questioned as not enough resources may be available in order to sustain the project.

Due to the arrangements of partnerships and the objectives of the particular initiative, at times initiatives were found to only take place in particular communities, towns or cities. This can be viewed as a good thing in certain respects, as there would be considerably more focus on that specific community and its problems, however, development is only then limited to that community. In the case of the 2010 World Cup sport for development projects, organisations or provincial departments had to initiate their own projects thus development were only limited to those communities who took advantage of the World Cup period or communities where the international organisations and sports federations like FIFA decided to implement the programme. However, here it must be noted that in the case of the Football for Hope Centre in Khayelitsha, there was a tender process whereby interested communities or local organisations were called to submit a proposal for the hosting of a Centre in their community (Interview Grassrootsoccer, 26 October 2011).

Positive outcomes can also be found. In terms of the institutional arrangements and partnerships that implemented many of the sport for development initiatives during the World Cup, certain aspects have contributed to positive outcomes. It was found that sport for development partnerships that have a diversity of actors with different roles in the initiative often makes things easier for the implementation of the programme. As was illustrated earlier with the case of Football for Hope in Khayelitsha, the roles of partners are diversified, giving each partner an opportunity to contribute a different resource toward the initiative. Thus differentiation in the roles can ensure positive outcomes for the initiative and sport for development process in terms of sustainability. It can also further contribute to ensuring that social development objectives are that much closer to being achieved.

In addition, partnerships between local and external players appear to be vehicles to more efficiently attain social development objectives as local NGOs, those closest to the communities are able to reach and operate in all levels of society. Thus through partnerships with the local NGOs and local communities as in the case of the YDF project, one can note that partnerships may be an efficient vehicle to ensure the sustainability of the project. In some cases, partnerships assist with the building of infrastructures, funding, providing expertise and building capacity in terms of skills training for local implementers of sport for development. Thus an important consequence to note of sport for development partnerships developed during the 2010 World Cup period has been the sustainability of the projects. Therefore although many questions remain regarding the long term impacts of initiatives implemented during the World Cup, the idea of “fly-by night” initiatives, one has to recognise that institutional arrangements and partnerships have the potential to contribute to the sustainability of the initiatives.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has been written as an analysis of the empirical data collected for the purpose of this study. This chapter aimed to provide broad descriptions of the sport for development initiatives implemented during the 2010 FIFA World Cup. By focusing on a particular sample of initiatives, this chapter illustrated the many similarities and differences in the aims, processes and activities of the initiatives. It was found that many of the programmes initiated during the World Cup period had similar aims such as the World Cup being viewed as a strategic opportunity and major platform to create awareness of programmes and organisations. This chapter further discussed the implications, outcomes and obstacles faced by the initiatives and implementing organisations. Many of the programmes faced numerous obstacles or constraints, during the event period, some on a programmatic level, some in terms of the nature of the event itself, and some in terms of the partnerships formed. Some of the outcomes and impacts of initiatives were found due to partnerships in that it resulted in facilities being built, made resources available and increased capacity where it may have lacked. Moreover, it was also found that differentiation in the roles of different partners can ensure positive outcomes for the initiative and social development in the sport for development process.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to revisit the main rationale for the study and the research question posed in chapter one and to reflect on the study's main outcomes. The chapter provides an overview of the context for the study, and discusses the implications of the findings for future research as well as for theoretical understandings of the role of sport in development.

5.2 Rationale

Part of the rationale for the study lay in the importance given in the international arena to the sport for development field recently. During the last decade, a significant trend could be observed with regards to the growth of the number of sport for development initiatives globally, as well as the increasing range of stakeholders involved in the field. Moreover, there was a new focus on social capital and social development in the 1990s, engendering new approaches to development and recasting development agendas of NGOs and in international institutions. Many international organisations and institutions such as the UN and its agencies began to put more emphasis on the use of sport and sport activities to initiate social change. Similarly, a growing number of traditional mainstream development NGOs started to further some of their development goals via sport (Levermore and Beacom, 2009: 2).

Although the institutionalisation of sport for development has been noteworthy over the past decade, the real transformative potential of sport for development remains largely empirically unsubstantiated, due in part to a shortage of monitoring and evaluation practices in the field. Moreover, part of the rationale of the study was due to the emphasis placed on sport for development in the build-up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup by the South African government. Before the World Cup, the South African government and the LOC made many claims about the use of sport and the mega-event for achieving various development objectives (political, economic and social goals were going to be achieved through the hosting of the event). South Africans as well as the rest of Africa were going to benefit from the event, and issues of social development were going to be addressed. In the period leading up to the tournament, the South African government, the LOC and FIFA initiated various programmes aimed at

spearheading development. This included environmental and sport for development programmes such as the Football for Hope programme, the Artificial turf programme, Win in Africa for Africa and the My 2010 School Adventure. These types of programmes were implemented on various levels (local, national, international) and were meant to provide a social legacy from the hosting of the event.

This study set out to determine whether the South African government achieved what it set out to achieve as far as effecting a positive social legacy from the World Cup, by reviewing the nature and outcomes of sport for development initiatives undertaken during the event. The study also considered the theoretical question whether a sport mega-event such as the World Cup can effectively achieve the objectives as embodied in sport for development initiatives, i.e. to promote development and peace and to address social issues? Is it possible, therefore, to use a sport mega-event as a catalyst for social development through the launching of sport for development initiatives?

5.3 Summary of main findings

This study looked at the trends of the sport for development field in the South African context, with a specific focus on the 2010 FIFA World Cup period. Trends and shifts in the sport for development process could be observed, not only for the South African case, but also more broadly with regard to sport for development activities in the Global South. The main findings of this research includes the rapid growth of sport for development initiatives during the World Cup period, the increase and range in public and private actors forming institutional arrangements and partnerships in sport for development initiatives and the outcomes and implications of these trends for the South African sport for development context. Moreover, through the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, it was found that the sport mega-event was ultimately used as a strategic opportunity for initiatives to achieve objectives and aims including creating awareness of initiatives, potentially meeting new partners and funders, and increasing participant numbers. Also, through the formation of institutional arrangements and partnerships, implementing organisations could potentially ensure sustainability of the initiative due to the resources made available by a diverse group of partners. Furthermore, since the hosting of the World Cup, changes have been observed in national level thinking on sport for development. In 2010 a new White Paper was produced by SRSa that included sport for development in sport and recreation policy. This is

significant due to the sport for development field not being recognised officially for many years although South Africa had a history of using sport in development programmes. It must be noted, however, that although the 2010 FIFA World Cup was used strategically by the sport for development initiatives implemented during that period, sport mega-events were not found to achieve social development objectives, especially those of sport for development, due to the many neoliberal tendencies found in the hosting of the event. Also, although sport for development and development as promoted in the sport mega-event field overlap, there are significant distinctions between the two fields in terms of what they aim to achieve. As a result the findings of this research have implications for the bigger caucus of sport for development, in terms of the recent growth and importance given to the field by the international community and the debate on the use of sport mega-events for social development.

As noted earlier, a main finding of this study was the growth of the sport for development field during the 2010 World Cup. In the build-up to the event, a number of initiatives were developed and implemented on a variety of institutional levels. Sport for development programmes and initiatives could be found on an international level (the Football for Hope “2010 Centres for 2010 campaign”); on a national level (the City of Cape Town’s Green Goal 2010 project and the Youth Development through Football project by the GIZ and SRSA); as well as on a local level (Amandla Edufootball’s 2010 project), specifically created for the period of the 2010 World Cup. One of the main findings of this was that many of the initiatives were developed with the purpose of taking advantage of the strategic opportunity and platform that an event like the World Cup provided. For many of the implementing organisations and stakeholders involved, the World Cup was viewed as an event that could help create awareness of programmes as well as create opportunities for new stakeholders to get involved in projects. This could lead to the long term sustainability of projects and a potential social legacy from the World Cup (which as noted before was hoped for by the South African government, the World Cup LOC and FIFA). Thus the event was used strategically, with regards to attracting funders and potential partners that could assist initiatives with resources.

In terms of the YDF project and the Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre, physical resources were made available in the form of sports facilities and buildings where sport could be used for development purposes. Moreover, resources were also made available in the form of

expertise and capacity building. Where organisations and initiatives may have lacked in expertise, partners were able to build capacity in terms of skills training in sport for development. Moreover, because of the strategic opportunity and use of the 2010 World Cup by many of the sport for development initiatives, a stronger awareness of the projects has also been created as well as increasing participation. For example, the Amandla Edufootball organisation specifically and strategically used the World Cup for the purpose of making people aware of their existing projects as well as getting new participants involved in the project.

A further main finding of this study has been the increase in institutional arrangements and partnerships formed among various public and private actors in order to both organise and implement sport for development initiatives. During the World Cup, this was especially seen - with many partnerships formed on different institutional levels. Actors such as FIFA, SRSA, local and provincial levels of government actors, international organisations, INGOs and local NGOs, foreign governments and sports clubs formed partnerships in order to implement initiatives. This increase in partnerships is significant in that it reflects the trends and shifts in the international development setting as well as the sport for development field, with more and more non-traditional development actors becoming involved in development activities. The formation of institutional arrangements and partnerships and the phenomenon of roles being spread among a variety of institutional players have illustrated the changing dynamics of who traditional dominant players in development are.

In addition, due to the sport for development partnerships formed during the World Cup, one of the emergent findings was that partnerships with diverse actors could decrease the challenges faced within initiatives due to roles being spread. In the case of the Khayelitsha Football for Hope Centre, the Centre host, Grassrootsoccer, had various partners, some of whom were there to implement the programmes, some to manage the Centre and some to look after the actual Centre and football pitch. Other partners included private actors or sponsors who provided the financing for the project. Thus differentiation in the roles of different partners could potentially hold positive outflows for the sport for development process, also helping to achieve social development objectives. The significance in this finding lies in the potential sustainability of the initiative as roles are being spread and objectives are achieved. This is an important finding as much of the recent debates in sport for development literature question the intention of organisations and stakeholders involved, as well as the real

transformative potential of sport for development initiatives. Thus institutional arrangements and partnerships have the potential to ensure that roles are specified and intentions made clear. This finding is an important implication for future sport for development programmes and initiatives being implemented.

Further important findings that have significant impacts on the current trends in the South African sport for development context was found in terms of sport and recreation policy. Through the hosting of the World Cup and the increase in sport for development initiatives, government thinking was seen changing. South Africa's department of sport and recreation (SRSA) did not for a long time include sport for development in policy, however in 2010, a new White Paper on sport and recreation was produced whereby cognisance was taken of the increasing interest in the international setting of sport for development field, the UN's promotion thereof and the need for it to be included in South African policy. As a result, the sport for development agenda has been included in the strategic objectives and strategies of SRSA policy. This point is significant in terms of some of the findings from the empirical study. By including sport for development in policy, this could lead to national governments playing a bigger role in sport for development as well as creating more effective partnerships with local actors. For the YDF project, it was found that SRSA advocated their partnership with the GIZ, because through the YDF initiative, SRSA was able to connect with local NGOs at the grassroots level, which had been an initial challenge for the national sports department.

In the literature review of this study, the role of sport for development in the current global setting was discussed by illustrating how the sport for development field can be viewed within the neoliberal approach to development. The reasons for this were similarities of elements of the sport for development field to the neoliberal approach. One of the main findings of this study was that the sport for development initiatives implemented during the World Cup period had strategic objectives and aims for that period. This was in terms of creating awareness of projects and potentially meeting new partners and funders, thus increasingly involving the private sector in social development activities. Moreover, with the growth of sport for development NGOs during the World Cup, competition was found between organisations, both for resources and participants. In the case of the Football for Hope project and Amandla Edufootball – both projects are implemented in the township of Khayelitsha, thus the potential for competition in terms of resources and participants could be

found among the organisations. This finding is significant as it illustrates neoliberal thinking into what is meant to be social development initiatives. Thus this study's findings illuminate some of the theory on sport for development with similar elements of the neoliberal approach found during the World Cup's sport for development activities such as an emphasis on economic growth (inclusion of the private sector for funding), competition among stakeholders (for resources and participants), as well as individualism (marketing the initiative and thus creating awareness). In terms of the sport for development field, neoliberal tendencies in sport for development are important to address as the field progressively expands, especially throughout the Global South, and the range of actors involved increasingly includes private actors and international institutions in partnerships with development NGOs. Thus although sport for development initiatives embody initial objectives of addressing social development and contributing to social change, often the neoliberal logic of competitive social and economic relations are reinforced through the activities in a mega-event.

For this reason, although sport for development and development as promoted in the sport mega-event field overlap, there are significant distinctions between the two fields in terms of what they aim to achieve. The findings of this study illuminated this by illustrating how sport mega-events are developed with the purpose of achieving a variety of development objectives. With the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, South Africa aimed to achieve development legacies in the economic, political, social and environmental sectors. Although the South African government included the social development aspect, sport for development was only one of the ways in which this was attempted. Moreover, even with the increasing number of sport for development initiatives implemented during the sport mega-event, it was found that many of the initiatives were implemented with the purpose of using the event strategically. This is an important finding for theory on sport mega-events as past literature found that mega-events are dominated by neoliberal tendencies with the major focus on economic development from the event. The neoliberal undertone in sport for development is also illustrated in this regard, as the focus of the implementation of the initiative during the World Cup is not solely on social development but also on the achievement of strategic aims and objectives.

Due to the increasing popularity of sport mega-events internationally, in the last decade a significant trend has been noted in the increasing number of Global South countries bidding

for hosting rights to mega-events. Many of these countries have been doing to use the mega-event as a catalyst for social change, thus creating social legacies from the event. The example of the South African 2010 World Cup illustrated that even when developing countries produce creative bids for mega-events, with objectives for social development and benefits, the mega-event as well as the initiatives implemented during the event can be viewed as having neoliberal agendas. This is observed with the emphasis on economic benefits from the event (economic growth, tourism increasing, the development of infrastructure and the major marketing platform for the host country) as well as the strategic aims of the sport for development initiatives. Moreover, due to the short time period of the mega-event and the long term objectives of sport for development initiatives, the link between the two fields are nowhere to be seen as sport mega-events maximise the benefits of the event period while sport for development initiatives aims for sustainability of projects and long term effects on social development. This is significant as this study sought to discover whether sport for development objectives are attainable through the hosting of sport mega-events. It has become clear that the two fields are vastly different in their approach to development as well as the objectives of the fields. Moreover, it was found that due to the platform provided by the World Cup event, most initiatives, including that of sport for development, use the event for strategic opportunities and less so for the objectives of social change.

5.4 Suggestions for future research

There are many areas within the scholarly field of sport for development that require further research. Due to the recent growth of the field, only in the last decade, have some scholars begun to take an interest in sport for development and attempted to discover whether or not the field does in fact achieve developmental goals. The finding of this study is that there have been many debates recently raised among scholars about the real transformative potential of sport for development. It was discovered that many sport for development organisations or initiatives rarely (if ever) evaluate their programmes. Therefore due to a serious lack of monitoring and evaluation, many scholars have argued that sport cannot be said to achieve developmental goals. This particular aspect is important due to the finding in this study that much of the sport for development field has grown due to the institutionalisation thereof – this due to the promotion of the field by organisations and sports federations like the UN, IOC and FIFA. These institutions promote the field extensively without the proper

monitoring and evaluations of the impacts of their projects. Thus in this regard, there is much room for investigation as to whether sport can in effect achieve development.

Other research areas that require further investigation includes the sport for development field in the Global South. From this study's findings, it was noted that many, if not most, sport for development programmes are implemented by international NGOs and foreign governments in the Global South. As a scholar of international global political economy and development, this area of investigation is necessary as to whether this form of development can be viewed as 'donor aid' and a serious tool for development in developing countries.

In terms of the South African sport for development field, there are also many areas for further research. Sport has a significant history in South Africa due to the role it played during apartheid, the post-apartheid period and as a tool in the transformation of the new South Africa. Although there is much research in terms of the role of the international sports boycott of South Africa, not much is found with regards to the role of sport and recreation activities in the early post-apartheid period and the effects thereof. In addition, due to South Africa's long history with sport for development and the involvement of external actors as the main players in the field, more research should be done on the roles of external actors; the impacts of their initiatives; and the effects on local organisations trying implement sport for development initiatives.

A further area for future research and investigation is the sport mega-event field. With many developing countries bidding for and winning the hosting rights to many big events like the FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games in recent years, it is likely that many of these future host countries and cities will be expecting to create social legacies as was noted in this study with the South African 2010 FIFA World Cup. Thus, the potential for sport mega-events to achieve social legacies should be further investigated.

5.5 Conclusion

This study set out to determine whether the South African government achieved what it set out to achieve as far as effecting a positive social legacy from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This was done by reviewing the nature and outcomes of sport for development initiatives undertaken during the event. By examining the sport for development initiatives during the

2010 World Cup, various lines of discussion recently raised among scholars in sport for development could be illustrated: in terms of the growth of the field; the diverse range of stakeholders increasingly involved; and the institutionalisation of the field. It was emphasised that neoliberalism currently predominates sport for development, due to the similarities of the sport for development field to neoliberalism. It was found that this is an aspect which can have both positive and negative effects on sport for development endeavours. Furthermore, the link between sport mega-events and development was examined. Although sport for development and development as promoted in the sport mega-event field overlap, there are significant distinctions between the two fields in terms of what they aim to achieve. In terms of South Africa achieving a social legacy via the implementation of sport for development initiatives during the World Cup and the many social development objectives of such initiatives – it cannot be said that the mega-event can be used to achieve these goals due to the many neoliberal tendencies found in the hosting of the event as well as the findings illustrating that the event was ultimately used strategically and not so much for social change.

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Appendix 1**Table 3.2: list of sport for development initiatives in South Africa by external actors before the 2010 FIFA World Cup**

	Name of the initiative	Organisation	Year established
1990s	No name but sports facilities were built and sport equipment distributed	Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederations of Sports (NIF)	1990
1995	Hoops for Hope (H4H)	Hoops for Hope	1997
	Skate-aid	Titus Dittmann Foundation	1997
	African Youth Development Fund	Miles and Associates International	1999
2000	Little Champs	Laureus Sport for Good Foundation	2000
	Invomvo	Active Community Clubs (ACC)	2001
	Kicking AIDS Out	Edusport foundation and NIF	2001
	Peace Players	Peace Players International (PPI)	2001
	Play Soccer	Play Soccer Non-profit International (PSNI)	2003
	Coaching for Hope	Skillshare international	2005
	Whizzkids United	Africaid	2005
	Grassrootsoccer	Grassrootsoccer	2006
	Amandla Edufootball	Edufootball	2006
	BlazeSports	2007	2007
	Boxgirls	Boxgirls International	2009

Appendix 2

Table 4.1 details the range of sport for development initiatives implemented as well as the specific programmes that were interviewed as part of this study

Interviewed sample: highlighted in grey

Name of programme	Implementing organisation, department or sport federation	Level: International, national, provincial, city, local
Football for Hope Festival and 20 Centres for 2010 campaign	FIFA and Streetfootballworld	International
Youth for Safer Africa	UN-HABITAT	International
WASH United	WASH United	International
SCORE for 2010 campaign	SCORE	International
Youth development through football	GIZ and SRSA	National and International
Football turf programme	South African LOC	National
Win in Africa with Africa	South African LOC	National
My 2010 School Adventure	South African LOC	National
Street league	Sporting Chance	National
Stars in their eyes	The Stars foundation, City of Cape Town	City/Provincial
Street Football	Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport in the Western Cape	City/Provincial
Green Goal 2010	City of Cape Town	City
Hope through action	Hope through action	City (Mbekweni)
Artificial turf programme	City of Cape Town	City

Capacity building project	City of Cape Town, University of Stellenbosch, University of the Western Cape, CPUT	City
Ikamvalethu Cup 2010	Amandla Edufootball	City

Appendix 3

List of interviewees

Interview Gerrans, L. Programme Manager. Green Goal 2010. City of Cape Town. 26 October 2010.

Interview Donald, J. Programme Manager. Grassrootsoccer. Football for Hope, Khayelitsha. 2 November 2010.

Interview Teichman, C. Project Manager. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). Green Goal 2010. 15 November 2010.

Interview Jurgens, D. Manager: Specialised Operations. City of Cape Town. Football for Hope. 2 March 2011.

Interview Mahlangu, T. Official Development Assistance (ODA) Advisor. Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Youth Development through Football. 11 May 2011.

Interview Mkhonto, K. Director: Community sport and recreation. Sport and Recreation South Africa. Youth Development through Football. 11 May 2011.

Interview Zech, F. Managing Director. Amandla Edufootball. 31 May 2011.