

Playing with a Purpose: An ethnographic study of a sport-for-development programme in Mbekweni

by

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this research thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Date: December 2011

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Abstract

There has been a concerted effort by government departments and sport-for-development non-governmental organisations (NGOs), to use sport as a vehicle for sustainable social development in previously disadvantaged areas in South Africa. South Africa, considered to be a developing country and also a country where sporting achievement and excellence is venerated, brings to the fore an intriguing intersection between sport and development. The exponential growth of the sport-for-development field in the past two decades, both on an international and local level, bears witness to the fact that sport has come to be seen as an instrument facilitating development among children and youth in historically disadvantaged regions in South Africa. International aid organisations, such as the United Nations and an array of sport-for-development NGOs are at the forefront of using sport as a vehicle for development purposes.

It is against this brief background that this thesis investigates the relationship between sport and development. The research question that underpins this study is: What is the relationship between sport and development, but more specifically, how do adolescent black girls, experience being part of a sport-for-development program at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre (MCSC)? This relationship is interrogated by drawing on fieldwork conducted at the MCSC amongst participants of the Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS) sport-for-development program over a six month period. WGILS is a sport-for-development program that caters for the sporting needs of adolescent girls in Mbekweni, by providing them with sporting opportunities and life skill sessions. The WGILS program is operated by a sport-for-development NGO, SCORE in partnership with a UK charity, Hope Through Action (HTA). Hope Through Action is the charity responsible for building the nine million Rand Mbekweni Community Sport Centre in Mbekweni, a township 60km north of Cape Town.

The central argument of this dissertation is that sport itself does not facilitate development, but serves as a point of entry for development work. I suggest that sport in this sense is a viable vehicle for development, as it creates conditions where social networks, meaningful relationships and norms of trust and reciprocity (antecedents of social capital) can prevail. The theoretical lens used to make sense of my six month field work period is that of social capital. In the classical sense social capital is thought to be an asset for the elite and wealthy, but this dissertation shows that there is a nuanced manner in which social capital shifts and is

tapped into by black adolescent girls through a sport-for-development program in a township setting.

In this respect social capital is malleable and used in a variety of ways for different purposes as a means to culminate trusting relationships and acts of reciprocity. Social capital is therefore not necessarily a static and unchanging concept and will vary considerably across space and time. The dynamics of this process are evident throughout the thesis.

Opsomming

Daar bestaan „n volgehoue poging deur regeringsdepartemente en spor –vir-ontwikkeling nie-regeringsorganisasies (NRO) om sport as „n middel tot volhoubare sosiale ontwikkeling in voorheen benadeelde areas in Suid-Afrika aan te wend. Suid-Afrika wat as „n ontwikkelende land beskou word en ook as „n land waar sportprestasies en uitmuntendheid in sport hoog aangeslaan word, open „n fassinerende interaksie tussen sport en ontwikkeling. Die vinnige groei van sport-vir-ontwikkeling die afgelope twee dekades op „n internasionale sowel as nasionale vlak is tekenend daarvan dat sport as „n instrument beskou word om ontwikkeling van kinders en die jeug in histories agtergeblewe streke te bevorder. Internasionale hulp organisasies soos die Verenigde Volkere en „n verskeidenheid sport-vir-ontwikkeling NRO is op die voorpunt om sport op „n opheffende wyse aan te wend.

Dit is teen hierdie agtergrond dat die verhandeling poog om die verband tussen sport en ontwikkeling te ondersoek. Die kernvraag onderliggend aan die verhandeling is: wat is die verband tussen sport en ontwikkeling en meer spesifiek hoe ervaar jong swart meisies deelname aan die sport-vir-ontwikkeling program by die Mbekweni Gemeenskap Sportsentrum? Die verband word ondersoek deur middel van veldwerk wat by die sentrum oor „n periode van ses maande gedoen is onder die deelnemers aan „n sport-vir-ontwikkeling projek onder die vaandel van “Women and Girls in Leadership”(WGILS). WGILS maak voorsiening vir sport behoeftes van adolessente meisies in Mbekweni deur hulle sportgeleenthede te bied asook en lewensvaardighede sessies. Die program word geldelik gedryf deur die NRO, SCORE in samewerking met die Britse liefdadigheidsorganisasie, “Hope Through Action”. Laasgenoemde was verantwoordelik vir die bou van die nege miljoen rand Mbekweni Gemeenskap Sportsentrum in Mbekweni, „n swart woonbuurt 60 km noord van Kaapstad.

Die sentrale argument van die verhandeling is dat sport as sodanig nie ontwikkeling fasiliteer nie, maar wel as „n beginpunt vir ontwikkelingswerk kan dien. Daar word gesuggereer dat sport op die wyse as „n lewensvatbare instelling ter bevordering van ontwikkeling ingespan kan word aangesien dit die omstandighede skep waarbinne sosiale netwerke, betekenisvolle verhoudings en norme van betroubaarheid en wederkerigheid (voorlopers van sosiale kapitaal) kan gedy. Die teoretiese lens waardeur ek gepoog het om van die veldwerk sin te maak was dié van sosiale kapitaal. In die klassieke sin word sosiale kapitaal beskou as die prerogatief van die elite en welvarendes, maar die verhandeling demonstreer dat sosiale

kapitaal op „n genuanseerde wyse kan verskuif om jeugdige meisies in „n sport-ontwikkeling program in „n swart woonbuurt te betrek.

In die opsig kan sosiale kapitaal as aanpasbaar beskou word en met verskillende oogmerke aangewend word om vertrouensverhoudinge te stig en wederkerige dade te bewerkstellig. Sosiale kapitaal is derhalwe nie noodwendig „n statiese en onveranderbare konsep nie, en kan oor tyd en plek aansienlik gewysig word. Die dinamika van die prosesse word deurgaans in die verhandeling aangetoon.

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List of acronyms

ANC: African National Congress

HTA: Hope Though Action

KfW: German Development Bank

MCSC: Mbekweni Community Sport Centre

MDG: Millennium Development Goals

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

PAC: Pan Africanist Congress

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

SCORE: Sport Coaches Outreach

SDP IWG: Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group

SDP: Sport for Development and Peace

SRSA: Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa

WGILS Women and Girls in Leadership Programme

YDVS: Youth Development against Violence through Sport

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INTRODUCTION

Football is not only a game. Football is connecting people

(Sepp Blatter¹)

The year 2010 will be remembered as a significant one in terms of South Africa's sporting history. South Africa hosted the 19th FIFA World Cup spectacle, the first to be hosted on African soil. Massive excitement and expectation permeated all sectors of South African society as the world and international audiences turned their attention to South Africa for this four-week sports mega-event in June 2010.

On the eve of this mega-event, in anticipation of the official start of the FIFA World Cup on 11 June 2010, the 2010 FIFA 'kick-off concert' was staged at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto, Johannesburg attracting thousands of South African soccer fans and international visitors. International pop artists Shakira, Black Eyed Peas and Alicia Keys dazzled the crowds as sport, soccer and the FIFA World Cup were on everyone's lips. The following day the euphoria spread to the newly renovated Soccer City stadium in Johannesburg, where 15 000 performers would welcome the world to Africa in the official 2010 FIFA World Cup opening ceremony. This ceremony was followed by South Africa's national soccer team, Bafana Bafana, battling it out against Mexico in front of 85 000 spectators in the opening match of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa at the same venue.

Turn your attention 1 200 km south of Johannesburg to the township of Mbekweni in the Boland region of the Western Cape. Here too there were celebrations, similar in nature, but different in scale. A day following the start of the FIFA World Cup on 12 June 2010 the community of Mbekweni had a celebration of their own, as they became the proud recipients of a R9 million indoor sports facility, a dream made a reality by the UK charity Hope Through Action (HTA) and supported by a leading African sport-for-development NGO, SCORE (Sport Coaches Outreach).

¹ Sepp Blatter is the president of football's international governing body (FIFA). This quote was part of his address to thousands of people at the 2010 FIFA Kick Off concert held at Orlando Stadium, Soweto on 10 June 2010.

The Mbekweni Community Sport Centre



Above: An external view of the MCSC from the parking lot



Above: An internal view of the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre

The community of Mbekweni took part in an opening ceremony of a different kind, with no Shakira and no Sepp Blatter, but the local three-man choir group „By Faith’, *pantsulas*² and the marimba band entertaining the 400 or so people attending the official opening ceremony of the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre (MCSC). The celebration in Mbekweni saw a diversity of residents in Mbekweni attend the official opening. The dignitaries and elders of the community were provided with blankets to sit on, as the concrete bleachers were cold in the Cape winter. A group of toddlers didn’t seem deterred by the winter cold as they paced up and down the soccer pitch, chasing a soccer ball. Young and old had gathered to celebrate the new centre and, although the publicity wasn’t on the same scale as events that were taking place around the World Cup, the community of Mbekweni celebrated as if South Africa had already won the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Mbekweni had not been forgotten in the hype and euphoria across the continent in preparation for the international spectacle of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Dignitaries such as the Drakenstein Municipal Mayor, Charmaine Manuel, the chairman of the England Football League, Lord Mawhinney and FIFA deputy president Geoff Thompson were in attendance at the official opening of the MCSC.

The MCSC consists of an indoor astro-turf soccer pitch, changing rooms, showers, counselling rooms and seating for up to 450 spectators. The centre is the brainchild of UK-based charity Hope through Action and, in partnership with local sport-for-development NGO SCORE, it aims to provide the youth and children of Mbekweni with sport, welfare, health and education programmes at the MCSC free of charge. The same way in which the hosting of sport mega-events such as the 2010 FIFA world cup in developing countries is considered as a means to fastrack development initiatives in the South, so too has the investment in infrastructure and sustainable sport-for-development programmes by HTA and SCORE through the MCSC considered as a tool to further personal and social development amongst the youths in Mbekweni. Former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan, speaking in 2002 at the Olympic Aid Roundtable in Salt Lake City, confirmed the role sport can play on the community and individual level by stating that:

² *Pantsula* is an energetic form of African dance similar to Hip Hop and is practiced widely in South African townships. It became popular during the 1980’s amongst young black urban South African youths as a form of expression. It is a Zulu word meaning “to waddle like a duck” and is a flat-footed African tap and glide style of dance. Those who perform this form of dance are known as „pantsulas’. See Appendix 1.1 for photos of the activities that took place at the official opening ceremony of the MCSC.

Sport can play a role in improving the lives of individuals, not only individuals I might add, but whole communities. I am convinced that the time is right to build on that understanding, to encourage governments, development agencies and communities to think how sport can be included more systematically in the plans to help children, particularly those living in the midst of poverty, disease and conflict (Coalter, 2007:68).

Incentives such as the MCSC and the exponential growth of the sport-for-development field in the past two decades confirm the fact that sport has come to be seen a viable vehicle through which to facilitate development among youths and children in historically disadvantaged regions in South Africa.

It is against this brief background that this thesis investigates the relationship between sport and development. The research question that underpins this study is: What is the relationship between sport and development, but more specifically, how do black adolescent girls experience being part of a sport-for-development programme at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre (MCSC). Development within the sport-for-development context is conceptualised more fully later in this chapter, but is generally understood as the process of broadening the choices available for sport-for-development participants.

This relationship is investigated by drawing on fieldwork conducted at the MCSC amongst participants of the Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS) sport-for-development programme.³ The central argument of this dissertation is that sport itself does not facilitate development, but serves as a point of entry for development work (see Willis, 2000). Sport is a viable vehicle for development, as it creates conditions where social networks, meaningful relationships and norms of trust and reciprocity (antecedents of social capital) can prevail. The theoretical lens used to make sense of my six month field work period is concepts of social capital (see Chapter 4). In the classical sense social capital is thought to be an asset for the elite and wealthy, but this dissertation shows that there is a nuanced manner in which social capital shifts and is tapped into by black adolescent girls through a sport-for-development programme in a township setting. Social capital is therefore malleable used in a variety of ways for different purposes as a means to promote trusting relationships and acts of reciprocity.

³ WGILS is a women and girls leadership programme, funded by HTA and Comic Relief and operated by SCORE, that looks to encourage and engage young women and girls in life skills and sport activities at the MCSC (see Chapter 2 for full description).

It is suggested that those who are rich in social capital can benefit, as extended social networks and strong social cohesion amongst a group of sport-for-development participants (WGILS) yield certain advantages, such as reciprocity, trust and future benefit. Sport is considered an opportune means to attract youths as it creates a milieu where social capital can be cultivated and flourish.

Furthermore, the development of both social and human capital for youths who participate in sport-for-development programmes is considered essential for NGOs such as SCORE. It is believed that a strong social network together with education, knowledge, skills and experience (human capital) can reflect favourably in the job market and translate into economic capital in the long run. The goal of many sport-for-development NGOs is to equip youths with life skills to make educated choices (i.e. human capital) and the vehicle used to get that message across is sport. Sport, with its ability to cement social networks and bring educative messages across, is then considered to be the ideal tool to further the development of youths in historically disadvantaged areas such as Mbekweni.

I contend that the camaraderie, friendship, social cohesion, reciprocity and trust that develop from participating in sport is what enables individuals in sport-for-development programmes to benefit or „develop’ from participating in sport. I caution that there are no „magical’ properties that make sport a quick fix for broader social problems, but that social capital and the notion that „relationships matter’ are imperative in a sport-for-development context.

Research rationale

There has been a concerted effort to use sport as a vehicle for sustainable social development in previously disadvantaged areas in South Africa. This country is considered to be a developing country and one where sporting achievement and excellence are venerated, which creates an intriguing intersection between sport and development. The South African government department of Sport and Recreation (SRSA) has funded and implemented mass participation programmes and has represented a vision of “how sport and recreational activities can contribute to the overall welfare of all South Africans, emphasizing the „building of communities’ through active and structured participation” (Burnett, 2010:33). The White Paper (Republic of South Africa, 1998) is a document that has been drafted by SRSA in an attempt, firstly, to increase the level of participation in sport; secondly, to raise sport’s profile in the face of conflicting priorities; thirdly, to maximise the profitability of success in major events; and finally, to place sport at the forefront of efforts to educate the

public about HIV/AIDS and to reduce the level of crime. Former Minister of Sports and Recreation, Makhenkesi Stofile asserted how in post-apartheid South Africa “equity does not only refer to jobs, it also refers to sport as a human right” (Thomas, 2006:10). The aftermath of the segregated history of South Africa creates a condition where development initiatives through sport may indeed be a way in which to address the challenges of marginalisation experienced by many people living in informal settlements in South Africa.

The sport-for-development initiatives launched by the Department of Sport and Recreation are not unique to the South African context, because international organisations such as the United Nations have identified the potential of sport to facilitate development. In November 2003 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolution 58/5 entitled “Sport as a means to promote education, health development and peace” (United Nations, 2003). In 2005 the United Nations General Assembly recognised the power of sport for development by designating that year as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. Sport is also considered as a means to achieve the Millennium Development Goals that the United Nations set out to be achieved by 2015.

Sport as a tool for development within the South African context is especially significant given the fact that a vast majority of South Africans living in informal settlements have historically been denied the opportunity to participate in sport. “In South Africa sport was central in the development of a geography of exclusion and division; it became a central factor in the emergence of divergent sporting cultures among spatially divided groups” (Nauright, 1997:24). South Africa’s history of racial segregation created a divide between different racial groups. On the one end of the spectrum opportunities were created for white South Africans to participate in sporting events at the highest level and on the other end were Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans, fighting for access to basic sporting facilities and their right to participate in sport. Given this historical background, it can be argued that the inequalities perpetuated by South Africa’s political history created conditions in informal settlements where development initiatives through sport may indeed be viable. The motivation to do research on sport and development therefore seems plausible, especially in Mbekweni, where limited sporting facilities are available and where the people are susceptible to development initiatives, given the high rate of unemployment and crime, and the marginalisation of the community. The new sports centre opened on 12 June 2010 provides the required sporting infrastructure in Mbekweni and is an oasis for sports enthusiasts in the community.

It is important to study sport-for-development, as participation in sport can shape individual identity and also be used as a means to conjure up feelings of accomplishment and acceptance. Hylton and Bramham (2008:50) substantiate this point by stating that:

Sport is traditionally promoted as a method of building character and community, discipline, morality and ethical behaviour, reducing exclusion, increasing cohesion, reducing illness, improving well-being and quality of life. Major social divisions of ‚race‘, class, gender and disability are also legitimate targets of sports development and sports capabilities to effect positive and sustained change for policymakers and practitioners.

The positive attributes that are often ascribed to sport in terms of its ability to build character, self-esteem, increase cohesion and improve the general quality of life of those who participate in it has made it a an opportune vehicle through which development initiatives may be channelled. The increase of the use of sport for development purposes, on a national level and by international organisations such as the United Nations, is evident, but my study focuses on the development programmes that a non-governmental organisation, SCORE (Sport Coaches Out Reach), implement on a local level, specifically in Mbekweni, Paarl. Mbekweni is an informal settlement situated on the outskirts of Paarl, sixty kilometres north of Cape Town. As in the case of many informal settlements in South Africa, Mbekweni has a high crime rate and unemployment is rife (see Chapter 1). SCORE is an African-based sport - for-development organisation whose goal is to use sport to “empower individuals and build stronger, healthier communities” (SCORE, 2010).

The role of NGOs in post-apartheid South Africa

The political and economic climate in post-apartheid South Africa is conducive to the introduction of development initiatives by both the state and civil society organisations. The transition of South Africa into a democratic state in 1994 catapulted its citizens into a new era in which all South Africans, irrespective of race, could enjoy the same rights constitutionally. Colvin, Robins and Leavens (2010:1183) contend that “despite the benefits of a progressive Constitution and some improvements in the delivery of services to the poor, however, South Africa continues to have massive unemployment and one of the most unequal income distribution curves in the world. As a result of these limitations of the post-apartheid liberal democratic state, especially in the sphere of socio-economic transformation, NGOs, religious organizations and new social movements have stepped into the breach.” SCORE can be considered one such organisation that has evolved out of a socio-political climate associated

with neo-liberalism, and whose mandate has become one of addressing issues of poverty and empowerment through sport in post-apartheid South Africa.

There is a complex relationship between the role of NGOs and the post-apartheid democratic state in South Africa's (neo-)liberal economic and political climate. Harvey (2005:2) is of the opinion that "neo-liberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices." The reality in South Africa is that the state has struggled to create and preserve an institutional framework from where these entrepreneurial freedoms and skills characterised by property rights and free markets, or the advancement of 'human well-being' can stem. A result of this is that the vast majority of black South African citizens have become isolated and severed from any prospects associated with neo-liberalism (such as free markets, trade or property rights).

The shift toward (neo-)liberal economic policies and programmes by the newly elected ANC government had significant consequences for those South African citizens who remained on the periphery of mainstream development initiatives, such as the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). The RDP was a South African socio-economic policy framework implemented by Nelson Mandela's newly elected ANC government in the early 1990s and aimed to address poverty and lack of social services to the vast majority of the black South African population. Blumenveld (2003:76) points out that "the sheer scale of poverty and deprivation in South Africa, coupled with the relative paucity of investible resources, inevitably represented a threat to the successful implementation of the RDP". This meant that for the vast majority of black South Africans, who reside in rural and semi-rural regions of the country, 'development' or tapping into government resources aimed at alleviating poverty and social exclusion remained a dream.

The ongoing service delivery protests by dissatisfied and marginalised black South Africans who reside in townships attest to the fact that that the socio-economic alleviation strategies that the ANC government have put forward are but a drop in the ocean. Colvin *et al.* (2010:1182) posit that South Africa is by no means a conventional neo-liberal state, as the government has invested in massive social grant programmes and has provided housing subsidies and clean water, clinics and classrooms to some of its poorest citizens. Despite

these efforts the majority of black South Africans who reside in townships still lack basic health services and access to clean water and safe shelter. In the light of these government policies and practices South Africa can be considered a “hybrid state” that shares both neo-liberal and “developmental” or “progressive” features (Colvin *et al.* 2010:1182).

It is within this ‘hybrid state’ that NGOs find their niche in providing services to marginalised citizens often neglected by the state. NGOs are often thought of as fulfilling the role or services that ‘weak’ states struggle to fulfil. “It is suggested that where the state is weak, or not interested in particular policy areas, organizations in civil society and the trust and reciprocity they may engender can increase community participation and strengthen democracy, as well as facilitate various types of social development” (Coalter, 2010a:304). SCORE is an example of an NGO that attempts to increase community participation and contribute to various types of social development through sport.

The role that NGOs fulfil in a South African development context needs to be teased out to contextualise SCORE’s role as a sport-for-development NGO within this broader developmental framework. Van der Kooy (1992:8) defines NGOs as “voluntary organizations that promote development, covering a wide spectrum of development-related activities, responsible to their donors and to the communities they work for. They are relatively independent, altruistic organizations, established privately to promote, directly or indirectly, development at the grassroots level”. Sarah Michael’s (2004) definition of NGOs alludes to their mandate in relation to governments. According to her, NGOs are “independent development actors existing apart from government and corporations, operating on a non-profit or not-for-profit basis with an emphasis on voluntarism, and pursuing a mandate of providing development services, undertaking communal development work or advocating development issues” (Michael, 2004:3). In essence NGOs are concerned with addressing inequality and improving the quality of life of marginalised persons. NGOs range in their functions and aims across South African society and specialise in a variety of fields ranging from addressing issues of health, skills development, human rights violations and, as in the case of SCORE, sport.

Under apartheid most South African NGOs were politically driven and concerned with challenging the apartheid state and furthering a non-racial democratic society. Historically there was an influx of funds – especially from Scandinavian countries, the European Union and US foundations – which encouraged a proliferation of anti-apartheid NGOs during

the 1980s (the uniqueness of the South African situation under apartheid was that foreign funding was channelled directly to NGOs rather than being channelled through government) (Habib & Taylor, 1999:74). Generally, the result was a massive growth in the NGO sector to the extent that by 1990, it was estimated that there were some 5 000 NGOs pursuing developmental work in the country (Bernstein cited in Habib & Taylor, 1999:74). At this point it may be useful to note that one of SCORE's long-term donors is the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF). This Federation has been supporting SCORE intermittently since 1998 and many of the international volunteers that contribute to SCORE's programme implementation on the ground level hail from Norway. The liberalised political environment in post-apartheid South Africa produced a favourable climate for foreign donors to invest in NGO-related enterprises.

Whereas many South African NGOs during the 1980s and early 1990s were concerned with political mobilisation and issues around human rights, their involvement in civil society has now shifted towards addressing a broader spectrum of social problems. At the forefront of many NGO-related activity in South Africa is the issue of health. This is not surprising considering that the HIV prevalence rate is 10.5% in South Africa, with 5.24 million people out of South Africa's population of 49,99 million being infected with the virus (Statistics South Africa, 2010). Many sport-for-development NGOs use sport as a means to attract youths and educate them on the reality and threat of HIV/AIDS. Sport is often considered by sport-for-development NGOs as a viable vehicle to address social issues around health, life skills and 'responsible behaviour'. One such organisation or network of organisations is the 'Kicking AIDS Out' network. "Kicking AIDS Out is an international network of organisations working together to use sport and physical activity as a means of raising awareness about HIV and AIDS and motivating positive behaviour change in youth. The Kicking AIDS Out network believes that sport and physical activity are effective ways of attracting youth, while serving as creative mediums to facilitate and share positive messages about HIV and AIDS and other critical health issues affecting youth" (Kicking Aids Out, 2009). SCORE, also trains youths in the Kicking Aids Out curriculum and often hold workshops for youths that focus on HIV/AIDS education and awareness.

This brief outline of the history and role of NGOs in the South African context provides a sense of the ideological climate in which SCORE, as a sport-for-development NGO, operated in the past and operates in today. Considering that SCORE focuses on sport as a means to

promote development among children or youths, or that their slogan states that its aim is to „change lives through sport’, it becomes imperative to conceptualise what development entails in the sport-for-development context.

Conceptualising development in the sport-for-development context

The grandiose term ‚development’ has been contested and applied across a range of disciplines. Willis (2000) points out that defining development is a challenge in itself and the way that it is conceptualized is contested and remains complex. Most scholars agree that ‚development’ is a highly contentious concept. Mehta (1986:34) suggests that “development is usually treated as a generic term connoting growth, evolution, stage of inducement or progress.” Embedded in this definition is the assumption that development is characterised by a sense of progress, improvement and concern with improving the status quo. Development can therefore be considered to be synonymous with change.

Traditional development theory holds that development is principally a function of capital investment and that the greater the flow of capital from wealthy countries to poor countries, the more rapid the development of the latter (Korten, 1987:146). Fischer (1988:124) is of the opinion that the conventional notion of development refers to the relationship between the affluent ‚first world’ nations of the northern hemisphere, which are regarded as ‚developed’, and the poor nations in the ‚third world’, which are regarded as underdeveloped. He suggests that “in the global context, the notion that there is a developed ‚first world’ and a ‚third world’ in need of development justifies the actions of powerful and rich nations to bring about self-sustained growth in poor nations and „improve the quality of life”” (Fischer, 1988:126). Development is therefore seen as involving a relationship between wealthy states in the global North, who have state-of-the-art technologies and financial means to stimulate development initiatives, and poorer states in the global South, who are dependent on these initiatives in an attempt to keep up with modernity. There is a one-way flow of capital, resources, skills and expertise from the global North to the South when it comes to development initiatives. Hargreaves (1997:198) also alludes to development being associated with the distribution of resources and capital from the global North to the South. She states that:

Development is equated with progress and liberation. It is generally understood to mean a move from backward, usually agrarian, non-industrialized economy (accompanied by extensive poverty, high infant mortality, and a lack of education and social welfare), to an industrialized

economy (with a generally acceptable standard of living for all the population, comprehensive education, and a welfare infrastructure).

The definitions of development provided by Fischer (1988), Hargreaves (1997) and Korten (1987) can be classified as Development with a big ‚D’. This form of development is concerned with large-scale changes and focused on broader macroeconomic and global trends (for example, moving from a non-industrialised or pre-modern to an industrialised or ‚modern’ type of state) and considers development to be a “function of capital investment” (Korten, 1987). In contrast, the way in which I conceptualise development for the purposes of this thesis can be thought of as development with a small ‚d’. This form of development is more concerned with communal or individual development that takes place on the grassroots level.

There is a slippage or a confusing connection between development on a national or global level, i.e. big ‚D’ development, and development on a communal or individual level, i.e. small ‚d’ development. These two forms of development do not operate in isolation, but feed off each other. For example the ‚development’ initiatives that SCORE/HTA implement through sport are aimed at youth and children in Mbekweni, i.e. development with a small ‚d’, but occur within a broader development framework of big ‚D’ development, i.e. Hope Through Action (HTA), as this UK-based charity invests time, money and infrastructure in a developing country such as South Africa. My conceptualisation of development within sport-for-development discourse favours the definition used by Willis (2000), where human development is viewed more qualitatively than quantitatively as the process of “enlarging people’s choices” (UNDP 1998 cited in Willis, 2000:829).

Development within the sport-for-development context can be defined as “an expansion of people’s possibilities of choosing, while stressing the significance of bringing issues of culture to the mainstream of development thinking and practice” (Hognestad cited in Coalter, 2010a:303). The notion that ‚choice’ is a precursor for development suggests that having the option to participate in sport, for the WGILS, broadens their selection of possibilities that were not previously available to them. The choice they make to come to the MCSC to participate in sport and life skills, and take the opportunity to develop human and social capital through participation in the WGILS programme, all qualify as a form of small ‚d’ development.

Many sport-for-development organisations emphasise the development of human and social capital amongst participants in their programmes. The envisaged result of the accumulation of social and human capital is that knowledge, education and experience (human capital) coupled with extended social networks (social capital) will open up opportunities for sport-for-development participants outside of the material constraints they face in townships. The logic of sport-for-development NGOs is that the accumulation of both human and social capital will create opportunities and equip participants with the necessary skills to build up economic capital; in the long term this could take on the form of security in the job market (see Chapter 4). Coleman (1988: S100) puts forward the idea that “just as physical capital is created by changes in materials to form tools that facilitate production, human capital is created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways.” The ability to ‘act in new ways’ and the provision of ‘choice’ are all indicators of ‘development’ in the sport-for-development context. Sport-for-development NGOs such as SCORE believe that sport is the vehicle that makes all this possible.

Coalter (2010a) terms this form of development the ‘new aid paradigm’, where development can be seen as a concern between the relationship of cultural conditions and poverty, and where there is an emphasis on social relationships and networks and the development of human capital. This form of development focuses on “bottom-up community development rather than apparently wasteful top-down investment in often corrupt government agencies” (Coalter, 2010a:304).

The scale or magnitude of development initiatives may vary from specialising in infrastructural development to focusing on the development of people. Most development work done by sport-for-development NGOs such as SCORE focus on ‘people-centred development’, where there is a concern with enhancing people’s lives by equipping them with skills and providing them with opportunities improve on their quality of life. People-centred development places a high priority on the process of democratisation. “The people are encouraged to mobilize and manage their own local resources, with government in an enabling role. Where such decentralized, self organizing approaches to the management of development resources are seriously undertaken, they generally result in more efficient and productive resource management, a reduction in dependence on external resources, increased equity, increased local initiative and accountability, and a strengthening of economic discipline” (Korten, 1987:146). This form of development is one that SCORE promotes as its programmes focus on empowering the communities they work with and through this

empowerment ensure the sustainability of their programmes. At the MCSC, for example, all the SCORE staff who are employed there are local residents in Mbekweni; SCORE's focus is to equip them with the necessary skills to take local initiatives and accept accountability for the MCSC (see Chapter 1).

It can be inferred from the discussion on what development represents in the sport-for-development context that development is associated with progress, improvement and change. Development can be conceptualised for the purpose of this study as enlarging people's choices (Willis, 2000) and expansion of people's possibilities of choosing (Coalter, 2010a). The choice of participating in sport, or having the option to go to a safe environment, such as the MCSC, can be considered as a step towards expanding the opportunities available to youths in Mbekweni.

Social capital theory

Social capital is a useful conceptual tool to make sense of the relationships that manifested themselves amongst the group of WGILS. By drawing on this concept I hope to show that sport alone cannot magically facilitate development amongst youths, but that the magic thread that enables sport to „work' as a development tool is the trust, reciprocity and camaraderie that stems from the accumulation of social capital. As with most sociological terms, the way in which social capital is defined and applied is contested and varied across disciplines. Seippel (2006) conceptualises the concept by breaking it down into its simplest form by defining the words: „social' and „capital'. In his words “capital is something that might give a future benefit. „Capital' combined with „social' then leaves us with social relations of a special kind – containing and, potentially, generating resources – which, in the future, might have implications for actions in and postures towards other social actors or arenas” (Seippel, 2006: 170).

This is a very basic formulation of the intricate nature of social capital, but Field (2003) investigates the term in depth by suggesting that the term „social capital' is a means to conceptualise the imperceptible resources of community, common values and trust upon which we draw on everyday life. In colloquial terms, social capital relates to the idea that „relationships matter' and that it matters who you know, not necessarily what you know. It has been applied in various disciplines ranging from Putnam's (1993, 1995, 2000) work in the discipline of political science on social cohesion in Italy and the United States, to the

American sociologist Coleman's (1988, 1994) use of the concept in investigating educational attainment in American ghettos. Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1986) the European sociologist, also made significant contributions in understanding social capital in relation to other forms of capital. Chapter 5 provides more detail on how the three foundational scholars of social capital, Bourdieu (1977, 1986) Coleman (1988, 1994) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000) have theorised about social capital, but in this introductory section I wish to summarise the main postulations about social capital as a theoretical tool. In essence social capital is understood as a resource that can be accumulated (in the same way that financial, physical and human capital can be accumulated and invested) through the establishment of social networks between members of a group. There are positive outcomes associated with those who are rich in social capital in the form of trust, reciprocity, norms, sanctions and future benefit. Central to the concept of social capital is the notion that with a well-connected social network more can be achieved and individual as well as communal benefits can prevail.

Sport-for-development or sports development?

The term 'sport-for-development' or 'development through sport' has been coined by organisations with an interest in using sport as a means to further personal and social development. Sport-for-development refers to sport as a tool for development. The United Nation's International Working Group on Sport for Development and Peace (IWG SDP) state that "Sport for Development and Peace refers to the intentional use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)" (SDP IWG, 2008:3).⁴

In the field of sport and development sport is usually understood to include activities that go beyond competitive sport. The United Nations Inter-agency Taskforce on Sport for Development and Peace define sport as "all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include: play; recreation; organized, casual or competitive sport; and indigenous sports or games" (Sport and Development Platform, 2010).

⁴ See Appendix 1.4 for timeline of the Sport for Development and Peace movement.

Kidd (2008) draws attention to the difference between „sports development’, which he defines as “programmes designed to assist those engaged in sport – athletes, coaches, officials, administrators – and to strengthen the infrastructure of facilities and institutions within which organised sport takes place” (Kidd, 2008:371), and „sport-for-development’, which is an attempt to seek out those not already involved in sport, usually in poverty-stricken areas, and use sport as development tool to address broader social issues. Kidd (2008) suggests that „sports development’ can be regarded as a project of sporting organisations, whereas „sport-for-development’ initiatives are pursued by NGOs in partnership with government departments of education and health. Sports development is more concerned with fostering talented sportsmen/women with a focus on improvement or competition, whereas sport-for-development is mostly concerned with using sport as a means to assist in individual, social and communal development. In other words, sports development is about improving on sport per se and sport-for-development is concerned with using sport as a medium to address societal concerns around issues of health, sexuality and responsible behaviour amongst youths. SCORE as a sport-for-development NGO falls into the latter category, as sporting excellence and competition are not the main motive for most development programmes they offer. Their focus is on using sport and its ability to attract vast numbers of youths as a medium to convey messages about HIV/AIDS awareness, responsible behaviour and general life skills.

Sport-for-development projects can be divided into two broad approaches: „sport plus’ and „plus sport’ (see Burnett, 2008; Levermore, 2008; Coalter, 2007; Van den Auweel, Malcolm & Meulders, 2006). According to Levermore (2008:57), “plus sport NGOs tend to be mainstream development organizations that occasionally use sport to bolster some of their schemes. „Sport plus’ NGOs focus primarily on sport and the development of sport, but often highlight that this has wider social benefits , such as using sport to allow people to meet together with the aim of disseminating messages relating to development, health or education.” SCORE is a „sport plus’ NGO, because it uses sport as the primary vehicle through which development programmes are driven.

The way in which sport and development are understood in the sport-for-development field clarifies how I conceptualise „sport’ and „development’ for the purposes of this study. Obviously the types of sports practised and the envisaged outcomes of sport-for-development programmes vary across organisation and context, but in principle the general meaning of

sport and development as explained above informs the way that I use these terms in my research.

Methodology

This research takes on the form of an ethnographic project. Ethnographic studies rely on direct observation of those studied, in this case the WGILS, and then reporting and evaluating these observations. According to Gratton and Jones (2010:195), “ethnographies are generally characterized by their focus on a particular group, or subculture, and the inseparable relationship between individuals and their social context.” The relationship between the WGILS, as individuals and the social context in which they operate in, i.e. that of a sport-for-development programme, situates their experiences against a broader backdrop of the material conditions and socio-economic climate of Mbekweni.

Ethnographic research, according to Atkinson and Hammersley (1994:248), “has a strong emphasis on exploring the particular nature of a phenomenon, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them.” This inductive approach to research allows for flexibility and fluidity throughout the research period. Sands (2002: xx) contends that “ethnography has always been, and still is, a fluid and at times ad hoc exercise.” The ‘fluid’ nature of ethnography allowed me to immerse myself in the activities of the WGILS programme and make sense of the participants’ lives in relation to sport and the WGILS programme at the MCSC (see Chapter 5 on reflection on methodology). This approach to research enables the researcher to get a sense of what theoretical stance would be most applicable to what he/she observes in the field. This ‘bottom-up’ approach allows for theory to be generated from the context and experience in the field, rather than imposing a theory onto the research setting. This is not to say that the researcher enters the field without any theoretical assumptions or preconceived notions, but that the fluid nature of ethnographies allows ‘the field to speak’ and inform the theoretical underpinning of a specific study.

Participant observation is the hallmark of anthropological enquiry and this technique of research is useful particularly useful for the purposes of my research. I gained first-hand experience of the politics and intricacies of a sport-for-development programme, such as the WGILS, by both participating and observing how the programme was conceptualised and implemented. De Walt, De Walt and Wayland (1998:260) state that “participant observation is a way to collect data in a relatively unstructured manner in naturalistic settings by

ethnographers who observe and/or take part in the common and uncommon activities of the people being studied.” The „unstructured’ nature of ethnographic fieldwork can contribute to a nuanced understanding of the reality of the people studied and allow for fluidity throughout the writing process. But this „unstructuredness’ can also pose problems for the researcher as he/she tries to make sense of all the observations and conversations experienced during fieldwork.

The challenge in using participant observation as a research method is to sieve out the significant parts of what has been observed. This can be a difficult and frustrating exercise, especially in the early stages of fieldwork as one is bombarded with new images and experiences, whilst attempting to keep the research problem in mind. The „messiness’ brought about by unstructured observations and the fluid nature of an ethnography does, however, contribute to the creativity and the uniqueness of the overall research project.

Participant observation as a research method does raise a number of ethical questions. One of the aims of anthropological research is to obtain an „emic’ perspective on the group or culture studied (by participating and observing their daily activities) and in doing so get an understanding of a phenomenon (in this case sport and development) from the informant’s perspective. This method blurs the lines between the researcher considered as a friend, acquaintance or confidant and is a researcher per se. The anthropologist’s laboratory is “the field” and the subjects of research are real people who act and interact in relation both to each other and with the ethnographer (Ellen, 1984:100).

This form of interaction allows for rich data to be gathered, but the ethnographer is also put in a difficult position, as he/she has to judge for himself or herself whether the information that was shared with him/her was done as a friend/confidant or a researcher. In the light of this, some scholars have agreed that there is something inherently and inevitably unethical about participant observation, as there is a constant juggling between respecting and protecting the interests of those studied, but also extrapolating information from conversations in the field (see Punch, 1994; De Walt *et al.*, 1998). De Walt *et al.* (1998:273) state that participant observation “is by its nature deceptive” as data obtained „off the record’ can be very valuable, but it needs to be used in a responsible way to protect participants of the study from any harm.

Although participant observation is useful as a research method, in that the researcher can be familiarised with the participants, it has its limitations. The limitations of using participant observation as a methodological tool are that the observations and suppositions that are derived from observation are subjective to the researcher. What the researcher observes and makes sense of is determined and influenced by the personal background that he/she brings to the field. The subjective nature of participant observation is addressed in Chapter 5, where I reflect on my fieldwork experience and chosen methodology. Brackenridge (1999:399) notes that “reflexivity is becoming an increasingly important research skill.” According to Gratton and Jones (2010: 205), “reflexivity is a process whereby the effect of the researcher, and their own characteristics, background, values, attitudes and so on, upon the subject matter is taken account of.” By including a reflexive chapter, I highlight that I have strived to preserve as much objectivity as possible throughout this research endeavour by maintaining a conscious awareness of all the biases I bring to the field. There are numerous advantages in using this research method, despite the abovementioned ethical and subjective limitations associated with using participant observation as a research tool.

Gratton and Jones (2010:180) refer to four specific advantages of observational methods. The first advantage is that the behaviours that the „subject”⁵ may be unwilling to disclose can be observed. In other words, the actions and the interactions that I observed amongst the WGILS informed my understanding of their experience of the programme and I could observe trends that they would not necessarily feel comfortable disclosing to me in person. The second advantage of participant observation is that the observations take place in the „natural setting”, which allows for the researcher to take into account the context in which the behaviour takes place. The physical space of the MCSC was the natural setting where my observations were carried out and this setting enabled me to observe the actions and behaviour of the WGILS as they unfold spontaneously. The third benefit of participant observation is that behaviours can be identified that are not apparent to the „subject”(informant), and in that sense „true” behaviour can be observed. As the WGILS became accustomed to my presence and as I established rapport with them, they could participate in sport and provide their opinions of the WGILS in an honest and open way. The

⁵ The term „subject” is used by Gratton and Jones (2010) to describe the people observed and interviewed. I will use the term „informant” to describe the people interviewed and observed, as „subject” implies a „scientific”, top down relationship between the researcher and the person being interviewed and I am in favour of considering those I interview as sources of information, rather than „subjects” in my study.

observations I made were therefore not once-off, but took place over a prolonged period of time during which I could truly get a sense of the WGILS programme. The last advantage of participant observation is that the direct nature of observation makes it possible to record a phenomenon as and when it happens (which eliminates having to rely on an individual's recall of an event). What I had observed during my field work period complemented the data collected during the interviews and I was therefore not solely reliant on the WGILS recalling how they experienced the WGILS programme. These advantages characterising participant observation justify my choice of using it as a key methodological tool.

According to Kellehear (1993:126), the advantages of participant observation are "that the observer is forced to familiarize with the subject and that people's actions are probably more telling than their verbal accounts and observing is therefore valuable." I obtained an in-depth understanding of what the WGILS programme entailed, as I observed and participated in the activities of the programme. The semi-structured interviews complemented my observations, but the 'raw' data that could be gathered from observing and participating enabled me to provide a "thick" description of the WGILS programme throughout this ethnography.

Geertz (1973:7) corroborates the view that ethnography is more than an endeavour where one establishes rapport, select informants, transcribe texts, take genealogies, map fields and take field notes; it is also an intellectual effort to provide a "thick description" and that this "thick description" then becomes the object of an ethnography. Thick description can be understood as making sense of what is observed in the field by delving deeper into generating meaning from certain behaviour. Geertz (1973) used the analogy of a wink to illustrate the difference between a "thin description" and a "thick description." The mechanical action of a wink can be thought of as a "thin description" as it can be thought of as being natural movement without any meaning attached to that movement. A "thin" description would simply describe the rapid closing of an eyelid (Fetterman, 1989:114).

A "thick description", on the other hand, (which Geertz (1973) believes to be the essence of ethnography) would not consider a wink to be a reflex action, but an action with detailed meanings and motives (i.e. a fake wink). It is the ethnographer's task to grasp the motive or detail behind the wink and describe the meaning behind general actions. The person winking could be faking the wink to try and get attention or to signify a premeditated plot. Fetterman (1989:114) states that "a thick description gives context, telling the reader whether the movement was a blink caused by a piece of dust in someone's eye or a romantic signal

transmitted across a crowded room. Thus the description would incorporate the cultural meaning and the ethnographer's analysis." For Geertz (1973:7) ethnography "is a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which twitches, winks, fake-winks, parodies, rehearsals of parodies are reproduce, perceived, and interpreted ..." The "thick descriptions" that I provide about the WGILS participant's actions and reactions to sport and the WGILS programme in general provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between sport and development, as played out at the MCSC.

I did fieldwork at the MCSC for a period of six months from October 2010 to March 2011. I attended special events at the MCSC, such as the official opening of the MCSC in June 2010 and Women's Day celebrations that took place at the Centre in August 2010. SCORE required of me to attend two of their volunteer orientation programmes before I could gain access to the field. The SCORE volunteer orientation programme aimed to familiarize and orientate international volunteers, who were placed in 'SCORE communities' on SCORE's programmes and policies. The logic behind my attendance of these orientation sessions was that I would also become familiarized with SCORE's programmes and policies before I embarked on my research. The first general orientation programme was held over a two week period in Simons Town in June 2010. This programme was a 'general' orientation on SCORE as a sport-for-development organization and included volunteers from Namibia and Zambia. I attended selected sessions of this programme. The second, one week specific orientation session was held in July 2010 in Paarl, where I attended all the workshops with the volunteers. This programme was aimed at volunteers who were placed in 'SCORE communities' in South Africa and dealt with specific issues that they may be faced with working in South African townships.

The role I would fulfill at the MCSC was that of a 'volunteer'/ researcher. SCORE developed a 'task description' for me that outlined what my responsibilities were throughout the research period. The WGILS programme was a new initiative by SCORE/HTA at the MCSC, a result of this was that I became heavily involved with getting the programme off the ground. During the first month (October 2010) of my six month field work period I assisted SCORE staff in distributing 'nomination forms' to class teachers of the two high schools in Mbekweni, Desmond Tutu High School and Ihlumelo Secondary School. Class teachers were expected to nominate girls in their class, who they felt would benefit from a sport and lifeskills programme, such as WGILS. I accompanied the SCORE WGILS facilitator on

follow up visits to the schools and to collect the „nomination forms’ and to recruit girls to the WGILS programme. I became involved with assisting the SCORE facilitator of the WGILS programme with administration duties and planning for the WGILS programme once the programme had kicked off in early November 2010. I participated in the sports component (soccer, netball and kickboxing) of the WGILS programme and assisted in facilitating the life skills sessions. I also sat in on selected staff planning meetings for activities at the centre.

In addition to the participant observation practiced in the events described above, I conducted sixteen semi-structured open-ended interviews. The interviewees included ten WGILS, who had been consistently attending the WGILS sessions; three SCORE staff members, based at the MCSC; one SCORE volunteer who was placed at the centre for a period of one year and two Hope Through Action representatives. The interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and took place in the confines of the MCSC. All the interviews were conducted in English. Most of the WGILS’ mother tongue was Xhosa, but were proficient in English (see chapter 5 on language issue).

Ethical Considerations

In addition to the ethical questions raised previously, about the use of participant observation as a research method, there exist specific ethical issues pertaining to doing research with minors. Most of the WGILS participants were legally considered minors, as they were under the age of eighteen. This meant that I had to obtain written permission from their parents or guardians to conduct interviews with them. An informed consent form was signed by both the WGILS who were interviewed and their parents⁶. The form stated what the purpose of the study was and outlined that the WGILS would remain anonymous. To ensure anonymity of the participants of this study I made use of pseudonyms. This ensured that their identity would not be disclosed. I could however not ensure complete anonymity to the SCORE staff members who were interviewed as it would be easy to identify them, considering that there are only a few placed permanently at the MCSC. In this case I verbally agreed with them before the interview was conducted that I would conceal their identity as far as possible. The Hope through Action patrons whom I interviewed agreed that I could use their „real’ names for the purposes of the research.

⁶ See Appendix 1.6 for informed consent form

Informed consent according to Diener and Crandall (1978:34) is “the procedure in which individuals choose whether to participate in an investigation after being informed of facts that would be likely to influence their decision.” Informed consent in anthropological research that relies on observation and participation is complicated as those who are observed in general conduct may not have given their consent to form part of the research. I was, however introduced to all the WGILS, as a Masters student doing her research on the WGILS programme as my field work intensified. The ten WGILS who were interviewed did complete an informed consent form.

Conducting research in an organizational structure, such as SCORE raises intriguing questions regarding one’s responsibility to the organization and one’s responsibility as a researcher. I felt indebted to SCORE for allowing me to conduct research at the MCSC, and at the same time did not want to undermine the work they do, by reporting on organizational hiccups or maladministration. The focus of this thesis was not undermine SCORE/HTA’s work at the MCSC and therefore what I observed and experienced in the field with regard to ‘organisational politics’ informed my research, but did not jeopardize my position in the field in relation to SCORE. I used SCORE as a means to gain access to participants of a sport-for-development programme, as the aim of the research was to interrogate the relationship between sport and development from the grassroots level. In other words I was more concerned with gaining access and understanding what sport and development meant for the WGILS themselves, as opposed to SCORE’s take in sport-for-development. Ultimately I did have an ethical responsibility towards SCORE, HTA and the WGILS who participated in the sport-for-development programme.

Chapter Outline

The first chapter is contextual as it provides the background to Mbekweni as a township, SCORE as an NGO, and HTA’s logic behind raising funds and selecting Mbekweni as a township to invest in. This chapter describes the context of Mbekweni by drawing on demographical statistics and provides a sense of the socio-economic situation that the majority of residents in Mbekweni are faced with. A brief history of Mbekweni is also provided, and in doing so I place Mbekweni within a broader historical and political landscape of South Africa. It is essential to have an understanding of the broader demographic and historical trends when referring to Mbekweni as a township, as it acknowledges that the trends in terms of poverty, health related issues, unemployment and

social evils that are prevalent in Mbekweni are trends that are common in many South African townships and fits into South Africa's larger historical and political trajectory. The chapter also highlights the details around HTA's motive for raising funds and investing in Mbekweni and shows why HTA and SCORE consider Mbekweni an opportune place to invest in. The chapter alludes to how SCORE and HTA approach doing sport-for-development work in townships, by referring to how the chain of command manifests between these two organizations and how sustainable sports programmes are conceptualized by these partner organizations at the MCSC. The different social networks and development of social capital that was prevalent amongst individuals in HTA, SCORE and the broader Mbekweni community was key, as they shared their knowledge, skill and commitment for the benefit of the community, in the form of the MCSC.

The second chapter deals with the specific sport-for-development programme (WGILS) that this thesis is based on. It describes the rationale for the programme and details around selection for the programme. The WGILS programme is a sport and lifeskills programme tailored specifically for the sporting needs of adolescent girls living in Mbekweni. I draw attention to women's subordinate position in sport in a patriarchal society and suggest that there are numerous cultural and gendered-biased based constraints that prevent young girls and youth to participate in sport in a township setting. It is suggested that a sport-for-development programme, such as WGILS provides a 'space' where social networks and friendships based on trust and reciprocity can prevail. The WGILS programme and the physical space of the MCSC therefore provides an environment where social capital can be nurtured amongst the group of WGILS who frequent the Centre.

The third chapter provides the foundation for the overall argument of this thesis. I draw attention to generalised and tautological claims that suggest that sport possesses magical qualities that result in 'development' of participants in sport-for-development programmes. This chapter takes a critical look at a romanticised vision of what can be achieved through sport and I argue that these assertions are often conjured up in rhetoric and dogma outside the real-life practices of sport-for-development practice. I contend that sport is not a 'quick fix' for broader social problems, but provides an entry point for development as it is a viable vehicle to attract vast numbers of youths.

The fourth chapter builds on the scepticism of a romanticised notion of what is possible through sport in the development context. I argue that social networks, trust, camaraderie and

friendships that are formed through participating in sport and that give rise to social capital are what enables development for the WGILS group at the MCSC. I draw on the concept of social capital as a means to make sense of the relationships and norms of trust and reciprocity that were prevalent amongst the WGILS. This chapter suggests that sport is a viable tool for development purposes as it is a vehicle that fuels social interaction and allows for the accumulation of social capital which may translate into extended networks, trust, reciprocity and future benefit for sport-for-development participants. Furthermore it is common for sport-for-development NGOs, such as SCORE to combine sport with life skill and educational and sport educational workshops and in doing so contribute to the development of human capital amongst participants of their programmes. It is believed that the accumulation of social capital and human capital, i.e. extended social networks and educational skills, will prove beneficial for youths once they leave school and enter the job market. I suggest then that the accumulation of social capital is what drives development in the sport-for-development context and, combined with human capital, can translate into economic security in the long term for sport-for-development participants. Sport itself then is not a ‚magical’ means to further the development of youth, but has the ability to bring like-minded individuals together and create a climate where social capital can flourish.

The fifth chapter reflects on the chosen methodology for this research project. The traditional research method of anthropology is participant observation, with the researcher being the research instrument, through which data are collected raise intriguing questions on how objectivity can be maintained in an endeavour where close relationships are forged with those studied. This chapter is included as it adopts a self-reflexive stance and interrogates my role as a researcher, student and volunteer/researcher for SCORE, and also examines the challenges I faced in mediating those different roles. I highlight instances where I was shaped and challenged by the experience of being an outsider, doing research amongst the WGILS. By reflecting on my role and research experience, I hope to emphasise that the fluidity and interactional nature of fieldwork shapes both the researcher and those who are studied. This chapter acknowledges that as a researcher I enter the field with certain assumptions about sport, development and the social world of the research field. I therefore did not enter the field as a ‚blank slate’, but by reflecting on my identity and preconceived notions, I hope to address any possible biases that could influence the findings of this research project.

I conclude the thesis by summarising the main postulations about sport and development that were addressed in this thesis. I provide an overview of the main themes and questions that were underlined and answered in each chapter. The broad themes of sport, development, women and social capital are summarised and clarified to indicate how they intersect and manifest themselves at the MCSC. The conclusion provides a synopsis of the general themes that are explored in this ethnographic project.

CHAPTER 1

Providing the context: Mbekweni, SCORE and Hope Through Action (HTA)

Introduction

Driving past a multitude of small brightly coloured houses on a Monday morning in Mbekweni, one observes men sitting outside on the „stoep’ drinking Black Labels and playing cards, as the „mamas’ (older women) hang up the laundry. Life seems in slow motion compared to the hustle and bustle of city life of nearby Cape Town, as the streets are deserted except for the odd toddler playing in the sand just off the pavement. I always remind myself before taking the turnoff into the township to drive slowly, as it is not uncommon to see stray dogs or toddlers run across the road, which does not carry much traffic. As I drive past the first few houses on route to the MCSC I notice toddlers with radiant smiles waving at me from the sandpit of their makeshift playground outside their homes. I am on my way to the research site, the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre, where a multi-million rand indoor sport facility was build in the Phola Park section of Mbekweni. It is in this township that SCORE and HTA have invested time, infrastructure and manpower to „develop’ the youth through sports programmes at the MCSC. The „life’ sketched above may seem peaceful and the people unassuming, but amidst this peacefulness lies a township with an alarmingly high crime and drug abuse rate.



Above: The area through which one drives to get to the MCSC is known as „Project 2’. The 78 stone brick houses were built by Irish Volunteers from the Niall Mellon Township Trust. Niall Mellon is an Irish business man and philanthropist and his charity has provided dozens of houses to those in need in various South African townships. Not all houses in Mbekweni are stone brick houses, as many of the houses west of where the centre areas such as Phola Park and Langabuya are built from corrugated iron. See Appendix 1.2

The objective of this chapter is to contextualise Mbekweni the township and in doing so to sketch the social and economic challenges that residents of Mbekweni face. This chapter highlights the different ways in which social capital is accumulated and used by individuals and how an array of networks forged between HTA, SCORE and the community of Mbekweni led to the building of the MCSC. It is within this specific context that SCORE, the NGO responsible for implementing and developing sustainable sport-for-development programmes at the MCSC, and HTA, the UK charity and brainchild of the MCSC, believe that sport is a viable means to address or „fix’ the repercussions of the dire socio-economic conditions that people in Mbekweni experience.

To achieve this objective, individuals within HTA as well as NGOs (SCORE) in Mbekweni relied and tapped into already established social networks. The fact that prominent individuals within HTA had established long-lasting relationships with individuals in Mbekweni and had build a crèche and supported individual families with financial and educational assistance over a prolonged period of time is indicative of the fact that there is a certain level of trust and cooperation between HTA and individuals in Mbekweni and perhaps the community at large.

This trend speaks directly to the advantages that may stem from social cohesion and connectedness through the accumulation of social capital for both HTA and the community of Mbekweni. The notion that of social capital is a means to conceptualise the intangible resources of community, common values and trust upon which we draw on everyday life.

There is a specific form of social capital on a communal level in Mbekweni, a form where the social networks extend beyond household and family structures and into different arenas, one of which is the MCSC. This „connectedness’ has made it an appealing township for SCORE and HTA to invest in, as SCORE and HTA envisage that a township rich in social capital will in the long run be able to take ownership of the MCSC and make it a self-sustaining enterprise. There are therefore particular ways in which social capital manifests itself for individuals, groups and the broader „community’ of Mbekweni. The social connectedness and networks of intersection between individuals in HTA, SCORE and specific role players within Mbekweni made the MCSC a reality.

The first part of the chapter provides a brief account of the demography and history of Mbekweni. It is vital to have an understanding of the demographics and history of Mbekweni in order to situate the experiences of those visiting the MCSC against a broader backdrop.

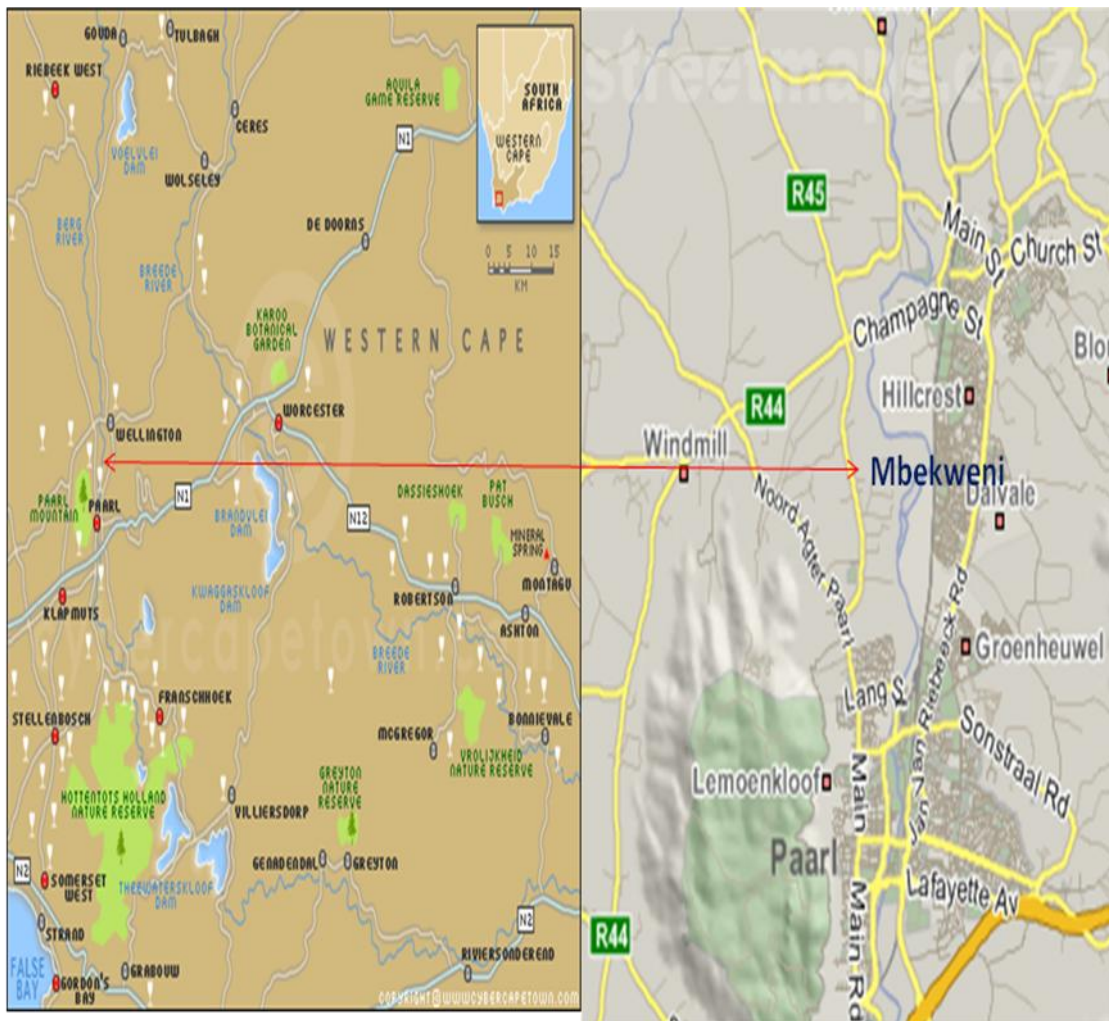
The second part of the chapter provides a description of the sport-for-development organisation NGO, SCORE, which is the implementing development partner of the Hope Through Action charity at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre (MCSC). It provides background information on the UK charity, Hope through Action's (HTA) and their involvement in Mbekweni. The HTA charity was responsible for raising funds and building the MCSC. Insight into the nature of SCORE as an organisation and its relationship with Hope Through Action provides an understanding of how sport-for-development programmes are funded and implemented at the MCSC. The WGILS sport-for-development programme that this study is based on is situated within these broader contexts of Mbekweni, SCORE, HTA and the actual MCSC.

Where is Mbekweni?

Mbekweni falls under the Drakenstein Municipality and is nestled between the towns of Paarl and Wellington in the Berg River Valley region of the Western Cape. The Drakenstein Municipality is a local municipality located within the Cape Winelands District Municipality in the Western Cape province of South Africa. Drakenstein Municipality as a whole has a population of slightly more than 200 000 with an annual increase of 4 200. According to the national census of 2001, the majority of residents in the Drakenstein municipal area are coloured (64%), followed by 21% African/Black and 15% white (Drakenstein Municipality, 2011).

The majority of residents in Mbekweni are black Xhosa speakers. Mbekweni is situated within a rich agricultural area. Since the 17th century farming has been the biggest source of livelihood in the district and the wine and grape industry specifically forms the backbone of the agricultural industry in the region. The wine and fruit industry still remains the main source of informal job creation in the Paarl/Wellington area and 80% of vines in the country are located in the Wellington region (Drakenstein Municipality, 2011). It is within this agricultural, economic and demographic district that Mbekweni is placed. A brief description of Mbekweni's history follows, which contextualises the township and those residing in it.

Below: Location of Mbekweni in relation to South Africa and the Western Cape



Source: Bland, 2011

Brief history of Mbekweni

Mbekweni literally means ‚a place of respect’ in Xhosa. Mbekweni has a history that can be traced back to the apartheid period, similar to many townships in the Western Cape, black labourers moved from the Eastern Cape to towns and cities in the Western Cape in search of job opportunities.

Mbekweni was originally regarded as providing accommodation for mostly single men who had made the trek from the Eastern Cape and hence it made little provision for families (Crawford, 1989: 40). There is limited historical literature on Mbekweni, but Tom Lodge (1983) in his book *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*, has written on a significant uprising that took place in the 1960s in the Mbekweni/Paarl region.

On 22 November 1962 250 men carrying axes, pangas and self-made weapons left the Mbekweni location and marched on Paarl. Their intention was to march to the prison to release prisoners and to also to attack the police station. The marchers clashed with the police and a 17-year-old girl and a young man were killed and four other people were wounded (Lodge, 1983:248). The uprising was organised by a small Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) contingent in Mbekweni. Lodge (1983) suggests that to understand the significance of the uprising, one has to look at the local circumstances which gave rise to this event.

According to Lodge (1983), Paarl had had a turbulent history. In mid-1959 demonstrations took place against the issue of women’s passes. In March 1960 Paarl was affected by the pass campaign, as many people destroyed their passes and a school in Mbekweni was set on fire. “Paarl’s African population had shrunk in the course of the 1950s and had undergone internal changes in its composition. Whereas in 1950 about 2000 families lived in and around Paarl, by 1962 there were only 400 families, the rest of the African population being composed of 2 000 migrant workers” (Lodge, 1983:248). Paarl was one of the last towns to be proclaimed under the Urban Areas Act, making it a haven for those who had been displaced by influx control in other areas (Crawford, 1989:37). Paarl’s African population was originally a ‚squatter’ population, many of them being refugees from evictions from farms and other urban centres in 1959.

In 1950 the municipality took responsibility for housing and controlling this ‚squatter’ population. Africans were re-accommodated in two municipal locations four miles from town, Mbekweni and Langabuya (Lodge, 1983:249). Mbekweni consisted of four blocks of

single-workers' barracks and there were houses for 30 families. The municipality provided small plots of land for rent and refuse collection. The site was exposed to extreme winds and many people lived a squalid, miserable existence, housed in ramshackle structures assembled from cast-off materials. At the time (1962) two thousand men were living in Mbekweni (Lodge, 1983:249).

The uprising in 1962 took place within this larger historical context sketched above and those who participated in the uprising were mostly young men who had come to work and live in Paarl in the mid-1950s. The uprising was a result of these young men, as PAC/Poqo supporters, rebelling against the influx control restrictions and the deteriorating conditions of the reserves (Lodge, 1983:251). The strong in-group cohesion shown by the events described above relates to what Putnam (2000) has called „bonding' social capital, where people with similar interests mobilise and use their strong group solidarity to challenge a specific phenomenon, in this case the influx control laws.

Mbekweni has changed significantly since the events described above. Post-apartheid South Africa saw the abolition of a range of racially discriminatory laws, which meant that the majority black South Africans could now enjoy political freedom and freedom of movement in a democratic South Africa. However, as Bozzoli (1987:26) has indicated in writing about several township communities across the country, what happened in the past had “an important *predisposing* influence upon the way in which communities are formed”. In the case of Mbekweni its historical experience has become manifested in a closely knit community

Mbekweni today

Mbekweni today has a growing population of 24 000, though the actual population is estimated to be 50 000. “TB increased in the area by 17% from 2001 to 2002, 15% of the residents live with HIV/AIDS and there is an incident rate of four times that in the USA for epilepsy. Mbekweni also faces many health-related challenges – high teenage pregnancy rates, abused and abandoned children, and a growing incidence of alcohol and drug addiction. There was a 54% increase in HIV/AIDS amongst pregnant women from the year 2000 to 2001. In 2006 there were 20 murders, 57 reported rapes and 582 serious assaults. In the last 6 years drug-related crimes have escalated by 270%” (UK Methodist Church, 2010).

A police report reveals that between April 2009 and March 2010 107 drug-related crimes occurred in Mbekweni (South African Police Service Report, 2010). In many of the interviews I conducted with the WGILS and the SCORE staff, the problem of drug use among the youth came up. V, who is a full-time SCORE staff member at the MCSC, aptly described the drug problem by saying:

Drugs ... it is like buying bread here [Mbekweni]. Any corner that you go to, maybe if it is like in a block of houses, one of those houses will be selling drugs, that is possible. Or maybe if it is like two blocks very near to each other, there will be someone selling drugs. (Interview, 8 March 2011).

This comment, along with statistics available on drug-related crimes in Mbekweni, indicates that drug use is a major problem in Mbekweni. This is particularly worrisome when one considers that the vast majority of residents in Mbekweni are children or youths who may be susceptible to drug use in an environment that V has described above.

Forty percent of residents in Mbekweni are under the age of 15 and 66% under the age of 34. Forty-eight percent of the Mbekweni population live below the SA poverty line (Bland, 2011). From these statistics it becomes evident that the vast majority of residents in Mbekweni can be considered to fall under the category of „youths’. Youths are often regarded as a target group for sport-for-development programmes as they are at the development stage where they experiment with alcohol, drugs and sex, and by participating in sport and life-skills session through sport, it is thought that they will be discouraged from engaging in such activities and be able to make responsible decisions regarding their personal lives.

According to Coalter (2007), “adolescents’ anti-social behaviour is an expression of developmental processes of adventure seeking, of a search for freedom, control and personal identity outside those ascribed by school and family” (Schafer 1969 cited in Coalter, 2007:128). It is suggested that sport can perform a cathartic function by providing an opportunity for an institutionalised display of force, strength and competitiveness as well as the opportunity for the presentation of adolescent maturity (Coalter, 2007:128). The majority of SCORE’s programmes target both male and female youths and SCORE’s proposal for the MCSC states specifically that the Centre is an open and inclusive civic centre with a predominant focus on children and youths, where they will be able to participate in regular and organised programmes free of charge. Lord Mawhinney, the honorary president of the

English Football League and one of the distinguished guests at the opening of the MCSC on 12 June 2010, referred to the Centre belonging to the youth of Mbekweni by stating that:

Today we dedicate this centre to the young people of Mbekweni. Throughout the world, the provision of quality football facilities has a huge impact on health, community pride and crime reduction. I have no doubt that the building of this new sport centre for the young people of the township will have a similarly positive impact locally. I congratulate the Hope through Action team for what they have achieved (World Footballer Inside, 2010).

The „young’ people of Mbekweni are the target group for the programmes that HTA funds and that SCORE implements at the MCSC. There are already a group of youths, known as the SCORE „young leaders’, who are actively involved in running programmes at the Centre. For example, the „young leaders’ implement the „SCORE for All’ programme, which aims to involve as many children as possible in the township in informal play. They walk around the streets of Mbekweni and assemble small kids to come to the Centre, where they play informal games with them. The young leaders therefore plough something back into their community by volunteering their services at the Centre. The adolescent age group of a large portion of the Mbekweni population has been highlighted by the demographic data above. I have argued that most sport-for-development organisations, such as SCORE, target youths and children and that the township of Mbekweni is an ideal setting to test and implement sport-for-development programmes at the MCSC, when one considers the youthfulness of its population.

Why a multi-purpose sport centre in Mbekweni?

The MCSC became a reality as a result of a variety of different stakeholders clubbing together and investing in the common cause of using sport to further the development of youths in Mbekweni. Considering that social capital can be understood as networks based on social and group norms which enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and via which individuals or groups can obtain certain types of advantages (Coalter, 2008:44), it can be suggested that the MCSC is a classic example of a physical manifestation of where social networks and group norms between the UK charity HTA and SCORE allowed for cooperation and advantages to yield for residents in Mbekweni.

HTA’s ability to fund and build the MCSC is largely because a prominent HTA trustee, Phillip Green, has long-standing connections with South Africa and particularly with Paarl. He has a personal history and affiliation with residents in Mbekweni that dates back to him

financing and assisting individuals and families in Mbekweni with healthcare and education. Although he resides in the UK, where he is the chief director of United Utilities, he also has a house in Paarl and has made significant contributions with regards to development work in the Paarl region.

He had overseen previous development initiatives in Mbekweni in the form of the Nompumelelo Educare Centre, which is situated right next to the MCSC. The Nompumelelo Educare Centre is a crèche funded by Philip Green and his wife Judy that was opened in 2004. It has up to 250, 6-month- to 6-year-olds in care and is almost self-sustaining through the building of a community laundry (Bland, 2011). Through connections to Paarl Methodist Church, local businessman Dale Fobian became heavily involved in scoping and delivering the crèche project and was also instrumental in the development of the MCSC. Dale went on to become one of the directors of the HTA foundation in South Africa.

Below: Aerial view of the site where the MCSC was built



Source: Bland, 2011

Philip Green wanted to continue investing in Mbekweni and after consulting local residents and stakeholders about further needs in the community, a decision was made to contribute to youth development in Mbekweni by building the MCSC. It was thought that sport is an ideal vehicle to further personal and community development, and with Mbekweni having a limited number of sporting facilities, the idea of the MCSC was born.

In March 2007 Phil Bland, a member of Knutsford Methodist Church in the UK who had previously worked with Philip Green, retired and wanted to invest his time and energy in charity work. As Director of Asset Management, Phil Bland had worked on many multi-million pound projects and also had a soft spot for this part of Africa, having visited it a number of times. Phil Bland decided to become involved in this endeavour in Mbekweni and he was instrumental in assembling a team to support him (UK Methodist Church, 2010).

Evidently the link between the church affiliations of the members of the HTA team saw the MSCS become a reality. There was a church service held at the centre a day after the opening of the MCSC in June 2010. The service was broadcast live to the Greyfriars Church in Reading, UK where Judy and Philip Green attend, and to the Knutsford Methodist Church. The Paarl Methodist Church minister, Angus Kelly, commented during his sermon on the development of the MCSC and is quoted as saying “this must be how God looks at his world – his people working together across race, countries, nationalities, genders and denominations in order to bring about his kingdom” (UK Methodist Church website, 2010). The extended networks and collaboration, across nations, race and gender have seen the MCSC become a landmark within the community of Mbekweni. The religious affiliation of many of the HTA directors and the evangelical drive gave rise to the prospect of a multi-purpose sports facility in Mbekweni. The mobilisation of various partners to make the MCSC a reality saw the Centre being completed within seven months. The social connectedness between prominent HTA trustees, based on church affiliation, allowed for social capital to be accumulated through a common interest in doing philanthropic work in South Africa and on the basis of their religious preferences. The social capital that had been accumulated by HTA’s connections with different churches and charities in the UK is indicative of the fact that an extended set of social networks can indeed yield benefits in the form of cooperation and trust.

Furthermore, the actual size and population of Mbekweni was also a drawing card to invest in the community by HTA. Phil Bland explained the logic of building an indoor sports facility in Mbekweni:

We think this (the MCSC) only really works where the township is small enough to take ownership of it, so this becomes a significant part of the township. So moving into the Khayelitshas⁷ or the Langas is probably not for us, so looking at the second-tier townships

⁷ Khayelitsha and Langa are bigger townships on the outskirts of Cape Town. The 2001 South African Census recorded close to 400 000 people living in Khayelitsha, but these numbers would have increased since then.

probably is, like here (Mbekweni) and Kayamandi. We looking for small to medium places where you can make a difference and measure that difference. We are looking for political stability (Interview, 31 January 2011).

Evidently the population size and actual geographical area, as well as political stability, are key determinants for HTA to invest in townships. As of March 2011, prior to the local government election, the ANC had a majority in the Drakenstein region, with Charmaine Manuel the Mayor of the municipality. The MCSC was the brainchild of HTA and would not have become a reality if it were not for their proposal and persistence in conceptualising a multipurpose indoor facility in Mbekweni. I now turn to describing HTA as an organisation and its relationship with SCORE, which is the implementing development partner at the MCSC.

Hope Through Action: The Charity and drive behind the MCSC.

This section will outline the charity Hope Through Action's governance model and give insight into their rationale for building the MCSC. In doing so, I hope to show the variety of interest groups and networks that were established and the cooperation between these different interest groups that allowed for the accumulation of social capital and the future benefit for the residents in Mbekweni in the form of the MCSC.

The MCSC was funded and built by the Hope Through Action Foundation (SA) and its partner the UK charity, Hope Through Action (HTA). The extended business networks allowed HTA to accumulate enough financial capital to make the MCSC a reality. These two entities collaborated to fund and build the MCSC. SCORE the leading development partner of HTA and is responsible for developing sustainable sports and development programmes at the centre. HTA had its first meeting with SCORE in January 2009. As Phillip Bland, HTA's chairman, explains:

Our concept and understanding with SCORE has been that we can build a building out here [Mbekweni], but we cannot actually do anything with it, so for us to find the right development partner is crucial. One of the lessons we have learned is that we should involve that partner earlier (Interview: 31 January, 2011).

Steven Wilkinson, an HTA trustee confirmed the importance of having a local sport-for-development organisation implementing tightly integrated development programmes by stating that:

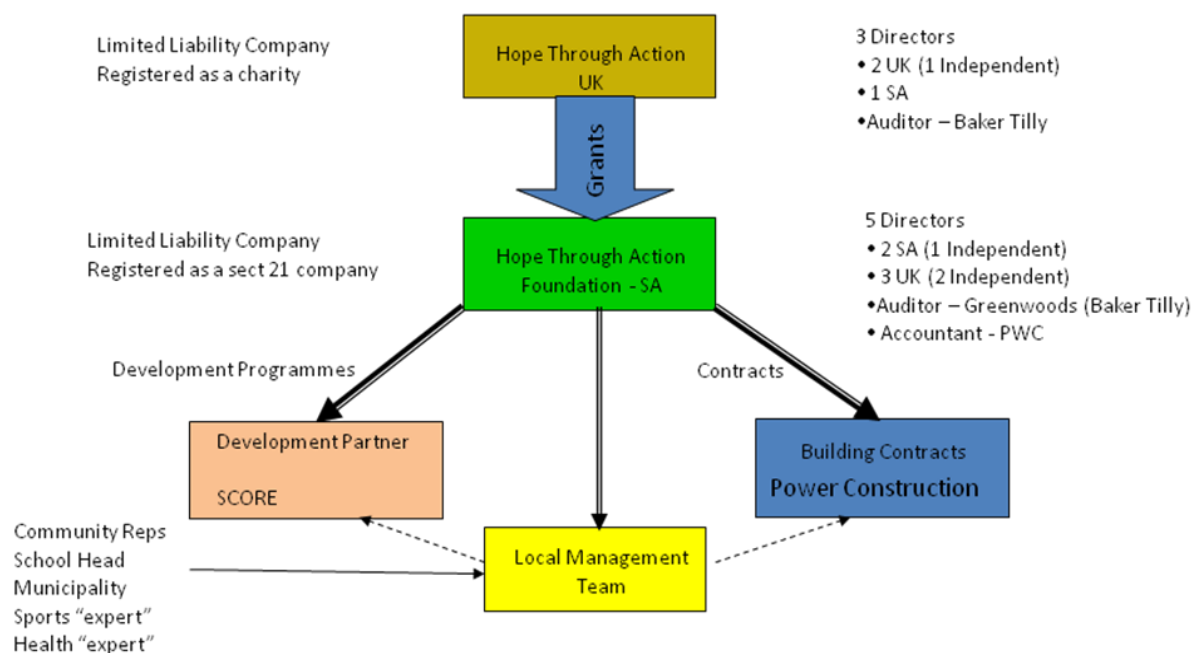
We were fortunate to think that SCORE had been involved in the community and therefore had perhaps done some work that we would have wanted them to have done in preparation for the opening of the centre (Interview: 31 January, 2011).

It is apparent from these two quotes that, although HTA may have had the blueprint and funds for building the MCSC, they were far removed from the daily operations and functioning of the centre. In Phil Bland's words, "building a building out here (Mbekweni), but not being able to do anything with it" makes the relationship between HTA and SCORE essential for the smooth and effective implementation of programmes at the MCSC. It is therefore essential that the social networks and relationships established between individuals in HTA and SCORE are sound to ensure that the Centre's operation is a success. The Western Cape co-ordinator of SCORE's programmes is the key middleman between HTA and role players in the community. She updates the HTA directors consistently about developments or problems at the Centre and this ongoing communication ensures that the HTA directors are aware of what happens at the Centre weekly. Evidently SCORE's extensive experience in the sport-for-development sector in South Africa, and its prior involvement in Mbekweni, were a draw card for HTA to partner with them. HTA is thus reliant on SCORE's programmes and expertise to make a success of the daily functioning of the MCSC and sports development programmes that are implemented at the centre.

Hope Through Action – the charity

HTA is a limited liability company and was registered as a charity in the UK in 2008. It has three directors, of whom two are British and one is South African. Hope Through Action in the UK is responsible for fundraising and securing donors for grants to finance the MCSC and programmes that are implemented at the facility by SCORE. The Hope Through Action Foundation is a limited liability company and registered as a section 21 company in South Africa. The HTA foundation has five directors, of whom two are South African and three are British. The diagram below depicts the HTA's governance model.

Governance Model



Source: Bland, 2011

As indicated in the model above, the leading development partner of the HTA foundation is SCORE, but additional partnerships with the following sport development organisations have also been initiated. They are: Coaching for Hope, Grassrootsoccer, Kickin Aids Out!, Saracens Sport Foundation, Stellenbosch University Sport Performance Institute, Love Life and the Mbekweni Cricket School. It is essential that SCORE/HTA maintain good relations with these partners, as they are able to render services to the youth of Mbekweni at the MCSC. The legal entity of Hope Through Action and the Hope Through Action Foundation (SA) are responsible for funding the MCSC and were very efficient in terms of ensuring that the building of the centre was on schedule and that programmes that operate from the centre are consistently funded.⁸

HTA's vision is to 'change lives through the power of sport' and to accomplish this change they believe that the high-profile asset (the MCSC) together with tightly integrated development programmes will produce life-changing opportunities. Phillip Bland, the HTA chairman, mentioned the benefits of a high-profile asset (the MCSC) by stating:

⁸ The Hope Through Action governance model is presented here courtesy of the chairperson of HTA, Phillip Bland, whose power-point presentation I obtained from him during an interview in January 2011.

We are particularly keen to test this high-profile asset. One of the big benefits of a high-profile asset is that it does attract funding that you probably wouldn't attract otherwise. People are quite keen to see something they had built (Interview: 31 January, 2011).

Evidently the tangible nature of the MCSC described by the chairperson of HTA as a 'high-profile asset' suggests that it can be used to lure potential donors to buy into HTA's vision and mission in Mbekweni. The idea that donors are more willing to donate money to a physical structure such as the MCSC, as opposed to donating money to a general cause, makes the MCSC an attractive investment for donors. This leads to the question of how HTA was able to raise a substantial amount of money to build and fund the MCSC.

Hope Through Action raised funds for the MCSC by partnering with the English Football League. One pound on every ticket sold at the Carling Cup finals at the Wembley Stadium in 2009 and 2010 went towards funding the MCSC.⁹ The 2010 Carling Cup final between Aston Villa and Manchester United raised 60 000 pounds for HTA. Individual donors and corporate supporting partners of HTA also contributed towards raising funds for HTA's purpose. The supporting partners included both UK and South African companies. These included the following companies: United Utilities, the English Football League, the David and Eliane Potter foundation, PricewaterhouseCoopers, Deloitte, Goldman Sachs, Comic Relief, Power Construction Group, MWH (engineering and construction company), Investec, Addleshaw Goddard, Ceres fruit juices, Distell and Flemming Family and Partners (FF &P), an asset management company in the UK. It is estimated that it costs R500 000 per year to run the centre and the development programmes. Phase two, which would see 4 additional outdoor pitches be built, is estimated to cost around R1 875 000 (*Paarl Post*, 27 June, 2010).

The social and business networks that were forged by prominent HTA trustees with influential organisations, who supported the MCSC financially, show that social capital is pliable. This form of social capital established between HTA and donors differs considerably from the social capital prevalent amongst the WGILS (see Chapter 4), as the networks established by HTA were primarily for financial and infrastructural investment, whereas the WGILS used social capital as a form of personal or individual investment.

⁹ The Carling Cup is a popular professional football/soccer league in the UK. See Appendix 1.3 for excerpt from the programme of the Carling Cup final in 2010.

SCORE as an organisation

SCORE is a Sport and Development organisation based in Africa that uses sport to empower individuals and build stronger, healthier communities.¹⁰ One of SCORE's main aims is to train community sports leaders. Sport administration and coaching courses include life skills and leadership components that go beyond the sports field to reinforce community structures and meet broader community development requirements. SCORE's sport and development programmes are implemented in South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and the Netherlands. These entities are supported and synchronised by the SCORE International Office in Cape Town. Since its inception in 1991, SCORE has been reliant on donor funding and has been able to sustain its operations and programmes through support from a range of donor partners in the form of government departments, international development agencies, as well as private individuals and family trusts.

SCORE's vision is "to change lives and build stronger communities through sport" and part of their mission is to use sport to provide children and youths with valuable skills and opportunities that they need to succeed in life and contribute to their communities. SCORE has projects in 44 communities in 7 provinces in South Africa. The provinces where SCORE have programmes in operation are Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and North West. Mbekweni, where the Mbekweni Community Sport centre was built and opened in June 2010, is one of the ten Western Cape communities where SCORE runs programmes. Other communities in the Western Cape where SCORE has programmes are Langa, Hanover Park, Crossroads, Khayelitsha, Riviersonderend, Zoar and Dysseisdorp. What makes Mbekweni unique is that it is the only community in South Africa where SCORE operate that has an indoor facility at their full disposal. SCORE usually makes use of community centres and school sport fields to run its programmes from.

The MCSC is therefore associated with SCORE as an organisation, as all programmes that are operated at the Centre are under the auspices of SCORE. This means that sustainable

¹⁰ The information about SCORE's programmes and implementation was obtained from SCORE's website (www.score.org.za), accessed 21 February 2011. My six-month fieldwork period at the MCSC also allowed me to gain a better understanding on how these programmes are implemented on ground level.

sport-for-development programmes can be implemented and maintained at the Centre, as there is always a guarantee of time and usage of the Centre for SCORE's purposes.

The three main programmes that form SCORE's implementation framework are: the Volunteer Involvement Programme (VIP), LivingSport programme and the Cup of Heroes. The Volunteer Improvement Programme is a database and recognition system for community sports leaders and invests in local volunteers to empower communities. The LivingSport programme is a training and activity curriculum that empowers individuals and community sport structures. It is based on a "leadership ladder", where youths are trained to be peer leaders and then move on to become peer coaches, VIPs, peer leader trainers and eventually community sports leaders. The "leadership ladder" involves training in sport, leadership and life skills through workshops. In essence, SCORE's approach is to train youth who are already involved in sport through workshops to move up the leadership ladder and to ultimately become community sports leaders.

This approach is adopted to make the youths who are involved with SCORE programmes and trained to be peer leaders accountable and responsible for the effective management of their programmes and to ultimately become self-sufficient in running programmes in their community. Moreover, it is thought that by training youths in life skills and providing them with an opportunity to develop through sport, „good/responsible citizens' are created that will invest their learned skills in the community and be a benefit to civil society. Closely linked to the notion of civic virtue and sports participation is the diffused and contested concept of social capital. The way in which the WGILS participant's relationships are representative of the formation of social capital is addressed later in Chapter 4, but at this stage the consequence of social capital formation and its ability to bind communities together (Putnam, 2000) relates closely to the production active citizens. Portes (1998:19) refers to the advantages of the accumulation of social capital on a macro level:

As property of communities and nations rather than individuals, social capital is simultaneously a cause and effect. It leads to positive outcomes, such as economic development and less crime, and its existence is inferred from the same outcomes. Cities that are well governed and moving ahead economically do so because they have high social capital: poorer cities lack this civic virtue.

It can be argued that sport-for-development organisations, such as SCORE which acquire high levels of social capital and who train youth leaders with an aim of producing responsible

citizens through sport, „build stronger cities’ or communities with the hope that this will fuel civic virtue. Coalter (2007) notes the presumed link between sport participation and active citizenship, and draws attention to the perception that “people who participate in sport and arts activities are more likely to play an active role in the community in other ways” (Scottish Offices, 1999:222, cited in Coalter, 2007:48). Coalter (2007), however, is sceptical of this assumption and alludes to the ambiguous nature of such a statement.

It is essential to be cautious when stating that there is a cause-effect relationship between participation in sport and the creation of „responsible citizens’. The „outcomes’ of sport participation need to be analysed within a broader framework of social, economic class and culture. The context in which this relationship plays out (between participation in sport and responsible citizens) and the efficacy of the life-skills workshops and how they are facilitated and perceived by the participants of sport-for-development programmes can have a significant influence on the envisaged outcomes.

Central to many sport-for-development organisations’ implementation framework is the idea that by producing responsible youths through sport-for-development programmes, they will become leaders and take the initiative in their respective communities and therefore become independent thinkers and doers. In that way SCORE may provide the necessary skills for youths to become effective coaches and leaders in the community through sporting programmes. It is hoped that through these programmes youth become empowered and take initiative in their own communities, and therefore not become dependent on SCORE as an organisation. Coalter (2007:76) summarises the „bottom-up’ approach of development through sport. In his opinion local leadership is regarded as a vital factor for the development and successful implementation of sport-for-development programmes. He suggests that strategies that rely on the recognition and involvement of local people increases the ownership and credibility of sport programmes and in turn ensures a desire for long-term sustainability.

SCORE’s approach in Mbekweni relates to Coalter’s (2007) explanation of ownership and credibility. In Mbekweni all the staff members that work at the MCSC are residents in Mbekweni. This is useful in terms of local community residents experiencing a sense of ownership of the centre, but also allows for effective communication with local stakeholders in the community, as they may have previously established links with school principals, the Department of Arts and Culture and other role players in the community.

The SCORE facilitator of the WGILS programme was a learner at Desmond Tutu High School. This school and the relationship that SCORE has with teachers, learners and the principal at the school is crucial, as communication and the efficacy of programmes at the MCSC are dependent on learners who are recruited from the school. Programmes, such as WGILS that take place at the MCSC recruit learners from Desmond Tutu High School and the fact that the SCORE facilitator is an ex-pupil of the school makes communication with role players within the school easier, as she already has established links with them. I accompanied her on various visits to the school and her prior knowledge of who to talk to about certain matters and her affiliation with the school made communication and relaying of information regarding the programme efficient. Furthermore, the Centre manager and other SCORE facilitators at the MCSC are also residents of Mbekweni and have established links with key community role players.

In addition to the two programming pillars (Volunteer Involvement Programme and „LivingSport’) described above, the third pillar of SCORE’s programme implementation is the „Cup of Heroes’. The Cup of Heroes is an event on the international platform, where communities can showcase and measure their achievements in sport and community development. It is SCORE’s annual flagship competition in which SCORE communities compete against each other in local, regional, national and international events. The competition took place for the first time in the Eastern Cape in 2007. It is an opportunity for communities to highlight their progress. Multi-skilled community youth teams compete in activities on and off the field. The sporting events include under-16 girls football, boys football, mixed boys and girls football, mixed boys and girls volleyball, and mixed boys and girls netball. The „Cup of Heroes’ event allows SCORE communities to score points not only from goals, but also for their commitment to social transformation in their communities. The „Cup of Heroes’ competition format is comprised of sporting, cultural and community service components.

Each participating SCORE community must prepare a performance that demonstrates their home community culture at the competition; they must participate in all the sporting codes and also present a community service project to the judges at the „Cup of Heroes’. The team should be involved in a community service project that makes a difference in their community, one that raises awareness about issues in their community and instils a sense of responsibility in the youths. The winning team is therefore determined not only by winning

the sporting component of the competition, but also the community service and cultural components.

These three programmes – the Volunteer Involvement Programme (VIP), LivingSport and Cup of Heroes – overlap, forming SCORE’s implementation framework. SCORE’s programmes also rely on international volunteers, who are placed in a ‘SCORE community’ for a period of one year. There had been a female Norwegian volunteer placed in Mbekweni in 2009, prior to the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre being built. In July 2010 another Norwegian volunteer was placed at the MCSC. He was selected to serve his volunteer period in Mbekweni, as his prior experience in futsal¹¹ coaching and training was considered useful at the MCSC, which has an indoor futsal pitch. The international volunteers are placed with a ‘host family’ in the community within which they work. They are responsible for implementing SCORE’s programmes in the community and setting up structured sporting leagues for a period of one year, after which they return to their native country. Most volunteers who implement SCORE’s programmes are international visitors, mainly from Norway. SCORE has a longstanding relationship with the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of sports (NIF), who have consistently been sending volunteers over to South Africa to do sport-for-development work since 1998. The first South African to volunteer for SCORE’s programmes was Andrew Purnell, who volunteered his services in 1997. SCORE’s programmes are funded by various donors, but they have formed dependable partnerships with the following entities: NIF, FK Norway, UK Sport, UNICEF, Adidas (brand sponsor), the Department of Sport and Recreation, South Africa and individual donors who make the programmes possible.

This brief organisational overview of SCORE as a sport-or-development gives an insight into how their policies and programmes are implemented on ground level. An understanding of SCORE’s national programmes indicates how their programmes are implemented on a local level in Mbekweni. The WGILS programme, which is the focus of this dissertation, is the first programme of its kind to be implemented by SCORE in a community and is considered to be a pilot study for future projects focusing on women’s sporting needs in townships. The WGILS programme is therefore unique to the MCSC, but is also informed by SCORE’s broader programming pillars.

¹¹ Futsal is a variation of soccer and is a sport played on an indoor smaller pitch with 5 players per team. Futsal, football and soccer are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

History of SCORE

SCORE's involvement in sport-for-development work spans twenty years. The political climate in South Africa in the early 1990s, when the National Party succumbed to the power of the ANC, had a significant effect on the implementation of SCORE's programme in townships. Townships at the time were volatile areas in the transition from the apartheid regime to the newly elected democratic government. This was evident as there had been numerous uprisings in townships in anticipation of the release of Nelson Mandela in the early 1990s. SCORE's activities in the respective communities that it worked in were therefore influenced by broader political trends occurring in the early 1990s in South Africa. The history of SCORE is relevant to the discussion on sport and development, as townships are often sites where development work is practised. The political and economic history of South Africa produced an economically and racially stratified South African society, where the vast majority of black South Africans were marginalised and lived in townships on the outskirts of major towns and cities. It is mostly in these townships, that NGOs find their niche to provide development opportunities for poor South Africans.

This brief historical section on SCORE as an organisation will give background information as to how SCORE came into existence and how its programmes have spread.¹² SCORE's influence has grown from a small-scale sports development project in Khayelitsha to an organisation with international branches and recognition. SCORE is spearheaded by Stefan Howells, the executive director of SCORE, who was awarded an MBE in 2008 for his industrious efforts in his service to sport and social development in Southern Africa.

SCORE was founded in 1991 by an American Olympic rower, Juliet Thompson. She had visited Khayelitsha and decided to start a sustainable sports development project after she witnessed the absence of any sporting structures in the township. Khayelitsha is a sprawling township on the outskirts of Cape Town. The 2001 Census recorded the size of the Khayelitsha population at 329 002 people in 85 614 households, many of whom live in dire social conditions. In 1991 Juliet, together with five American volunteers, started working in five schools in Khayelitsha. The pilot project was successful and led to its endorsement by the American World Teach programme, and in April 1991 the name SCORE was in official

¹² The historical data on SCORE's development as an organisation were noted during an informal meeting with SCORE's director Stefan Howells during a SCORE volunteer orientation week in Paarl in August 2010. This information is also available online at <http://www.score.org.za/siteNews/archive/> (accessed 21 February 2011).

use. In September of that year Stefan Howells, the future Director, was appointed as the field co-ordinator. Stefan Howells became the executive director of SCORE in 1995 and still holds that position in 2011.

In 1992 under the leadership of Howells, the first international group of eleven volunteers from Britain, Canada and America, started volunteering their sporting knowledge and skill in ten schools in Khayelitsha. In that year the „SCORE 4 All’ after-school programme was established. This programme aims to involve as many children and youths as possible in the community in sport. Children of all ages are recruited by „young leaders’ (groups of youths in the LivingSport programme) and participate in a variety of sporting activities. The aim of the „SCORE 4 All’ programme is to give as many children and youths as possible access to a sporting activity and in that way increase SCORE’s visibility in the respective community. The „SCORE 4 All’ programme runs every Friday from the MCSC, where a group of young leaders go out into the community to „collect’ kids and bring them to the MCSC. This programme targets the whole of Mbekweni and aims to improve access to the Centre. It is also an opportunity for the „young leaders’ to plough what they have learned in the various life-skills workshops that SCORE does with them back into the community.

The year 1993 was a particularly politically volatile period in South Africa’s transition and political unrest in the townships had a severe impact on SCORE’s programmes. The assassination on 10 April 1993 of Chris Hani, the leader of the South African Communist Party and a promoter of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), sent shockwaves through South Africa. The security situation in the townships deteriorated and SCORE could not guarantee the safety of those volunteers who had been working there. Volunteers were therefore given the opportunity to return to their home countries as it was too risky to continue SCORE programmes in the various communities.

With many of the volunteers returning to their home countries as a result of the political unrest, SCORE’s programmes that had been built up in the communities since 1991 were cancelled. At this stage the only active volunteer was David Notoane, a prominent South African soccer player and coach.

The temporary suspension of SCORE’s programme from 1993-1994 made the SCORE staff at the time realise that it was problematic that community leaders and members of the communities with whom SCORE worked were heavily reliant on SCORE volunteers. There

was a lack of ownership of the programmes by community individuals who had been assisting the SCORE volunteers, which meant that as soon as the volunteers withdrew, the programmes collapsed. From then on SCORE's programme implementation shifted and greater emphasis was placed on training and working with partners in townships, especially teachers and existing sport leaders to implement SCORE programmes. The skill and knowledge that the volunteers instil in the youth are relayed to teachers and community members through this 'bottom-up' approach and empowers them and ensures the sustainability of the SCORE programme. The basis of the 'LivingSport' programme is founded on the principle of empowering individuals through SCORE programmes to become self-sustaining.

In 1994 the first South African democratic election took place and the African National Congress (ANC) came to power. This was a significant event, not only for a democratic South Africa, but also for SCORE as a non-profit sport-for-development organisation. SCORE could now consider re-entering the townships to do sport-for-development work, because of the more settled political climate at the time. This led to the registration of SCORE as a South African NGO in 1994 and saw the Dutch Olympic Committee send down new volunteers to South Africa. The placement of a volunteer in the rural area of Ceres took place in that same year and in 1995 SCORE expanded its programmes to Dysselsdorp and the George/Wilderness area. In 1996 SCORE moved northwards and started implementing its programmes in Limpopo province and Mpumalanga. In 1998 SCORE expanded to the Eastern Cape and Gauteng, and in that same year the Norwegian Sports Confederation became a partner of SCORE. In 1999 the Finnish Sports Federation partnered with SCORE and in 2000 SCORE became the first sports organisation to be granted money from the development budget of the European Union. In the year 2000 SCORE expanded into the North West province and also started its first international programme by starting a project in Namibia.

In 2001 SCORE started integrating HIV/AIDS awareness into its programmes and joined the Kicking Aids Out! network, which aims to spread HIV/AIDS awareness through sport. It links physical activity and movement with HIV and AIDS prevention and education through workshops. In 2002 SCORE extended its international influence and introduced its programmes in Zambia. In 2004 SCORE suffered a gap in funding as the European Union had stopped funding SCORE. Fortunately SCORE was allocated a National Lottery Project in 2006 and also had the opportunity to train youths in event management and life-skill

workshops for two provincial departments. In 2009 SCORE SA launched its offices in Pretoria. In 2010, the year of the first African-hosted FIFA World Cup in South Africa, SCORE launched a 'SCORE for 2010' campaign, which ran through the period of the World Cup. It involved a holiday programme called the 'SCORE cup', a community-based football programme which involved more than 10 000 children and youths in more than 50 communities across Southern Africa. The year 2010 was a significant year for South Africa as a sporting nation on a national level by hosting the FIFA World Cup, but SCORE's involvement on the grassroots level also made significant contributions to sports participation around the country.

The year 2010 was a momentous year for SCORE's programmes in the township of Mbekweni as the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre (MCSC) was opened on June 12 by the Chairman of the England Football League, Lord Mawhinney, together with the Mayor of the Drakenstein Municipality. SCORE is the implementing partner of the UK charity Hope Through Action at the Centre. There are three full-time SCORE staff and one Norwegian volunteer working at the Centre. The MCSCS has become a landmark in the community and provides various sport-for-development programmes. In 2011 SCORE celebrates its 20th anniversary and is considered one of the leading sports-for development organisations in South Africa, one which has also extended its influence internationally.

Clearly as an NGO, SCORE has had to adapt to a rapidly changing political environment in South Africa. Space opened up for SCORE to become explicitly socially orientated as the role of NGOs in national politics receded. This does not imply, however, that it was impervious to the swirl of local politics, as it had to negotiate the tensions of local government. An example of such negotiations is the consultations with local government over a prolonged period of time by both HTA and SCORE to proceed with the planning and building of the MCSC. In an attempt to incorporate local government in the running of the MCSC, SCORE initiated meetings with 'contact persons' and role players within local government, such as representatives of the department of Sport and Recreation South Africa to keep them updated on events and initiatives at the MCSC.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted how different organisations and individuals within these organisations have forged social networks and established norms of trust and reciprocity based on the notion of social capital to see the MCSC become a reality in the township of

Mbekweni. It has shown how established social links and the connectedness of HTA and SCORE with prominent individuals in influential organisations have ensured that substantial donor funds be granted for the building of the MCSC. I emphasised that the close-knit ties between HTA with and church affiliates, business people and the Mbekweni community at large led to the building of the MCSC. I described the demographics and the historical trajectory that led to the establishment of Mbekweni as a township, but one characterised as having a high crime and drug abuse rate. The MCSC and sport programmes are an attempt by HTA and SCORE to address the dire social economic circumstances that many residents in Mbekweni face. Finally, SCORE as an organisation and its history have been discussed in relation to broader political trends in South Africa. This descriptive background provides an insight into the programmes that SCORE implements and its context, i.e. Mbekweni; this will inform the way that the WGILS programme is understood.

CHAPTER 2

Women at play: Rationale for WGILS programme

Introduction

It is a „lazy’ day at the MCSC, as the summer heat seems to have sapped the energy out of those who linger in the Centre. I am also lethargic as the 39°C summer heat in Mbekweni makes participating in sport in the Centre quite a challenge. There is a group of fifteen to twenty young boys playing soccer on the indoor pitch and a smaller group of young girls, probably between the ages of 5 and 12 running up and down the bleachers. It was not unusual to see boys and men outnumber girls or women at the MCSC. This is the reason that a SCORE/HTA deliberately tried to make the MCSC an all-inclusive sports centre, with one of its aims being to increase girls’ participation in sport in Mbekweni. The WGILS programme was one such endeavour to boost girls’ involvement at the MCSC.

This synopsis is a microcosm of what is a trend in South African sporting circles, with regard to women or girls participating in sport. Young black girls and women are often marginalised, both in terms of number and access to sporting opportunities in South African townships. Burnett (1992:24) substantiates this claim by stating that “sport is a severely gendered domain in which male hegemony is acted out and perpetuated ... women in impoverished communities view access to sport as peripheral in their everyday struggle for material survival.” It is against this background that the rationale and motivation for providing young black girls in a township such as Mbekweni access to sporting opportunities and spaces was envisaged by SCORE and HTA through the WGILS programme.

This chapter contextualises women’s position in sport in South African. It is essential to have a broader understanding of this in order to locate the experiences of the WGILS as black adolescent girls within an expansive framework. Considering that the WGILS programme focuses on the sporting needs of a group of adolescent girls living in the Mbekweni Township, the challenges and ideological constraints that they face often coincide with broad trends of women’s marginalisation in sport in South African townships.

The secondary position of women and girls in society – and in this case sport is often understood from a feminist perspective, where women are viewed as struggling against patriarchal domination and male dominance in sport. That theoretical lens of feminism is

important, but it is not the main conceptual tool used to understand the relationship between sport and development.¹³ The focus of my study is the way in which sport allows for social capital to accumulate and in doing so give way to individual development through sport. Having said that, the gendered dimension and the implications of being female and participating in sport do have certain consequences that cannot be overlooked as they do inform the relationship between sport and development, especially given the fact that this study is focused on a sport-for-development programme focusing specifically on the needs of young girls in Mbekweni.

This chapter describes a sport-for-development programme, Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS), which is tailored specifically for adolescent girls living in Mbekweni. Attention is drawn to the fact that adolescent girls in townships often have to overcome structural, social and cultural barriers to participate in sport. Keim and Qhuma (1996: 85) note that there are many constraints which prevent women, especially those residing in South African townships, from participating in sport or recreational activities. This chapter highlights these constraints. Limitations that prevent young girls and women from participating in sport include: firstly, the notion that sport is a male participant and dominated industry; and secondly, that girls and women's gendered roles and identity often associate them with the domestic space rather than the public space of sports fields. This results in their becoming 'invisible' in sporting spaces and marginalised in terms of access to sporting spaces such as the MCSC and participation in sporting codes.

Furthermore, I suggest that the WGILS programme enables the participants of the sport-for-development programme to increase their social networks and forge meaningful relationships. It is in this 'space' where black adolescent girls who have an interest in sport can associate with one another and in doing so accumulate social capital that may yield certain benefits in the form of trust, reciprocity and a communal identity of being a WGIL. In a township where there is an alarmingly high rate of sexual abuse and other social evils, the WGILS programme offers young girls in Mbekweni an outlet to reap the benefits of social

¹³ I do not wish to make feminism the main theoretical lens through which to make sense of my fieldwork. The reason being that a range of scholars (Hargreaves, 1997; Pelak, 2005; Burnett, 1992; Roberts, 1993 & Saveedra, 2005, to mention a few) has focused on women's subordinate position in sport and, although that informs the way that I conceptualise my research, it does not form the foundation from which I make sense of the relationship between sport and development.

cohesion and connectedness (social capital) that may be lacking in their home or communal contexts.

Women, sport and development

There is a substantial body of literature (Keim & Qhuma 1996; Brady, 2005; Hargreaves, 1997; Burnett, 1992; Saveedra, 2005; Mensch, Bruce & Greene, 1998) that points to women's subordinate position in sport in relation to men. This proposition is substantiated by the international literature on women's position in sport worldwide and many scholars have noted the same trend in the South African context. South Africa is a developing country and a country where a vast majority of its citizens live in townships on the outskirts of major towns and cities, in impoverished conditions; this brings to the fore an intriguing dynamic between sport, development and women's position in this context. It is argued that "sport is a powerful institution through which male hegemony is constructed and reconstructed" (Bryson, 1987: 349) and access for women to sports resources is often neglected, especially in the historically disadvantaged areas of South Africa, of which Mbekweni is one.

Boy's and men's sports needs are often prioritised over those of women and girls; Hargreaves (1997) argues that this reinforces gendered bias in sports development work in South Africa. Furthermore, Burnett (1992:23) suggests the reality of many women in South Africa is that they are living in conditions of chronic poverty, exposed to patriarchy and with them being ideologically stereotyped and structurally marginalized contributes to their absence in the institutionalized domain of sport. The WGILS participants as young adolescent girls fall in this category.

It can be argued that girls' lives become restricted in adolescence. This is a time when the "world expands for boys and contracts for girls" (Mensch *et al.*, 1998:2), and gender disparities in opportunity and expectations become particularly pronounced. Indeed many of the WGILS commented during the interviews that 'public spaces' for girls to get together and play sport or just socialise are limited in Mbekweni and that boys often have access to specific public spaces in Mbekweni such as the streets, soccer clubs, pubs and parks, where girls are very often not visible.

In an attempt to encourage girls to participate in activities at the MCSC, it was decided by SCORE staff at the MCSC that on Tuesday afternoons the MCSC would be reserved for the exclusive use of women and girls only. Every Tuesday afternoon from 2:30 – 5:00 girls have

the chance to come to the MCSC and participate in activities at the Centre. Girls of all ages and with different levels of sporting skills are encouraged to come and participate in futsal, netball or games during this time. This slot is known as „the Girls Block’ and from its inception in mid-November 2010, when only twenty girls showed up, it has shown steady growth, with an average of eighty girls attending the „Girls Block’ toward the latter stages of 2010.

There is a difference between girls’ and boys’ access to their peers and public spaces. It can be argued that this starts in childhood and is intensified during adolescence. Cultural norms and conditions establish that it is unsafe or unacceptable for girls to go out in public, limiting girls’ physical mobility (Brady, 2005:39). The result of curtailing the physical mobility of girls – because of a gendered division of labour, or the expectation that girls should fulfil their roles as nurturers and caregivers in the domestic context – is that their time and motivation to participate in sport is limited.

One of the WGILS confirmed this traditional notion that women and girls have to fulfil their roles as nurturers and care givers the domestic context and at her home context in Mbekweni, by stating that:

Many people here in Mbekweni think that if you are a girl you must be at home, in the kitchen cooking or looking after your other younger brothers or sisters. As a girl that is your place. That is why if you tell them, I play soccer or do sport or whatever they find it strange. (Interview 28 March 2011)

The above quote exemplifies the idea that a cultural and social stereotype regarding women’s position and role in society, or in this case Mbekweni, prevents women or young girls from active participation in sport. Women and girls’ participation in sport in South Africa, especially in rural settings and townships is often hindered because domestic responsibilities and a lack of access to sporting resources and spaces (Brady, 2005; Brady& Kahn 2002; Hargreaves, 1997). “Looking at developing countries today, lack of time and division of labour (responsibilities for production, reproduction, etc.) is a major barrier for women and girls getting involved in sport programmes” (Meier, 2005). A community assessment completed by SCORE in 2009 confirmed this trend in Mbekweni. In alignment with the 2007–2012 Drakenstein Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) and broader statistics from the Department of Basic Education, SCORE’s aim with the WGILS programme is to engage young women and girls in sport, leadership and life-skills activities

in a safe and secure environment and in doing so to provide them with opportunities in a milieu where they face cultural and structural barriers to sports participation.

Young girls in the developing world face numerous socio-cultural and structural barriers in participating in sport. In addition to these challenges, sport and sporting arenas are often a site of male domination. Hargreaves (1997:201) states that “in most sports, however, women perceive themselves as being in direct competition with men and there is a tendency to invoke a rigid system of male domination.” Brady and Kahn (2002:2) substantiate this point:

Throughout Africa and, indeed, much of the developing world sports have been viewed as an exclusively male domain; in fact most “youth” sports programmes have been boys alone. However, as sports have begun to include girls and women worldwide, policy makers and programme leaders are beginning to sense the potential of participation in sport to enhance girls’ lives.

In addition, many of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are aimed at addressing the position, status and power of women – ensuring universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women and combating HIV/AIDS (Coalter, 2007). But sports participation and administration have been mainly a hegemonic masculine enterprise; Saveedra (2005) argues that this reinforces gender distinctions and unequal power relations.

Although sport is considered to be a ‘male preserve’ where an ideology of male dominance is perpetuated and constructed (Burnett, 1992; Dunning, 1994; Hargreaves, 1997 & Saveedra, 2005), it is important to consider the agency that women in sport-for-development programmes have. The WGILS programme focuses on life-skills sessions which aims to foster leadership skills and general life skills, and in that way equip young girls not merely to be ‘victims’ of a patriarchal society, but active agents in shaping their sporting and life destiny. The WGILS programme facilitated by SCORE/HTA at the MCSC recognised the potential that participation in sport and life-skills sessions may indeed enhance girls’ lives in Mbekweni. This assumption has allowed for donors, such as Hope Through Action and Comic Relief, to support the WGILS programme, and this financial backing has enabled SCORE to develop and implement a programme tailored specifically for the needs of young women in Mbekweni.

At this stage it may be useful to consider the danger of describing women and girls in the developing world as a homogenous category. Girl’s life experiences, race, socio-cultural

background and interest in sport differs vastly and it would be naïve to suggest that all girls living in townships such as Mbekweni share similar interests or values associated with being a young girl and would therefore benefit from a programme such as WGILS.¹⁴

Many of the girls who form part of the WGILS programme can be considered to be ‘socio-economically disadvantaged’, as they live in a township where 48% of the residents live under the South African poverty line (Bland, 2011). Burnett (2001:49) raises an important point regarding poverty by stating that “poverty is, however, not simply a quantitative or economic phenomenon, but indicates a particular location and experience of being human.” The experiences that many of the WGILS have, in terms of living in a single-parent household or being brought up by their siblings, are indicative of the fact that poverty may in fact be experiential and not necessarily only an economic phenomenon. This brief background on women’s position in sport from a gendered perspective situates the experiences of the WGILS against a larger backdrop of women and sport. It is out of this milieu of exclusion and constraint that the blueprint for a sport-for-development programme such as the WGILS was developed, which focuses on providing young girls in Mbekweni a space for participating in sport in the form of the MCSC and a structured sport-for-development programme in the form of the WGILS programme.

What is WGILS?

The WGILS programme, operated by a sport-for-development NGO, SCORE and Hope Through Action (HTA) at MCSC aims to identify a group of 25 girls from the two high schools in Mbekweni: Desmond Tutu High School and Ihlumelo Secondary School. Desmond Tutu High School is situated adjacent to the MCSC and is the only high school in

¹⁴ Burnett (1992:4) sums up this notion of ‘difference’ among young girls or women concisely. She suggests that “although women as a social category share powerlessness in many areas of community life, some are more disadvantaged than others in terms of class-based indicators, such as a level of education attainment, employment and having access to resources. Women in a certain context may be disadvantaged on the basis of their gender, but may face even more severe forms of discrimination, exploitation or marginalization if they belong to an ethnic or racial minority or are socio-economically disadvantaged. Despite the compositional diversity of women in different societies, they have presented a relatively united front through feminist agency to confront and counteract male domination.”

Mbekweni where learners can matriculate. As of 2011 Ihlumelo Secondary School introduced Grades 11 and 12. Most of the WGIL participants were black, Xhosa-speaking girls.

The WGILS programme is a leadership programme for women and girls that looks to encourage and engage young women and girls in life skills and sport activities. Theokas *et al.* (2008:72) define life skills as “those skills that enable individuals to succeed in the different environments in which they live, such as school, home and in their neighbourhoods and with their peer groups. Lifeskills can be behavioural (taking turns) or cognitive (making good decisions); interpersonal (communicating effectively) and intrapersonal (setting goals)”. In addition to the life-skills component of the programme, the WGILS programme also seeks to begin to address the disproportional lack of girls that participate in sport by introducing the participants to an assortment of sport codes through short sport courses. Meier (2005:5) asserts that “sporting activities can give women and girls access to public spaces allowing them to gather together, develop a social network, meet with peers, discuss problems, and enjoy freedom of movement on a regular basis.” The WGILS programme and the physical space of the MCSC offers the participants of the WGILS programme a space to increase their social networks and in doing so reap the benefits that spring from the accumulation of social capital in the form of trust, reciprocity and future benefit.



Above: WGILS hard at work during a life skills session

To achieve such an environment, the WGILS programme takes place in a secure location, the MCSC, away from the public eye. Brady and Kahn (2002:1) substantiates Meier's (2005) point about the importance of having a 'safe space' where sporting activities can take place for young girls in the developing world. They contend that a safe and supportive environment is especially critical for girls as it can provide young girls with a space where they are treated with dignity and also acquire new skills, ranging from friendships and enhancing their social networks to enjoying the freedom of expression and movement.

The actual structural design of the MCSC, in terms of being an indoor centre was build on the premise that a secure and safe environment will allow for vulnerable groups, such as girls and the disabled, to participate in sport. In an interview with Hope Through Action chairperson, Phillip Bland, I asked him about the logic behind building an enclosed facility. He responded:

The conclusion we [HTA] came to was that there was a significant message to the community, when people invest in their community. When somebody comes to invest into a community it says something about that relationship and that care, whereas otherwise it would seem like just another dirt pitch. Our concern was with an open pitch you still don't have that secure environment, so if you trying to work with vulnerable children, disabled kids, girls, women... you don't have a secure environment, so you still very accessible, very visible. So when we decide on a wall, we had a design with just a pitch with 3m walls, and then had a look at the rainfall figures in Paarl and suddenly realized that for three months of the year you couldn't actually do anything, you couldn't work. So then we ended up with walls and a roof (Interview, 31 January 2011).

Evidently one of the main features of the MCSC was that it would provide a safe and secure environment for participation in sport. The MCSC as a 'safe space' in Mbekweni provides the WGILS and adolescent girls in Mbekweni the benefit of participating in sport, in an environment where they will not be ridiculed as they learn new sporting skills and where they are physically safe, in terms of being in an enclosed facility and under the auspices of SCORE staff. Many of the WGILS members stated that they feel safe walking to the Centre and participating in activities there. Interestingly the pride and the ownership that the WGILS displayed in terms of being part of the WGILS programme and frequenting the Centre all contributed to what Phil Bland mentions in terms of the MCSC being an investment in a community and a signifier of care.

Another factor that contributed to the Centre being enclosed was the weather patterns and the high percentage of rainfall that the Western Cape experiences during the winter months. An enclosed structure would allow for programmes to function all year round. This is especially beneficial in terms of ensuring the continuity of the sport-for-development programmes that have been implemented at the Centre.

The WGILS programme came into operation at the MCSC in November 2010 and takes place on Monday afternoons from 14:30-17:00. The WGILS programme consists of two components namely; sport and life skills. The life-skills component lasts an hour, after which the sporting session takes place for the remainder of the time. The selected sport for the inception period during November and December 2010 was soccer. Kickboxing was the selected sport for the first term of 2011. Life-skills sessions focused on self confidence, personal identity and internal motivation. It is suggested that a programme of this nature will help to engage girls' in activities that help them to focus positively on their personal and collective development, encourage active participation, promote inclusion and support their on-going education (SCORE baseline summary, 2010).

School attendance and education are considered key for the psycho-social and intellectual development of youth. Mensch *et al.* (1998:29) suggests that raising girls' level of schooling, even by a few years, has widely documented benefits. Women's education is associated with better health and nutrition, increased child survival, later marriage and lower fertility." The decision-making capabilities that are fostered through schooling for young girls is an aspect that Mensch *et al.* (1998) also refer to and this ties in with SCORE's aim the WGILS programme to support the on-going education of the WGILS participants.. According to Mensch *et al.* (1998:29):

Education strengthens girls' decision-making power within the family, promotes their social and physical ability and increases their economic independence and control over resources, all of which enhance their autonomy. Educated girls become educated mothers with increased livelihood; they also have greater propensity than similarly educated males to invest in children's schooling, and often give special attention daughter's education. Thus, the benefits of female education are passed on to the next generation.

With the pass rate at Desmond Tutu High School below 60% over the past two years, this initiative aims to provide the necessary support for the WGILS to pass their schooling.

One of the prospects of the WGILS programme is to have tutors available at the MCSC on certain days where the WGILS could come for assistance in academic work.

The baseline study conducted by SCORE (2010) also notes that the Department of Education outlined the following risk factors affecting young women and girls in Mbekweni:

- 52% of learners in Grades 10-12 are lost from the school system; a high proportion of these are female learners;
- 34.5% matric pass rate at Desmond Tutu High School in Mbekweni in 2009;
- 56,6% matric pass rate at Desmond Tutu High School in Mbekweni in 2010
- Teenage pregnancy is one of the main factors affecting school dropout rate.

The high dropout rate as a result of teenage pregnancy in high schools is a common trend in many schools in South African townships. Panday, Makiwane, Ranchod and Letsoala's (2009) research among school-going adolescents found that young people drop out of school early, often as a result of economic barriers and poor school performance, and this increases the risk of early pregnancy. In addition, when they grow up in residential areas where poverty is entrenched (informal areas and rural areas), they are at risk of experiencing an early pregnancy. Mbekweni can be considered as one such areas.

These statistics on the drop-out rate of girls in high school are staggering, but it would be naïve and simplistic to suppose that this trend can be attributed simply to a lack of academic commitment on the part of the learners, or to an ineffective public educational system in South Africa. Social and cultural expectations of girls' of high school age have to be taken into account when trying to make sense of this trend. De La Rey and Corolissen (1997: 26) are of the opinion that "to obtain a comprehensive picture of teenage pregnancy, we need to locate it within the larger social context of sexual practices, gender relations and institutional influences and ideological, cultural and economic factors." The wider social context of young girls living in Mbekweni who are at risk of becoming pregnant has to be when trying to make sense of the correlation between teen pregnancy and school drop-out rate.

Furthermore, "research has shown that many girls in developing countries drop out of school more or less around the time they begin to menstruate. In South Africa the drop-out rate is particularly high in Grades 7 and 9, thanks to factors such as food insecurity, lack of transport

and the impact of HIV and Aids” (Thamm, 2011). On one of my visits to Ihlumelo Secondary School the principal confirmed this trend when she stated that “there are many young girls who start school here in Mbekweni, but then you never see them again. If you ask them why they haven’t been to school, they won’t tell you, because they probably have problems at home, or they spend more time with their boyfriends than with the books” (Personal Communication 26 January, 2011). This comment may seem over-determined and attributes a lot of agency to young women, but it highlights the reality than many young girls face and substantiates the statistics regarding the high school drop-out rate of young women in South African townships.

Who can be a WGIL ?

The requirements for the girls selected for the WGILS programme are that they are in Grades 8 to 11 in 2010, that they have a keen interest in sport and that they are willing to participate in the programme. To participate in the programme they must have been nominated by their respective class teachers at either Desmond Tutu High School or Ihlumelo Secondary School.

As part of the SCORE baseline study for the WGILS programme, teachers from the two schools were given „Teacher Nomination’ forms in October 2010, which they had to complete. These forms required that the teacher who nominates a WGILS candidate had to write a short motivation why he/she thinks that the girl nominated will benefit or be suitable for the programme’s purpose. The motivation for using „Teacher Nomination’ forms was that class teachers of the nominated candidates probably had more insight into the lives of the girls who were nominated and could therefore identify a learner who may be at risk of failing school or who needs additional support besides the school context. Class teachers also spend more time with the learners and if there are any behavioural changes, as a result of problems at home or other emotional issues, they would be the first to notice such changes. The stakes for the teachers in being part of this nomination process is that they can contribute to giving the candidate they nominate an opportunity to be part of a life-skills and sport-for-development programme outside the school context. Considering that many of the public schools in South Africa and especially those in townships are overcrowded with anywhere between 40 and 60 learners in a class (Report on the annual school survey, 2010), the teacher can assist in providing selected WGILS nominees with an opportunity for individual attention through the WGILS programme.

Many of the teachers who nominated girls for the programme referred to the particular candidate as having low self-esteem and confidence and allude to the fact that the WGILS programme, with a combination of sport and life skills, could overcome this problem and facilitate personal change. “Perceptions of sport as a tool for positive social and personal change are grounded in the belief that sport is an effective and positive socializing agent” (Green, 2008:130). Personal change would include the development of positive self esteem, which many of the nominated girls were lacking, as their teachers suggested. Gouws, Kruger and Burger (2008) define self-esteem as the value individuals place on themselves and how they perceive that value. Rice and Dolgin (2008) argue that self-esteem is necessary for the ‘survival of the soul’ and that it is the ingredient that gives dignity to human existence. The ‘Teacher Nomination’ forms also gave SCORE facilitators of the WGILS programme a better idea of personal or family-related issues that the candidate may face. This information could assist in tailoring the objectives of the programme to those specific needs. Some of the responses that the teacher’s gave of the candidate they nominated follow below.

She was of a very good character from the beginning of the year, but her character changed and I noticed that. I took some time to talk to her and she expressed difficulties that she faces at home. The guardian that she is living with is married (her bigger brother) she does not have clothes and the way she is treated is not good. This has led to her lack of self esteem and this affected her studies a lot. She has become edgy, withdrawn, angry and very sensitive. She needs to develop self-esteem and confidence to face the world again. (Teacher: Ihlumelo Secondary School)

I think this learner can be a good candidate to your programme. She shows an interest in sport while she was in Gr, 8 and 9; but things are not okay with her at this grade. But I could sense that she has a problem, but she is not ready to disclose it. Her problems led her to lose interest in everything she is doing in school. She is not motivated. I think your programme can reach out to her, motivate her and bringing back the person who had the ‘I can’ attitude; bringing back the learner who is motivated to learn more and a learner who knows why she is at school. I hope this learner will be nominated for the programme for her development. (Teacher: Ihlumelo Secondary School)

She is an enthusiastic and positive learner who is always willing to be part of whatever activity is done at school. At the moment she is involved in netball and drummies (cheerleading) and dance. Given the fact that she has no biological parents this will help her to get mentorship and support that is necessary for her development. Programmes like these are useful for kids, as it

can shape their lives in becoming good citizens and have a better future as well. (Teacher: Desmond Tutu High School)

She would be a good candidate for this programme, but at home she is the eldest daughter of her mother and father but she has this social problem of being abused by her father verbally. He always tell her that she is not his daughter and her blood does not connect with his blood and that make her cry and feel threatened every day, and also he does not support her to buy her school clothes and kit. Sometimes it is hard for her to come to school, because her father beats her and close door for her in room so that she cannot take her clothes and come to school. Her dream is to finish school and support her younger sister because if she depends on her parents there won't be a future for both of them. If she can participate in some kind of sport she can be able to build her self esteem hence she can put her mind away from home threats. (Teacher: Ihlumelo Secondary School)

Considering these selected comments from teachers who nominated girls to participate in the WGILS programme, it becomes evident that many of the girls face difficult circumstances in their home environments. A police report indicated that between April 2009 and March 2010 there were 54 incidents of sexual crimes in Mbekweni (South African Police Service Report, 2010). This statistic refers only to the sexual crimes that were reported and, in the light of the above comments, one can surmise that such incidents occur more frequently. Three of the forty-five nomination forms indicated that the girl had been sexually abused.

The nomination forms outline serious social issues that some of the WGILS participants face. "These issues highlight the importance of the development of strong, cohesive partnerships with local services and the Department of Social Development in order to fully and adequately support focus group discussions on sensitive topics as well as a referral system for young women in need of professional counselling, medical attention or social assistance" (SCORE Baseline Summary, 2010:11). It is thought that a sport-for-development programme such as WGILS can provide adolescent girls in Mbekweni with some form of mentorship outside their home environment and serve as a space where they can express their fears or problems they encounter at home.

Furthermore the notion that sport can contribute towards creating a positive self-image and building of self-esteem is clearly articulated by one teacher who noted: "If she (the learner) can participate in some kind of sport, she can be able to build her self-esteem – hence she can put her mind away from home threats." A number of studies have

confirmed the positive correlation between sports participation and psychological benefits, or consider sport as a catalyst for positive self-esteem (see Danish *et al.* 1993; Green, 2008; Whitehead & Corbin, 1997).

The WGILS programme therefore envisages creating a supportive and sports-oriented space where the challenges facing young girls' in Mbekweni can be addressed. The logic behind a programme that caters for the needs of adolescent girls is that through sport they will be able to forge meaningful relationships and extend their social networks, and through trust and reciprocity (antecedents of social capital) support each other to face the challenges sketched above.

Conclusion

This chapter, which is descriptive in nature, provides the details of the Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS) sport-for-development programme at the MCSC. It contextualises their experiences of participation in sport against a broader background of cultural, social and ideological constraints that prevent girls from participating in sport in townships such as Mbekweni. I have highlighted the challenges that young girls experience in an attempt to participate in sport. These challenges include the notion that sport is considered a male-dominated practice and that gender role stereotypes often reinforce the role or duties of women. The descriptive details of the socio-cultural milieu that the WGILS forms part of is useful as it 'colours in' the foundation of the overall argument of this thesis.

Furthermore, I have suggested that the WGILS programme and the actual structural design of the MCSC provide vulnerable groups such as young girls with a safe space to practise and enjoy freedom of movement through sport. SCORE and HTA hope that this milieu will create a trusting environment conducive to the development of youth through sport. It is from this basis that I investigate the relationship between sport and development, and come to the conclusion that sport provides a viable entry point for development work. The reason is that it allows for social networks and relationships to be established, which gives rise to the accumulation of social capital, while the spin-offs of this form of capital (trust, reciprocity, future benefit) is what enables the WGILS or participants of sport-for-development programmes to expand the choices available to them or to develop.

CHAPTER 3

The magic of sport? What sport can and cannot do

Where football is played there is no fighting. If everyone played football, there would be no war, but not everyone plays football

(Frans Beckenbauer, former German football captain)¹⁵

Introduction

The Mbekweni Community Sport Centre is a familiar sight in the township of Mbekweni on the outskirts of Paarl. On any given day one will find youths streaming through the centre, to participate in an array of sporting programmes, ranging from soccer leagues to kickboxing lessons. It is 10 a.m. Monday morning and adolescent boys, participants in the *Sinako*¹⁶ programme, arrive at the Centre. They are always on time and ready to make use of the indoor soccer pitch. There is no lack of excitement as they keep the SCORE facilitator, Steve, constantly amused and smiling at their jokes and tongue-in-cheek commentary on what they can and cannot do on the sports field. I take a seat on the bleachers and watch, as Steve eventually gets them to line up on the half-way line of the soccer pitch to start their running exercises. Steve walks across to me and with his hands on his knees, bends forward with a grin on his face and shaking his head side to side, says: “These kids... they love playing sport, but eish they don’t listen”. Sport for these youths and for those participating in a variety of other sport-for-development programmes at the MCSC is considered by HTA and SCORE as viable means to further their personal and social development.

Later that day, when the schools come out at 14:00, the Centre is swamped by children and youths. The younger children, aged between 10 and 12, are already dressed for the under-12 inter-school futsal league, while the girls who form part of the Women and Girls in Leadership Programme (WGILS) scamper to the change rooms to get changed for their kickboxing lesson. As I leave the MCSC at 17:00 that day young men walk past me and into the Centre. They are members of the community futsal league, which takes place on

¹⁵ Frans Beckenbauer is a former German football captain and authoritative figure in the world of football (Levermore, 2008:189).

¹⁶ *Sinako* is a Xhosa word meaning ‘we can’. The Sinako programme at the MCSC caters for a group of 20 to 25 mentally and physically handicapped youths.

weekday evenings and is aimed at men who want to participate in sport after they have completed their day at work.

The common interest of all these different groups frequenting the Centre is sport. What does this fieldwork description of the daily activities at the MCSC tell us about the potential of sport to facilitate development? (See the conceptualisation of the notion of ‚development’ in the introductory chapter.)

This chapter attempts to answer the question of why sport has come to be seen as a viable tool to further development. It does so, firstly, by highlighting the danger of a romanticised or functionalist understanding of what can be achieved through sport, and secondly, by drawing on ethnographic fieldwork highlighting instances where sport has yielded beneficial results for the group of WGILS that this study is based on. By functionalism I refer to an essentialist or simplistic view that sport can miraculously solve broader social problems and the idea that sport equals development. This relates to the idea that sport takes on a mythopoeic (myth-making) status (see Coalter, 2007, 2010a). Functionalism is traditionally associated in anthropology with Radcliff- Browne and Evans-Pritchard, and implies that aspects of society are parts of an organic whole. I use functionalism in this thesis to refer to sport being defined by its function, which is that of furthering development in the sport-for-development context. That is of course not the only function that sport can fulfil in society, as it has a variety of other functions, which can take the form of promoting nationalism or nation building through sporting mega-events, increasing social cohesion and, on an individual level, contributing to physical and general health. According to Jarvie (1973), functionalist analyses examine the social significance of phenomena, that is, the *function* they serve within a particular society in maintaining the whole. I am therefore interested in the social significance of sport, or the function that sport has in relation to development for the group of WGILS that this study is based on.

By drawing from, and building on, Coalter’s (2007, 2010a) argument that sport has taken on a mythopoeic status among social, moral and sports evangelists, resulting in a romanticised belief of what can be achieved through sport, I suggest that there is an inherent danger in neglecting to consider under what conditions sport ‚works’ as a development tool. I question the notion that sport is assumed to have ‚magical’ qualities as such assumptions often result in tautological or uncontested claims for the power of sport. This chapter lays the groundwork for my argument that sport itself is not a ‚magical’ vehicle through which

development can take place, but that it creates an environment and conditions which allow for social networks and social capital to flourish. It is the accumulation of social capital through sport that participants of sport-for-development programmes can benefit or „develop’. The next chapter will conceptualise the materialisation of social capital amongst the group of WGILS that my study is based on. In this chapter I highlight the assumptions about the power and „magical’ qualities of sports in the sport-for-development context and in doing so lay the foundation to support the overall argument of this thesis, namely that sport is a means through which social capital can be accumulated and as a result enhance the lives of those participating in sport-for-development programmes.

Who believes in sport?

There is an assumption among sport-for-development organisations, donors, government departments and many aid agencies that sport is a useful vehicle through which personal and social development can occur. This is evident in that there has been a “rapid mushrooming phenomenon of the use of sport and physical activity to advance sport and broad social development in disadvantaged communities. There are 166 organizations engaged in such work currently listed on the „International Platform on Sport for Development’ maintained by the Swiss Academy for Development” (Kidd, 2008:370). The International Platform on Sport for Development is a virtual platform from where knowledge is shared; the website is dedicated to the field of sport and development, as it allows for the fostering of partnerships and facilitates coordination amongst individuals and organisations interested in sport-for-development practices.

International agencies such as the United Nations have also considered sport as a means to reach the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG) by the target date of 2015. The United Nations has seriously considered and invested in the prospect of using sport as a development tool, especially in developing countries. This drive is evident as the United Nations General Assembly declared the year 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. The contribution that sport can make to stimulate development on grassroots level is clearly stated by the United Nations (2005: v):

The world of sport presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides. Sport provides a forum to learn skills such as discipline, confidence and leadership and it

teaches core principles such as tolerance, cooperation and respect. Sport teaches us the value of effort and how to manage victory, as well as defeat. When these positive aspects of sport are emphasized, sport becomes a powerful vehicle through which the United Nations can work towards achieving its goals.

Clearly, the United Nations, as an international and influential peace-keeping organisation, considers the positive attributes that are fostered through sport such as participation, inclusion, tolerance, cooperation and respect as a means to achieve the development goals that have been set.

On a local level the South African Department of Sport and Recreation (SRSA) has also latched onto the idea that sport may indeed be a viable means to address an array of social problems that are widespread in many South African townships. The South African Department of Sport and Recreation has funded and implemented national sports participation programmes aimed at making sport accessible to all children and youths in South Africa. “Siyadadla, the national community based-Mass Participation Programme was introduced nationwide with the aim to promote mass participation in selected sport and structured physical activities in the most disadvantaged communities in South Africa. In 2004, seven sporting codes were introduced for optimal participation across gender and age categories” (Burnett, 2009:1196). The second major sport development programme that the Department of Sport and Recreation has implemented is the School Sport Mass Participation programme, which was introduced in 2006, following the Siyadadla Programme. Burnett (2009: 1198) reports that SRSA signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Minister of Education for the delivery of the programme in impoverished areas of the country.

The most recent sport-for-development national programme that the Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa has embarked on in partnership with the German Development Bank (KfW) is the Youth Development against Violence through Sport (YDVS) programme. The SRSA’s website states that “the overall objective of this programme is to use ball sport, specifically football, as a catalyst for transmitting life skills to children and youth in order to reduce violence and other social ills” (Youth Development against Violence through Sport, 2011). In a speech before the 2010 FIFA World Cup commenced the Deputy Minister of Sport and Recreation South Africa, Mr Gert Oosthuizen, asserted the potential of sport to contribute to South Africa’s and the United Nations’ goal to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Oosthuizen stated that “as a strategic initiative our department

will carefully look at ways to use sport and recreation as a tool in achieving the MDGs as well as promoting development and peace. Our Department will work closely with the UN Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group to maximise the potential of sport and recreation in peace and development initiatives” (Oosthuizen, 2010). It can be surmised from the words of Mr Oosthuizen that governing bodies, such as the Department of Sport and Recreation and the United Nations, consider sport as a viable means to address development issues and, more specifically, there is an assumption that sport can be used as a means to attain the targets set to reach the Millennium Development Goals by 2015.

In addition to the South African Department of Sport and Recreation stimulating development initiatives through sport, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) also play a key role in the development and implementation of sport-for-development programmes on grassroots level. An array of South African NGOs (e.g. SCORE, Grassrootsoccer, FootballFoundation, Whizz Kidz) specialise in sport-for-development work and consider sport to be a viable means to facilitate development. The role that NGOs perform in socio-economic upliftment and their relationship to government remains salient in the current development debate in South Africa. NGOs such as SCORE can be seen to be providing opportunities and services that the government fails to provide in a place like Mbekweni. “It is suggested that where the state is weak, or not interested in particular policy areas, organizations in civil society and the trust and reciprocity they may engender can increase community participation and strengthen democracy, as well as facilitate various types of social development” (Coalter, 2010a:304).

It can be argued that in a place like Mbekweni the government or the Department of Sport and Recreation has failed to provide adequate sporting infrastructure and facilities to cater for the demand in the township to participate in sport. SCORE and HTA have taken over the role of the state, in that sense by providing adequate sporting infrastructure and sporting opportunities and services for people living in Mbekweni.

Why believe in sport?

The development and implementation of numerous sport-for-development programmes by different stakeholders, as described above, is based on the assumption that sport is an “apolitical, neutral and inherently integrative set of social practices that that can deliver a wide range of positive outcomes” (Coalter, 2010a: 296). It is a well researched and well-known fact that sports participation (or exercise) yields certain health benefits. There is

growing scientific evidence that the human body functions closer to an optimal level of physical and psychological health when time is spent performing moderately or vigorously intense physical activity (Haskell, 1996).

In addition to the health benefits of sports participation, research has shown that sport fosters feelings of well-being and self-efficacy, and that sport experiences could consequently be a means to enrich emotional development by refining capacities for care, self-worth, strength of will, good judgement, compassion, understanding, love and friendship (Mchunu & Le Roux, 2010). Coalter (2010a:296) asserts that “sport has consistently been regarded as ‘character building’ – not only developing certain personal and social skills, but also personality traits such as discipline, honesty, integrity, generosity and trustworthiness.” Research has shown that there is a positive correlation between sports participation and feelings of self-worth and accomplishment. As Cote, Strachan and Fraser-Thomas (2008:34) posit: “sport programmes can provide youth with opportunities to be physically active, which in turn can lead to improved physical health ... youth sport programmes have long been considered important to youth’s psychosocial development, providing opportunities to learn important life skills such as cooperation, discipline, leadership and self-control.” Evidently sports participation is beneficial on a physical, psychological and social level.

Although these positive spin-offs of sport may hold true, it remains crucial to interrogate and to reflect critically on the mythopoeic status that sport evangelists and proponents of sport-for-development work assert. Coalter (2010a: 296), citing Glasner (1977), explains what is meant by mythopoeic concepts. In his words:

Mythopoeic concepts are those whose demarcation criteria are not specific, but are based on idealistic and popular ideas that are produced largely outside of sociological research and analysis, and which ‘isolate a particular relationship between variables to the exclusion of others and without a sound basis for doing so’ (Glasner, 1977: 2 -3). Such myths contain certain elements of truth, but elements which become reified and distorted and ‘represent’ rather than reflect reality, standing for supposed, but largely unexamined, impacts and processes. The strength of such myths lies in their ‘ability to evoke vague and generalised images’ (Glasner, 1977:1).

The generalised assumption that sport equates to development and the ‘myth’ that sport can miraculously further personal and social development can become reified and distorted and as a result evoke ‘vague and generalised’ images of the use of sport as a

development tool. It is against such generalised beliefs in the power of sport that I suggest a critical understanding is necessary and especially understanding of the conditions under which and how the relationship between sport and development plays out on an empirical level. It is hoped that the research conducted for this thesis will illuminate the way that sport-for-development work plays out in reality.

If sport is highly valued as a productive means to enhance people's lives, then it becomes essential to interrogate under what conditions and how this is so and to question the mythopoeic status that it has taken on. It would be naïve and uninformed to assume that in sport and feeling better about oneself spills over into some form of personal change or development. The point to consider is what enables development to take place through sport¹⁷ and to be cautious about attributing "crudely functionalist assertions about sports' socialising and transformative properties" (Coalter, 2010a: 296).

Although sport can be considered a catalyst for social and personal development, several scholars (Coalter, 2007, 2010a; Barber, Eccles & Stone, 2001; Mahoney & Strattin, 2000; Keim, 2008) have drawn attention to the fact that sport may have both positive and negative consequences. Coalter (2010a) specifically warns against attributing 'magical' properties to sport as a 'quick fix' for larger social problems. "There is nothing about sport itself that is magical. Being on the field or court does not itself contribute to the positive development of children and the acquisition of critical life skills" (Hodge and Danish, cited in Theokas, Danish, Hodge, Heke, & Forneris, 2008:72). It is imperative to understand youths' experiences in sports when trying to understand how and why positive and negative effects are found in sport and whether sport can indeed be used as a tool to further personal development. It is precisely this experiential quality of sport and the life-skills programme in which the WGILS participate that my study focuses on.

In an attempt to conceptualise the relationship between sport and development it becomes essential to consider the possible flaws that sport may have as a tool for development. Coalter (2010a) warns against over-simplistic and functionalist perceptions that sport can cure all. "It is important to have realistic expectations about what can be achieved through sport. Sport is no guarantee for peace and development, nor is it a blueprint for solving major social

¹⁷ I suggest in the following chapter that what allows for development to take place through sport is sport's ability to draw people with similar interests together and extend their social networks, and in doing so create social capital which can yield certain benefits, such as trust, reciprocity and an extension of social networks.

problems” (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited in Coalter, 2010a:301). Coalter’s (2010a) scepticism about the role of sport in development practice holds true, if one considers that despite the fact that many sport-for-development NGOs draw masses of participants, the impact of these programmes on the broader community is difficult to pin down or to measure. It is therefore important not to hold an essentialist or instrumentalist view of the power of sport, but to realise that sport is a social construction of reality and the reality in which sport-for-development programmes often operate is given meaning by the participants themselves, in this case the WGILS.

The International Working Group on Sport, Development and Peace substantiate this point by stating that “rather than viewing sport as a social construction that is given meaning by the participants and by more powerful defining agents (e.g., the media, sport organizations, etc.), it is far too often presented as an essential positive” (SDP IWG, 2007:94). Consider this question: If one of the participants of a sport-for-development programme such as WGILS develops into a young confident girl with leadership skills, how can that translate into broader social changes or community development on a macro level? Micro-level individual outcomes should therefore not be confused with broader macro-level impacts. Coalter (2010a:295) sums up this point concisely:

While there is a certain theoretical logic to some policy assertions about the contribution of sport to aspects of development, it is argued that the new approaches contain a number of dangers; confusing micro-level individual outcomes with community and broader macro-level impacts; ignoring wider socio-political contexts within which sport-for-development organizations have to operate; seeking to solve broad gauge problems via limited focus interventions; encouraging mission drift by sport-for-development organizations who wholly depend on aid from a variety of aid agencies, with often overly ambitious non-sporting agendas.

The complexity and misinterpretations that may arise through attributing magical properties to sport as a tool for development are clearly highlighted by the above comment. Furthermore, the socio-political context within which sport-for-development organisations operate and the socio-cultural conditions that sport-for-development participants adhere to are key aspects to consider when trying understanding the complex relationship between sport and development.

During my six-month fieldwork period at the MCSC I had first-hand experience of the complexity and intricacies of using sport as a development tool and realised that the belief in

what can be achieved through sport has to be scrutinised to get a holistic and realistic understanding of the power of sport. To highlight the danger of generalising what can be achieved through sport, I draw on the case of one of the participants of the WGILS sport-for-development programme.

Nandi is a Grade 9 learner at one of the two high schools in Mbekweni. She was born in Mbekweni and lives with her two brothers and both her parents. Her mom works at a guest house in Paarl and her father is unemployed. She aspires to be an accountant one day, although she acknowledges that she finds maths and accounting difficult at school. Nevertheless she is tenacious and vocal about her ability to „reach for her dreams’. She describes herself as someone who likes to socialise and hang out with her friends over weekends and after school. She does not participate in any sport at school, but attended most of the WGILS sessions consistently.

During an interview she explained that although she comes to the MCSC to participate in the WGILS programme and to play sport, she knows that she isn’t naturally a sports person and therefore does not „dream to be a professional sports person’. The conversation that follows highlights her motive for participating in sport at the MCSC.

Me: Why do you come to the centre?

Nandi: I come here, because I was nominated by my teacher to be part of the WGILS programme.

Me: Would you have come here if your teacher didn’t encourage you to be part of the programme?

Nandi: Ummm, no, I don’t think so, because sport is not something that I really really love. People my age, like girls know that we should do sport to stay fit and thin, but there are so many other things to do.

Me: Like what?

Nandi: Like, hanging out with my friends and meeting boys and just being at home watching TV or cooking.

Me: So do you enjoy the WGILS programme and sport?

Nandi: Yes I do enjoy the programme, because I made friends and I get lunch and went to Cape Town with the WGILS.

Me: So do you think that there should be a WGILS programme that doesn't focus so much on sport?

Nandi: Yes, maybe you know why... because some girls they don't like sport. We were so many girls here the first time and now we are only about nine or ten coming to the centre for WGILS. Those other girls they don't think that sport will bring them anywhere and I feel the same. I know it is good for me, but for what?

Me: What would you rather do then?

Nandi: I don't know. Maybe I should use the time to study more, so I can pass my grade and have a chance to get a real job. Sport won't give me a real job one day.

Evidently Nandi is drawn to the WGILS programme not because it allows her the opportunity to participate in sport, but rather because it provides a space where she reaps other benefits, such as meeting new people, having lunch and be considered for day trips that the WGILS facilitator may organise. She was almost obliged to attend the WGILS induction session as her teacher nominated her to be part of the WGILS programme. She did, however, have a choice to participate, as the induction session of the WGILS gave the girls a choice as to whether they would want to be part of the programme or not.

From this conversation it is also apparent that Nandi does not consider sport as something that will provide her with future job security, as she would rather spend her time studying, which will assist her in getting a „real' job. For someone like Nandi sport is probably not the ideal tool to further her development on a personal or social level. It can therefore be argued that although sport may appeal to other members of the WGILS group, for Nandi sport is something that she would prefer to do without. What are the implications of this situation, then, for sport-for-development programmes, which rely on sport as a means to attract youths and teach them valuable skills through sporting activities?

I argue that although sport is used by sport-for-development NGOs such as SCORE as a means to attract and appeal to the majority of youths, there are also individuals who don't necessarily take to sport and therefore fall through the cracks of sport-for-development programmes. The epigraph of this chapter by Frans Beckenbauer – who suggests that if there

is football there would be no fighting, but not everybody plays football and therefore war is a reality – can be applied to the sport-for-development field to mean that where sport is played there can be a sense of development, but not everybody plays or is necessarily interested in sport and therefore sport is perhaps not the only way to pursue youth development objectives. Tonts's (2005) research in rural Australia also found that those who may not be particularly good in sport may become marginalised. He argues that social capital associated with sport is exclusive and can act to marginalise those not prone to sporting activities (see Chapter 4 for „dark side’ of social capital).

Sport may be the passion and interest of a few, but a generalised assumption that it is an effective means to promote development amongst all youth would be misguided. The fact that forty-five potential WGILS were nominated for the programme and attended the induction session in November 2010 and only an average of ten or eleven girls consistently attended the WGILS sessions is perhaps indicative of the fact that, during the adolescent stage of their lives, sport may not be their immediate priority.

One of the WGILS respondents who had attended the WGILS programme intermittently exemplified the above supposition by stating that:

I don't know why some girls never came back to the WGILS programme. I can just guess and would think that maybe they don't like sport and they would rather hang around on the streets and do things that teenagers do, like drink and smoke and bad stuff like that.....I don't know, maybe they like doing those things more than sport. (Interview 28 March 2011).

In this chapter I hope to emphasise that, although participation in sport for historically disadvantaged youths may culminate in feelings of accomplishment and assist in the building of confidence and self-esteem, generalised assumptions of the magical qualities of sport need to be interrogated. The examples provided illustrate that sport is perhaps not a „cure’ for all. Assumptions about the developmental possibilities that sport can ensure are often essentialist in nature and ascribe „magical’ qualities and beliefs to what can be achieved through sport. Willis's (2000) work on a prominent and successful sport-for-development organization in Nairobi Kenya, the Mathare Youth Sports Organization, correlates with my argument, as he suggests that “sport can provide a valuable point of entry for the development process. Its direct impact on development is more problematical. Certainly sport should not be invested with unrealistic and universalistic properties. Functionalist ideals must be tempered by practical realities and critical understandings of power relations” (Willis, 2000: 848).

By attributing unrealistic and universalistic claims to sport as a means to foster development, one tends to overemphasise the so-called miracles that can be attained through participation in sport. In the words of Coalter (2007:90), “sport does not have causal or magical powers; it is the process of participation, how it is provided and experienced and the combination of a variety of factors which explain outcomes.” Miracles related to what sport can do may include the assumption that sport can enhance or stimulate personal development, or the belief that sport will result in responsible decision making and eventually responsible citizens, or the notion that sports participation will somehow solve broader structural inequalities such as poverty, unemployment or gender inequality. Coalter (2010a:310) explains the risk of such assumptions succinctly by stating that “there are substantial moral and political dangers of de-contextualized, rather romanticized, communitarian generalizations about the ‘power’ of sport-for-development.”

Such romanticized visions of the power of sport to facilitate change, or further personal development, are often embedded in sports rhetoric and ideology, and perpetuates the mythopoeic qualities of the power of sport. Take, for example, the slogan for SCORE, which is ‘Changing lives through sport’, and Hope Through Action’s slogan which is ‘Changing lives, bringing hope’ – embedded in these slogans is an underlying supposition that sport is a powerful catalyst for change. This may hold true considering the exponential growth of the field of sport and development over the past two decades. But it is necessary to understand that sport is also capable of amplifying differences and strengthening divisions, which often stand in opposition to development initiatives. Sports, as Clifford Geertz (1972) has pointed out, has a mythical dimension, being a ‘story we tell about ourselves’. The story we tell about ourselves, or the story that the WGILS have told in this thesis about their involvement in a sport-for-development programme, highlights the multifaceted and complex nature of using sport as a development tool.

Although a consciousness of the so-called pitfalls of sport is important when trying to make sense of the relationship between sport and development, I do not wish to downplay the fact that there are those to whom sport does appeal. There are numerous ‘success’ stories of youths who have taken to sport and through sport been able to excel and leap out of the dire socio-economic environments that they find themselves in. Local sports star, Luvo Manyonga, a resident of Mbekweni and student at Desmond Tutu Secondary School, won gold in long jump at the 13th IAAF World Junior Athletics Championships on July 21, 2010 in Canada is an example of such a case. (Manyonga wins gold for SA, 2010). He has become

an icon in Mbekweni and a living example of how sport can propel one out of certain material conditions and provide opportunities that would not be attainable if one did not participate in sport. So too many of the WGILS believed that participation in sport yields certain advantages that will be addressed in the second part of the chapter.

Conditions of possibility: Why sport and not something else?

Given the proliferation of the sport-for-development movement over the past two decades and considering that sport has been prioritised as a development tool by organisations such as the United Nations, government departments and NGOs, the question can be posed as to why sport rather than any other mode of activity is regarded as useful to further individual development.

Over and above the already mentioned health, psychological and ‚feel good’ effects that can be attributed to participation in sport, there is something inherently ‚social’ about being part of a team and competing together towards a common goal, be that in the form of winning a match or contributing to the collective. I would suggest that there are two reasons why sport is regarded as a feasible means to promote development is twofold. The first is that participation in sport (especially team sports such as netball and soccer which are often popular sports practiced in sport- for-development work) forces players to communicate, be that on the field discussing tactics, or off the field talking about past matches.

The relationships that develop from this interaction and experience of being part of a winning team, or sharing the disappointment in losing, naturally requires a form of social interaction and could culminate in the establishment of friendships which result in an enhancement of social networks. As I suggest in the Chapter 4, the social networks and relationships that are established by being part of a team creates a condition where social capital can flourish and “individuals may access and use social networks to gain returns in instrumental actions such as finding jobs or acquiring access to power or status (reputation)” (Lin *et al.* cited in Burnett, 2006:284). Hypothetically, the benefits that may arise from tapping into social capital developed through sport and extending one’s social networks can open up opportunities outside the realms of immediate sports participation.

The second reason why sport is considered a useful tool for development, as opposed to a book club, or a knitting group, for example, is the fact that sport can be seen as having ‚magnetic powers’, as it attracts vast numbers of youths and children. The sheer number in

terms of spectators and participants that a soccer match at the MCSC can attract attests to the fact that a team sport such as soccer can stimulate a broad interest in sport. Sport-for-development NGOs such as SCORE depend on sport and its ability to bring large numbers of people together to address broader social issues, for example, addressing HIV/AIDS education and behaviour change. This model of attracting youths with the incentive of addressing social, educational or health issues falls under the ‚plus sport’ model within the sport-for-development framework. The ‚plus sport’ model is one in which “social, educational and health programmes are given primacy; and sport, especially its ability to bring together a large number of young people, is part of a much broader and complex set of processes” (Coalter, 2007:71).

In addition to sports participation being inherently ‚social’ and an activity that stimulates interest, it also serves as a medium to showcase sporting talent and therefore acts as a form of entertainment. On numerous occasions at the MCSC there would be a group of boys playing futsal/soccer matches and they would be cheered on and supported in song and dance by spectators on the bleachers. Sport as a form of theatre is a particularly useful ‚hook’ to attract youths, because those who aren’t directly involved in the actual participation of the sport can still be part of the excitement that goes on by watching a match. In other words, the excitement that is generated through sport can have a ripple effect on those not yet involved in sport and act as a ‚hook’ to participate in sport in the future.

In the first part of this chapter I highlighted the danger of an uncritical approach in equating sports participation with development. I don’t wish to deny the fact that sport, with its ability to bring like-minded individuals together, is a powerful vehicle where social networks and relationships can flourish and in doing so pave the way for the accumulation of social capital (see Chapter 4), but I want to make clear that there are dangers in assuming that sport mechanically equates to development. The second part of this chapter draws attention to what can be achieved through sport.

A different level of magic? Sport and self-defence

The first part of this chapter sketched a rather gloomy and pessimistic view of a romanticised vision of sport in the sport-for-development context. I now turn to the possibilities that sport holds for the group of ten WGILS whom I interviewed. Most of the participants of the WGILS programme felt that the sporting component, especially the kickboxing slot of the programme, equipped them with self-defence skills and gave them the confidence to defend

themselves if needs be. The kickboxing component of the WGILS programme was introduced in February 2011 and many of the WGILS took to this form of sport with great enthusiasm. The technical skills of the WGILS who participated in the kickboxing sessions improved considerably over the three-month period that kickboxing was practised. They mastered a variety of skills, such as forward punches, jabs, sidekicks and various other methods of self-defence. In my interviews I asked them what they part of the WGILS programme they enjoy most and many of them responded that kickboxing was something that they really enjoyed. The reason for this was that it was a „new’ sport that many of them had not been exposed to before and that it gave them a sense of power and confidence to take control, should they find themselves in a dangerous situation where they have to defend themselves.

Take the cases of Alice and Yano, for example. Alice is a Grade 9 learner at Desmond Tutu Secondary School. She aspires to become a doctor one day and live with her mother, who is a domestic worker, and her two older sisters in Mbekweni. She stated that her mom and sisters know that she is part of the WGILS programme and they encourage her to take the kickboxing component of the WGILS sessions seriously. She stated that:

If I am being robbed I can protect myself. My mom tells me I must keep doing kickboxing because there are lots of boys trying to rob us and do those stuff. I must be able to protect myself and my family, because we are only girls in the house...you see (Interview, 22 March 2011).

For Alice, then, as for many of the other WGILS their exposure to the skills of self-defence learned through kickboxing not only gives them a sense of confidence in their ability to defend themselves, but it has also elevated her role in the family with whom she lives. The fact that her mom considers kickboxing for self-protection as an important skill that Alice needs to master shows that her mom considers Alice as somebody who would be able to defend herself and perhaps protect her family in the case of a robbery or assault.

The skills that Alice has learned at the MCSC through the WGILS programme are therefore transferred into the broader context of her home environment and personal safety for herself. What is important to note is that although Alice may not be able to defend herself and her whole family in the case of a robbery (considering she is only in Grade 9 and has a frail build), she believes she can and has the confidence to proclaim that she would be able to act if needs be.

Yano shares similar sentiments to Alice in displaying confidence in her ability to defend herself. Yano is a learner in matric at Desmond Tutu High School. She lives in a town outside Mbekweni and takes the train to school every morning, which involves an hour's travelling. She says she often travels alone and 'is scared to walk alone at night'. When I asked her how she felt about the kickboxing component of the WGILS programme, she responded with:

I enjoy the kickboxing very much. and now... ooooh I feel very strong that I can maybe walk all over, because I keep on being shy and scared to walk around with my cell phone... cell phone in my pocket I can't even answer my cellphone even when my parents calling me but now I am becoming free... and now I started the learners license so I will be safe and also protect my family.

The fear Yano has to answer her cell phone in public shows her awareness to be vigilant to prevent a mugging when she walks alone. Yano just like Alice feels that she will be able to defend herself and her family by using the skills she has learned at the kickboxing sessions. 'Becoming free', or the freedom she experiences, is as a result of her believing in her ability to defend herself; this goes beyond what she is taught at the MCSC and enters her space at home and spaces she will drive to when she gets her driver's license.

Many of the other WGILS interviewed concurred with Alice and Yano, in that they feel they have the skills and confidence to defend themselves in an area with a high crime rate such as Mbekweni. Sport and specifically the kickboxing component serves a specific function as it equipped them with the skills necessary to 'become free' and to defend themselves. Sport in this case is a means to build up confidence and self-belief that results in a belief that they can defend themselves. This specific type of sport, in the form of kickboxing, has observable consequences as alluded to above and through intensive fieldwork and observation I have been able to address the scepticism expressed by Coalter (2007, 2010a) with regards to sport taking on a 'mythopoeic' status. Through empirical research I have shown that what the WGILS programme aims to achieve (i.e. what it represents) is reflected in a reality where participants feel that they can defend themselves and their loved ones through sport. I now move on to other spin-offs that result from participating in sport.

Below: Kickboxing activities during the WGILS sessions



Below: Strength exercises that form part of the kickboxing component of the WGILS programme



Above: One of the WGILS practising her „forward kick“

‘Sport keeps me off the streets’: Sport as a deterrent

It can be hypothesised that participating in sport serves as a positive diversion from indulging in risky behaviour such as unprotected sex, drinking alcohol and gang-related activities. Cotterell (2007) suggests that smoking, drinking and drug use are of central importance for adolescences, as they act as markers of social transitions to adult lifestyles. It is thought that sport can serve as a deterrent from these risky behaviours. Mawaanga (2010:63) questions the validity of such a claim:

This hypothesis is based on the idea that sport provides an opportunity for young people to do something positive with time and energy that might otherwise be spent on unprotected sex or related behaviors, such as beer drinking and drugs that increase the risk of engaging in unprotected sex... One danger of applying the diversion rationale is that it becomes difficult to identify the flaws of sport itself.

The possible flaws of sport that Mwaanga (2010) alludes to is addressed in the first part of this chapter, but the potential of sport to deter youth from risky activities became evident amongst the group of WGILS. There was a consensus amongst most of the WGILS that sport and the activities at the MCSC do „distract’ them from becoming involved with „bad things’.

Take Zetta, for example. Zetta is a 15-year-old girl who lives in the coloured community adjacent to Mbekweni with three siblings and both her parents. She has a bubbly personality and always came to the WGILS sessions with a great sense of enthusiasm. She was always the first to change into her sports kit and eager to participate in whatever sport would be practised on the day. I dropped her off at home after an interview and was stunned to see the area that she calls home. All the houses in the area in which she lives are corrugated iron structures and the dusty roads weave through the myriad of steel structures, leaving a cloud of dust lingering behind my car as I pull away from her home. In that moment of driving away everything she told me during the interview about her living conditions and what she feared in her community made sense. She told me that both her parents are unemployed and that she didn’t feel safe to walk alone at night, as „people kill and rape each other here’. The role that the WGILS programme played in her life seemed significant, as the following excerpt highlights.

The WGILS is something I really enjoy. I love sport and I love people. I come from a poor place and it is nice coming to the MCSC to do sport. I do sport because I don’t want become

involved in doing bad things, things like drinking and using drugs, like some of my friends do who don't do sport. On a Monday I know I come here (MCSC), do WGILS and go home. What I learn at WGILS makes me think about my life and what choices I make... I want to make good choices (Interview, 17 March 2011).

Zetta was not the only WGIL who considered sport and the WGILS programme as a means to be distracted or prevented from becoming involved in anti-social behaviour, such as the use of drugs and drinking alcohol. Nommie also suggested that the WGILS programme and sport plays a huge role in her life. Nommie is a natural sports person, as she is very agile and fit. She plays for the local women's soccer team in Mbekweni and her competitive spirit was evident as she would almost always get into an argument with whoever would be refereeing a match. When I asked her about her involvement in the WGILS programme and sport in general she confidently stated that:

In Mbekweni there are lot of stuff, like crime and violence, if we play sport we cannot do all that stuff outside. If I do sport I don't have time to do that stuff. So for me if WGILS was not here, a lot of people would go outside drinking. But WGILS is here, so we cannot go and drink. I am always here at the sport centre (Interview, 28 March 2011).

Zandi's comment on what the WGILS programme and sport mean to her supported the hypothesis that sport acts as a deterrent. She stated that:

I do feel it is good to play sport, for girls our age, because we... what can I say... it is good because our teenagers do some things wrong in our community, things like drugs and drinking. So it keeps me not to do things that I don't want to so I must go to the practice every day so that I miss things that are bad (Interview, 22 March 2011).

For Zetta, Nommie and Zandi the MCSC and the opportunity that the WGILS programme provides for them fills a void in their lives that would otherwise be filled with what they term „bad stuff” or being exposed to crime and violence. The WGILS programme commences once a week on a Monday afternoon and I was left with the question as to whether they would really be deterred from using alcohol or drugs during the rest of the week, when they are not at the sport centre.

From Zetta's comment one gets the sense that the life-skills sessions and the discussions that take place during and after those sessions are something she thinks about and possibly applies in her everyday life. She stated that what she learns at the WGILS programme allows her

think about her life and encourages her to make ‚good choices’. These choices may include deciding not to drink or use drugs, even when she is not at the MCSC.

Yano, one of the WGILS who had intermittently attended the WGILS sessions in 2010 but started attending more regularly in 2011, is similar to Zetta, as she stated that when she gets home after school on a Monday she has a ritual that she follows, so she is ‚too busy to do bad stuff’. The WGILS programme or the things she learns through the programme she ponders on and takes home with her. In her words:

The WGILS helps very much, because you can’t do many things outside, like drinking or going with older men or robbing. Because when I get home I just wash my school uniform so I don’t have time to go out again, then I start to cook for supper. When I go home ne I always think about the things I done here on a Monday. I even practice kickboxing or whatever at home, just to remind me (Interview 12 March 2011).

Although the MCSC and the WGILS programme may take up the time of the WGILS participants – time that they might have used to indulge in risky behaviour, such as alcohol usage, unprotected sex or drug abuse – one should not assume that those activities are not practised at all, or not practised during times when they are not at the centre. As in the case of Zetta and Yano, they may think twice about succumbing to peer pressure, as they feel what they learn at the WGILS is made part of their daily lives, but that may not be the case for all the WGILS participants. An overall theme that emerged from the interviews was that the WGILS programme does ‚structure’ the lives of the WGILS and it is something they look forward to doing. Pamela, one of the WGILS who specifically spoke of how the WGILS programme gives meaning in her life, said:

I am very happy, because some other times I would just stay at home when I wasn’t here [MCSC]. I would just stay at home without knowing what to do... you know. Now I know Mondays I must come here and participate in WGILS. So it keeps me busy and I enjoy it very much (Interview, 28 February 2011).

The WGILS programme does therefore fill a void in the lives of the girls, but one should be cautious about making generalised and vast claims as to what can be achieved through sport. This relates back to my concern addressed in the first part of the chapter, namely that sport-for-development rhetoric and policy often reinforce the mythopoeic nature of sport as a means to foster development. The idea that sports participation is a deviation from other social evils may well represent an ideal rather than reflect the reality of these girls.

Generalisations about the power of sport can become misguided and continue the ‚myth-making cycle’ of what is possible through sport.

Research of an empirical nature is necessary to address these assumptions and to validate the claims that are made for sport as a development tool. As Coalter (2007:88) puts it, “there is a need for a consideration of realistic and locally relevant outcomes measurement, grounded in material circumstances.” Both the funders of the WGILS programme (HTA and Comic Relief) and SCORE as the leading development partner therefore have a responsibility to assess the outcomes of the WGILS programme with monitoring and evaluation tools that are grounded in material circumstances. A slippage between the material circumstances in which sport-for-development work takes place and the reality of the participants’ lives can reinforce the ‚mythopoeic’ status of sport as a development tool and lead to continued failure to address salient questions regarding the use of sport as a vehicle for development.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has highlighted the danger of attributing ‚magical’ qualities to sport as a development tool in the South African context. I have asserted that unrealistic and often universalistic claims for the power of sport found in sport-for-development rhetoric and dogma are conjured up outside ‚real-life’ practices in a sport-for-development programme such as the WGILS. In alignment with Coalter’s (2007, 2010a) argument that sport has a mythopoeic status among sports evangelists, I hoped to prove by drawing on ethnographic data that there is a need to reflect critically on how sport is used as a development tool and that such critical reflection will curb generalisations or unfounded assumptions made with regards to the ‚magical’ qualities of sport as a vehicle for development.

Greater objectivity will lead to hypothesising about the power of sport based on empirical data. I have highlighted what sport can achieve by serving as a deterrent or fostering confidence in self-defence. This was done by drawing on interview data obtained from the participants of the WGILS programme at the MCSC. By calling for a critical attitude in thinking of the relationship between sport and development in this chapter, I suggest that what makes sport a viable vehicle for development is its ability to allow for the establishment of social networks, friendships and social cohesion (i.e. antecedents of social capital) and in doing so provide an opportunity for participants in a sport-for-development programmes such as WGILS to reap the benefits of such networks and in turn ‚develop’ or expand the choices

available to them. Ultimately, what makes sport magical is the fact that it is a medium through which friendships, social networks and social capital can be developed.

CHAPTER 4

Conceptualising social capital and sport

A community that plays together stays together

(Koffi Annan, Former United Nations Secretary-General)

Introduction

Zandi, Nommie and Alice, three of the WGILS, arrived early on this specific Monday that the WGILS programme took place at the MCSC. They had decided to come directly to the MCSC after school instead of going home to get changed. My eye caught them from the reception office of the MCSC, from where I could see them walking across the parking area in front of the MCSC. Zandi had her arm draped over Nommi and Alice was following a short distance behind, singing. As they entered the MCSC, they greeted me and the SCORE facilitator of the WGILS programme and walked straight to the indoor soccer pitch. A short while afterwards the rest of the WGILS group strolled into the centre. This group of WGILS joined Zandi, Nommi and Alice, who were sitting in the middle of the pitch. The girls formed a circle and were jokingly talking about the day's events at school and what they did over the weekend. As I walked over I could sense that this group of eleven WGILS had established a unique bond of friendship as they joked around and asked me when they could start with the kickboxing session scheduled for that day. Four months prior to this, many of these girls came into the centre, shy and aloof. Now they had formed a strong cohesive bond under the identity of WGILS. Over the past four months I had witnessed how the group of WGILS who had attended the WGILS programme consistently forged friendships, established a sense of camaraderie, reciprocated with small acts of generosity to one another and trusted the WGILS facilitator and other members of the group. The scene described above of the social connectedness of the WGILS attests to the fact that social capital had developed between this group of girls as a result of the WGILS programme. The fieldwork description substantiates the overall argument of this thesis that sport is a viable vehicle for the development of disadvantaged youths, as it allows for the establishment of social capital and as a result reinforces mutual co-operation and trust.

In this chapter I introduce the concept of social capital in detail and then examine its usefulness in a particular context, that of a sport-for-development programme. The logic is first clarifying the concept of social capital and then applying it to specific fieldwork

situations is to enable the reader to form an understanding of the complexity of the term „social capital’ before moving towards making sense of it in an empirical investigation. By drawing on the work of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, I suggest that it is membership of networks and a set of shared values, as well as social norms of trust and reciprocity, all characteristics of the formation of social capital, rather than sport itself is that drives development. Sport is a viable entry point for development work, as it offers a milieu in which social capital can thrive by attracting people with similar interests in sport (i.e. antecedents of Putnam’s bonding social capital). I suggest that the camaraderie, friendship, social cohesion, reciprocity and trust (all identifiable indicators of social capital) that develop from participating in sport are what enables individuals of sport-for-development programmes to benefit from participating in such programmes. On the basis of the ethnographic fieldwork with the Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS) programme at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre, I contend that there are no „magical’ properties that make sport a quick fix for broader social problems, but that social capital – generally defined as the “social networks based on social and group norms, which enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and via which individuals and groups can obtain certain types of advantage” (Coalter, 2010b:1377) – is what stimulates development within the sport-for-development context.

What is social capital?

Social capital is a useful conceptual tool to make sense of the relationships that manifested themselves within the group of WGILS. As with most sociological terms, the way in which social capital is defined and applied is contested and varies across disciplines. Seippel (2006) conceptualises the concept by breaking it down into its simplest form by defining the words „social’ and „capital’. In his words “capital is something that may might give a future benefit. Capital combined with social then leaves us with social relations of a special kind – containing and, potentially, generating resources – which, in the future, might have implications for actions in and postures towards other social actors or arenas” (Seippel, 2006: 170).

This is a very basic formulation of the intricate nature of social capital and it is hoped that this chapter will pave the way for a more in-depth understanding of the term. Field (2003) suggests that the term social capital is a means to conceptualise the imperceptible resources of community, common values and trust upon which we draw in everyday life. In colloquial

terms social capital relates to the idea that „relationships matter’ and that it matters who you know, not necessarily what you know. It has been applied in various disciplines ranging from Putnam’s (1993, 1995, 2000) work in political science on social cohesion in Italy and the United States, to the American sociologist Coleman’s (1988, 1994) use of the concept in investigating educational attainment in American ghettos. Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1986) the European sociologist, also made a significant contribution in towards defining and understanding social capital in relation to other forms of capital. I will go on to discuss how the three foundational scholars examining social capital – Bourdieu (1977, 1986), Coleman (1988, 1994) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000) – have theorised about social capital and then apply the concept of social capital to empirical data in a sport-for-development context. The link between various forms of capital and the root meaning of capital as a resource is also discussed to provide an understanding of the pliable nature of capital within the social world.

Bourdieu’s social capital

The term capital is usually associated with economics and monetary exchange; however, Bourdieu is adamant that capital is not only an economic term, but can be applied to the social world and manifests in the form of social and cultural/symbolic capital. Bourdieu argued that groups are able to use cultural capital or signs as markers of difference, both signalling and constituting their place in the social structure (Field, 2003:13). The extent to which social and cultural capital can be tapped into depends on the social structure within which one operates.

In an attempt to make sense of social structure and the agents operating in it, Bourdieu coined the concept of „habitus’, which can be thought of as the dynamic development of a structured set of values and ways of thinking, which in turn provides a bridge between subjective agency and objective position (Field, 2003:13). Bourdieu (1994:170) defines habitus as a property of social agents that comprises a “structured and structuring structure.” In other words, one’s habitus is „structured’ by one’s past and present circumstances; it is „structuring’ in that habitus helps to shape present and future practices, and it is „structure’ in that it is systematically ordered rather than random and unpatterned (Maton, 2008). For Bourdieu habitus brings together both objective social structure and subjective personal experiences: “the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality” (Bourdieu, 1977:72). The tension between the social structures that shape one’s thinking or actions and the subjective experiences of a personal nature within a given social „field’

determine the accumulation of social or cultural capital. For Bourdieu ‚habitus’, capital and field (social space) amalgamate to form the ‚practice’ or reality within which we operate. The ‚practice’, then, is a space where various forms of capital intermingle and in conjunction with habitus form a realm where social capital can make significant interventions in terms of reciprocal behaviour and future reward or benefit. “Capital becomes objectified as habitus, and is embodied and realized in practice” (Moore, 2008:111). Social capital, however, does not develop in isolation within this ‚field’, but various forms of capitals form exchanges and through transubstantiation present themselves in different forms. For Bourdieu, our experiences and perception of the world are shaped by our habitus. Considering that this thesis focuses on sport as a means to foster development, it can be argued that the way that participants in sport-for-development programmes (such as WGILS) perceive playing sport and the possible benefits that result from participating in sport is determined by their habitus. Using Bourdieu’s thinking tools of field, capital and habitus, it can be argued that the WGILS’ habitus is determined by their position in the ‚field’ and this position depends on the accumulation of various forms of capitals. The participants of the WGILS programme are therefore situated within a particular social environment and the choices that are available to them are guided by the amount of capital they can accumulate. In the light of this, I suggest that sport is a viable means through which social capital can develop, as it creates a situation in which social relationships based on trust and reciprocity can be forged.

Bourdieu (1986) argued that it is vital to understand the role of various forms of capital in the social world in which we live. It was almost impossible, according to Bourdieu, to understand the social world without acknowledging the role of “capital in all its forms, and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory” (Bourdieu, 1986:422). Bourdieu’s analysis of the general logic of social capital and accumulation, as well as its interplay with other forms of capital (Field, 2003), is crucial in attempting to understand social capital conceptually. Bourdieu (2006:105) explains the scope of the term by stating that:

It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one recognized by economic theory. Economic theory has allowed to be foisted upon it a definition of the economy of practices which is the historical invention of capitalism: and by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange, which is objectively and subjectively orientated toward the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) *self-interested*, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as non-economic, and therefore disinterested. In particular, it defines as

disinterested those forms of exchange which ensure the *transubstantiation* whereby the most material types of capital – those which are economic in the restricted sense can present themselves in the immaterial form of cultural capital or social capital and vice versa.

From this extensive quote it is evident that Bourdieu supposed that capital can be extended beyond the economic realm and be applied in the social world as social and cultural capital. He argues that “economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital” (Bourdieu, 1986) and under specific conditions can be ‘converted’ to other forms of capital. It is essential to examine the various forms of capital and in doing so “relocate the narrow instance of mercantile exchange away from economics into a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations of which the economic is only one type” (Moore, 2008:102).

Bourdieu (1986) identified three types of capital. The first is economic capital, which is associated with and convertible to money and can manifest as property. The second form of capital is cultural capital that is manifested in style, language, taste, disposition and social taste (Harker, 1984). Bourdieu (2007) argues that cultural capital can exist in three forms: the embodied state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions in the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.); and in the institutionalised state.

The third form of capital and the one that forms the theoretical foundation for this study is social capital. Bourdieu (1986: 249) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” Elsewhere he defines social capital as “the sum of resources actual or virtual that accrue to an individual or a group by possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:119).

Johnston and Percy Smith (2003) suggest that in Bourdieu’s formulation of social capital, the amount of social capital acquired by any individual is determined in part by other forms of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic). The intersection between different forms of capital is therefore key in Bourdieu’s understanding of social capital. He suggests that “the kinds of capital, like trumps in a game of cards, are powers which define the chances of profit in a given field” (Bourdieu, 1991:230). One’s status in society depends on what card you are dealt and what form of capital is drawn on. Central to Bourdieu’s

thinking on social capital was his concern with social hierarchy (Field, 2003) and he was fixated on investigating how inequality is reproduced by different forms of capital. Field (2003:14) draws attention to Bourdieu's analysis of social capital:

Bourdieu saw the positions of agents in the social field as determined by the amount and weight of their relative capitals, and by the particular strategies they adopted to pursue their goals. In an interview broadcast in 1987, Bourdieu compared the „social field’ to a casino: we gamble not only with the black chips that represent our economic capital, but also with the blue chips of our cultural capital and the red chips of our social capital (Alheit, 1996). These various capitals may not always be substituted for one another, but in combination they may in turn breed new capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977).

The interplay and relationship between the different forms of capital (chips) and how they manifest in the „social field’ is central to Bourdieu's analysis of social hierarchy. Social capital for Bourdieu provides the means to analyse how “this particular kind of capital is accumulated, transmitted and reproduced, the means of understanding how it turns into economic capital and, conversely, what work is required to convert economic capital into social capital” (Bourdieu, 1993:32). The context and conditions under which social capital can yield advantages, such as trust, reciprocity and future benefit, and the relationships between various forms of capitals are therefore inherent in Bourdieu's work on social capital.

Coleman's social capital

Whereas Bourdieu's analysis of social capital stemmed from understanding social hierarchy and the forms of capital that produce inequality, Coleman (1988, 1994) was more concerned with the relationship between social capital and the development of human capital (education, employment skills and expertise). He states that “human capital is created by changing persons so as to give them skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways. Social capital, in turn, is created when the relations among persons change in ways that facilitate action” (Coleman, 1990:304). Human capital as a means to „change’ and adopt new skills, and social capital as a means to facilitate action intersect to give rise to the benefits of social capital in the form of trust, obligation and reciprocal relationships. Bourdieu's understanding of social capital emphasises that privileged individuals maintain their position by using their connections with other privileged people and is therefore a resource accumulated predominantly by the elite.

Coleman's understanding of social capital is more nuanced as he suggests that social capital is a resource for all actors, individual or collective, privileged or disadvantaged (Field, 2003:28). It is therefore all-encompassing rather than accessible only to a few. For him "social capital is a particular kind of resource available to an actor" (Coleman,1988:S98), who acts with his best interest in mind.

Coleman was a proponent of rational action theory, which supports the belief that all behaviour stems from individuals pursuing their own interests; social interaction is therefore viewed as a form of exchange (Field, 2003). Field (2003:21) explains that "rational choice sociology assumes a highly individualistic model of human behaviour, with each person automatically doing what will serve their own interests, regardless of the fate of others." By conceptualizing social capital from a rational action perspective, Coleman was able to grasp why humans choose to cooperate, even when their immediate interest may be best served by competition (Field, 2003). Coleman suggests that social capital develops because actors make a calculated choice to invest it in. Social capital is then a result of actors choosing to invest in certain relationships for self-interested purposes. Coleman would argue that for the WGILS, then, the relationships that are forged are preplanned and a rational choice that they make for self-interested purposes. For example, the self defence skills that the WGILS develop can be seen as a form of investment with the purpose of being able to defend themselves if needs be.

Coleman (1988:S98) starts from the premise that each actor/individual has control over certain interests and resources, and proposes that social capital constitutes a particular kind of resource available to an actor. He goes on:

Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible.

The 'productivity' of social capital for Coleman is driven by the accumulation of human capital. He states that "just as physical capital and human capital facilitates productive activity, social capital does as well" (Coleman, 1988:S101). In his earlier work, which focused on youth and education, he defined social capital as "the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community organization and that are useful for the

cognitive or social development of a child or young person. These resources differ for different persons and can constitute an important advantage for children and adolescents in their development of human capital” (Coleman, 1994:300). Social capital, according to this definition, is important then not only for the realisation of credentials, but also in both cognitive progress and the growth of a secure self-identity (Field, 2003).

Considering that many sport-for-development organisations rely on the premise that the development of human capital amongst youths will provide the necessary skills and experience to benefit them in the future, Coleman’s interest in the relationship between social and human capital becomes a key issue when applied to the sport-for-development context. As Coalter (2010b:1377) indicates, many sport-for-development organisations emphasise the importance of young people remaining in education and in doing so developing various aspects of human capital (e.g. transferable social and organisational skills), trust and collective responsibility. The accumulation of human capital by the WGILS through attending educational and life-skills workshops will provide them with marketable skills and that, combined with networks that extend beyond the MCSC, could secure them a job, i.e. economic capital. That is at least the logic for SCORE, but for the WGILS it is doubtful that their involvement in the programme is based on economic predictions for the future.

The WGILS programme is an example of a sport-for-development programme that aims to reduce the high school drop-out rate of young girls by actively involving them in sport, and life skills, and continuously emphasising the importance of completing high school. The envisaged plan of SCORE was to provide participants of the WGILS programme with academic tutors on certain days to assist them in their academic endeavours. The development of their human capital is therefore considered to complement the social capital that is produced by their participation in the WGILS programme. The interplay between human and social capital, SCORE believes, will result in possible economic capital in the long run, as the WGILS would have extended their social networks (linking social capital) and have the education, skills and experience to stand them in good stead in the job market.

Coleman (1988) identifies three forms of social capital: obligations, expectations and trustworthiness of structures; information channels; and norms and effective sanctions. The first form of social capital refers to the reciprocal expectations of social relationships.

It is based on the idea that if you do something for someone, there is an expectation that the person will reciprocate in the future. Coleman suggests that this then results in a norm and expectation of generalised trust and reciprocity. The second form of social capital is that of information channels and is based on the notion that accurate information can be provided by an individual within a generally trusting environment. With a durable set of social networks and social capital amongst a group, it is thought that reliable information will filter through between individuals.

The third form of social capital, as summarised by Coleman (1988) refers to effective norms and sanctions. Coleman (1988: S105) argues that “effective norms can constitute a powerful form of social capital”, but that this form of social capital not only facilitates certain actions, but also constrains actions. In other words, effective norms and sanctions ensure accountability and allow for action that forgoes self-interest, and is in the interests of the collective. These norms and sanctions endorse particular forms of behaviour and impose sanctions on potential ‘free-riders’ (Coleman, 1988: 102 -104). The significance of such sanctions and norms lies in the expectation of reciprocity and the fact that an individual’s investment (e.g. time, effort, helping others) is made not for altruistic purposes, but in the expectation that it will pay future dividends (Coalter, 2010b:1377). Johnston and Percy-Smith (2003) argue that considering the three forms of social capital that Coleman outlines, individuals are prepared to take risks, because they are confident that others will do the same in the future.

For Coleman social capital is both accessible to the individual and the collective. He states that it is an “asset for the individual”, but was also built up of “social structural resources” (Coleman, cited in Field, 2003:25). Social capital for Coleman, then, can be considered a public good (i.e. a by-product of social and economic activity) rather than a private good (Coleman, 1994:312). His reasoning for defining social capital as a public good is that “although it is a resource that has value in use, it cannot be easily exchanged. As an attribute of the social structure in which a person is embedded, social capital is not the private property of any of the persons who benefit from it” (Coleman, 1990:315). Social capital is therefore not ‘the private property’ of individuals, but the by-product of collective action. For the WGILS, then, the social capital that is pertinent in their group is not a resource for each individual but a result of collective action. In other words, by their doing sport together and participating in the WGILS programme, each individual

contributes to the collective and can collectively reap future benefit, be that in the form of doing community work in Mbekweni or assisting each other in times of need.

There are distinct parallels and differences between Bourdieu's and Coleman's analysis of social capital. According to Field (2003), Bourdieu's understanding of social capital is somewhat circular, as it advocates that privileged individuals maintain their status in society by establishing social networks and connections with other privileged individuals. Coleman's conceptualisation of social capital is applied more broadly, as he believes that social capital is an asset or resource available to the individual, the collective, and the privileged and underprivileged. Coleman's view is also 'naively optimistic' as he sees social capital as a 'public good', where individuals cooperate for mutual advantage, and he fails to consider 'the dark side' or disadvantages of social capital, where exclusion, infighting and competition can prevail (Field, 2003). Bourdieu, on the other hand, sees the 'dark side' of social capital as only affecting the oppressed and having little influence on the privileged.

It is imperative to consider the 'dark side' of social capital when applying the concept as a theoretical lens to understand the complexity of a sport-for-development programme (see below). Coleman and Putnam are particularly criticised for romanticising what social capital can do and falling to account for the negative consequences that can result from social capital. Bourdieu and Coleman do, however, share commonalities in their conceptualisation of social capital. Both consider social interactions as an important form of exchange and for Coleman this leads to rational choice, but for Bourdieu this constitutes the basis of cultural materialism (Field, 2003). Nevertheless, both Bourdieu and Coleman's understanding of social capital posit that social relations are a valuable asset or resource that is exchangeable and that the accumulation of stocks of social capital yield advantages, in the form of trust, reciprocity and future benefit.

Clearly Coleman's analysis of social capital has an individualistic focus of rational actors making choices for their own benefit. Putnam (2000), however, theorises about social capital on a macro level, as the property of communities, cities and even nations.

Putnam's social capital

Putnam is one of the most recognised proponents of social capital. As an influential political scientist, with a keen interest in civic engagement in Italy and USA, he has

demonstrated by his landmark study *Bowling Alone* (2000) that there has been a decline of social capital in America since the 1940s, which as a result has made governance problematic in much of urban America (Field, 2003). League bowling is used by Putnam “as a metaphor of associational activity that brings together relative strangers together on a routine and frequent basis helping to build and sustain a wider set of networks and values that foster general reciprocity and trust, and in turn facilitate mutual collaboration” (Field, 2003:32).

Putnam (1996: 56) clarifies what he means by the term social capital: “By social capital I mean features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives.” He goes further to define social capital as “those features of social organizations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, 1993:35). He also states that “the core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value... social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups” (Putnam, 2000:18-19). From these three definitions that Putnam provides, one can surmise that for him trust is a prerequisite for the advancement of social capital and that mutual cooperation is essential for future benefit. Putnam (2000:21) states that “trustworthiness lubricates social life” and that “frequent interaction among a diverse set of people tends to produce a norm of generalized reciprocity.” Concepts of reciprocity and generalised trust that culminate from investing in social relationships and that give way for social capital to develop are central to the analyses of social capital by Putnam, Coleman and Bourdieu.

Coalter (2007:52) posits that “Putnam (2000) views civic engagement, associational life and volunteering associated with social capital as important because they improve the efficiency of communities and societies by facilitating coordinated actions, reducing transaction costs (e.g. high levels of trust means less dependency on formal contractual agreements) and enabling communities to be more effective in pursuit of their collective interest.” Unlike Coleman, who thinks of social capital as a ‘public good’ (i.e. by-product of social and economic activity), Putnam considers social capital to be intrinsically *for the public good* (emphasised in the original) (Putzel, cited in Johnston & Percy-Smith, 2003:324). Putnam has a communitarian vision of social capital and this approach in conceptualising social capital is one that underpins many of the assertions about sport and development (Coalter, 2007). Many sport-for-development programmes see sport as a means to create close-knit ties with familiar people (bonding social capital) and as a result

be ‚for the public good.‘ The social capital that is accumulated through sport at the MCSC could then be distributed to the broader community and this could be done by youths becoming involved with projects for community safety, health education and, as in the case of ‚SCORE for All‘, draw young children to sport. The ‚public good‘ is therefore encouraged by the collective identity and bonding social capital prevalent amongst the youth in sport-for-development programmes such as WGILS.

Putnam (2000) distinguished between two basic forms of social capital: bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive) social capital. Bonding social capital refers to networks based on strong social ties between similar people, or ‚people like us‘, and reinforces exclusive identities by maintaining homogeneity. The familiarity and closeness representative of this form of social capital gives rise to relations of trust and reciprocity. Putnam refers to these relationships forged by bonding social capital as a type of ‚sociological superglue‘, whose function is to enable people to ‚get by‘ and which maintains in-group loyalty and reinforces specific identities (Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital, on the other hand, brings people together across diverse social divisions. Bridging connections “are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion” that can “generate broader identities and reciprocity” (Putnam, 2000:22-23). Bridging social capital is therefore useful to gain information from people outside one’s immediate social network.

Woolcock (2001) has elaborated on the definitions provided by Putnam to make sense of the different types of social capital. In addition to the bonding and bridging forms of social capital that Putnam identifies, Woolcock (2001) has introduced linking social capital. According to Woolcock (2001), bonding social capital denotes ties between like people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours; bridging social capital encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates; and linking social capital reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available in the community (Woolcock, 2001:13).

The participants of the WGILS, sport-for-development programme, which forms the basis of this empirical study, display what Putnam (2000) and Woolcock (2001) would refer to as bonding social capital, as they share commonalities in that they are similar in age, from the same community, interested in sport and show signs of in-group loyalty to reinforce

their identity as WGILS. The way that social capital manifests within the WGILS group will be discussed later in this chapter, but the background on the way that three influential and foundational theorists (Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam) have conceptualised social capital provides an analytical framework as a point of departure in an attempt to substantiate my argument that sport itself does not necessarily promote development, but it provides a setting where social capital can flourish and in turn lead to future benefit for participants in sport-for-development programmes.

Social capital as ‘good’

Most scholars acknowledge that social capital is inherently a resource that is beneficial to those who obtain it. Adler and Kwon (2000) draw on Sandefur and Laumann’s (1998) work to discuss the benefits of social capital. Adler and Kwon (2000:103) argue that social capital has three prominent benefits: information access, influence and power, and social solidarity. In terms of information access, they suggest that “social capital facilitates access to broader sources of information at lower cost” (Adler and Kwon, 2000: 103). In other words, by being in close proximity and participating in a sport for development programme, such as WGILS, the girls are more likely to get information on workshops or career guidance opportunities. They are notified about life-skills opportunities or conferences they can attend that are hosted at the MCSC. They therefore have access to information and opportunities that they would otherwise not have known about, if they had not been part of the WGILS group.

The second benefit of social capital is power and influence. It is suggested that “power in the positive sense of the word enables people to lead others toward a common goal and facilitates collective action” (Adler and Kwon 2000:105). Coleman (1988), using the example of United States senators, puts forward the idea that certain senators are more powerful than others because they have build up a set of obligations from other senators and therefore have more credit when it comes to legislation being passed. In the same way the WGILS allegiances to each other and the programme offers them an opportunity to act in solidarity as a group that can exert their power or influence on other groups of youths at the MCSC. To illustrate the ability of social capital to contribute to WGILS’ influence and power at the MCSC I draw on a situation that played out during one of the life-skills sessions.

The WGILS usually occupies the seminar room in the front of the MCSC. On this specific Monday there had been a group of „young leaders”¹⁸ who had gathered in the room to have a meeting. As some of the WGILS arrived for the WGILS programme, they noticed that their space had been occupied by the „young leaders”. A situation played out where they stood together in a group in the front of the room and wrote on the white board that WGILS sessions take place at that time and that the other group should leave. After a brief period of „competition” for the space and arguments, the „young leaders” left the room and the WGILS who were there gave each other „high fives” to congratulate each other on exerting influence and claiming their space. The influence they had to out manoeuvre the other group was a result of strong in-group solidarity and „bonding” social capital that reinforces a specific identity and power at the cost of outsiders of that network.

According to Adler and Kwon (2000:105), the third benefit of social capital is solidarity. They suggest that “strong social norms and beliefs, associated with a high degree of closure of the social network, encourage compliance with local rules and customs, and reduces the need for formal controls.” One of the apparent features that I observed during my research of the WGILS was their ability to display solidarity and form strong in-group cohesion. A social norm developed where the WGILS would hold each other accountable for attending the WGILS sessions. Often if one of the girls had been absent from WGILS the previous week, she would be encouraged to explain why she hadn’t come the previous week and was reminded not miss any more sessions. In that way the „formal control” that the SCORE facilitator would have to exert in terms of reminding them that regular attendance was essential was removed and they themselves held each other accountable.

Burnett (2006), however, draws attention to the sources of social capital (relationships) and benefits that may spring from tapping into such relationships. She warns against claiming causality between relationships and benefits without considering external factors. Burnett (2006:286) drawing on the work of Dika and Singh (2000) states that “clear distinction should be made between the sources of social capital (relationships) and the possible benefits (resources) and various forms of capital without claiming causality or ignoring other variables in the confusion of the possession versus the activation of social capital (Dika & Singh, 2000).” The benefits or advantages that result from belonging to and participating in a

¹⁸ The „young leaders” are a group of twenty youth who form part of SCORES’s leadership ladder (see chapter 1)

sport-for-development programme such as WGILS are therefore derived from coordination and cooperation amongst themselves and the SCORE facilitators, but may also be influenced by other variables that can activate social capital. Furthermore, the benefits that are derived from social networks and the advantages of maintaining ‚good’ relationships can only exist in relation to others.

Portes (1998:7) sums the relational aspect of social capital up concisely by stating that “to possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage.” It then becomes clear that at the heart of social capital is the idea that “relationships matter” (Field, 2003) and that by making connections with other people and keeping them going over time, people are able to join forces to achieve things that they either could not achieve by themselves, or could only achieve with great difficulty (Field, 2003). In lieu of the central premise of thesis, this chapter demonstrates how sport enables people to relate to one another, and it is through this relational component and dependence on one another that social capital and its benefits can be reaped.

The advantages that stem from social capital can manifest as a collective effort to win a match or to exert power and influence as a group in solidarity. A ‚closed’ network indicative of Putnam’s (2000) bonding social capital also allows for compliance to rules and a reduced need for formal controls. The valuable nature of social capital can also allow for individual advantages; in the case of the WGILS there was an opportunity to travel to destinations such as Cape Town (see fieldwork description below) that would otherwise not have been possible.

Social capital as ‘bad’

Putnam has been criticised for viewing social capital as ‚inherently good’ from this perspective and presenting a romanticised communitarian perspective (see Woolcock and Narayan, 2000) in his definition of bonding social capital. Misztal (2000) challenges Putnam’s conceptualisation of social capital by stating that he fails to account for the production and maintenance of social capital. Misztal (2000) suggests that Putnam’s romanticised image of community and what social capital can achieve fails to notice that social networks can foster both trust and distrust, and therefore an emphasis should also be placed on what social capital cannot do, or on ‚the dark side’ of social capital. Field (2003:

41) suggests that all three theorists – Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam – have downplayed the negative consequences of social capital.

Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam's analysis of social capital emphasizes its positive outcomes for individuals and society as a whole, but the negative aspects that can prevail as a result of social capital are also worth addressing. Portes (1998:15-18) identifies four such negative consequences. Firstly, outsiders can be excluded as a result of strong ties that exist within a particular group or community (bonding social capital). Secondly, group or community closure inhibits the economic success of its members, as a result of „free-riding' on the part of some group members who are in the position to make claims on those within the group or community who command resources. Thirdly, conformity within the group or community results in restrictions on personal freedom and autonomy. And lastly, group solidarity allows for downward levelling in opposition to mainstream society. In other words specific forms of strong group solidarity can be in opposition to mainstream ideals in society, for example drug or criminal gangs who tap into social capital, and whose acts have a detrimental effect on society.

For Portes (1998:18) “sociability cuts both ways” and the positive outcomes of social capital in the form of trust, reciprocity, norms, sanctions and future benefit need to be understood in relation to what social capital does not do, or how it can result in negative outcomes. Fukuyama (1997) is particularly sceptical of essentialising the positive aspects of social capital. He defines social capital as “the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of that group that permits cooperation among them” (Fukuyama, 1997:324), but he alludes to the fact that values and norms are not always „good ones' by stating that “the sharing of values and norms does not in itself produce social capital, because the values may be the wrong ones” (Fukuyama, 1997:324). Values, then, as expressed through group cohesion and that gives rise to social capital are not always intrinsically good, but can lead to competition and exclusion. For example, criminal gangs can make use of bonding social capital to instil unlawful values amongst their members and that type of social capital leads to action/behaviour that is detrimental to society. Fukuyama's definition therefore allows for social capital in certain circumstances to have negative consequences (Johnston & Percy-Smith, 2003).

To apply „the dark side' of social capital to the sport-for-development context, one can note that many sport-for-development programme rely on the premise that sport is an

arena where friendship, camaraderie and group cohesion can flourish, and as a result culminate in strong social ties within a particular group and, through the acquisition of social capital, facilitate „development’. This assumption, however, needs to be considered in terms of how these strong in-group ties can be detrimental to the group and exclude others. An example of how the negative aspect of social capital may manifest itself is addressed later in this chapter, but at this stage it is important to realise that social capital and its outcomes are not always positive. Nevertheless, even though, as Fukuyama (2001) suggests, there may be times when there is too much social capital, a lack of social capital is far worse.

Is social capital enough? The relationship between social capital and economic capital

It could be argued that the assumption by sport-for-development NGOs such as SCORE that social capital and human capital will lead to economic capital or job security in the long term is perhaps theoretically viable, but practically questionable. SCORE activities, in terms of developing human capital by providing youths with opportunities to attend coaching workshops, HIV-awareness courses and life-skills lessons and the accumulation of social capital through sport, do set up a tenuous link with economic capital. If development is defined as enlarging the range of people’s choices in the sport-for-development context, then surely the ultimate development goals would be to extend the choices that poverty-stricken youths in townships have by becoming economically active and developing the skills necessary to become employable. A point to consider is whether the social capital that is prevalent amongst the WGILS and the human capital that is developed through life-skills training and workshops would in the long run, i.e. once they are out of school, translate into some form of economic capital.

For SCORE that may be the ideal in terms of channelling youths who had limited social, human and economic capital into a direction where social capital can be accumulated and human capital developed and eventually, through being socially connected, ensure a place in the job market and all this done through the medium of sport. But it would be farfetched to assume that the immediate focus of the WGILS is to develop the social capital amongst the group for economic reasons, whilst they are still at school.

For the WGILS, then, the social capital that they have accumulated as a group participating in sport and life-skills sessions is perhaps beneficial to them in the short term,

as they can trust each other by discussing everyday issues they may have to deal with, or reciprocate by supporting or confiding in each other, but the long-term future benefit of the social networks that are established through the WGILS programme today is difficult to predict.

What is the relationship between sport and social capital?

It has to be noted that sport in general (and the way it is understood in the sport-for-development context) is socially constructed. In other words, the meanings that people attribute to their participation in sport is shaped by their past experiences, their culture and the way they have been socialised to think about sport. Bourdieu's (1977) understanding of 'habitus' is particularly useful to analyse how our perception or 'practice' of sport is shaped. In simple terms, "habitus focuses on our way of acting, feeling, thinking and being. It captures how we carry within us our history, how we bring this history into our present circumstances, and how we then make choices to act in certain ways and not in others. This is an ongoing and active process – we are engaged in a continuous process of making history, but not under conditions entirely of our own making" (Maton, 2008:52). The way we think, feel and participate in sport is therefore not only a culmination of our past histories, but also shaped by external conditions, for example, cultural assumptions about the value of sport and socio-economic conditions that make access to sport participation possible.

Furthermore, it is essential to understand that the manifestation of social capital amongst different groups of people will vary, and the way that this resource is used is heavily dependent on time and context. Tonts (2005:138) explains the fluid nature of social capital:

Social capital is not necessarily a static and unchanging concept, and will vary considerably across space and time. Indeed, this is a theme taken up by Mohan and Mohan (2002), who argue that in attempting to understand the nature of social capital it is important to recognise that its form will vary considerably depending on geographical and social context.

Considering the fluid nature of social capital as described by Tonts (2005), how does sport provide a climate within which social capital can develop? And how has the social context that the WGILS find themselves in give rise to this valuable resource?

Many scholars (Coalter, 2007, 2010a; Burnett, 2006; Sherry, 2010; Holt 2005; Ulsaner 1999) acknowledge that sport is an arena where social capital can manifest itself, as it attracts people with the same interests and is an avenue where social relationships can be forged. Tonts (2005), in his study on the value of social capital and sport in rural Australia, found that “sport is an important arena for the creation and maintenance of social capital” (Tonts, 2005:137). Social networks based on a shared interest in sport can enable people to trust and cooperate with each other to obtain certain types of advantage (Coalter, 2007). According to Collins (2004: 729), participating in a sport event or in sport “requires some confidence, some skill, some knowledge, an ability to manage time and relationships, and having a group of supportive friends and companions, including some who share the same desire to take part”. Sport is a social activity, where players have to interact and communicate to achieve the goal of playing as a team or winning a match. Inherent in sport, then, is a socialisation factor and the need to establish social networks for the benefit of a team. Sport-for-development NGOs such as SCORE rely on the premise that sport and its ability to attract young people and create a climate where social capital can flourish allows for development to take place on an individual level and then perhaps, through linking social capital, have an impact on a communal level.

For Ulsaner (1999) sports participation is an opportunity where social contact can be widened. Considering that social contact and networks are determinants of social capital, sport can be considered an arena where social capital can flourish. Social capital becomes operational through social connections (Burnett, 2006) that operate within specific institutions or groups. Portes (1998:3) raises an important issue regarding the nature of social networks, as he states that “social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits.”

Social networks do therefore not just manifest naturally within the WGILS group, but operate within an institutional realm, of the NGO SCORE and more specifically the WGILS programme at the MCSC. The time and energy that the WGILS invests in participating in the programme has the strategic significance that Portes (1998) alludes to, as membership of the WGILS group does guarantee certain benefits. These benefits may range from having access to a sporting space in Mbekweni, where they can hone their sporting skills, to getting lunch at each of the WGILS sessions. If the basis of social capital is coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995), then it becomes essential to consider the strategic reasons the

WGILS may have for wanting to be part of the programme. This relates back to the idea of what the stakes are for the WGILS participating in the programme. Coleman (1994) would suggest that individuals (members of the WGILS programme) choose to be part of the programme out of ‚self-interest’ and that the relationships that are forged are based on the strategic rational choice of how it would benefit them in the future.

The relationship between sport and social capital is a productive one worth exploring. Sport in itself is not a ‚magical’ vehicle through which development takes place (see Chapter 3), but rather provides a setting where social capital can flourish and its benefits (trust, reciprocity, sanctions, norms and future benefit) can become accessible to participants of sport-for-development programmes.

Furthermore, my empirical study of the WGILS programme confirmed the assumption that sport serves as an entry point for development, as it allows for the formation of social capital and stable relationships. For the WGILS sport was a means to enhance and broaden their existing social networks. To substantiate this proposition I draw on data obtained during interviews, where the WGILS confirmed that sport was indeed a means for them to extend and validate their social networks.

Nina is a Grade 9 learner at Desmond Tutu High School. She is a keen sports woman and participates in netball and badminton at her school and diligently attended most of the WGILS sessions. She stated that:

I enjoy the WGILS programme very much, not only because it keeps me busy but also because I can come here [the MCSC] and do netball or kickboxing. By doing sport, I talk with my teammates and get to know them better. Here at the centre I can make many friends (Interview, 28 March, 2011).

Zimi confirmed Nina’s perception that by being part of the WGILS programme and especially its sport component, she is able to broaden her social networks. In Zimi’s words:

You know, I know many people and have friends at school and church. We enjoy doing the same things. Here at the Centre I have also met many people, people who enjoy sport. I also like sport and when we play together you get to know each other better. The sport we do here (the MCSC) helps me to communicate and have fun with my friends, I have made good friends here (Interview, 23 February, 2011).

From these two comments it becomes apparent that the MCSC serves as a place where these girls feel they can extend their social networks with people who are similar to them in terms of interest in sport and age (i.e. Putnam's bonding social capital). But how does making new friends or extending social networks translate into the acquisition of social capital and ultimately some form of development? Coalter (2010b:1383) poses the question as to whether bonding social capital is enough? He states that "while many sport-for-development organizations may manage to promote the positive aspects of bonding social capital, there is a danger that equating social capital with the resources acquired through it can easily lead to tautological statements – in other words, such networks can be 'resource poor' both internally and externally" (Coalter, 2010b:1384). Coalter (2010b) reminds us to be cautious about how social capital can manifest socially through sport, but such an analytical caveat does not imply that there is no such linkage.

The two quotes exemplify the significance of relationships and social capital on an individual level, but international organisations such as the United Nations have also latched onto the idea that sport may well be a viable vehicle for development as it allows for the acquisition of social capital.

The Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group (SDP IWG), affiliated to the United Nations, aims to promote the integration of Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) policy recommendations into the national and international development strategies of national governments. They draw a parallel between sports participation and, although this is not explicitly stated, the formation of social capital through sport. According to the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group:

Sport's value as a social connector is one of its most powerful development attributes. Sport is an inherently social process bringing together players, teams, coaches, volunteers and spectators. Sport creates extensive horizontal webs of relationships at the community level, and vertical links to national governments, sport federations, and international organizations for funding and other forms of support. These community sport networks, when inclusive, are an important source of social networking, helping to combat exclusion and fostering community capacity to work collectively to realize opportunities and address challenges. Programs that reflect the best values of sport – fair play, teamwork, cooperation, respect for opponents, and inclusion – reinforce this process by helping participants to acquire values and life skills consistent with positive social relationships, collaborative action, and mutual support. If the population involved is broadly inclusive, sport's connecting dimension can help to unify people

from diverse backgrounds and perspectives, establishing a shared bond that contributes positively to social cohesion. For this reason, sport has long been used as a means to promote national unity and harmony within and across nations” (SDP IWG, 2008:5)

This quotation encapsulates an underlying reference to different forms of social capital, although this is not explicitly stated. „Horizontal webs at the community level’ relates closely to Putnam’s (2000) bonding social capital of similar people; „vertical links to national governments, sport federations and international organization’ is an example of Fukuyama’s (2000) „linking social capital’ and ideas of social cohesion, social relationships and mutual support all point to the characteristics of social capital that Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam have alluded to. Although sport is considered a space where social capital can accumulate, it remains essential to interrogate the relationship between sport and social capital in an attempt to understand the broader concern of this thesis – the relationship between sport and development.

In the first part of this chapter I have outlined the main characteristics of social capital as theorised by Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. In doing so I provided a theoretical basis on which I can consider the observations and interactions that I experienced during my fieldwork period with the Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS) programme at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre. The crux of my argument is that sport itself does not facilitate development, but social capital that develops through sport is what makes sport a viable vehicle for development purposes. To substantiate this argument, a conceptual understanding of social capital is essential, and it is hoped that the discussion above has clarified the concept of „social capital’ and introduced it in relation to sport. The next part of the chapter aims to apply the theoretical concept of social capital to fieldwork situations that played out during my research period.

Staying or going: WGILS and social capital

Mbekweni during summer is blistering hot. As I parked my car at the MCSC I could see that the small windows of the communal room had already been opened to allow for the slightest breeze to move through the room. Fortunately the high roof that covers the astro pitch allows a coolness to descend onto the Centre and I am relieved that playing soccer indoors today as part of the WGILS „holiday programme’ may not be all that exhausting in the summer heat. The specific holiday programme on 13 and 14 December 2010 was planned to keep the WGILS busy during the first week of the December holiday, but also to allow them to

participate in a „sport only’ programme. Soccer and netball were chosen by the WGILS as the sport of choice for the duration of the holiday programme. It was decided by the SCORE facilitators of the WGILS programme that the holiday programme and the WGILS activities for 2010 would conclude with a trip to Cape Town.

The holiday programme was held from 10:00-12:00 on both days. There were seven girls attending the first day of the holiday programme; reasons for the low attendance rate was because many of the girls were working on wine/fruit farms during the holidays, or went to the Eastern Cape to visit family over the festive season. The second day of the holiday programme saw 10 girls attend, as those who were not present the first day were informed by their fellow WGILS of the prospect of the trip to Cape Town. The holiday programme did not involve a life-skills session, as the focus was on participation in sport and giving the girls a chance to compete against each other in different teams. The logic behind splitting the girls into different teams for the different sporting codes was for them to get to know some of the WGILS participants whom they might not have befriended yet.

On the first day of the holiday programme a 5-aside soccer match took place with each team playing ten minutes a side. There was a jovial mood among the girls as they practised dance moves in a circle, while waiting for the match to get underway. They had definitely become more accustomed to each other and felt „at home’ in the Centre as they sang songs and danced with confidence, whereas at the induction session one month earlier, they were quiet and aloof. Two volunteers from Huguenote College in Wellington, who had been assisting in the WGILS sessions, as well as the SCORE staff member and myself joined in on the selected sport of the day. The soccer match ended in a draw and was decided by a penalty shoot-out that would see each team’s players get a shot at goal.

The team I played in won the penalty shoot-out and the victory was celebrated as we ran towards each other, giving each other „high fives’ and jumping up and down with excitement. For the first time since my involvement with the WGILS programme did I feel a sense of acceptance from the girls as we celebrated our victory. For those few minutes I was no longer the *mulungu*¹⁹ or an outsider from Stellenbosch, but a team mate who could share in the experience and thrill of winning a match. My experience of „difference’ or my identity as an

¹⁹*Mulungu* is a term used in many black townships to refer to white people, often with a derogatory connotation. It was not uncommon for me to be called a *mulungu* by many of the younger children who came to the Centre; they only knew white people as *mulungus*.

„outsider’ is not unique to this specific fieldwork situation. Ellen (1984:103) confirms that “in many ways, the anthropologist is always an outsider. He or she is neither undifferentially incorporated into the community, nor usually seeks to be.” The fieldworker not only adjusts emotional responses and behaviour to the community being studied, but also acts according to his or her own social position and often expects to be treated differently. In a sense, I did expect to be treated differently because my identity as a white student from Stellenbosch is vastly different from the experiences and identities of the informants. Furthermore, many of the girls’ first language is isiXhosa and mine is English. The language discrepancy contributed to the sense of difference that I experienced, as fluent communication was challenging at times. The experience we had of being in a team and winning the soccer match, however, gave me the opportunity to shift the language and race barrier that was associated with my identity as a researcher. After this event, I felt that I could relate to many of the WGILS in a more relaxed manner, as I had been ‚accepted’ through participating with them in sport.

Geertz’s (1972) describes aptly what he had to endure as an anthropologist trying to get an ‚insider’ status in the Balinese community he was studying. Geertz and his wife, just like me, were in a certain sense ‚invisible’ in the community they studied as nobody spoke or opened up to them. It was only after a specific event in which he participated that he gained trust from the community. He describes a situation where he fled from an illegal ‚cock fight’ that police raided in Bali. He ran from the police together with the rest of the crowd who were watching the cock fight. The crowd with whom they fled were surprised and puzzled why they as ‚white American professors’ took part in the illegal activity and also ended up fleeing from the police. Geertz (1972:4) describes that this event allowed for the community that he was studying to open up to him. Commenting on the aftermath of this incident, he states: “The next morning the village was a completely different world for us. Not only were we no longer invisible, we were suddenly the centre of all attention, the object of a great outpouring of warmth, interest, and, most especially, amusement. It was the turning point so far as our relationship with the community was concerned, and we were quite literally ‚in’” (Geertz, 1972:4). My experience of participating with the WGILS in soccer is similar to Geertz’s experience of fleeing the police, as it allowed for acceptance and openness to prevail. Considering that an ‚insider’ status is essential in anthropological research, circumstances such as a soccer match or fleeing from a cock fight can prove to be crucial to cement rapport and so become accepted by those you study.

On the second day of the holiday programme a netball match was played on the astro turf soccer pitch inside the centre. Netball posts were moved that were standing outside the centre to make an ad hoc netball field across half of the soccer field. The holiday programme concluded with lunch and an informal prize-giving, where the girls who participated in the holiday programme received a „SCORE certificate of participation’. There was a sense of excitement and accomplishment as each girl who attended the holiday programme was called up to receive a certificate, with their fellow WGILS doing the „WGILS cheer’ in recognition of the recipient of the certificate. The „certificate of participation’ was the first tangible reward that those who attended the majority of the WGILS sessions were rewarded with and there was a definite sense of pride that permeated the room as the girls compared their certificates.

The end-of-year excursion to Cape Town served as an incentive for the girls to return to the programme at the start of the academic year in 2011. The prospect of going to Cape Town as part of the WGILS contingent seemed to excite the girls as they eagerly read through the indemnity form that SCORE requires when transporting participants in their programmes. The reason that the Cape Town trip conjured up feelings of excitement and anticipation among the girls is that, although many of them had visited the Mother City before with friends or family on special occasions, this was a „surprise’ trip as they were not informed about the details of what would occur on the day. It would also be the first time that the girls would move outside the confines of the MCSC as a WGILS group.

This opportunity to go to Cape Town also served as a „hook’ to keep those girls already diligently attending the WGILS sessions involved in the programme. A bulk sms was sent out informing the girls of the holiday programme as well as the Cape Town day trip. With the news that there was an excursion some WGILS participants arrived at the Centre to inquire about the trip, even though they had attended as few as only one session since the induction of the programme. A decision was made by the SCORE facilitator of the WGILS programme, that only those girls who had consistently been attending WGILS sessions and who participated in at least one of the days of the holiday programme could accompany her and other SCORE staff members on the trip to Cape Town. This led to the exclusion including only a few girls, based on the low attendance rate.

The criteria set to go to Cape Town created a sense of privilege and a definite split within the group, as those who did not attend the WGILS sessions regularly were denied the opportunity

to go on the trip. The fieldwork situation that played out as described above can be analysed in terms of what Putnam (2000) has referred to as „the dark side of social capital’. Field (2003:72) reminds us that “social capital’s capacity for negative outcomes should not come entirely as a surprise” and that if social capital can give rise to „desirable outcomes’ it can also produce what he terms „social bads’.

Putnam (2000:21) warns against social capital sounding “warm and fuzzy”. He argues that “networks and the associated norms of reciprocity are generally good for those inside the network, but the external effects of social capital are by no means always positive” (Putnam, 2000:21). Those girls who did not qualify to go to Cape Town were placed outside the social network that had been established by the WGILS who had been attending the sessions regularly. Taking into account that “some forms of social capital are, by choice or necessity, inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups” (Putnam, 2000:22), it can be argued that an „exclusive identity’ had been formed by those girls who qualified to go on the trip. The original homogeneous nature of the WGILS group (in terms of the majority of the girls being from Mbekweni, sharing an interest in sport and a similar in age) had changed.

The tightly knit group of girls who had been attending the WGILS sessions regularly displayed what Putnam (2000:22) would refer to as bonding (or inclusive) social capital that “is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity.” Furthermore, Putnam (2000:23) argues that „bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue’ and can create strong in-group loyalty, but also strong out-group antagonism.

Sam, one of the WGILS who qualified to go to Cape Town, said that she felt that those girls who had participated in the WGILS sessions and had made a contribution to the programme deserve to go more than the girls who had not been attending. She stated that “You can’t just come to the Centre now that you hear that we are going to do something fun; these girls [those who could not go to Cape Town] are taking a chance. They are also part of this programme, but they chose not to attend, so now they can’t be angry.”

Clearly there was an “us” and “them” dialogue at play here as she distanced herself from those who had not been committed to the programme since its inception. The WGILS who had been attending regular sessions had already established a strong sense of in-loyalty and friendship with one another, and it was therefore not surprising that the girls who were excluded from the end-of-year excursion were perhaps antagonistic towards those who could

make the trip to Cape Town. Although the group of girls who could go to Cape Town shared the same identity as participants of WGILS who could not go, an exclusive identity in the form of „WGILS who can go to Cape Town’ was formed.

This situation of strong in-group loyalty and cohesion became apparent after the WGILS programme had been in operation for a month and a half, as described above, but it became even more prominent as the programme continued. Four and a half months into the programme I realised that the group of ten to twelve WGILS who had been attending the WGILS sport and life-skills sessions regularly were adamant that a new intake of girls for the programme was not an option. There was a possibility that a ‚new’ group of girls would be recruited for the programme, as the ‚target group’ that SCORE had set and the proposal for the donors had aimed at a group of 25 girls. The notion of social capital as ‚bad’ or reinforcing homogenous identities at the expense of outsiders of that network became apparent, as the option of ‚opening up’ the social network that had been established amongst the WGILS to others was considered undesirable.

The possibility of new girls joining the programme was met with hostility by the girls who had been attending regularly. An informal discussion about this possibility took place during a kickboxing session. Wendy, one of the WGILS who displayed a great sense of commitment and pride to the programme (as she was always on time for the WGILS sessions and vocal about her identity as a WGIL with other youths in the Centre), stated that:

We already got to know each other, and have formed friendships and trust each other... now if we bring new people into this programme, they will make us feel uncomfortable. We don’t want new people. We are *the* WGILS and that is that!

Evidently Wendy felt that the social network that had been established with the other WGILS was an exclusive one. Coleman’s (1998) understanding of ‚closure’ of social networks is apparent from the quote above. For Coleman (1988) relationships are shown to constitute capital resources by helping establish obligations and expectations between actors, building the trustworthiness of the social environment, opening channels for information, and setting norms that endorse particular forms of behaviour while imposing sanctions on would-be free-riders (Coleman, 1998); furthermore, the creation of social capital facilitated by ‚closure’ between different networks of actors creates stability and a common shared ideology. For Wendy a shared ideology of what it means to be a WGIL had been established with her friends in the WGILS group. She had dismissed the idea that

a „different network of actors’ could enter into the established network of the WGILS and in doing so tapped into the benefits of social capital, namely those of obligations, trustworthiness and reciprocity. But how do these „benefits’ of group solidarity and social capital manifest among the WGILS? Do they trust each other, or feel obliged to reciprocate because of their identity as WGILS?

To trust or not to trust?

The WGILS programme hopes to create a climate where trust and openness can prevail among the participants and this relates closely to characteristics that can contribute to the formation of social capital. Field (2003:63) is of the opinion that “trust plays a vital role in gaining access to some benefits of social networks.” The benefit of belonging to a social network, such as the WGILS programme is that the girls have access to a physical space, the MCSC, and an opportunity to share problems or discuss the insecurities in their lives with the rest of the group and the SCORE facilitators based on a relationship of trust and confidentiality. Lewicki and Brinsfield (2009:277) indicate that, “because social capital is a relational construct, it depends heavily on trust.” Within the WGILS group it is hoped that trust is the „glue’ that holds them together and, in so doing, provides the girls with a platform from which to voice their opinions.

Putnam (1993) argues that the combination of trust, social networks and norms of reciprocity creates a strong community with a shared resource ownership. Fukuyama (1995) defines trust as a basic feature of social capital. According to Fukuyama (1995:26), “social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it.” Trust is “a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on the positive expectation of the intentions or behavior of another” (Rousseau, cited in Bartkus & Davis, 2009:278).

Evidently trust and the building of social capital go hand in hand. It is hoped that trusting relationships can be forged amongst the WGILS and SCORE facilitators and in doing so contribute to the formation of social capital. For the WGILS the weekly sessions are an opportunity to fully express themselves, either by writing in their diaries, or by speaking to their fellow WGILS or SCORE staff at the MCSC about concerns they might have, either in their personal lives or with the programme itself. To assist in expressing themselves about challenges or insecurities they may face, each WGILS participant was given a diary. It was thought that it would be easier to write down their experience of the WGILS sessions and any

other aspects of their lives they would want to comment on, than verbally expressing themselves. They decorated their diaries with stickers or colour markers and in that way personalised it at the first session of the WGILS programme that took place on 31 January 2011.

They were notified that their diaries may be looked at by the facilitators of the WGILS programme and therefore complete confidentiality of what they write in the diary was not ensured. After every WGILS session they have a ten-minute period during which they can write in their diaries and reflect on the WGILS sessions or on anything else that may have happened to them during the day. They were encouraged to use the diary as an outlet to express themselves or to comment on their experience of the WGILS session. The diary entries could assist the SCORE facilitators of the WGILS programme to understand and support challenges and personal issues that the WGILS may experience outside the context of the MCSC.

The diaries were an innovative way to encourage the WGILS to share or express themselves, and many of the WGILS stated during the interviews that they felt more comfortable writing in the diaries than confiding in other girls in the WGILS group. Sam often consistently wrote in her diary, and when I asked her about the diary entries, she said.

Ummm... Ja, about the diaries. You know for me a diary is a personal thing. So when I write stuff in there, like personal stuff, I don't want everybody to know about it. But I know that V [WGILS facilitator] may look at it, and I trust her. If she can see that I am upset or going through a tough time at school or home or with my friends, then she can talk to me, because she knows what I have written in my diary (Interview 28 March, 2011).

Evidently Sam is comfortable with certain people knowing what she is going through in her life, and V is someone she feels she can confide in and trust. If trust is a precursor for social capital to develop, then it can be argued that within the WGILS group social capital as a resource is attained by their participation in the WGILS programme.

I will provide an additional example to highlight the relationships of trust that developed amongst members of the WGILS group and the SCORE facilitator. One of the WGILS participants had to endure the trauma of being raped twice within a period of a year. On her return to the WGILS programme in February 2011, her class teacher notified the SCORE facilitator of the programme of these terrible incidents. The girl was observably distraught and had changed from being a confident, outspoken young girl to being withdrawn, insecure

and aloof. She often commented in my discussions with her that the SCORE facilitator V was one of the few people she could talk to about the incidents. She therefore relied on V for support and only through a relationship of trust could ‚counselling’ or comforting take place.

It can be argued that the WGILS sessions contribute to the formation of social capital and possibly act as a space where trust and reciprocity can prevail among the girls who consistently attend the sessions. In the light of the overall assumption of this chapter that sport itself does not necessarily lead to development, but that the consequences of the formation of social capital through sport, such as trust, reciprocity and future benefit, are what makes sport a useful vehicle for development, it becomes apparent that for the WGILS the WGILS programme and their participation in sport allowed for them to forge relationships, to trust and reciprocate with small acts of generosity to one another.

An example of how ‚generalised reciprocity’ is advocated during the WGILS sessions is an ‚exercise’ that was introduced in the beginning of 2011. Each girl was given an envelope with their names on to decorate. These envelopes were pinned up against a wall in a room that is only accessible to the WGILS members and staff. The idea is that after every WGILS session a person can write an anonymous note of encouragement or a positive characteristic of any other person in the group and post it into the respective person’s envelope. Weekly the WGILS check their envelopes to see if someone has inserted a note into it. Each girl can only check her own envelope and therefore the girls need to trust that their fellow WGILS will not peep into each other’s envelopes.

The aim of this exercise is to have the girls reciprocate by encouraging one another and to them a sense of self-worth and of being acknowledged. Only through a shared value of norms, networks, trust and reciprocity – the antecedents of social capital theory – could an exercise of this nature be successful. Two weeks after the envelope activity was introduced many of the envelopes were filled with notes of encouragement. Valentine’s Day, especially, saw many girls writing ‚Happy Valentines’ notes to one another. Writing anonymous notes to one another is not only an individual activity, but contributes to a shared norm of acknowledgement and encouragement. This exercise, then, contributed to a collective identity of giving and encouragement. Stickel *et al.* (2009:306) comment on the importance of trust, reciprocity and contributing to the collective. They argue that:

A network’s ability to increase social capital, however, also depends on values. Merely having access to others will not encourage investments of energy unless individual and/or collective

values stress the importance of contributing to the collective. Even this combination may not be sufficient without trust. We posit that individuals must trust prior to making an investment in social capital.

By consistently attending WGILS sessions and also writing notes in each other's envelopes contributes to the collective group identity of WGILS and can be seen as a form of reciprocal behaviour. The notion in Sticker *et al.* (2009) that trust is a precursor for investment in social capital holds true when one considers that the diary entries of the WGILS are done knowing that the facilitators of the programme will have access to them. It is important not to have an over-optimistic expectation of what trust can accomplish through social capital. The trust and solidarity that manifested amongst the WGILS did not manifest in isolation or in a vacuum, independent of external factors such as material conditions or infrastructure. The physical space of the MCSC and the actual WGILS programme created a climate where relationships of trust could manifest themselves. Portes and Landholt (2000: 542) remind us not to undermine the necessity of material resources in the formation of trust as a product of social capital. They explain this view:

One must not be over-optimistic about what enforceable trust and bounded solidarity can accomplish at the collective level, especially in the absence of material resources. Social capital can be powerful in promoting group projects... but consists of the ability to marshal resources through social networks, not the resources themselves. When the latter are poor and scarce, the goal achievement capacity of a collectively is restricted, no matter how strong the internal bonds... social capital are not a substitute for the provision of credit, material infrastructure or education.

Evidently social capital can only be constructive when sustained by other resources such as material infrastructure, credit and education. The trusting relationships that were noticeable amongst the WGILS, and the accumulation of social capital as a result of this, are dependent on the infrastructure of the MCSC and manpower (in the form of SCORE facilitators). Trust is therefore not enough, but can only develop if supported by material conditions and supporting services.

Below: One of the WGILS putting up her 'envelope'



Above: WGILS posting notes of encouragement into the envelopes

WGILS, norms and sanctions

One of the spin-offs of social capital as a means to foster group solidarity and cohesion is that it minimises the need for formal controls. Groups with high levels of bonding social capital hold each other accountable and thereby reduce the need to be „checked up’ on or supervised. Stickel *et al.* (2009) note that a network’s ability to increase in social capital depends on values. In an attempt to establish a coherent set of values amongst the WGILS group, the SCORE facilitators developed a „WGILS PLEDGE’.²⁰ This was a document that each WGIL signed. The document stated what the rules were in order to be part of the programme and emphasised values such as respect, trust and confidentiality. These values in a written form reinforced not only the identity of the group, but also the values that would inevitably allow their network to increase in social capital.

The „WGILS pledge’ speaks directly to Coleman’s (1998: S105) proposition that social capital facilitates norms and sanctions. In his words “effective norms can constitute a powerful form of social capital”, but that this form of social capital not only facilitates certain actions, but also constrains actions. The „WGILS pledge’ can be seen as a means to create a norm for what it takes to be a WGIL, and what rules or values must be respected to be part of the programme. By signing the pledge, the WGILS acknowledge on paper what they commit themselves to and in doing so their actions are constrained in terms of what is acceptable and what is not. The pledge is just another way in which effective norms constitute a powerful form of social capital amongst the WGILS. Furthermore, as Adler and Kwon (2000) argue, networks with a high degree of closure, such as the WGILS, give rise to strong social norms and beliefs, which reduce the need for formal controls. By signing the „WGILS pledge’ a strong social norm and belief are established for what is expected of participants in the WGILS programme and this therefore makes the formal controls that the SCORE facilitator of the WGILS programme would have to exert less pressing.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide theoretical clarity regarding the concept of social capital. I argued that within the sport-for-development system of belief, sport itself does not only allow for development, but sport as an activity allows for relationships and social

²⁰ See Appendix 1.5 for WGILS pledge.

networks to develop and in doing so give rise to social capital. The advantages that manifest as a result of social capital amongst sport-for-development participants is what fuels development. To substantiate my argument, I applied the theoretical lens of social capital to empirical research done amongst a group of girls who from part of the WGILS programme at the MCSC. What I hoped to prove is that sport does not possess „magical’ properties that allows for participants of sport-for-development programmes to „develop’, but it creates a space where social capital can be accumulated and expanded, and through the accumulation of social capital the WGILS „develop’. I have suggested that through sport the participants of the Women and Girls in Leadership (WGILS) programme are able to accumulate social capital and use it as a resource to trust, reciprocate and tap into advantages that come from strong in-group ties and group solidarity.

Although the advantages of social capital as expressed through sport are beneficial to those inside the network, I have drawn attention to the fact that social capital can also be detrimental and has a „dark side’ (Putnam, 2000; Field, 2003), which is worth considering. Taking into account the fact that sport has become a popular tool for development in third world countries since the early 1990s, I have attempted to deconstruct a simplistic argument that sport equals development, and delved deeper into understand how and why sport is considered a useful vehicle for development purposes. I have suggested that the ingredient that makes sport a viable vehicle for development is that it allows for the formation of social capital and ultimately benefit those who can tap into its resources.

CHAPTER 5

Making sense of myself: Reflection on fieldwork experience and methodology

And if we abandon the traditional goal of research as the accumulation of products – static or frozen findings – and replace it with the generation of communicative process, then a chief aim of research becomes that of establishing productive forms of relationships.

(Gergen & Gergen, 2000:1039)

Introduction

Towards the end of my „official’ research period in March 2011 I left the field with a sense of sadness and nostalgia. I had experienced being part of the WGILS programme for a period of six months and during that time established meaningful relationships with both the WGILS and the SCORE staff at the centre. I remember one specific instance when I drove out of Mbekweni and the colourful houses of the area known as „Project Two’ flickered in my rear view mirror; at that moment a sense of sadness descended on me as I knew that I wouldn’t return to the MCSC in the near future. As I took the turn-off onto the main road, exiting Mbekweni I felt torn between the familiarity of the MCSC and the reality of my home context in Stellenbosch. I entered the field as a data-collecting instrument, but left as somebody who was shaped by the interactions and relationships that I experienced with the WGILS and at the MCSC. This chapter reflects on, and tries to make sense of, the intricacies of anthropological research, where the researcher shapes and is shaped by those he/she establishes relationships with in the field. I address my own positionality in the field and in doing so reflect on my experience as a data-collecting instrument. Soyini Madison (2005:14) acknowledges that “positionality is vital as it forces us to acknowledge our own power, privilege, and biases just as we denounce the power structures that surround our subjects.”

Anthropological enquiry is dependent on establishing productive forms of relationships with the research participants. According to O’Reilly (2005:84), “ethnographic research is a special methodology that suggests we learn about people’s lives (or aspects of their lives) from their own perspective and from within the context of their own lived experience.” Ultimately they (the research participants or informants) inform our understanding of their life worlds and only through these communicative processes and sound relationships can we

as researchers produce meaningful research. The aim of this thesis was not to produce „static or frozen findings’, but to establish relationships with the WGILS that would inform my research question. The relationships established in the field and the fieldwork experience shaped me and I experienced what many scholars have noted, namely that few researchers leave the field unscathed. It is hoped that by reflecting on the fieldwork experience and chosen methodology that I will make sense of my role as a participant in, and researcher of, the WGILS programme. After having reflected on the fieldwork experience, I have a better understanding of what Fetterman (1989:26) meant when he wrote that “ethnography is what ethnographers actually do in the field. Textbooks . . . together with lectures – can initiate the newcomer to the field and refresh the experienced ethnographer, but actual fieldwork experience has no substitute”.

It is essential in academic inquiry or in a study of this nature to reflect not only on the fieldwork experience, but also on the role that I fulfilled as a researcher during my fieldwork period. Reflexivity is especially important in anthropological inquiry as it facilitates an objective or unbiased take on the emotions, activities and relations that were built up in the field. Etherington (2004: 31) defines researcher reflexivity as “the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how their own experience and contexts (which might be fluid and changing) informs the process and outcomes of inquiry.” By reflecting on the research process I acknowledge that as a social researcher I am part of the world I study and “not some sort of objective, detached research tool” (O’Reilly, 2005:222). The dynamic of being part of the world one studies opens up an array of questions regarding how objectivity can be maintained in research where the researcher attempts to get an emic²¹ perspective of the group or culture studied and where the researcher is the actual research tool. Although objectivity may be sought after to produce legitimate and academically sound research, it has to be noted, as the anthropologists Vincent Crapanzano (1977:72) has suggested, that “however objective they may seem , there is an autobiographical dimension to all ethnographies.”

Considering the methodological approach of this study, this chapter aims to reflect on my role as a student, researcher, and volunteer and assistant-facilitator of the WGILS

²¹ The emic perspective is the insider’s or the informant’s take on reality and is at the heart of most ethnographic writings. This perception is important as it allows the researcher to accurately describe situations and behaviour from within the fieldwork setting. Fetterman (1989:30) suggests that “an emic perspective compels the recognition and acceptance of multiple realities” and that this is crucial in understanding why people think and act in different ways.

programme. The motive for including a reflexive chapter in this thesis is that I often grappled with the various roles or identities I took on in the field and struggled with mediating the different roles during my six-month research period.

It is hoped that by reflecting on the chosen methodology and questioning how objectivity can be maintained in anthropological study that I will address what Middleton (1970:9) has called “one of the central concerns of participant observation”, namely that it is an attempt to “live as a human being among other human beings yet also having to act as an objective observer.” The challenge of being ‚human’ and participating with other ‚human beings’, but also being objective and reflective of how one is perceived in the field, is worth considering to produce research that is vigorous in nature. This chapter highlights my own positions, assumptions and fears whilst doing research and, in doing so, I address possible biases that may be apparent when attempting to gain an ‚insider’ status within the WGILS and when suggesting that sport and social capital is viable vehicle for development.

Becoming strangely familiar: When to play, when to watch and when to ask?

Anthropological studies usually entail a prolonged period of observation and participation in the research setting and, through this process, rapport is established with the informants on whom a particular study is based. The main methodological technique that ethnographies and anthropology are associated with is participant observation, which allows for the researcher or ethnographer to immerse himself or herself in the practices of those under study by participating and observing. Malinowski, the acclaimed Polish anthropologist, is considered to be the founder of modern social anthropological methods of fieldwork and participant observation.

Participant observation is a problematic term as it is interpreted in different ways by different researchers, which results in an inherent tension in the way it is employed in research. O’Reilly (2005:102) draws attention to the fact that participant observation is a balancing act as the participant observer has to “balance attempts to make the familiar strange and the strange familiar.” I often questioned when I should participate in the activities that the WGILS did or when I should get my fieldwork diary out and make notes and take on an observational role. The times I didn’t participate in the activities (e.g. the kickboxing) some of the WGILS would enquire why I am not playing on that day or make fun of me for being ‚lazy’ or ‚acting old’. Therefore I was in a continuous state of flux, between observing and participating, between associating with familiarity or grappling with strangeness.

In the beginning of my fieldwork period most of the practices at the MCSC seemed „strange’ or different, but the more time I spent there, these practices became strangely familiar to me as I became accustomed to them. One of the practices that I found intriguing in the early stages of the research was the „inspection’ that was carried out on children who came to the centre. I remember being amused by the fact that young children who came to the centre on weekday afternoons had to undergo an „inspection’ by the female security guard who would be sitting on a chair outside the centre, and do a routine check that children were „clean’ before they entered the centre. This „inspection’ entailed the child showing that he had been washed at home by turning around in a circle and showing that his feet were clean. Although this was done in a joking manner and the security guard was well known and liked by the children, this practice seemed strange. I asked myself why children would need to be clean, if they were coming to the Centre to play sport where they would get sweaty or „dirty’ anyway. I was told that this needs to be done as it shows that the child is being taken care of at home and that he or she is being „looked after’. The sense of extending care to children in the community showed a great sense of community concern for children frequenting the Centre. This practice made sense to me only after I saw it happening on a continual basis and after enquiring about it.

This is an example of how the strange had become familiar to me during my fieldwork period and it gave me an insight into how a simple practice as described above generates meaning in a broader context, as it shows the extended care or networks of concern that are practised by staff members and the security guard at the MCSC.

Making the „familiar’ strange was, however, not as challenging as I initially thought it would be. The reason is that I was not familiar with the sport and development field prior to starting the research and therefore what I observed and experienced was new and at times strange. It became apparent after a few months in the field that social networks and relationships that were built up amongst the WGILS were one of the obvious characteristics of the programme that appealed to the WGILS. These observations led me to read up on the theoretical concept of social capital and the relationship between social capital, sport and development.

The inductive approach I used in applying theory to the reality I was experiencing in Mbekweni enabled me to situate the theoretical paradigm of social capital within the broader context of sport and also to use the theory of social capital as a conceptual tool to make sense of the relationships and networks that were prevalent amongst the WGILS. Horne and

Manzenreiter (2006:17) describe the approach I used to provide theoretical clarity and backing for my research from an inductive stance by stating that “theory should be seen as a process, not an accomplishment.” Only through the process of being in the field for a period of time could I draw on social capital as a theoretical tool to make sense of my observations and interview data. Extensive reading and a general interest in sport enabled me to observe and be part of activities at the MCSC and witness first-hand how development work through sport plays out in practice at the MCSC. Although there was a familiarity with the actual sports practised during the WGILS sessions, as I had previously participated in soccer and kickboxing, interacting with the WGILS and trying to understand how they perceive sport was a new experience for me.

The balance between making the ‘strange familiar’ and the ‘familiar strange’ and the rich data that can be produced by observing and participating in the field over a prolonged period of time is the hallmark of good ethnographic texts. The ethnographer being the data-collection instrument during research brings to the fore a fascinating dynamic between one’s own emotions, experiences and insecurities in the field and how one is perceived by others in the field. By attempting to make the familiar strange and the strange familiar during the fieldwork period I was able to develop an objective take on the practices and behaviour of the WGILS at the MCSC. I hope that I have achieved what Hammersley (1992) has called for in good ethnographic analysis, namely allowing people to see the events and practices of the WGILS in a new way.

Hammersley (1992:14) suggests that “the purpose of ethnographic analysis is to produce sensitising concepts and models that allow people to see events in new ways.” To produce an ethnographic text where intricacies or latent observations allow the reader to see things in a new way requires an inductive approach in studying a specific group of people, in this case the WGILS. O’Reilly (2005:26) posits that “a simplistic inductive approach to research is one where the researcher begins with as open a mind and as few preconceptions as possible, allowing theory to emerge from data.”

The notion that a researcher can enter the field with an ‘open mind’ and allow the ‘field to speak’ to him or her is a novel idea, but in reality no researcher is a ‘blank slate’ entering the field. We all have certain assumptions, opinions and even certain theoretical preferences when moving into the field and doing research. My identity as a white, English/Afrikaans-speaking student from Stellenbosch University and my personal history and experiences

shaped my perceptions and assumptions prior to going into the field. It would be naïve to think that I can suspend my opinions, personal history and perceptions of sport and development completely in order to enter the field with an „open mind’. To get a fresh take on how sport-for-development programmes operate on grassroots level I did attempt to make the „familiar strange’ during my fieldwork and not completely suspend my own knowledge or preconceptions (as this is impossible), but to use them as a tool to substantiate and validate the claims I make. Kim Etherington (2004) confirms my claim that one does not enter the field as a blank slate, but “personal views and beliefs do... guide our choices between paradigms and methods, as well as our topic of research and what we intend as our purpose” (Crotty 1998, cited in Etherington, 2004:25).

Our experiences, values and opinions as researchers don’t necessarily need to be put aside during fieldwork, but they can add value to what we observe and experience. A consciousness of how one’s opinions may shape the research outcomes is crucial and knowledge on how to transcend these biases is essential. Bernard (2002:348) discusses this objectivity in the field fittingly by suggesting that:

We can hold our field observations up to a cold light and ask whether we’ve seen what we *wanted* to see, or what is *really out there*. The goal is not for us, as humans, to become objective machines; it is for us to achieve objective – that is, accurate – knowledge by transcending our biases.

To be completely unbiased in the field is an ideal worth striving for, but as Bernard (2002) suggests we are not „objective machines’. As anthropological researchers we feel, act, laugh, cry and get irritated with ourselves and others, all of which contributes to „achieving the objective’ and transcending our biases.

Managing identities: Struggling to introduce myself

There were times during the fieldwork when I didn’t know how to introduce myself, as I had a range of identities for different people. Was I a Stellenbosch student or researcher? Was I a SCORE volunteer? Was I one of the WGILS? Was I a representative of SCORE? Was I a casual bystander? These are the types of questions that I was confronted with when dealing with SCORE staff members at the Centre, the WGILS and visitors to the Centre. There were times that I wore a SCORE t-shirt as I felt this identified me with an institution (the MCSC) and an organisation (SCORE), and that gave me a sense of safety driving into the township, which I had known very little about prior to the research.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:87) describe what I experienced as described above as a “self-conscious production of a persona”, which is essential to facilitate good fieldwork relations. According to them:

The researcher must judge what sort of impression he or she wishes to create, and manage appearances accordingly. Such impression management is unlikely to be a unitary affair, however. There may be different categories of participant, and different social contexts, which demand the construction of different ‘selves’.

The construction of ‘different selves’ was evident during my fieldwork at the MCSC. At times I was a researcher by conducting interviews and taking field notes. Other times I was mistaken for being a SCORE employee and asked by visitors to explain what programmes are run at the MCSC. The role or identity I assumed during my fieldwork period varied depending on where I was in the Centre or who I was liaising with.

LeCompte and Priessle (1993:91) refer to the construction of the researcher’s identity by stating that “the personal characteristic... mostly affecting conduct of qualitative research is the investigator’s identity as the ‘essential research instrument’.... The identity of the data collector mediates all other identities and roles played by the investigator.” The researcher being the ‘instrument’ with which data are collected creates a tension between being an outsider as a researcher and being an insider by participating. This tension between my role as a researcher and my role or involvement with the WGILS as a participant was one that I struggled to mediate. The proposition by LeCompte and Priessle (1993) that ‘the identity of the data collector mediates all other identities and roles’ sounds feasible in theory, but in reality, or how I experienced it, there was a continuous questioning or balancing between objectivity as a researcher and subjectivity as a participant. I became accustomed to the idea that my identity was never fixed but malleable, depending on context and situation. To illuminate the ‘identity crisis’ I experienced I will provide a fieldwork example, where I was particularly confused about my identity or role I was supposed to fulfil.

There was a group of four WGILS who lived on the outskirts of Mbekweni or in Paarl and who came to school (either Desmond Tutu High School or Ihlumelo Secondary School) in the mornings with a taxi or train from their respective homes. The WGILS programme finished at 17:00 in the afternoons and arrangements were made for them to be taken home after the WGILS session had been completed. On this specific day their lift did not show up in time at the MCSC and I was asked if I could go drop them off at their homes. I had been unfamiliar

with the roads in and around the Mbekweni/Paarl area and was hesitant to commit myself to getting involved with the transport arrangements. I therefore turned down the idea of my taking them home and alternative arrangements were made to ensure they get home safely.

On my way home I grappled with myself as to what would have been the ‚right‘ thing to do in that situation. I knew that if I had accepted the request to take them home that I would have had the opportunity to speak to them informally in the car, and I would therefore be fulfilling the ‚researcher’s role‘ and come closer to gaining an insider’s status. But I decided not to and so my identity shifted to being an outsider or detached from being directly involved with the running of the WGILS programme.

On another occasion I became aware of the fluid nature of my identity in the field. On this particular day I couldn’t participate in one of the kickboxing sessions held for the WGILS at the MCSC as I was sick. I decided to take a seat on the bleachers and watch as the WGILS went through their kickboxing drills. I took on the identity of being the researcher as I sat jotting down notes in my fieldwork diary. During the life-skills session (after the kickboxing) the WGILS had an opportunity to do their diary entries and to write notes to each other that would be placed in the ‚envelopes.‘ When I looked to see if I had received any notes in my envelope, I found two new ones, both stating something along the lines that “kickboxing was not so much fun today, because you didn’t participate”. For some of the WGILS my role as a participant had become more pronounced after being part of the programme for four months and they did not identify with the role I was fulfilling at that time of being a researcher.

Both these examples highlight that I was perceived as taking on different roles or identities depending on the activity I chose to participate in. I therefore moved between different ‚spaces‘ and played a variety of roles. I had to practise what LeCompte and Preissle (1993) term ‚boundary-spanning skills‘. Lecompte and Priessle (1993:103) state that “because ethnographers almost always study groups whose cultures are not identical with their own, boundary-spanning skills are critical to the success of a research project. Boundary spanning in some senses is similar to cultural brokering in so far as ethnographers often act as intermediaries or go-betweens.” I often felt like an intermediary, or a chameleon, changing my identity by moving in and between the different roles I fulfilled at the MCSC. There were times that all I could think of was how what I was observing would contribute to my thesis, while at other times I completely forgot that I was at the MCSC to do research and I

got caught up in playing soccer or participating in netball, and in doing so suspend my researcher status.

Limitations of methodology: Why I am not an insider

The aim and method of anthropological research requires both the qualities of an ‚insider‘ and an ‚outsider‘. In reality, however, gaining complete ‚insider‘ status with the WGILS was an ideal for me, but not entirely achievable. There are various reasons why I felt that I was never truly an ‚insider‘. Issues such as race, gender, language and class all influenced my attempt to understand the WGILS and the WGILS programme from an emic perspective. Ellen (1984:143) confirms this claim by stating that “gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, personality and political or religious convictions may affect the acceptability of the researcher to the host population, gatekeepers, sponsors or colleagues, constrain behaviour in the field, and may cause moral and ethical (as well as methodological) problems.” A consciousness of what I bring to the field in terms of my own identity as a white, female, Afrikaans- and English-speaking masters student influenced how I was perceived by the WGILS participants.

One of the major obstacles that I faced and that prevented me from participating in, or understanding, conversations that were held informally amongst the WGILS was the language issue. Mbekweni, being a township with predominantly black Xhosa-speaking people, meant that many of the WGILS’s mother tongue was also Xhosa. I am not proficient in Xhosa, which meant that the details that they may have discussed themselves regarding their own lives or involvement in the WGILS programme were lost to me. All of the WGILS, however, could speak English, but some of them did struggle to express themselves fully in English or were shy to speak English in front of the group. All the interviews were conducted in English and I found that in a one-on-one situation some of the WGILS were more relaxed and willing to talk.

My gendered identity as a young woman, however, did allow me to understand the emotions or challenges the WGILS experienced as young female adolescents. Many of the life-skills sessions dealt with issues around HIV/AIDS, sex or relationships and my gendered identity enabled me to feel comfortable in discussions that were held with regards to sexual relationships. I could also use the ladies bathroom, where I often bumped into one of the WGILS and could greet them before the WGILS session commenced. My identity as a

woman therefore allowed me access to spaces, such as the ladies bathroom, and discussions during life skills sessions that would not have been possible otherwise.

Furthermore, my life world in Stellenbosch as a student is vastly different from that of these girls, who are part of the WGILS experience as adolescent black girls living in Mbekweni. Although we share the same gendered identity, the contexts we find ourselves in are worlds apart. My role as an assistant facilitator of the WGILS programme also elevated the position I had in relation to the WGILS. I was seen as a figure of authority, who had a certain amount of power over the girls in terms of how the WGILS sessions would be conducted and what activities would take place. We were not all equal; in that sense as I was not only older than all the WGILS, but also held a position that they respected.

The fact that I came from an outside academic institution (Stellenbosch University) and had to drive to Mbekweni from Stellenbosch meant that I became part of the WGILS' lives at my own discretion. I had the opportunity to observe and understand how they act and behave during the WGILS programme at the MCSC, but didn't get the opportunity to see what their lives entail outside the confines of the Centre. I therefore had a glimpse of their lives as WGILS and as sportspersons, but the way they act feel or go about their daily lives is not known to me. I did get a sense of their lives outside the Centre from what they told me, but that is also based on their own subjective experience.

Lastly, an aspect of the WGILS programme and my research that has to be taken into consideration and that could be considered a methodological limitation is the fact that the programme was a pilot study for SCORE. It was the first time SCORE had the opportunity to develop and implement a programme of this nature at the MCSC and therefore it was often a situation of 'trial and error'. Furthermore, all the sport-for-development programmes that were implemented at the Centre were new, as the MCSC had opened only in June 2010. I started conducting fieldwork three months after that in October 2010. The WGILS programme kicked off in November 2010 and I ended my fieldwork in March 2011. The relatively short duration (6 months) of my time spent at the MCSC (and considering that it was a time when the staff at the centre were 'still finding their feet') meant that my observations and research were not based on a programme that had been trialled and tested or had been in operation prior to my conducting the research.

All these factors contributed to the overall fieldwork experience and the limitations I experienced regarding the preferred methodological approach of this study. Considering that

most anthropologists see fieldwork as a very important episode in their own psychological and intellectual development (Ellen, 1984), the uncomfortable nature, awkwardness and at times uncertainty about my own position in the field contributed not only to my own psychological and intellectual development, but also affected how and what I observed and the overall research project.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have given a personal account of how I experienced the fieldwork period at the MCSC. I have drawn attention to the fact that anthropology's trademark methodology of participant observation requires a balance in making the strange familiar and the familiar strange. The ethnographer being the data-collection instrument raises intriguing questions on how objectivity can be maintained in a field that relies on establishing meaningful and productive forms of relationships with the informants. I have highlighted that the ethnographer is not an 'objective machine', but enters the field with certain assumptions and perceptions about the context, in this case Mbekweni, the MCSC and sport and development in general. These assumptions are not necessarily a drawback to the research, but can inform and assist in transcending potential biases. I have also suggested that the fluid nature of the researcher's identity in the field gives him/her access to different networks of information. This chapter can be considered as a self-reflexive account of what I experienced doing research, and acts as a form of 'therapy' or debriefing as I reassess my role at the MCSC.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this study was to explore the relationship between sport and development. It has interrogated this relationship within the context of a sport-for-development programme, WGILS, which was operated by the NGO SCORE at the MCSC. The proliferation of sport-for-development initiatives since the early 1990s driven by both international aid agencies such as the United Nations, and NGOs such as SCORE attests to the fact that sport has come to be seen as an alternative form or vehicle for youth development. Sport has also been pushed forward on the development agenda of the South African Department of Sport and Recreation and considered a viable means through which to address social and societal problems prevalent amongst the youth in many South African townships. Sport is considered useful for development purposes, as it has the ability to act as a ‚hook‘ and attract youth to sporting programmes and is then used as a medium to get educational messages across concerning issues around life skills, leadership and HIV/AIDS awareness. Over and above the obvious physical and health benefits of participation, sport is also considered a means through which to build self-esteem and confidence amongst youths. As indicated in Chapter 2 many of the teachers who nominated the WGILS to be part of the programme noted that the nominee lacked confidence and had a low self-esteem. It is believed that sport and its association with accomplishment and success can contribute to the improvement of the WGILS' confidence and self-esteem.

The findings are based on research done amongst a group of participants of the WGILS programme at the MCSC over a six-month period. The overarching research question was to determine what the relationship is between sport and development, but more specifically to understand how black adolescent girls experience being part of a sport-for-development programme at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre (MCSC). The central argument of this dissertation, in alignment with what Willis (2000) has argued, is that sport itself does not ‚magically‘ further development, but serves as a point of entry for development work. In other words, sport is a useful vehicle for development as it enables social capital and meaningful relationships to form, which in turn yield certain advantages, i.e. trust, reciprocity and social connectedness. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, I have suggested that sport is a viable vehicle for development, as it creates conditions where social networks and relationships and norms of trust and reciprocity (social capital) can prevail. I draw on the theory of social capital (Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam), which advocates the formation of strong formal and informal networks that contribute to shared norms and trusting

relationships, to make sense of the relationship between sport and development and the outcomes of development work through sport.

The study was contextualised by providing the reader with an understanding of the UK charity HTA's rationale for building the MCSC and highlighting the important role that SCORE play in ensuring the success and sustainability of sport-for-development programmes at the MCSC. The demographic detail on Mbekweni and the broader historical and political discourses that have paved the way for an initiative such as the MCSC situated the experiences of the WGILS participants in a broader South African historical trajectory.

This study has also conceptualised how development is understood in the sport-for-development context. The form of development associated with sport-for-development work can be classified as small „d' development, or development on an individual level, where the focus is on expanding the choices available to sport-for-development programme participants. These choices may include providing youths in townships with the opportunity to come to a safe and secure environment such as the MCSC and to establish social networks (social capital) and develop human capital through sport-orientated educational programmes, which in the long term may translate into accumulating economic capital. This study has shown that the relationships and the trust and reciprocity that stemmed from the WGILS' involvement in the programme contribute to the accumulation of social capital that yield advantages and can be considered a form of development, or extending the range of choices available to them.

I have suggested throughout this thesis that there is an inherent danger in employing an uncritical approach when studying the „power' of sport in development practice. The „mythopoeic' status that sport has assumed (Coalter, 2007, 2010a) in development practice continues the myth-making cycle of what is achievable through sport, which often leads to broad and unfounded generalisations of the power of sport. I have called for a critical gaze when thinking of sport as a development tool and to ground propositions of what sport can do in empirical research.

Romanticised visions and generalised assumptions of what is achievable through sport, in terms of the development of youths in historically disadvantaged areas, are often conjured up outside the real-life practices of the sport-for-development field amongst donors and aid organisations, such as the United Nations and NGOs. I have tried to deconstruct a simplistic assumption that sport equals development by interrogating the conditions under which sport

becomes a useful tool to further development. The socio-economic conditions of people in many South African townships, of which Mbekweni is one, make them susceptible to development initiatives of NGOs, but one cannot assume that sport is necessarily the only means through which to 'develop' youth. I have highlighted the view that a general notion that all youths, especially girls, are naturally attracted to sports activities is unfounded, and through fieldwork data shown that sport does not necessarily appeal to all those who participate in sport-for-development programmes, such as the WGILS programme. It is therefore essential to consider alternative means other than sport that could appeal to youths who fall through the cracks of sport-for-development programmes. These alternative forms can take on the form of drama societies, musical programmes or choirs, interests that go beyond the realm of sport.

Furthermore, I have suggested that what makes sport a viable vehicle through which to promote social and individual development amongst youth is its ability to attract vast numbers of people. It can be argued that sport is an inherently social practice and the relationships and friendships that are forged by participating in the same team, or the experience shared of winning or losing, all contribute to the accumulation of social connectedness and social capital amongst a group of sport-for-development participants, such as the WGILS. Sport is also a form of entertainment, not only for those who participate on the field, but also those who watch soccer matches at the MCSC. This makes it an ideal tool to attract and educate youths on issues of sexual health, life skills and sports education.

The rationale for developing and implementing a sport-for-development programme that caters for the needs of adolescent girls in Mbekweni is discussed in relation to broader obstacles that women and girls face in participating in sport in South African townships. I have highlighted the structural and ideological constraints that minimise women's participation in sport in townships. These include sport being considered a male preserve, where women are often considered intruders into certain male-dominated sporting codes such as soccer, and the patriarchal nature of society that often reinforces gendered stereotypes that don't associate women with the sporting arena, but rather the domestic realm.

I have highlighted the point that there were numerous advantages that the WGILS associate with their involvement in the WGILS programme and sport. Firstly, many of the WGILS considered the MCSC as a safe space where they could go to after school. They considered it an environment where they would not be ridiculed for being girls participating in traditional

male sports, such as soccer and kickboxing. This was evident on numerous occasions as I observed them participating in activities of the WGILS programme with a great sense of pride and confidence. Secondly, the kickboxing component of the WGILS programme equipped the WGILS with self-defence skills, something that they felt that could take with them, and use in a township where there is an alarming high crime rate. Thirdly, many of the WGILS considered the WGILS programme and sport as a means to deter them from risky activities that are often associated with adolescence, activities such as the use of drugs, alcohol and engaging in unprotected sex. Although sport and the WGILS programme are considered by many of the WGILS as a means to keep them off the streets, it shouldn't be assumed that such potentially harmful activities are suspended as a direct result of their involvement in the WGILS programme. It is hoped that what is learned at the WGILS programme will be applied outside the confines of the MCSC and translate into responsible choices made by the WGILS.

Finally, there is some reflection on the methodological approach selected for this study to develop a more objective stance towards the subjective experiences I endured during the fieldwork period. The pros and cons of being both an observer and a participant in the field, as well as the complexity and confusion associated with the researcher being the research instrument that collects the data, is addressed by reflecting on my role at the MCSC. I have highlighted the point that the ethnographer is not an 'objective machine', but enters the field with certain assumptions and perceptions about the context, in this case Mbekweni. A consciousness of preconceived notions about sport, development and South African townships does not necessarily hinder accountable research, but can inform and assist in transcending potential biases. The fluid nature of ethnographic research is addressed as I allude to the way that I was shaped by this research endeavour by the people I came in contact with and with whom I formed close relationships.

This ethnographic project has teased out how sport and development intersect and manifested themselves amongst a group of black adolescent girls participating in the WGILS programme at the MCSC. The focal point to consider when thinking of the use of sport for development purposes is that sport itself does not possess 'magical' qualities that makes it a viable vehicle for development among the youth, but rather that it is a vehicle that is ideal to promote the establishment of social networks, friendships and camaraderie, which in turn yield certain advantages (considered as development) in the form of trust, reciprocity and future benefit. Sport is then the vehicle that allows this to take place, but I am cautious about generalised

assumptions which contend that kicking a ball on the soccer field, or playing netball, will routinely result in the „development’ of youths.

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APPENDIX

1.1 Activities that took place at the Mbekweni Community Sport centre's official opening on 12 June 2010.

Below: Pantsulas entertaining the crowd



Below: „By Faith’ choir group



Above: Participants of the opening futsal/soccer tournament look on as the Mbekweni Community Centre manager addresses the crowd at the official opening ceremony.



Above and below: A mini-futsal tournament was held where teams represented the countries participating in the 2010 FIFA World Cup.



1.2 Below: Houses built from corrugated iron to the west of the MCSC in areas such as Langabuya and Phola Park.



1.3 Excerpt from the programme of the 2010 Carling Cup final in the U.K. One pound of every ticket sold contributed towards funding the MCSC.







BUILDING FOOTBALL FUTURES

The eyes of the world are on South Africa this year and the Carling Cup is helping raise funds for a worthy cause



The proposed football centre in Mbekweni will have a 40mx20m indoor pitch and room for 200 spectators. There will also be a further four outdoor pitches

Today's Carling Cup Final will help raise funds for the charity Hope Through Action which is seeking to fund an indoor sports centre and development programme in the South African township of Mbekweni. Situated near Cape Town, the community suffers from high incidences of HIV/AIDS and many of the 40,000 residents live below the poverty line. The majority of the town's residents are under the age of 35 and have a true passion for playing and watching football. The new centre will provide a secure, safe environment for boys and girls to play football and develop life skills.

"Throughout the world, the provision of quality football facilities has a huge impact on health, community pride and crime reduction," said Lord Mawhinney, Chairman of The Football League.

"I have no doubt that the building of this new sports centre for the young people of the township will have a similarly positive impact locally. I look forward to congratulating the Hope Through Action team for their work when I visit in June 2010."

The 40mx20m indoor pitch will provide year round use, training facilities, changing rooms and seating for 200 spectators along with four outdoor all weather pitches also available on site.

An essential part of the project will be the delivery of development programmes including health, welfare, leadership, education, business development and sports excellence.

"I am delighted to support Hope Through Action as they develop sports and community based projects in South Africa," added Nobel Peace Prize winner, FW de Klerk.

"Both Hope Through Action and I recognise the need to mobilise resources to address social, health, educational and developmental problems. I wish them success as they bring resources from communities and organisations around the world to help the young people of our nation develop their potential."

The centre will open this June, in time for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa. Visit www.hopethroughaction.com for more details. •

CARLING CUP
Aston Villa v Manchester United
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1.4 Sport for Development and Peace Timeline

1978 - Sport and physical education are recognised as a fundamental human right by the UN.

1979 - Right of women and girls to participate in sport is affirmed.

1989 - Every child's right to play becomes a human right.

1991 - The unique role of sport in eliminating poverty and promoting development is acknowledged by the Commonwealth Heads of Governments.

1993 - UN General Assembly revives the tradition of the Olympic Truce.

2001 - UN Secretary-General appoints a Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace, Mr. Adolf Ogi. Subsequent appointment of the second Special Adviser Mr. W. Lemke in 2008.

2003 - The UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace confirms sport as a tool for development and peace.

First Magglingen Conference on Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) brings together policy makers affirming their commitment to SDP. Subsequent conference held in 2005.

First International Next Step Conference brings together SDP experts and practitioners (The Netherlands)

Subsequent conferences held in 2005 (Zambia) and 2007 (Namibia).

First UN General Assembly Resolution on SDP

Subsequent Resolutions: A/Res/59/10 (2004); A/Res/60/8 (2005), and A/Res/60/9 (2006)

2004 - SDP IWG is established

European Commission launches European Year of Education through Sport (EYES)

2005 - UN Proclaims International Year for Sport and Physical Education (IYSPE)

EU recognises the role of sport to attain the MDGs.

World Summit expresses its support to SDP

2006 - UN Secretary-General sets out the UN Action Plan on SDP.

African Union launches the International Year of African Football.

SDP IWG launches its Preliminary Report *Sport for Development and Peace: From Practice to Policy*.

2007 - First African Convention recognises the power of sport to contribute to education.

EU White Paper on Sport acknowledges the increasing social and economic role of sport.

2008 - Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities enters into force, reinforcing the right of people with disabilities to participate on an equal basis with others in recreation, leisure and sporting activities.

SDP IWG releases its final report *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments*

Source: SDP IWG, 2008:4

1.5

WGILS Pledge

The „WGILS pledge’ that had to be signed by the participants of the WGILS sport-for-development programme.



Rules for **WGILS** Programme at Mbekweni Community Sport Centre

1. Weekly attendance (Mondays: 2:30 – 5:00 pm)
2. To be punctual for all WGILS sessions
3. Registration for all WGILS session attended
4. Full participation in all WGILS activities
5. Respect for fellow WGILS’ property
6. Respect of self and other WGILS opinion
7. Respect for property of Mbekweni Community Sport Centre
8. Discussions during WGILS sessions regarding sensitive information to remain confidential.
9. SCORE reserves the right to remove individuals from the WGILS programme based on misconduct or failure to comply with WGILS rules.

I, _____ understand the above mentioned rules regarding the WGILS programme operated by SCORE at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre and hereby pledge to respect and abide by the rules.

Signed:

PARTICIPANT

WITNESS

DATE: _____

1.6

Informed Consent Form

Participation in research study of WGILS programme at Mbekweni Community Sport Centre

Participant Name: _____

Participant Age: _____

Programme: WGILS (Women and Girls in Leadership)

You are invited to participate in a research study of the WGILS programme facilitated by SCORE/HTA at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre. The research is conducted by Marizanne Grundlingh a masters student in Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University. The study aims to uncover the experiences and meanings that the WGILS attribute to their involvement in the WGILS programme.

The research will involve semi-structured interviews of 45 minutes. You will be assured confidentiality and remain anonymous. (i.e your real name will not be used for research purposes). Interviews will be recorded. Your involvement in the above mentioned research is voluntary and therefore do not have to answer questions that you are uncomfortable with. No money will be received for participating in the research.

If you are willing to participate in the research study, please complete the following:

I am willing to take part in the study of the WGILS programme at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre. I understand that the researcher, Marizanne Grundlingh from Stellenbosch University is hoping to understand how I have experienced being part of the WGILS programme. I understand that I will have an interview with her and that all the information that I share with her will remain confidential. I also understand that my identity will remain anonymous. (Your real name will not be used for research purposes) This study will take place at the Mbekweni Community Sport Centre and should take about 45 minutes of my time.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Place: _____

Date: _____

Age: _____

If you are under the age of 18, please have your parent/s or guardian complete the following:

I, _____ (parent/guardian) of _____ (WGILS participant), hereby give consent that she may participate in the above mentioned research.

Parent Signature: _____

Date: _____

Place: _____

If you have any questions about the research you can contact Marizanne Grundlingh at 072 285 **** or by email: 15585875@sun.ac.za

