Not just for the kicks!

Football for development: Stakeholder perceptions of the WhizzKids United football programme in Durban, South Africa

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Declaration of Authenticity

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Development Studies, in the Graduate Programme of 2009/2010 in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters in Development Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student signature

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Date

Abstract

The study attempts to assess the capacity of football development programmes to help bring about development at the individual and societal levels. It is concerned with understanding the needs of underprivileged communities through their involvement in football for development programmes and whether such programmes are viable mechanisms to empower these communities with opportunities for a better livelihood. The study will consider whether grassroots sport programmes have any role to play in the formulation of development policy that promoted social integration, self-actualisation, improving cognitive skills, health conditions in underprivileged societies. Included within this formulation is the awareness of how to provide employment opportunities.

The study will contextualise development within Amartya Sen's capabilities theory whilst looking at the role of sport as both a means to an end and as an end in itself through the lens of the work of social theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu, Robert Putnam and Abraham Maslow. A literature review on some of the potential benefits and costs of sport for development programmes, including a review of international literature of similar concepts being applied around the world will provide the background for assessment of the study. Central to this study's research is the particular initiative taken by WhizzKids United, a locally-based organization working in the field of life-skills development through the active participation of youth from underprivileged communities in and around the city of Durban in South Africa. Further assessment will take into account the perceptions of participants and stakeholders in relation to the impact the 2010 FIFA World Cup will have on development policy in South Africa, as well as on the delivery of football for development programmes such as WhizzKids United.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables, Figures and Maps

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ARV	Anti-Retro Viral
AsgiSA	Accelerated shared growth initiative for South Africa
ATP	Association of Tennis Professionals
BSA	Breakthrough Sports Academy
BUSA	Bauleni United Sports Academy
CPMU	Central Projects Management Unit
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EPWP	Extended Public Works Programme
EU	European Union
FfH	Football for Hope
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GCIU	Government Communications and Information Unit
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GRS	GrassrootSoccer
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Cricket Commission
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPSD	International Platform for Sports and Development
JIPSA	Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal

LDC	Least (Less) Developing Countries
LOC	Local Organising Committee
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MERG	Macro-Economic Research Group
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PRM	Participatory Research Methods
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SA	South Africa
SAA	South African Airways
SAFA	South African Football Association
SDP IWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
SFW	Street Football World
SPA	Sport and physical activities
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Education Fund
UNITF	United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNODCCP	United Nations Office on Drugs, Crime and Crime Prevention
WB	World Bank
WFSGI	World Federation of the Sporting Goods Industry
WHO	World Health Organization
WKU	WhizzKids United

Unless life is lived for others, it is not worth living

Mother Teresa of Calcutta

1. Introduction

Football is all about hope. Hope of a better world, hope for youngsters,
hope that you will be able to give people's lives a purpose, and school them for life.

Joseph „Sepp' Blatter

1.1 Motivation

There are few areas of study that raise the emotional sensitivities and allegiances as well as divisions and vulnerabilities of human kind as sport does. It is a field of study where history, culture, identity and ideology mesh with the physical, environmental and economic fabric of society within the confines of a playing field. Represented by team colours, club anthems, physical prowess and strategic intellect, sport is an expression of society in all its shapes and forms. Nowhere has the mixed responsibility of sport been more evident than in South Africa, where it

"has served to both unify and divide groups, it has been closely interwoven with the broader fabric of South African society and has been at the forefront of social and political change [...] sport moved ahead of negotiations between political parties, creating unity and eliminating the vestiges of apartheid. Despite that, it remained firmly entrenched within power struggles generated by the 'old' South Africa and ideologies developed out of the British imperial sporting inheritance."
(Nauright, 1997: 2)

In a year characterised by the hosting of the first "African" football World Cup in South Africa between the 11th of June and 11th of July, the undertaking of a study focussing on the impact sports and sports programmes have on societal and individual development takes on increasing contextual relevance. Drawing parallels with the political importance given to the 1995 rugby World Cup held in South Africa a year after the first democratic elections, the 2010 football World Cup has earned itself significant economic importance given the intentions of government and FIFA to employ the tournament to bolster economic development at a time when 25% of the working population are jobless and, civil society is rallying against the state in a series of service delivery and wage increase disputes and protests.

It is within this context that this study focuses on the workings of an NGO using football as a tool for youth development has been selected. While much debate already exists on the commercialisation of the sports industry at the expense of grassroots development, the study intends to reconcile the general appeal of a global sporting practice with its uses on the ground. The choice of using WKU as a case study is therefore relevant on two grounds. Firstly, WKU has been internationally recognised for its efforts in delivering life-skills education through football and secondly, it is an accredited implementing partner of FIFA's FfH movement, an initiative supporting social programmes in underprivileged communities through football programme and infrastructural interventions. This therefore provides contextual relevance to the study's localised significance and, football for development prospects.

1.2 The Development question

According to the UN, human development is defined as "a process of widening people's choices and the level of wellbeing [...] Human development does not end there, however. Other choices, highly valued by many people, range from political, economic and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying self-respect and guaranteed human rights" (UNDP, 1997: 13). As such, this definition will be the point of departure for the study's investigation into sport's role as a key contributor to sustainable human development as a "viable and practical tool to support the achievement of the MDGs" (UNITF, 2003: v). The emphasis given to alternative means of developmental paths since the adoption of the MDGs in 2000 therefore spurred the UN General Assembly to adopt five Resolutions recommending the investment – by governments, the private sector, NGOs and public at large – in sport programmes and policies as targeted, relatively low-cost and, efficient mechanisms in delivering outputs, to provide impetus to the drive for making the 2015 goal (SDP IWG, 2007). What distinguishes them from previous efforts is their focus on the participatory nature of the undertakings, concentrating more on the end beneficiaries of developmental processes rather than the mere objectives[1]. Thus, it is against this background that sport, and more particularly football, will be considered as both a means to bring about development, as much as participation in sporting activities is an end in itself.

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[1] UN Resolutions 58/5, 2003; 59/10, 2004; 60/9, 2006; 61/10, 2006. At the national level the UN recognized in particular "the contribution of sport and physical education towards economic and social development" (A/Res/58/5, 2003, pg. 2). At the international level the UN encouraged collaboration amongst member states to "promote greater awareness and action to [...] accelerate the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals through sport-based initiatives and to promote the integration of sport for development and peace in the [global] development agenda" (A/Res/61/10, 2006, pg. 2).

However, in order to understand the developmental contributions and limitations of sports progammes, a considerable body of literature is reviewed, taking into account both the potential positive and negative impact of sports on both participants and their communities. Of the former kind, improvement of mental and physical health conditions, prevention of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases, cognitive and life skills, as well as economic empowerment opportunities of participants have been most notably underscored (SDP IWG, 2006; 2007; 2008). Sport is also considered to be an effective driver of community development through the evolution of relationships between participants working towards a common goal as "[t]hey may also learn that the community has certain needs, and that sport can be a lever for improving conditions. In these ways, sport can be a real tool for community development" (UNODCCP, 2002: 24).

In this context, it has also been underlined that without appropriate guidance by trained and qualified coaches, mentors or educators, sports participation may be counter-productive. It has the potential to intensify gender inequalities, further excluding differing linguistic, religious, ethnic or class groupings and, inciting averse competition and conflict of interest amongst participants (UNODCCP, 2002).

A second area of literature considered for the research talks about the developmental impact of elite sports like professional baseball leagues, and „mega' or large-scale sporting events like the football World Cup. At the national level professional sport associations manage large budgets with considerable commercial interests[2] that has increased concerns over the commercialisation of sport – which can contribute anything between 1% and 3% of national GDP in industrialised countries (Bloom et al., 2005) – to the detriment of the development or accessibility of sport to the masses (Horne, 2006a).

Since Joseph „Sepp' Blatter, FIFA's President, announced that South Africa would host the 2010 World Cup on 15 May 2004, much importance has been given to government's intentions to "leverage the World Cup to assist in promoting economic development and halving employment by 2014"(Pillay et al., 2009: 3), and providing a "lasting social and economic legacy for South Africa" (Makgabo, 2006: 1). The impact and long-lasting effect this would actually have on the country, its people and the economy has, since then, been

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[2] "In 1994 Sepp Blatter claimed that football was bringing in US$ 163 billion annually, more than General motors could make selling cars" (Horne, 2006a: 162).

widely disputed (du Plessis and Maennig, 2009; Alegi, 2010). This is also due to the relative political and financial power international sporting organisations like FIFA claim over resources and prioritisation of developmental objectives when determining "the rules of the game" in a context where these are often limited and implementing capacities scarce.

1.3 Research problems and scope

Due to the subjectivity of value given to sports programmes and participation thereof, it is often difficult to measure and evaluate their impacts over a temporal context (Coalter, 2002; Gratton and Jones, 2004; SDP IWG, 2006; 2007; 2008). Due to the time constraints within which this study was undertaken, the emphasis will be on understanding the importance of sports, and particularly football, in widening people's choices, levels of well-being and opportunities. To this effect, the study will consider Sen's capability approach to development (Sen, 1984; 1999) as a framework within which to assess participant's developmental trajectory in a context lacking real opportunities (*freedom*) due to specific constraints (whether social, economic or physical - *unfreedom*), as well as personal circumstances. In this relation, the study will consider whether capabilities may be enhanced at both the individual and community levels to such an extent that they may function freely (i.e., without constraints) according to their respective valued levels of well-being, through the delivery of, and participation in, football programmes.

The latter point provides the impetus to further investigate the role football programmes play in fostering development; directly as an end itself providing valued infrastructure and services to the community and; indirectly as a means to an end, as a platform for further empowerment of individual participants as potential "agents of progressive change" (Coakley, 2007). Through the work of Bourdieu, Maslow and Putnam aspects relating to the motivation to participate in football for development programmes and the meaning of such programmes within the particular context of the individuals and communities investigated in the research will be addressed. Some of these include the impact on inclusion/exclusion, stigma, conflict, self-efficacy, skills development, gender mainstreaming and, opportunity creation (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1997; Keim, 2003; 2004; Andreff, 2005; Chappelet, 2005; Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group, 2006; 2007; 2008). Other concerns, such as the rise in possible tensions, animosities and creation of new social divisions due to the competitive nature of the sporting

activities and the participation of only a select group of individuals (Maguire and Young, 2002; Alegi, 2004; Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2004), will also be tested.

1.4 Research Questions

Through the evaluation of WKU's football programmes in Lamontville and Edendale, the research attempts to get as close to the ground as possible in order to understand the factors contributing towards the transformation of football programmes into powerful instruction methods. A series of research questions (detailed in chapter 3) assessing stakeholder perceptions are used to investigate the impact and effect of the WKU football programme. The timing of the study in relation to the hosting of the 2010 World Cup has the advantage of underlying the general appeal of football to all class, gender or racial distinctions within society[3]. The intention is therefore to entertain perceptions of the impact the tournament has on participants and their communities. Questions assessing any leverage the tournament may have on the promotion, support and implementation of programmes like those delivered by WKU and development in general are also considered.

1.5 Study Outline

The research is therefore constructed in order to provide a logical progression of the argument outlined in Chapter one above. Chapter two lays the foundation for the thesis by presenting a literature-based context within which sport is considered as an appropriate tool for development, including the developmental possibilities of the 2010 World Cup. Basing arguments on the relevance and meaning of sport within society itself, the main theoretical frameworks considered for this study will also be presented. Finally, the chapter will also contextualise South Africa's developmental concerns and football's past, present and future. Chapter three addresses the study's methodological conceptualisation, design, and implementation, taking into consideration the particular aspects of research in a social science and more particularly sport studies. Chapter four presents the data gathered from fieldwork and reconciles them with the study's main objectives. Chapter Five concludes by reviewing the data gathered, offering some recommendations for future policy and research in the field.

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[3] Field work, interviews and information conducted and utilised for the study were collated before the World Cup came to an end on 11 July, 2010. For this purpose, the study's conclusions take into account only information available and events that occured prior to the tournament's conclusion.

2. Defining the Context

Some people say football is a matter of life and death.
I can assure them it is much more serious than that.

Bill Shankly

2.1 Introduction: Aims and objectives

The use of sport and more particularly football as a tool for social change and improvement is a concept that has recently entered the fray of mainstream development policy. Since 2003 the UN has therefore adopted a number of resolutions recognising the role of sports in promoting education, health, development and peace, appointing a special adviser to the Secretary-General and establishing an office dedicated to engaging civil society and member states on issues pertaining to the use of sports in developmental processes and public policy. Nonetheless, sport programmes are yet to become mainstream policy options in the drive to stimulate socio-economic empowerment and change, with limited resources allocated to recreation and sports activities at the grassroots level.

This research is therefore an attempt at understanding the relationship between sports, and more particularly football, and development in a context of socio-economic constraints. This relationship will be assessed through the perceptions of participants, their families and community members surrounding locations where football for development programmes are implemented.

In order to do so, this chapter will introduce the concept of development adopted for the study in section 2.2 and present some of the approaches to development policy that will provide the basis on which the research will consider the impact of these programmes. Section 2.3 will review the international literature on the relationship between sports (and football) and development, discussing also the theoretical framework within which the literature and research sits. Section 2.4 will consequently provide an overview of the contextual basis for the development debate within South Africa. Section 2.5 will then discuss the role played by football within South Africa; From apartheid to the 2010 football World Cup. Section 2.6 concludes the chapter with a brief summary.

2.2 Contextualising Development

2.2.1 Theorising development

For the purpose of this research study, development is understood as enabling the "constant improvement of [...] well-being" as specified in Resolution 41/128 of 4 December, 1986 adopting the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Development (UN, 1986). In turn, well-being will relate to the process of developing individual capabilities through the elimination of those endemic restrictive barriers, present in underprivileged societies, which undermine the achievement of valued livelihoods (Sen, 1999), such as low levels of employment, income and education, poor basic services such as housing, water and electricity and, health.[4]

Traditionally development discourse was one that focussed mainly on economic empowerment to bring about societal change and well-being. More recently though, especially following the post-Washington Consensus era of development policy design, societal change itself, has repositioned its self in the role of *means* rather than merely an *end* of development processes. Within this context, the importance of society's role in the determination of civic and economic change patterns will be considered (See Escobar, 1995; Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2004).

As such, a line of thought emerged that moved away from the grand design approach to one that refocused priorities according to the *targets* of development rather than the *objectives*. In the process, the key research question was split in two: *development for what?* and *development for whom?* (Chambers, 1994; 1995), as a result re-defining the values of development, giving it a multi-dimensional meaning rather than the uni-linear approach of traditional economics. The approach considered the inclusion of core psycho-social as well as traditional economic needs of development. It also concentrated its implementation, within the contextual specifics of a defined underprivileged society, by

    a) promoting sustainable livelihoods and the ability to provide basic human needs;

    b) improving personal capabilities and self-esteem;

    c) empowering people with the freedom to choose (Sen, 1984; Todaro, 1992; Chambers, 1994; Chambers, 1995).

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[4] No single definition of an underprivileged community exists due to the particularities of the local context, whether in an industrialised state, developing country, rural/urban periphery, etc. The basis of the consideration for such a definition lies in the generally accepted consideration that all of the elements mentioned above are characteristics of underprivileged communites in one way or another.

Development in this sense is therefore seen as a process focussing on the ends through the elimination of those barriers Sen considers to be the cause behind stagnant developmental potential at both the individual and societal levels. Achieving a status of *freedom* where human capabilities are nurtured to an extent where it affords agency to escape from the limitations and restrictions of *unfreedom,* such as hunger and malnutrition, repression of human rights and inaccessibility to public services, education and healthcare, corruption, is therefore the ultimate goal (Sen, 1999). Unearthing the restrictions of unfreedom - through the development of capabilities - will eventually provide the freedom to choose a livelihood that best suits their particular circumstance and characteristics, providing agency (control), over development (change).

In *Development as Freedom*, Sen (1999) explores the causal factors for unfreedom amongst populations across the globe. From the poorest to the richest of economies, to a greater and smaller degree, Sen concludes that no one is immune to conditions of unfreedom, thus reducing individual capabilities to emerge from a position of constraint or deprivation. Lending from Rawl's *theory of justice* (1971), unfreedom concerns the deprivation of the *liberty* to access certain basic rights, such as the right to education, healthcare, political and civil rights, leisure and the capability to freely engage with the *entitlements* that "people have through the exercise of these rights" (Sen, 1999: 66).

Consequently, freedom is obtained by acquiring the means (capabilities) to "bring about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives" (Sen, 1999: 19). As detailed earlier in this paper, capability development therefore explores both the merits and values of opportunity creation through the removal of barriers to development called *unfreedom*.

2.2.2 Theory in practice: development with a human face

From a development perspective therefore, Sen's capability approach to well-being is the overarching context within which sport is debated to contribute to poverty alleviation and societal change within underprivileged communities. In line with the capability approach used as a foundation for the investigation of this study, poverty relates to "the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than the lowness of incomes" (Sen, 1999: 87). Capabilities in this sense are both relative to the context of the situation investigated as well as absolute in terms of circumstance. Capability deprivation throughout his study is looked at from within the

particular circumstances experienced by the participants of the study. This, as Sen (1999: 90) details, "enhances the understanding of the nature and causes of poverty and deprivation by shifting primary attention away from means [income] to ends that people have reason to pursue, and, correspondingly, to the freedoms to be able to satisfy these ends."

As with the first appearance of development economics and discourse, agency for human development has been debated as more of a construct of the elite than a proposal of the underdeveloped (Rahman, 1993). In line with Sen's thinking of unfreedoms this could be seen as one of the causes of unfreedom – the incapability to determine one's own development. ul Haq addresses this debate from the perspective of choice, and the individual probability to choose one's own course of development within a defined socio-economic context, as is for example, those of a nation state. The policy prescriptions determined by government therefore impinge on the faculty of those in the *bottom billion* to choose their own course of action (ul-Haq, in Secondi, 2008).

What transpires is an understanding that development is based around "local people in the selection, design, planning and implementation of programmes and projects that will affect them, thus ensuring that local perception, attitudes, values and knowledge are taken into account as fully and as soon as possible" (Mikkelsen, 1995: 61). The intent itself borrowing from the concept of "development from within"[5] in a way that would give agency to individual or local players in the determination of an appropriate developmental path, based on the specific circumstances of the contextual platform.

The relevance of people-centred development was henceforth "believed to provide a starting point in addressing the injustices of past development efforts. Consequently, the principles of people-centred development through the building blocks of development – public participation, social learning, empowerment and sustainability – have become an integral part of policy-making" (Davids et al., 2005: 18); One which is representative of the progression from the narrower understanding of economic growth and the *trickle-down effect*, to employment creation and human productivity. A progression that redresses issues of inequality and promoting redistribution to focussing on "the basic needs of particular,

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[5] A concept that emerged out of the work of Argentinean economist Raul Prebisch and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) in response to the dependence of less developed countries on the industrialised world. The basis of the theory was to go from a concept defined as *desarrollo hacia adentro* (inward oriented development) to one focussing on *desarrollo desde adentro* (development from within).

identified human beings [in a] less abstract, more disaggregated, concrete and specific" manner (Streeten, 1979: 30).

2.3 Defining sport as a tool for development: An international literature review

2.3.1 Sport as a determinant of individual capability building

Within this context of fulfilment of basic needs is the use of sport as a tool for development discussed. In particular the motivation to use sports as a developmental concept and the subsequent role it plays in achieving levels of well-being need to be explored at this stage.

Motivation, as Bull et al., (2003: 55) deliberate, may be defined as "the force that leads people to seek certain goals in relation to their needs". Sport may be viewed therefore as motivated by participants' need to achieve higher levels of personal and or social satisfaction. According to Maslow (Maslow, 1943), an individual's motivation to participate in social activities are consummate to their understanding of their own needs within their particular social context. Maslow's hierarchy of needs stratifies the progression towards satisfaction of an individual's various needs; as lower-order needs are satisfied, people are then motivated by those to move on towards achieving those of the next level[6]. Sport being a "complex phenomenon, it is likely that it satisfies a number of different types of need within the hierarchy" (Bull et al., 2003: 55). However, there are elements of circumstance or *filters*[7] that prohibit the likelihood of people participating in sports – levels of unfreedom according to Sen – conditioning motivation and affect the way people are able to choose whether or not to participate in sporting activities. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* provides a perspective on the way people acquire tastes and preferences for certain social activities and the basis on which certain choices are made. This is significant on a number of levels, particularly the relationship between the individual and the social *field* and, the individual and his or her body.

Both relationships have an effect on the way the individual sees sport and participation therein. Valorisation of "the body as a means versus the body as an end in itself" (Laberge and Kay, 2002 in Maguire and Young, 2002: 239-265), is both a construct of the meaning

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[6] These are: biological and physiological needs, safety needs, social needs, esteem needs and self-actualization needs. The first four part of what Maslow considers deficiency needs and the last, growth-related needs (see appendix 6.1).
[7] Bull et al., (2003) present arguments on the way social filters factor probability of participation in sport on the basis of age, gender, income, education, social class and mobility.

given to sport by the individual, as well as a construct of the social environment within which sport is played and identity perceived. The distinction is made on the basis of the function of the body in relation to (i) the objectives sought and; (ii) the social structure in which they live, providing the foundation upon which "individuals acquire a range of ‚cultural competences', or ‚cultural capital'" (Bull et al., 2003: 57). Sport therefore becomes a bearer "of symbolic value in a given society and thus, in [its] capacity as social group signifiers, to produce social differentiation [revealing] the critical role played by SPA practices in the construction/affirmation of an individual's identity and difference." (Laberge and Kay, 2002 in Maguire and Young, 2002: 262)

A similar vein of thought is found in Putnam's work (2000) on social capital in relation to the reciprocity of the potential benefits developing bonds, trusts, contacts and networks may have in contributing towards building efficient systems of coordinated actions that have both a private and public face. The arguments presented are similar to those portrayed in the work of Bourdieu, Maslow and even Sen in their conceptualisation of the enabling components of civic participation and, individual capability to partake therein. The inference lies in what externalities affect the perpetuation of individual capability; as Putnam (2000) quips, "a well-connected individual in a poorly-connected society is not as productive as a well-connected individual in a well-connected society. And even a poorly-connected individual may derive some of the spill-over benefits from living in a well-connected community". In other words the potential of an individual to succeed or progress in life is not based solely on his or her capabilities, but also the socio(-economic) context within which that individual exists.

There is also a crucial distinction that needs to be made between types or *dimensions* of social capital that can be inclusive or exclusive in their composition (Putnam, 2000). *Bonding,* is a form of social capital that can by its very nature contribute to the exclusion of those factions of society that do not fall into the boundaries of the network, reinforcing current social class, ideological, gender, linguistic, religious homogeneity and support structures or, in line with Bourdieu's habitus, *cultural capital*, *preferences* and *tastes*. Due to the emphasis on building deep-rooted bonds based on loyalty and/or exclusivity, bonding is also likely to "create strong out-group antagonism" (Putnam, 2000: 23). *Bridging* on the other hand is a form of social networking that attempts at superseding individualistic differences, *preferences* or *tastes* or *cultural capital* generating broader, common forms of identity along

some social dimension. However, as Putnam (2000: 23) further stipulates, bridging and bonding although not interchangeable, are "not „either-or' categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but „more or less' dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital [...] as many groups simultaneously bond along some social dimension and bridge across others."

Especially in "situations where old ones [networks] are disintegrating" (World Bank, 2000 in Secondi, 2008: 16), sports programmes may be well positioned, as a social network, to both bridge and bond. However, membership in a network or participation in sporting activities alone does not guarantee "getting ahead" in the developmental process; proper guidance is also necessary to avoid creating counter-productive sentiments amongst non/participants, as much as it is essential to remain cognisant of structures and values surrounding sport in a particular society and, where necessary, create the appropriate environment for the benefits to flourish (UNODCCP, 2002).

2.3.2 Social capital as a driver of development

The process of social capital building and the effects it has on development is a subjective interpretation of the role of the individual within society, and how that society shapes or conditions the further role and agency of the individual in bringing about change. This emanates from the evolution of social movements as determinants of transformation in political, economic and institutional power structures (Escobar, 1995) as a form of social and individual empowerment (Chambers, 1997) derived from the values given to social capital by the individual's understanding of his/her needs when engaging in "every day practices in producing the world in which we live" (Escobar, 1995: 217). Values which are commonly found in the workings of Fine (1999: 5 citing Narayan and Pritchett, 1996: 2 in Harris and de Renzio, 1997: 921); whilst he denigrates the be all and end all of the use of social capital to solve the ills of the developing world, he also recognises the use of promoting social capital to help fill the gaps left by market imperfections and the failures of the development state. He qualifies this on the basis that "social capital, while not all things to all people, is many things to many people".

Similarly, Coleman (1988: 98) further emphasises the utility and/or function of social capital in development theory which, "like other forms of capital, [...] is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible." He

nonetheless warns against the fungibility of social capital, but rather its selective adoption according to the specific context and activities employed.

Within a developmental context underscored by poverty and structural deficiencies characterised by socially and culturally assimilated legacies of history such as South Africa (See Padayachee, 2006; Leibbrandt et al., 2010), sports may therefore be seen as an opportunity to voice individual and public concerns, whilst delivering opportunities for empowerment where state infrastructure has failed. In this context, sport may be seen as both a means to an end – in building capability, as well as an end in itself – achieving freedom (see table 2.1).

Sport participation as an end	Sport as a participatory means
Strengths	**Strengths**
✓ Focuses on developing qualitative rather than quantitative capabilities, ✓ provides agency to the affected over decision-making issues concerning their own development, ✓ empowers target groupings with necessary capabilities to better their livelihood, ✓ is an active process whereby individuals take charge of ensuring the results of a project/ programme or their individual development, ✓ facilitates knowledge-sharing and sustainability.	✓ Sensitises development concerns at the micro/ local level, ✓ provides access to formal structures of decision – making and government, ✓ constructs a developmental process from the foundation upwards, ✓ enhances the efficiency of delivery through improved service delivery, structures based on local resources and targeted interventions, ✓ is moulded to the specific context.
Limitations	**Limitations**
- Difficult to assess the impact of development as benefits are qualitative rather than quantitative, - is generally non-reproducible due to its specific nature and therefore time consuming, - results limited or delayed due to resource availability and other implementation shortcomings, - may suffer from design – participant bias, - goals are subjective rather than objective.	- Suffers from value-based bias (dissention) in both the management and implementation stages, - is contextually bound to the intervention's location, - success is dependent on the active participation of target group (may bring about delays in delivery due to inability to partake in the process), - can contribute to reinforce exclusion, - is a short-term solution to a long-term problem.

Table 2.1 - Sport participation as a means and an end (Source: adapted from Todaro, 1992; Mikkelsen, 1995; Chambers, 1997; Sen, 1999)

As a means, the participatory mechanism of sports programmes is two-fold: Primarily it performs the function the state structure fails to do for itself by, for example, providing support-structures to participants. Secondly, it provides individuals with opportunity to acquire agency over their own condition (Donnelly, 2000; Houlihan, 2003). Especially in underprivileged communities where participants may not have access to adequate structures (due to limited resources), sports programmes facilitate accessibility to both formal and informal means for personal empowerment; Formally through direct interventions in supporting participation, informally through the delivery of capability building skills like *life-skills* (such as basic computer literacy skills, communication skills, discipline, etcetera) to

participants that facilitate the achievement of (varying degrees of) individual freedom to better their socio-economic opportunities (SDP IWG, 2007: 17-29). Evidence from the "back to school programme" run by BSA, a locally-based NGO in Zambia's capital, Lusaka has this as the core of its activities: to provide a means to achieve basic educational and life-skill needs through participation in sports. The programme offers performing football and basketball players, the opportunity to cover their schooling fees by way of linking on the field and academic performance, impacting on both the improvement of retention rates and achievement in school and continued participation in sports programmes. This process is further supplemented by the additional correlation between formal and informal education as participants are provided with out-of-school computer literacy skills capacitation and awareness on matters concerning the environment and HIV / AIDS[8].

Projects in Tanzania and El Salvador provide sports educational programmes in joint collaboration between local schools and NGOs focussing on youth and children that do not have the opportunities or means to participate in sporting activities. Amongst the results observed, "[q]ualitative evidence suggests that school attendance has improved on the days that students have sports practice and there is heightened motivation to participate in sport" (SDP IWG, 2008: 106).[9]

Research on such programmes has therefore recorded positive results on character development of participants, through instilling qualities such as confidence, discipline, responsibility, respect and punctuality amongst others. The latter has also proven key to the development of positive environments within the community and contributed to the development of a sense of pride amongst participants for their achievement (Manzo, 2007).

With reference to community-building there is evidence amongst the literature that sports and football programmes have a positive effect in creating cohesive communities through a sense of belonging and social inclusion. Spill over effects on the social fabric of the community have also led to a reduction in crime rates and possible mortality rates, especially in conflict areas. Sport programmes used as a form of rehabilitation for crime offenders have enabled their re-integration into society and dealing with stigma issues. There are also the

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[8] See http://bsazambia.yolasite.com. Similar activities are run by BUSA. Observations made from the author's participation in BSA activities during three months (September – November) in 2008.
[9] For other examples of sports education programmes see SDP IWG (2006; 2007; 2008), Armstrong and Giulianotti (2004), Grassroot Soccer (2007), FIFA (2007; 2009b).

added benefits of certain programmes that consider part of the community's regeneration as part of their remit, therefore contributing to the revitalisation of the immediate environment of the community (SDP IWG, 2007).

As an end, development through participation in sport therefore embodies a transformational process from one of abject incapability to determine freely one's own livelihood, to one permitting the conscious decision to engage or not in certain activities such as employment, education and, public debate where both the capabilities and freedom to participate in the developmental process is achieved (see SDP, 2006; 2007; 2008). Research conducted by the UN in collaboration with the ILO (ILO, 2006) has placed skills development, both "*core*" and "*soft*"[10], as a top priority for public and private policy that seeks to alleviate poverty (WFSGI, 2004; 2007). By raising the level of individual *employability*, whether in formal working environments or as remunerated athletes, increased opportunities for expanded economic output and increased levels of well-being are achievable.

2.3.3 Policy and practice

Since the emergence of professional sports associations and competitions, the practice of sport has evolved into a global business endeavour to which the increasing importance of sports as an economic contributor to national GDP[11] has added the relevance of sport to creating and maintaining what Alegi (2004: 71) highlights as "social and economic safety net[s]". On the other hand, there are concerns that sport contributes to the reinforcement "of the distribution of power in society, the dominant ideology and cultural form of the society and its pattern of social organisation" (Houlihan, 1991: 10)[12]. As a prelude to the contextualisation of the development debate in South Africa, and more relevantly, the leverage given to the 2010 football World Cup in South Africa, this section will discuss the concerns mentioned above through the presentation of some key steps that need to be taken to turn sports into an effective tool for economic development. These include (i) the identification of appropriate levels of intervention and relevant partners for policy design and

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[10] 'Core' skills include management capabilitiesa and leadership skills; 'Soft' skills include such qualities like cooperation, respect for others, knowing how to manage competition, stress, etc.
[11] According to a study entitled "*The socio-economic benfits of sport participation in Canada*" (The Conference board of Canada, 2005), between 1996 and 2000, GDP figures on sport expenditure for a selected range of developed countries range from 1.9% and 1% in the USA and New Zealand respectively in 1996; 1.8% in the United Kingdom and 1.7% in Honk Kong (2000) and; 1.22% in Canada (2004).
[12] See also Desai (2010).

delivery; (ii) the availability of resources – human, financial and physical; (iii) the creation of the necessary political, legal and socio-economic environment for the proliferation of sports interventions across policy areas - an issue that has become increasingly relevant in the global context of achieving the UN's MDGs by the year 2015[13].

Where the scramble for limited budgetary resources are stretched between increasing demands for basic social services and infrastructure on the one hand and, promotion of sports, recreation, culture and the arts on the other, the ultimate effectiveness of any policy design is determined by the capability to incorporate all interested parties for maximum redistribution of benefits and minimisation of costs (WFSGI, 2004; ILO, 2006). Current practices amongst national governments and NGOs in the field of development are characterised by seemingly opposing practices "often developed at the margins of existing government policy and program frameworks, with limited funding, capacity and prospects for long-term sustainability" (SDP IWG, 2008: 249). A priority for sport for development policies and programmes is therefore the need to be defined and integrated within the wider context of national PRSPs[14].

There are, however, warnings emanating from the same industry about the abuse and exploitation of such a lucrative market (ILO, 2006; WFSGI, 2007). The adoption of regional/national CSR legislation, manufacturing, labour and consumer policies, standards and incentives (based on those prevalent in the EU but tailored to the specificities of the developing world's needs) may help developing countries counter the abuses by rogue agents and regularise the inequity between the power brokers in the industry (ILO, 2006: 113-133).

Working in close collaboration with local NGOs, industry and international agencies, the UN has engaged a number of leading athletes who, from previously disadvantaged, have become world class athletes in their respective fields. This has contributed to leverage political and financial commitments from government and the private sector to counter abuses of the legislative framework in sporting, labour and economic sectors in (especially) developing countries. It has also contributed to the socio-economic upliftment of poor communities. Whilst figures for remittances from expatriate football players/athletes from developing countries are not readily available, in 2007 only, migrant workers abroad (mainly

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[13] See Appendix 6.2 on the connections between achieving the MDGs and sports
[14] See Appendix 6.3 on some key steps recommended for the drawing-up of inclusive PRSPs.

Europe and the US) contributed US$ 270 billion to their local economies, twice as much as official development aid for the same year (US$ 104 billion)[15]. Nonetheless, the "restrictive laws and costly fees [imposed] hamper the power of remittances to lift people out of poverty" (IFAD, 2009). Practices Alegi (2010) claims are tantamount to modern-day colonialism when discussing the privatisation of the people's game through player-transfer fees, wages, broadcasting rights and, sport-event sponsorship deals. This has also led governments around the world to compete amongst each other in order to have the privilege of hosting some of the largest sporting events on home soil in order to leverage the financial (and technical) resources of private industry. The growing business appeal of such events has consequently spurred a flurry of large-scale investments in infrastructure as well as controversy. From ICC Cricket to ATP Tennis; from the FIFA football World Cup to the IOC Olympic Games; from the Comrades marathon in Durban to the Inca Marathon in Cusco, the crux of the arguments voiced revolve around the debate that "if local economic opportunities are to be made through sports tourism, local responses to building local economic development need to prove effective in creating lasting and sustainable opportunities for local people." (IPSD, 2009: 8).

This last point brings into the fore the debate over the South African government's bid to host the 2010 FIFA football World Cup and the role of football in South Africa's developmental context. The debate in South Africa is whether government can (or should) afford the expense associated to hosting an event that has rigorous infrastructural requisites. Secondly it considers whether the World Cup will generate the expected development to reduce poverty and the burden of unemployment as claimed by government. As with anything else in South Africa, both development and football were shaped by the rigours of segregation and apartheid. In this regard section 2.4 will review the key developmental stages of the country from a historical perspective and more recent development strategies as a necessary prelude to the discussion on the role football, and the hosting of sports' largest event (the World Cup), plays in South African society in section 2.5.

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[15] From members of the 23 member states of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD which also includes the European Commission. See also IFAD (2009).

2.4 Contextualising the development debate in South Africa

2.4.1 From segregation to apartheid to Mandela's rainbow nation

Development in South Africa is "a historic process and its particular characteristics have a great bearing on the present still, both because of the consequences of the past still with us and because patterns of accumulation in the South African economy are often still ploughing the furrows laid down during its classic period of industrialisation" (Freund and Witt, 2010). The way in which resources were allocated and accumulated by a minority section of industrialists at the expense of a labourer majority during the period of segregation and apartheid is still tangible today. As a result, public policy at the time was characterised by two main features, primarily government's intentions to preserve white minority rule and limit black self-sufficiency by constructing an economic environment that would, on the one hand, internalise the proceeds of what Fine and Rustomjee (1996; 2010) call the "minerals-energy complex" (that denoted government's economic policy on the basis of the needs of the mining and minerals industry) and, on the other hand, ensure that the labour faction of society would remain dependant on the functioning of the complex as their main source of subsistence (Wolpe, 1972). Secondly, the nature of the wealth accumulated during the apartheid era has led to the determination of a society characterised by large income and asset inequalities, with the top decile accounting for more than half of the country's riches (Leibbrandt et al., 2010). Mamdani (1996, cited in Freund and Witt, 2010), has subsequently considered this as one of the characterising consequences of the slow and unequal (re)construction of social identity in South Africa.

Thus, South Africa's developmental path, especially since 1990, is viewed in relation to both pure economic upliftment, as much as it is about entitlement to socio-economic rights and personal empowerment. Along this vein of thought, therefore, should the various proposals for macro-economic planning, reconstruction and development, growth, employment and redistribution and finally, accelerated shared growth in South Africa, be considered. The over-riding objective was to redress apartheid's exclusionary legacy that left two factions of the populace, one black and one white, divided along financial, physical, cognitive and social platforms. Coupled with the need to reclaim international standing in both economic and political fora the struggle for reintegration saw traditional ANC political rhetoric (mainly socialist/Marxist), come up against an international context that was the embodiment of the prevailing neo-liberal tendencies of free-market economics. As part of their election campaign for the February 1994 ballot, the ANC therefore launched its

reconstruction and development programme (RDP) as the party's "central thrust to increase the access of the poor to those assets that were previously denied them, or indeed, stripped from them in the past" (Hunter et al., 2003: 4-5). By 1996 though the RDP's office within the Presidency was shut due to its disappointing performance and GEAR emerged as the government's new policy to drive economic regeneration focussing more on growth through the attraction of foreign investment and tight fiscal monitoring. Whilst achieving relative economic stability, GEAR hardly drove growth rate figures up as had been expected to, and has since lingered in the background of renewed debates for a macro-economic policy for the 21st century.

This review of the RDP and GEAR programmes suggest that while the intention and integrity of the programmes, in their object and content, was largely above reproach, the way in which the government went about achieving and implementing them was not. A key consequence of the approach adopted to realise these objectives was the disenfranchising of certain crucial needs of the economy at the time. The RDP thus focussed on the more extensive and rapid redistribution of income and wealth (Gelb, 1991) as the precursor for economic growth when investments in key economic sectors was necessary in order to generate the resources to carry-out the programme at a time when public finances were already overdrawn. GEAR on the other hand, embarked on a fiscal belt-tightening and investment incentive path focussing on stabilising economic performance at the expense of continued investments in social and physical infrastructure.

By way of comparison therefore, MERG's suggested two-phased outlook to structural reconstruction and economic capacitation reconciled both the state's objectives to restructure and deliver basic infrastructure and services that were neglected under the apartheid era and, the need to generate growth through private sector investment in key sectors of the economy that would (i) provide jobs to the unemployed and, (ii) create new opportunities for capacity development in high return markets (Padayachee, 2005). Nonetheless when MERG's policy document was presented in 1993 it was "impolitely set aside [...] as threatening the emergent consensus" (Marais, 1998: 138) amongst right-leaning economists and left-leaning politicians fearing for their career ambitions engaged in the negotiations of post-apartheid's first main macro-economic policy strategy.

Since the rapid demise of RDP and adoption of GEAR between 1996 and 2000, no further official macro-economic policy has been defined. Even with the introduction of AsgiSA and the accompanying JIPSA in 2004, government is quick to point out that it is "not a new policy, not even a sectoral one, nor does it replace GEAR" (Yemek, 2006: 13). The focus being on redressing the limitations and needs of what President Mbeki labelled in 2003 as the second economy (the informal sector and unemployed) as a result of sustained economic growth from within the first economy. A duality that has harangued economic policy debacles in South Africa since negotiations between Mandela and the Nationalist Party started in the 1980s. It is also important to note that AsgiSA's targets "to reduce poverty and unemployment by 50% by the target year of 2014, and to enable the country to achieve and sustain average economic growth rates of 4.5% between 2005 and 2009, and 6% between 2010 and 2014" (Yemek, 2006: 13), are identical to the goal government is attempting to achieve by means of leveraging investments in the preparation, organisation and legacy of the football World Cup.

With this in mind, and in order to determine any relationship between South Africa's socio-economic development and the hosting of the World Cup, it is pertinent to review football's role in South Africa's socio-economic and political context. This will be addressed in section 2.5, with sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 specifically addressing some of the implications and legacy effects surrounding the football World Cup. Section 2.6 will conclude the chapter.

2.5 The role of football in development: from apartheid to the 2010 World Cup

Footeballe has been part of the social construct of society for millennia: in Aztec pre-Colombian America *tlachtli* was practiced as part of religious celebrations; in Ancient Rome and Samurai Japan, *harpastum* or *kemari asobi* was used to refine military precision and skills; whilst in Brittany and Florence, *soule* or *calico* was a mere recreational activity (Murray, 1994: 1-25). As football spread its roots via the world's trade routes, and with need for little investment - a rubber or rag-ball, a patch of land, with little more in terms of rules and equipment - football quickly became *the people's game* played by lower ranking army officials and civilian labourers which was quickly taken back to the townships. There it acquired characteristics that were increasingly representative of society's socio-economic construct eventually associated to the working class sections of a nation's economic fabric (See Alegi, 2004; Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2004). Football in South Africa was therefore no different, acquiring distinct signs of the political divisions that would impact heavily on

the developmental course of the nation to date, as well as the traits of an *opposing trajectory* – whereby popular classes would "appropriate, elaborate, and then turn into national symbols [...] manifestations that were originally restricted to the dominant classes" (Oliven, 1984: 103 cited in Humphrey and Tomlinson, 1986: 108).

To begin with, the first football teams and leagues in South Africa were far from inclusive and representative of national cultural attributes. Introduced by British working class soldiers in South Africa to fight in the Anglo-Zulu war in 1879, the sport's uptake was soon spreading amongst the Indian and African working populations across the country; from Durban to Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth to Cape Town and Johannesburg. The first formal football organisation was established in Pietermaritzburg in 1879, whilst Black, Indian and non-white football associations only emerged in the beginning of the 1900s as a result of the expansion of the mining industries and the rapid growth in urbanisation that accompanied it (Alegi, 2004; Korr and Close, 2008).

With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, government's course to achieve an all-white state was formalised with the adoption of segregational policies, directing resources and institutionalising legislations that would ensure the separate development of the racial components of the nation. From residential to marital rights, to the access of physical infrastructure and services, the black majority population were limited to token resources that would keep them morally subdued, but nonetheless dependent on the white minority-led state structure. Resources at the disposition of the differing racial football associations, as well as accessibility to sport facilities and infrastructure was therefore representative of the apartheid regime's policy for differentiated socio-economic development within the respective enclaves. At times, in order to continue with the scheduled league games, black South Africans had to steal goalposts or jump over chained iron gates to access facilities, which, in the meantime, were increasingly being reserved for rugby union matches as football's popularity declined amongst the white population (Alegi, 2004).

With the entrenchment of apartheid (separate development) in 1948, thenceforth black South Africans were reduced to migrant workers on white-owned mines. As such, football became one of many sources of both the entrenchment of "internal cleavages based on age, gender, race, class, religion and ethnicity" (Alegi, 2004: 3) as well as "a way of alleviating the distress and frustrating conditions which our community [Black South Africans] is always

faced with" (Korr and Close, 2008: 258). Football therefore became increasingly important to the majority of black South Africans in social, educational and political circles in the townships. It brought football and the sport boycott movement into "close contact with formal resistance politics in the 1950s and 1960s [playing] an important role in the fall of apartheid [which] relied heavily on the support of soccer players, fans, and organisations" (Alegi, 2004: 3).

Similarly on Robben Island - prison to enemies of the apartheid regime and home to most of the resistance's key figures during the time - the organisation and participation in organised football matches and leagues proved to be the ground on which, on the one hand, prison authorities and political defectors confronted one another whilst on the other, political differences were transcended between members of the ANC and PAC following the „split' of the latter from the former in 1959. Again, football "gave people a chance to make a statement with their bodies and their minds. It was a chance to test our values [...] bringing us closer together ... a form of social cement" (Korr and Close, 2008: 197 citing Marcus Solomon).

In 1955 the Co-ordinating Committee for International Recognition of Sport was established by anti-apartheid activist and journalist Dennis Brutus; in 1958 he also set up the South African Sports Association. Through the two bodies, the anti-apartheid struggle remonstrated, on the field of play, against state segregation policies, pressurising international sports federations to ban South African whites-only teams and affiliations from international sporting activities (Korr and Close, 2008). As a result, FIFA banned South Africa's all-white national football team in 1961, formally suspending SAFA from the Federation in 1976 "unless there was positive action over the non-white issue" (Korr and Close, 2008). In doing so it also became one of the first "international indictments of the apartheid regime" (Alegi, 2004: 3), reflecting similar expressions of dissent by popular football movements in Argentina and Brazil during the 1970s and the former Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1990s[16]. In more ways than one, football became an integral part of the fight against segregation and isolation through the promulgation of traditional cultures and consolidation of social

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[16] See Armstrong and Giulianotti (1997; 1999; 2000) where the texts provide an interesting panoply of a varying degree of social expressions of discontent, culture, pride, struggles and historical perspective of everyday life through football aorund the world.

identities, as well as a means to further personal improvement and exploring new opportunities (Wagner, 1989: 9-10).

The release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, spurred the country's laborious transition from the doldrums of international sanctions under apartheid to the world spot light. Apart from the first democratic elections in 1994, two major sports events have led the unifying movement from segregation to integration. The first and most significant being the 1995 Rugby World Cup held in South Africa and won by South Africa's national team (the Springboks). From a sport associated with apartheid shame, Rugby became the collective pride of a nation as then President Nelson Mandela, wearing the number 6 green and golden Springbok Jersey, handed over the Rugby World Cup to captain Francois Pienaar. In that moment Ellis Park in Johannesburg, a former apartheid beacon, became a melting-pot of reconciliatory optimism (Pillay et al., 2009). The second, South Africa's *Bafana Bafana* victory at the 1996 African Nations Cup also held in South Africa, which culminated the adjustment period by "serv[ing] as a rallying cry for the nation and instilled a large degree of self-confidence in the national psyche by presenting the country as 'a winning nation'." (Makgabo, 2006: 1). The announcement on May 15, 2004 by FIFA's President handing South Africa hosting rights for the 2010 World Cup has thus forth come to represent the pinnacle of South Africa's transition process towards international recognition and acceptance (Mbeki, 2006; Bob and Swart, 2009b) providing an opportunity to build a positive - given the segregated history - "lasting social and economic legacy for South Africa and the rest of the African continent." (Makgabo, 2006: 1).

2.5.1 The 2010 FIFA World Cup: South African development aspirations

By the time the FIFA 2010 World Cup kicked off in South Africa on the 11th of June 2010, it had already netted FIFA over US $ 3 billion through the sale of exclusive broadcasting rights, exceeding net revenues from the 2006 Germany World cup by some 25%. It would have also cost the South African government over R28 billion, matching FIFA's projected revenues for the tournament as a whole (CPMU, 2008; Pillay et al., 2009). With an estimated 3 million supporters watching matches from within the new stadiums or the bustling fan parks, the 2010 FIFA World Cup has been dubbed as the largest footballing event in the history of the game. The tournament is also being labelled as an African celebration by local supporters; a celebration of the continent's humanity and a celebration that the people's game has come to Africa. The successful hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, its impact on the

lives of those participating and those watching therefore resonates far beyond the footprint of the stadia and deep into the dreams of an entire nation and continent alike, of unity, hope and prosperity. The key issue circling the hosting of the tournament in South Africa is the government's intentions to "leverage the World Cup to assist in promoting economic development and halving unemployment by 2014" (Pillay et al., 2009: 3).

It is also seen as an opportunity to ensure a lasting social and economic legacy for the South African population. However, Pillay et al., (2009) convey a cautionary message; to tackle fairly the many questions surrounding the organisation of sports' largest showpiece to date. Here particular emphasis is given to the "sobering economic perspectives" of the nature and extent of investments carried-out in the run-up to the tournament as part fulfilment of a host nation's obligations under strict FIFA rules.

As such, much importance has been given to the impact and long-lasting effect the event will have on the country, its people and the economy, with primary concerns addressing whether a better use for public finance could be sought in the context of an ailing economy, plagued by AIDS/HIV, crime and poverty. Discussion has been revitalised on the appropriateness of the macro/micro-economic choices taken by - and benefitting - a few at the top of the food chain, whilst the burden of the cost is shouldered by the "citizen of the empire or subject of the imperial colony"(Czeglédy, 2009: 286). Concepts that juggle concerns over the emergence of a relationship between the South African government and FIFA equal to a form of *colonialism of a special type*[17] - embodied by FIFA's quasi-autonomous determination of how the tournament should be organised and run - and, the embedding of the neoliberal model to regenerate economic development at the expense of crucial social interventions.

The arguments presented are hardly new in the South African context and are reminiscent of the debates that encircled the developmental path of the country that followed the demise of the apartheid state in the early 1990s. With the era of socialism buried under the rubble of the dismantled Berlin Wall, policy makers in South Africa, as all over the world,

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[17] "A theory which held that the structure of the South African economic and social order was in all essentials identical with the relationship between a colonial power and its colony" (Visser, 1994, pg. 1) where the majority enjoys neither independence nor freedom to determine their own outcome. See also Bond, 1997 and Padayachee, 2008. The association with the World Cup refers to the way FIFA has stymied the South African government's independence and freedom to go about preparations for the tournament.

were busy reconstructing new „spaces' under the auspices of capitalism and the macroeconomic principles of neoliberalism. A common criticism of South Africa's transition process following the first democratic election in 1994 and the election of South Africa as 2010 World Cup host ten years later, was the applicability of an „appropriate' economic model to an evolving socio-economic context. From a political, imagery perspective the World Cup is an opportunity to discard the continued stigma of being a "dark continent" (Czeglédy, 2009: 284); A view that was similarly brandished during the preparations to host the Mexican Olympic games in 1968. Then, the LOC flaunted the successful bid as "an international recognition for two decades of unprecedented political and economic stability that had allowed them a point of entry into First World status. The Games were confirmation of Mexico's economic and political development" (Bolsmann in Brewster, 2010: 103).

2.5.2 Development for whom?

The question "development for whom" is therefore a recurrent one that can also find its roots in the debates circling negotiations on the country's macro-economic policies before and after 1994. The lack of accessibility to South Africa's Bid Book "which by 2005 had become unavailable" (Tomlinson, 2009: 96), the limited public knowledge of what went into the original World Cup bid (including that submitted for the 2006 world Cup) and top-down modus operandi adopted to implement preparations on the ground, harks back to the times when GEAR was imposed as a set of non-negotiable macro objectives in 1996[18]. The political and economic *tour de force* embarked on by the LOC and national government to hasten procedures, at times testing the limits of the rule of law (Bénit Gaffou, 2009) has given air to those contributors' assertions that the well being of the masses was overlooked for the benefit of the few.

More poignantly, when discussing the poverty reduction efforts of the tournament, Bass and Pillay (2008a; 2009) squarely claim that there is no association between expenditure on mega-events and "widespread development benefits" of legacy projects and that "inequality may even be exacerbated by the hosting of the World Cup" (Bass and Pillay, 2009: 92). This has therefore raised additional criticism by those who think that the real beneficiaries – those that would reap tangible benefits – are those involved in what Horne and Manzenreiter (2006b) call a tightly-knit *sports-media-business alliance*". A similar trend is

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[18] Of the eighteen draftes prepared for GEAR, "social and labour movements only saw versions of it towards the end of the process" (Hunter et al., 2003: 11). See also Marais (1998) and Hirsch (2005).

reported by Horne (2004; 2006b) who claims the same in respect to the Japan and Korea World Cup in 2002 where decision-making procedures in the build-up of the tournament have been frequently attributed to a ruling-class involved in a „construction complex'; influences that similarly characterised the transitional phases in the economic history of countries like post-war America, led by a „military-industrial complex' and, a „minerals-energy complex' in South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s (on this last issue see Fine and Rustomjee, 1996; Fine, 2010).

On the other hand, in the minds of the proponents of such events (including FIFA, the LOC and government), whether the legacy is of a footballing nature, educational, economical, infrastructural or perceptual, it has important value for the countries' developmental potential. A FIFA survey amongst South African citizens carried out in 2008 reported considerable optimism in relation to the expected advantages to be reaped from World Cup-related investments. Figure 2.2 highlights some of these expected benefits as being a rise in tourism, improved infrastructure, economic activity and job creation and public image.
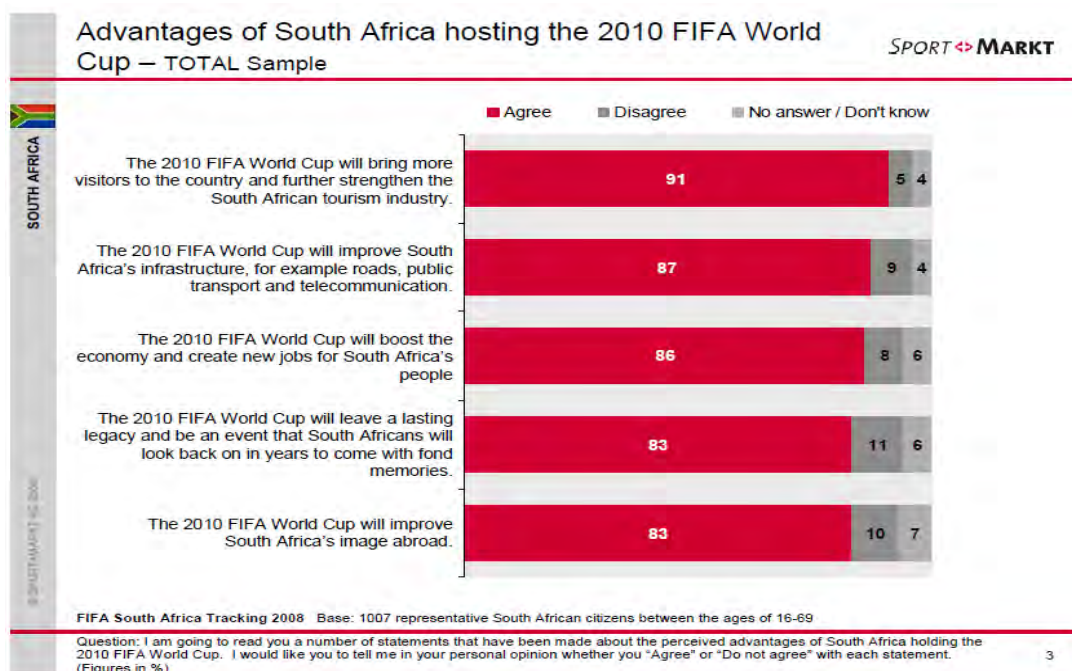
Figure 2.1 - 2010 FIFA World Cup advantages for SA. Source: (FIFA, 2009b)

The extent of government World Cup-related investments was reported to be in the region of R28 billion in October 2008 (2010 CPMU, 2008: 7; 2010); part of a much wider R600 billion investment programme stretching four years between 2006 and 2010 which "will

ensure the World Cup contributes to the country's growth and development goals by making sure that the hosting of the tournament brings opportunities that can be accessed by South Africans, in a way that will empower those who were systematically excluded from participation in the economy under apartheid". The range of developments referred to as being of a socially beneficial nature are varied and touch upon economic and industrial sectors such as transport: freight and passenger rail services, ports development, road infrastructure; hospitality industry; sports, recreation, arts and crafts development; information and communications; energy supply; health, security and safety; education and skills, tying in with broader policy objectives set under government's AsgiSA programme as both a catalyst for growth and human development amongst youth and community stakeholders. This includes nearly R400 million for the development of sports festivals, education and training of volunteers, coaches and educators, and development at the grassroots level – including the installation and upgrading of community health and security facilities during the coming years (GCIU, 2009). Whilst acknowledging that they may not resolve the ailments of the majority of the poor or reduce unemployment figures by any substantial amount, there is no doubt that the requirement for quality social services and infrastructure is also important for the development of sports and the immediate community surrounding the developments. It is on the basis of these developments that government hopes that the provision of such infrastructure will augment interest in areas such as sports education and medicine amongst South Africa's youth, as well as bolster social and economic activity in previously disadvantaged areas around urban city centres.

Furthermore, FIFA's head of CSR, Federico Addiechi confirmed that through the Win in Africa, with Africa programme over US $70 million will be invested throughout the continent to upgrade football infrastructure, administration, technical staff and equipment, health and education programmes (personal communication)[19]. Foremost amongst such investments are the US $10 million Football for Hope (FfH) centres to be built as part of FIFA's '20 centres for 2010' programme. The first centre was opened in Khayelitsha in Cape Town in November 2009 to coincide with the official draw of the World Cup finals. Alexandra, a township outside Johannesburg's Central Business District has also been earmarked as a home for one of the FfH centres as well as the host for the FfH Festival

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[19] Other financial contributions include an annual grant of US $250,000 per national football association through the Financial Action Plan; US $400,000 per requesting association to develop football infrastructure through the GOAL programme.

between the 4th and 10th of July, 2010. Another 4 are expected to open in South Africa within the coming few years. The centres will be the focus point for community activity "to promote social development [...] and strengthen local organisations (the "Centre Hosts") with vital infrastructure. The developments will provide these Centre Hosts with a base from which to provide their [existing] programmes and increase awareness about HIV/AIDS, increase literacy, improve gender equality, integrate youngsters with intellectual disabilities, and promote overall social development in other targeted ways" (www.FIFA.com, 2009a). In addition, 75% of the 2010 World Cup's over US $3 billion of expected revenues will be spent on football development programmes and projects over the coming four years (The Independent on Saturday, 2010).

2.6 Conclusion

Since South Africa's original bid in 1998 to host the 2006 World Cup and then its 2003 bid for the 2010 World Cup, a number of studies have thus emerged on the potential benefits and impact such an event may have on the economy as well as social fabric of the country: from public transport infrastructure (Gautrain and BRT[20]), new football stadiums and telecommunications networks to investment, development opportunities and related expenditures. Grant Thornton (2010), for one, estimates that the event will contribute 1.72% to GDP in 2010 alone, boosting the economy to the tune of R93 billion (gross) and a net contribution of R13 billion; 71% of which is to be derived from the R66 billion invested by national and provincial governments. In turn, tourism and FIFA-related expenditures would contribute an additional 0.54% to GDP (Grant Thornton, 2010). Other economic forecasts predict a year-on-year growth of 2.5% and 3.5% in 2010 and 2011 respectively (Danske Markets, 2010). How the estimated revenues generated by the event will actually „trickle down' to the *people* is however, cause for concern amongst many scholars and practitioners in the field.

Research on the impact on host country economics prior to, during and post previous World Cups, have revealed that whilst the main beneficiaries remain the media (from broadcasting rights), tourism (from increased occupancy, duration of stay and overall expenditure by tourists), and construction sectors (in terms of contracting and short-term

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[20] The Gautrain is the new rapid train link between Pretoria and Johannesburg; The BRT is the new Bus Rapid Transport system, known locally as the *Rea Vaya*, implemented in Johannesburg. Similar forms of integrated traonsportation systems have been implemented in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

employment), little real evidence of overall economic growth, long-term employment or increased standards of living have been reported (Kim and Alaistair M. Morrison, 2003; Horne, 2004; Kim et al., 2004; Hagn and Maennig, 2007; Maennig and du Plessis, 2007). Results in fact have led to either a neutral or negative result on economic performance when monitoring year-on-year activity (such as GDP growth rates, employment, trade) and both local and international circumstances (Hagn and Maennig, 2007). The over one hundred strikes by public workers and resident protests all over South Africa between January and June 2010 over failed promises made to them by local councillors when selling the development of football stadiums at the expense of public amenities and service delivery, further seem to dampen the developmental impact of the tournament on the poorer strata of society.

Nonetheless, citizen attitudes towards the World Cup in South Africa remain positive (HSRC, 2007; 2008)[21]. However, the single common element emanating from a review of the literature lies in an increase in positive perceptions; amongst foreigners of the host country's organisational capabilities, service delivery and facilities provided; for locals it is an increase in a sense of national pride (also based on performance of the host nation's team) and satisfaction with the revitalisation of urban infrastructure (Kim and Alaistair M. Morrison, 2003; Baade and Matheson, 2004; Horne, 2004; Maennig and du Plessis, 2007; Pillay et al., 2009). Whether this feel good factor is enough to elevate the over 25% unemployed (Statistics South Africa, 2010) and over 50%[22] of the population currently living in poverty (Leibbrandt et al., 2010) is a question that only the future will tell. A view which is further expanded on by Pillay and Bass (2008a; 2009) in their take on the apparent dichotomy in understanding the legacy vs. impact effect of the event. In their view the legacy effect should focus on creating opportunities for economic growth beyond the end of the final whistle, whilst the immediate impact would enable, through an increase in jobs and income, the alleviation of the strains of poverty on the most vulnerable of people in the economy.

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[21] See also the Human Sciences Research Centre Longitudinal Study 2005, 2006, 2007.
[22] The figure is based on a „lower bound' poverty line of R515 per month. The proportion of population living in poverty when considering an „upper bound' poverty line of R949 rises to 70%. It is worth mentioning that South Africa has yet to adopt an official poverty line; those presented here are based on the proposals by Hoogeveen and Özler (2006) (See Bhorat and (eds), 2006: 59-94).

3. Research Design and Methodology

*Success is no accident. It is hard work, perseverance, learning, studying, sacrifice
and most of all, love of what you are doing or learning to do.*

Pelé

3.1 Emphasis of the Research

The principle object of inquiry will be the Africaid trust, a non-governmental organisation based in Greyville that runs football-based HIV/AIDS mentoring and life-skills development programmes, youth centres and teen clinics in Edendale and Umlazi. These programmes are collectively known as WhizzKids United (WKU). Prior participation by the researcher in a development through sports programme in Lusaka, Zambia in order to expound on results of the current research will also be used to achieve the objectives of this study; to question whether football programmes implemented at the grassroots level play a role in (a) the development process of participants and, (b) improving community conditions – both physical and social.

WKU's stated objectives to bring about *behavioural change* amongst participants towards risky behaviour that may lead to HIV/AIDS infection and, the importance of co-opting community stakeholders to *buy-in* to the process of youth empowerment and opportunity creation (McGilvray and Farrar, 2009), will be the primary focus of the research. For this purpose, the study will question stakeholders (including participants) about (i) the implementation of WKU programmes and outcomes and, (ii) the potential benefits and inherent limitations of sports programmes, within the particular context of the community, to promote human and social capital. Secondly, on the basis of the results emanating from the investigation of stakeholder perceptions of sports programmes, the study will engage in a broader discussion about what government has done and, how it intends to lever the 2010 FIFA World Cup to promote football programmes as developmental tools within underprivileged communities in KZN.

The research does not, therefore, attempt to provide a prescriptive solution to community and youth development across borders, through football programmes. Similarly it does not intend to suggest that football programmes provide a comprehensive solution to development concerns at local levels. Rather it provides a grounded, firsthand - stakeholder -

perspective of an alternative option for the delivery of targeted, low-cost, high return investments in development policies within a specific, local context.

3.2 Research Location

Research was carried out in the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (see Map 3.1). More specifically field work was conducted on the premises of WKU in Greyville, Ndongeni Senior Primary in Umlazi and, Esigodini Primary School in Edendale (see Map 3.2).

Map 3.1 - South African Provinces
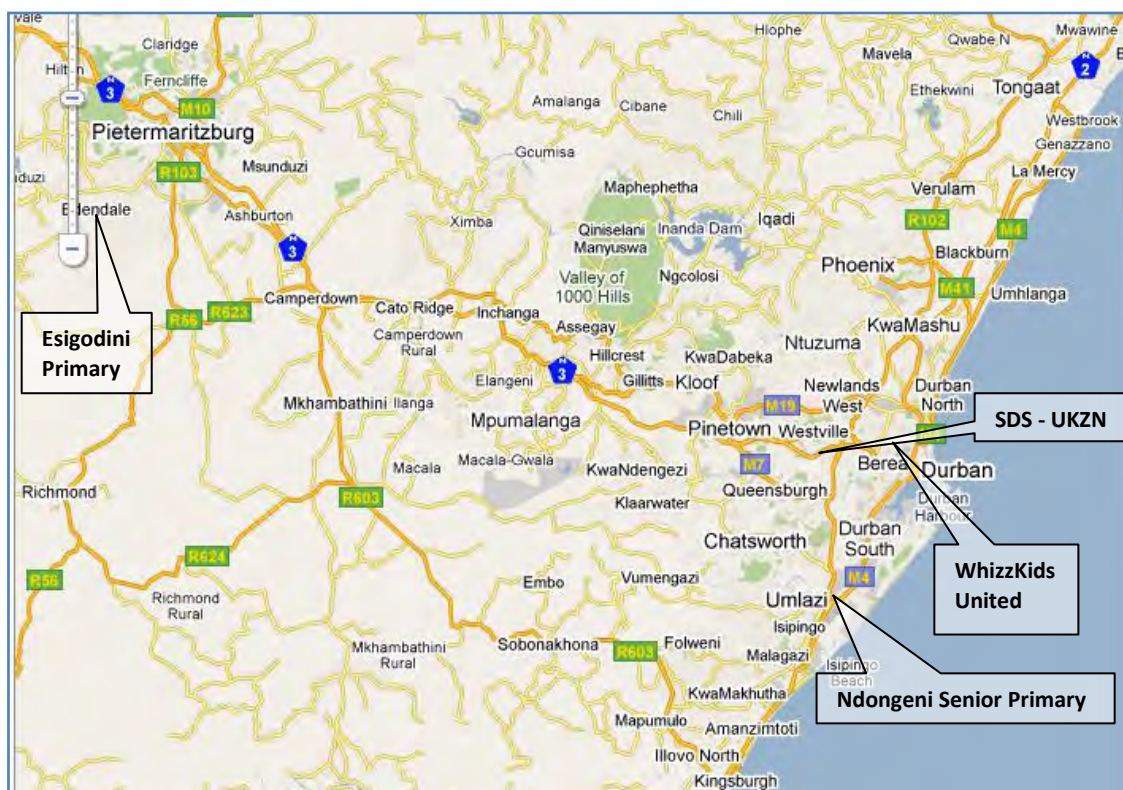
Map 3.2 – Research Site Locations (source: Google maps, 2010)

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, previous participatory experience in Lusaka, Zambia will also be considered for the study.

3.2.1 Research Participants

The focus of the study was mainly the developmental potential and effects amongst participants of football programmes. Unless otherwise specifically classified, it is understood that participants within the context of the current study are children, defined by the UN as human beings below 18 and, youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years of age. In particular, the research will draw from testimonials of mainly children and youth between the ages of 12 and 18 years of age, as well as their educators, carers and programme facilitators.

3.3 Research Questions

In order to make sense of the information gathered, the study investigates the understanding of stakeholder perceptions regarding the validity and/or difficulties of football for development programmes within the communities of Edendale and Umlazi. A broader discussion on the role of football in development is also engaged, particularly in relation to the synergies and/or discrepancies between activities undertaken at the grassroots level and government initiatives surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup to foster development through football.

Two main research questions will therefore be investigated: (1) "*To what extent are Whizz Kids' football programmes in Edendale and Lamontville perceived to contribute to participant and community development?*" and; (2) "*What is the understanding of Whizz Kids stakeholders of the effect of the 2010 FIFA World Cup in bringing about football programmes specifically and development in general in their communities?*" These will be further supported by a set of subsequent questions:

- What do stakeholders think football for development programmes contribute to?
- What are stakeholders' concerns about the way in which football for development programmes are designed and implemented?
- What role, according to stakeholders, does WKU play in delivering development objectives in Edendale and Lamontville, and what are its limitations?
- What role, if any at all, does the 2010 FIFA World Cup play in reinforcing the development impact of football programmes at the grassroots level?
- What do stakeholders think the 2010 FIFA World Cup may contribute to WKU's football programme in their communities?

3.4 Research Methodology

In 1975 John Galtung described the process of development as a consequence of research conducted with people (cited in Swantz, 2008: in Reason and Bradbury, 2008: 32). A concept further propounded by Robert Chambers (1997) in his book *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last*, where emphasis is more on understanding the meaning of change according to those who are to be affected most by the intervention or policy. Fals Borda (cited in Wicks et al., 2008: 16) emphasises the importance of life experiences as an integral part of practice research in "the search for explanations to understand realities and promote social progress". This also allows to "bring to the fore and articulate as policy relevant, the dynamic processes behind vulnerability and persistent poverty" (Booth et al., 1998 cited in Hollard and Campbell, 2005: 22).

Research will therefore be mainly of a *qualitative* nature, *participatory* in its approach and *mixed* in its design. Rooted in the interpretavist school of thought in extrapolating meaning of life experiences which are both a cause and effect of the individual's relationship with society, the research attempts to extrapolate *how* and *why* individuals undergo particular life experiences (in this case participation in sport), and the meaning individuals give to their experiences within the context of their society. According to Hollard and Campbell (2005: 23) a mixed or combined approach "across schools of thought, disciplines, theoretical frameworks, researchers, populations, stakeholders, key informants, methods and data" allow for a stronger understanding and improved trustworthiness of qualitative research. Therefore, where relevant, a deductive or critical approach may be adopted when attempting to test, validate or nullify a particular theory, hypothesis or assumption that has emerged from the literature review or research conducted in the field.

In this relation, data is gathered by using the triangulation of theory, investigation and method, whereby the literature review will mould the foundations of the relevant theories and practice in the field of sports and development; investigation will gather directly participants' perspectives and; the use of both qualitative and quantitative means of inquiry used, where necessary to substantiate evidence and validity of the study. Such information will be supplied through observations (including field notes), participation, interviews (including focus groups) and, questionnaires with the people involved in delivering football-based activities within communities. The use of a triangulated methodology for data and information gathering will also assist in reducing the impact of researcher intrusion and bias in the

responses from participants. In addition, the selection of programmes that have also had prior exposure to foreign volunteers or participants is assumed to help reduce "disturb[ing] or affect[ing] the social environment in any way. Because methods are unobtrusive, participants are unlikely to react to them, and alter their behaviours" (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 159). This methodology will enable the research project to provide first hand information and data on the direct impact of football as a sporting activity on the lives of the participants in the sports programmes – in terms of life-skills development and opportunities and, the spin-off effects these have on their immediate community.

Prior to the commencement of field work, ethical clearance was secured from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethics committee. A series of introductions also took place by e-mail and telephone to programme facilitators assuring legitimacy of the study. Furthermore, consent from educators for site visitations and parents/guardians for children's participation in the study was obtained before any research was conducted. It is worth noting that no parent or guardian refused the participation of their children. Both the school authorities as well as the participants themselves co-operated fully and willingly in the research. In addition, as noted earlier in section 3.2 above, information and data gathered from previous participation, observation and interviews conducted between 2006 and 2008 will be referred to where relevant (see research schedule in appendix 6.4).

3.4.1 Observation

"Observation is, arguably, the most neglected research technique in sport, yet it has a number of advantages" (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 160). Primarily, as briefly mentioned in the paragraph above, it helps reduce respondent bias due to the presence of a foreign participant, therefore reducing the objectivity of the reply and data gathered. Especially amongst children and youth, or where language may be a barrier to communication and explanation of behaviour, observation provides a way to record behavioural patterns without influencing outcomes. Observation may also be recorded directly by the researcher as a participant, and therefore "collect data about his or her own experience" and recorded in field notes (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 160).

3.4.2 Participation

To take the latter point a step further and develop a more in-depth perception of the merits and/or de-merits of sports participation, it is necessary for the researcher to become

more involved in the proceedings of the programme's delivery. Taking a more active role than mere observation through participation, and taking part in delivery and/or execution of particular aspects of a sports programme, enables the researcher to assess (a) the importance of the role of the mentor/tutor or educator in delivering activities and the activity's impact on participants; (b) the responsiveness or engagement of participants in particular activities; (c) reactions to *reflexivity* – distractions, shyness, inhibitions, created by way of presence of the researcher or other *external* factors; (d) the relevance of the context to the implementation of the programme and; (e) engage with the participants and community to establish a meaning to the value of (sport) participation (See Chambers, 1997; Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Gratton and Jones, 2004). Activities carried out range from assisting with organisation of training sessions, games, clearing of football field after training, engaging in informal dialogues with participants and co-ordinators, offering technical and/or personal advice.

3.4.3 Interviews and Focus Groups

Interviews provide a direct and cost effective way to find out information. These may be conducted in numerous ways, such as formal structured, informal non-structured or formal semi-structured to mention but a few. Interviews have the onus of asking questions that uncover the reasoning behind a response or an action, the why and how of behaviour, addressing individual concerns and experiences as well as group interactions with a topic (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 140-157).

Given the right structure, interviews provide the opportunity to build relationships with participants, assessing the language used, tone of voice and body language that surveys do not allow and, therefore enables the researcher to identify grey areas for further probing when responses are vague. This may be of particular use especially when asking questions to children or researching groups where distinct social and cultural differences are evident, such as language, race and, gender (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 140-157).

Focus groups were used to allow participants to discuss issues in a comfortable environment, where interviewee-researcher fear may restrain openness on behalf of the participant. Focus groups were divided between the participants according to gender allowing both boys and girls the freedom from judgement from the opposite gender. Focus groups were also conducted in an open manner allowing the participants to determine the course of the discussion, monitored and facilitated by the researcher and interpreter where required.

Where it was not possible to conduct individual interviews or focus groups, semi-structured, open-ended questionnaires were used. This was the main form of investigating parent/guardian responses due to their limited availability or willingness to talk face-to-face with the researcher. Questionnaires were also used as a first line of investigation prior to conducting interviews or focus groups in order to gather quantitative data on the frequency of responses. Qualitative data therefore complements these results by providing meaning or reason to the numerical values reported (Gratton and Jones, 2004).

Where possible research was conducted in English, with the use of IsiZulu considered when requested by the participants. In the case of the latter an independent translator was used to translate questionnaires and responses thereto. An interpreter was also available to facilitate both the conduct of interviews and focus groups where participants required it in order to facilitate the understanding of the questions posed to them. A total of 60 research participants contributed to the study (see table 3.1 below and appendix 6.4) from two different geographic locations with similar prevailing socio-economic conditions.

	Female	**Male**	**Total**
Children (10 – 18 years)	11	12	**23**
Adults (24 years and above)			
Facilitators	3	3	**6**
Educators	2	2	**4**
Parents	18	5	**23**
Stakeholders	2	2	**4**
Total	**36**	**24**	**60**

Table 3.1 - Composition of research participants

3.5 Validity and relevance

According to Babbie and Mouton (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 328), "[o]ne of the key principles for conducting PAR includes efforts to validate findings with or by participants. This is considered a distinctive value of PAR in that it actually forces researchers to go through a rigorous process of „checking the facts' before any reports are written [...] According to Whyte et al., (1991) facts are checked „with firsthand knowledge' and „important alternative explanations' are recognized."

The use of triangulation allows for internal validity checks whilst external checks could be performed by interacting with participants, formally and informally, on the results observed. Dissemination of the results and further suggestions for improvement to the

programme could be alternative forms of validity checks, the relevance of the suggestions determine the usefulness of the information gathered (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Gratton and Jones, 2004; Hollard and Campbell, 2005).

Questions relating to both HIV/AIDS infection determinants and prevention techniques as well as life-skills knowledge were therefore integrated in all methods of inquiry to ensure information gathered would reflect the impact of the course on both awareness and behavioural change. Questionnaires and interview schedules also reflected on the impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on the participant's perceptions towards the promotion of further football for development programmes and development in their communities.

3.6 Research problems and limitations

WKU courses are held over a 10 week period, therefore time delays in retrieving participation consent forms and constraints related to the school's scheduling of events contributed, in addition to delays in getting overall approval to conduct research, to the inability to conduct pre-course participation interviews and questionnaires with participants and community members as originally intended. It was therefore decided to conduct a desk review of WKU's pre-course questionnaires of participants and follow-up the investigation with post-course questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus groups with participants 3 months after the completion of the course (February 2010) to evaluate the long-term impact of the course's teachings. Attempts at interviewing government, provincial and LOC officials resulted futile. Even e-mail requests were ignored or replied to tentatively with little substance of worth to the research. Whilst disappointing, it also confirms the difficulties in accessing timely and relevant information alluded by respondents in the next chapter.

Ultimately, the intention of this research is to acquire an insight into the meaning and value of football for development programmes to participants and their communities. Whilst being hardly conclusive, the merits of the study are in its understanding of the validity of such programmes given the particular individual and socio-economic context within which programmes are delivered.

4. Research Findings

Soccer is how I learned to live; it's how I found my way through life

Reid Sipes

4.1 Introduction

By way of introduction, the preceding chapters presented the context, objectives, design, methodology and participants of the study. This Chapter will expound on the work of the Africaid trust through an in-depth review of the organisations achievements so far by means of interviews with staff, stakeholders and field work in Edendale and Umlazi. A desk review of WKU evaluations on participant perceptions of football, health and development, was also undertaken. In particular, responses will be assessed according to the significance given to sports, and in particular the WKU programme, within the particular context of the communities visited. This also includes an evaluation of the perceptions of the developmental impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on the lives and communities of respondents. The chapter will conclude with a reflection on the findings in relation to the overall study's objectives which will then be discussed in detail in chapter five.

4.2 Contextualising WKU's football for development programme in the research

WKU was launched in 2006 when the Africaid Trust (the South African manifestation of Africaid UK, an HIV children's charity set up in 2002 under the umbrella of FacilitAid) was registered in South Africa as a non-profit organisation following the roll-out of ARVs in South Africa in 2004 and two years of research into the root causes and impact of HIV/AIDS infection rates, prevalence and treatment in various African countries. Africaid UK has also been working in Ghana since 2003 and Uganda since 2008.

Understanding the need to address prevention rather than treatment (for every one patient treated, ten are infected), WKU was developed to ensure a complimentary programme "founded on the principle that knowledge alone will not prevent HIV! Instead kids are taught life-skills that inform, motivate and influence their behaviour bringing about a positive behavioural change designed to prevent new HIV infections" (Africaid, 2007: 5).

The second key element in the delivery of the WKU programme was the emphasis on ensuring beneficiary enthusiasm, motivation and interest in participating. This was sought through the use of football as a method of instruction that is appealing to children globally

and transcends language, culture, race or nationality. Whilst not the first to adopt football as an educational tool, WKU has been recognised for the adoption of a goal-oriented curriculum establishing long-term objectives and relationships with participants, community stakeholders and policy planners alike (McGilvray interview). Finally, WKU recognises and strives to ensure that shared-responsibility between educators, parents and government is sustained; from the design stages of adequate educational, mainly life orientation or life-skills modules, to the implementation and evaluation of the curricula and activities.

Recognised by the KZN Department of Health, WKU is in the process of developing a Memorandum of understanding with the KZN Department of Education to formally integrate the life-skills programme as part of the local high school's Life Orientation learning outcomes curriculum, specified in the SA national curriculum statement. The programme is constructed on the basis that it complements current activities undertaken within the communities and sustainability. Starting with life-skills development at school the programme proceeds to establish peer educators within the school's social structure and, finally establish publicly accessible health academies for teens and youths in need of counselling, treatment and recreational spaces in a safe and dedicated environment (See Figure 4.1). All three elements form part of the
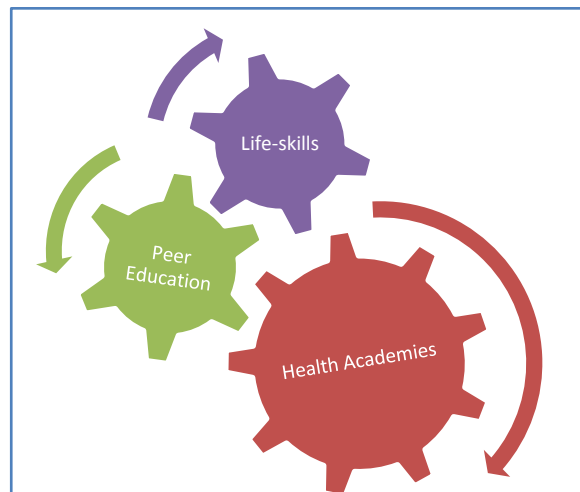
Figure 4.1 - WKU driving components (adapted from Africaid, 2009: 9).

WKU vision to empower participants with the necssary capabilities to determine their own developmental paths, whilst contributing to the betterment of their immediate environments.

4.2.1 Programme design and implementation

The basis for the design and implementation of the WKU programme is found in its reliance on a sound theoretical framework, a key absentee in "the mechanisms by which sport may bring benefits – to whom under what circumstances" (Collins and Kay, 2003: 222). The emphasis is to target the root causes and prevalent circumstances from which the problem persists such as "poor schools, adequate adult skills, lack of job opportunities and childcare, improving health, and providing affordable local leisure activities for children and teenagers"

(Powell et al., 2001: 251 cited in Collins and Kay, 2003: 224). In the case of WKU, the design and delivery of their programmes lend from Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory in their approach to bring about behavioural change within participants and their immediate communities. Focussing on enabling "an HIV/AIDS free generation", the programmes emphasise the need to create outcome expectancies, self-efficacy and goal orientation of participants and, socio-structural facilitation within the communities (McGilvray and Farrar, 2009: 10). The additional pooling of experienced medical practitioners in HIV/AIDS treatment, social workers and football coaches from Africa, Europe and, the United States of America, assists with quality assurance, monitoring and evaluation of the programme's effectiveness.

The core of WKU life-skills programme is delivered over eight sessions totalling twelve hours. Children aged between ten and eighteen are coached to develop personal skills enabling them to recognise and address risky health behaviour or practices by means of specifically designed football exercises that are used as an analogy to real-life situations (Kelly interview). All sessions are conducted by WKU trained facilitators from the locality to ensure linguistic and contextual understanding. In addition, this ensures a transfer of critical skills and know-how to empower community members in the education of family members on HIV/AIDs prevention and healthy living behaviour. A homework booklet is also provided to the children in order for teachers and educators to monitor progress and evaluating student performance. In conjunction with the results obtained from pre- and post- course completion evaluation exercises conducted by WKU. These provide important, first-hand information on the programme's overall efficacy in achieving short and medium-term objectives of knowledge transfer and behavioural change (Farrar interview).

To date, thirteen thousand students have participated and graduated from the programme from five municipalities in KZN (uMgungundlovu, eThekwini, iLembe, uMkhanyakude and, uThungulu). As part of the graduation process from the life-skills programme, a mini world cup tournament is organised bringing together boys and girls in a "celebration of life and achievement" (McGilvray interview). The goal is to deliver life-skills training to ten thousand children in 2010 (Farrar interview, 02/10/2009) and to be working in all of KZN's eleven municipalities by the end of 2011 (Africaid, 2009).

The peer educator programme reinforces the life-skills programme through the further training of top achievers in every class to become role models for fellow students. They are identified and trained to deliver follow-up workshops and deal, as "a first port of call" (Africaid, 2009: 10) with concerns from classmates and friends. Peer educators also form a link between the school establishment, students and counsellors/facilitators, attempting to ensure that issues are identified at source and that those in need receive the appropriate counselling, treatment or support required. As of June 2010, two thousand peer educators have been trained and graduated.

The third component of the WKU strategy comprises the establishment and running of youth centres and health academies. The former providing life-skills training, peer education and counselling for children that have not gone through the WKU at school or who may not attend schools where WKU programmes have been conducted. The first health academy officially opened in Edendale on 1 June 2010. The aim is to provide a one-stop-shop for teenagers who need medical treatment or counselling on health or sexual behaviour. It is also a recreational and learning space for out-of-school children and extra-curriculum activities for WKU programme graduates. The academy also provides a middle ground for adolescents between the age of eighteen and twenty-two who are no longer considered to be children and have access to child/family medical care and counselling, or too young (and vulnerable) to consider adult treatment or counselling. In order to maximise effectiveness, health academies are "guided by an advisory board made up of the children themselves, educators, parents and community members to ensure that specific community needs are accounted for and the necessary precautions taken to provide a healthy and safe environment for the beneficiaries and carers alike" (McGilvray interview).

One of the strengths of the WKU programme stands in the organisation's focus on sustainability. With financial resources remaining the main challenge for any non-profit, non-governmental organisation, the WKU programme has attempted – through its relationship with the provincial education and health departments – to embed its activities in the every-day activities of primary education. Nonetheless, whilst the political commitment by provincial government is crucial for the programmes further roll-out, the financial and technical support of private partners provides the livelihood for the design and delivery of the various components of the WKU programme. WKU's experience in delivering life-skills training and peer education in the UK and, its reliance on an established track record and

partner base, provided the launching pad for the African project. However the involvement of local partners is increasingly important to address the contextual infrastructural, technical and cultural particularities the programme faces.

Table 4.1 below provides an overview of WKU core partners in the delivery of the programme and the main outcomes envisaged from their collaboration. Whilst ensuring the relevant technical, financial, political/policy and administration assistance is provided to run the programme efficiently, increasing targets and expectations from all parties involved, furthers the challenges faced by the organisation.

WKU core partners	Publ or Priv	Type of collaboration				Key Outcomes	Eval
		Medic	Admin	Fin	Pol		
Altech	Priv			✓		Youth centre; Football equipment	✓
FIFA	Priv		✓	✓		FFH strategic alliance; Administration costs;	✓
Oxfam Australia	Priv			✓		Facilitator salaries; Tournaments	✓
Harvard		✓		✓	✓	Programme evaluation	✓
DoE	Publ				✓	Programme roll-out in all KZN schools (tbc)	
DoH	Publ	✓	✓		✓	Staffing of Health Academy	
SFW	Priv/NGO		✓		✓	Network member, funding and partnership facilitator	✓
Clarence High School	Publ/Priv		✓			Provision on Office facilities	
Community members	Priv				✓	Programme design advice & consultation	✓
AMREF	Priv		✓	✓		Programme Partner in Jozini	✓
One 2 One Children's Fund	Priv			✓		Programme partner in Rustenburg. Expanding into Eastern Cape	✓
Abbott	Priv			✓		Health Academy construction and WKU UK	✓
Victor Diatz Foundation	Priv			✓		Health Academy Construction	
DoS&R (tbc)	Publ			✓	✓	Funding of pitch at Health Academy	
UCT	Publ/Priv	✓		✓		Health Academy evaluation	✓
UKZN	Publ/Priv	✓				Health Academy Evaluation	✓
Life Channel	Priv			✓		Funding partner in UK	
Meal a Day	Priv			✓		Feeding at Youth Centre, equipment for health academy	
Sony	Priv		✓			Provision of equipment	

Table 4.1 - WKU Core programme partners and outcomes (Adapted from Africaid, 2009)

The involvement of community stakeholders remains limited to their voluntary participation in an advisory capacity during the various programme design and delivery processes; however concrete buy-in is yet to be established formally (Farrar interview). This is hardly due to a lack of interest, even though also a challenge, but is mainly due to the lack of financial resources, time constraints and family obligations community members face.

Collins and Kay (2003: 222) point out that it is inevitably difficult to measure "social policy areas [...] with the same levels of proof as laboratory research". To this end WKU has, through its programme design and strategic partnerships introduced a system of monitoring and evaluation that would evaluate, as much as possible, the efficacy and sustainability of their activities. As mentioned earlier, pre- and post- course questionnaires are compiled by programme participants to monitor progress in terms of sexual behaviour, HIV/AIDS awareness and skills development. The programme's training manual and facilitator's training programme is updated at regular intervals to take into consideration elements of both "place and people policies" (Collins and Kay, 2003). This ensures that planning processes for the regeneration of underprivileged areas are not mismatched with low utility or interest rates in the project. On the other hand, it assures that any services offered are actually required by the targeted population group.

4.3 Presentation of data

Responses were coded thematically consistent with their similarity in meaning and inference (see Biddle et al., 2001 and Roberts et al., 2001, cited in Gratton and Jones, 2004: 222) as well as, the research's objectives as defined in the preceding chapters. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 below present overviews of the responses gathered from all methods of inquiry related to the developmental impact of WKU's football programmes and the World Cup.

From table 4.2 it can be noted that overall, research participant perceptions establish WKU's positive contribution to the developmental path of individual participants and the communities they belong to. This is especially visible in the replies penned by parents, educators and programme facilitators to questions set-out to them in questionnaires. The respondents listed "keeping young people out of bad habits", "providing a safe environment for recreation and learning" and "adopting healthier lifestyles" as the main reasons for their approval of the programme. Participants on the other hand listed "becoming a better person for my family and community" and "meeting people that may help me in life" as their main

reasons for the programme's success. Boys also tended to list the learning of "football skills" as key lessons of the programme. Girls, on the other hand highlighted "HIV/Aids awareness" and "life-skills development" as the key messages they took in.

Thematic Responses	Attitude		Gender		Stakeholders			
	+ve	-ve	M	F	Participant	Parent	Educator	Policy
Personal development								
1. Health	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
2. Self-esteem	✓			✓	✓	✓		
3. Education	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Empowerment opportunities	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	
Social development								
1. Gender equality	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
2. Community integration	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		
3. Crime prevention	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Infrastructure & Services	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓
Economic development								
1. Job opportunities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
2. Developing local enterprise	✓	✓				✓	✓	
3. Reduced mortality rates	✓			✓			✓	
4. Skills & capabilities	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
National development								
1. National Unity	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2. Trade and Investment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
3. Tourism	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
4. Environment	✓			✓				✓

Table 4.2 –Thematic categorisation of stakeholder responses to developmental impact of WKU's football programme

In relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup table 4.3 reveals that replies were much less consistent and varied greater between those responding positively and negatively to the tournament's impact on both individual and communal development. With a certain element of consistency between respondents, the tournament is seen as positive in terms of its image promotion and unifying forces amongst the population. However, it also confirms much of the uncertainty on the tangible benefits of the tournament, especially in underprivileged communities. Whilst infrastructural improvements in more urban and commercial areas were acknowledged as beneficial and needed, no knowledge of infrastructural improvements in respondent's communities emerged from the replies provided. None of the respondents were aware of any World Cup-related legacy projects being planned by the municipality, the province or, national government. Only parents of those children who attended the opening of FIFA's first FfH centre in Khayelitsha were in fact aware of any FIFA, SAFA or LOC World Cup-related legacy projects. The same was recorded for the potential impact on jobs,

business, trade and tourism, which was envisaged to be potentially positive for the country, but exuded little confidence of having any significant impact within their communities.

Thematic Responses	Attitude		Gender		Stakeholders			
	+ve	-ve	M	F	Participant	Parent	Educator	Policy
Personal development								
1. Health	✓			✓				✓
2. Self-esteem	✓			✓	✓			✓
3. Education	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Empowerment opportunities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Social development								
1. Gender equality								
2. Community integration	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
3. Crime prevention				✓				✓
4. Infrastructure & Services	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Economic development								
1. Job opportunities	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Developing local enterprise	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
3. Reduced mortality rates								
4. Skills & capabilities	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
National development								
1. National Unity	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2. Trade and Investment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3. Tourism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4. Environment	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓

Table 2.3 - Thematic categorisation of stakeholder responses to developmental impact of the 2010 football World Cup

Respondents were overwhelmingly positive about the World Cup's potential impact on national integration and unity. However, reservations about the tournament's impact on bridging race-wealth differences remained. This is based on the perceptions that only the wealthy will benefit from any economic opportunities, a message that coheres with those reviewed in the literature presented in chapter two. Repeated responses revealed predominantly negative attitudes towards any likely economic spill-over or trickle-down effect from the tournament reaching their communities.

4.4 Goal or Own Goal? How football scores for development

This next section presents the research's findings according to the thematic categorisation of responses reproduced above. The meaning of sport, its benefits and constraints to participant and community development will, therefore, be extracted from an interpretation of individual and collective responses. These will then be reviewed in relation to Bourdieu's, Putnam's and Sen's interpretation of the individual and communal aspects of

football within already existing social structures that hinder or enable personal development already touched upon in chapter one.

4.4.1 Personal development

Notions of personal development are both subjective and closely tied to those of circumstantial relativity, especially in development politics and economics. As described in chapter one, Sen's capability approach concerns itself with the empowerment of cognitive or physical skills, attributes that allow the individual to enhance his or her own opportunities for development; to emerge from a contextual (or circumstantial) environment of unfreedom based on his or her newly-acquired capabilities. Whilst also acknowledging the presence of a more absolute threshold of unfreedom within which a large number of people find themselves, it is hardly the intention of this study to delve into such absolute definitions and remedies. The focus on self-determination is paramount in the WKU programme to nurture what Mwaanga (2010: 64) considers "perceptions of [personal] empowerment, physical capacities and wider social control". However, the author further cautions that empowerment – especially through sports – should not be limited to developing mere emotional or psychological perceptions of achievement and success, but rather contribute to "addressing how groups [and individuals] can increase access to resources that in turn increase control of aspects that matter in their lives, such as addressing poverty"(Mwaanga, 2010: 64).

From the interviews and questionnaires carried out, financial limitation is a major element of unfreedom for the respondents. Both in terms of WKU programme participation and attendance at World Cup matches, finance tops the list of constraints to their accessibility. In this context respondents identified football as a means by which to free themselves of such constraints. This was mainly prevalent amongst male learner respondents who saw football as a future employment sector within which one may plough their trade and earn a living from it. Parents were cautious over the possible generation of economic development by the World Cup's legacy which may catalyse wide-spread job possibilities for them, enabling their children to access a wider variety of educational and professional opportunities.

Even though statements during individual interviews and questionnaires were, by-and-large, more simplistic, from observations and focus group discussions (especially with children), it emerged that their motivations and aspirations to succeed in their chosen

career path are strongly related to some direct and indirect lessons learnt from sporting practices. This was particularly evident in relation to those lessons emphasising the need and importance to strategise and plan in order to achieve goals. Both male and female respondents used the analogy of trying to shoot a goal through a number of defenders as both an obstacle caused by HIV/AIDS infection, but also a lack of (life-) skills and support structures to overcome the challenges they faced on a daily basis within their communities.

Especially for girls it has nurtured a conscientious awakening of their rights as an individual partner in personal relationships and as participants in social activities such as football. However, the perpetuation of a patriarchal society in South Africa, which is all the more evident in rural, less developed communities, remains a challenge for young girls and women, at home, at school and in social circles[23]. Nonetheless, over half of female respondents confirmed that their participation in the WKU programme had made them more aware of their own aspirations and instilled confidence in achieving their objectives in life.

The majority of respondents also listed the respect for others and "meeting with people who could help in life" as other elements emerging strongly from their programme participation. Whilst much of the inference is related to the facilitators conducting the course, recognition of the need to "work as a team" has contributed to lifting self-esteem and relevance within the context of their role as a team member. Whilst female participants still felt relatively marginalised by their male counterparts on the field of play, the latter – even though not necessarily openly admitting it – realised the added value of female team members during a game, especially if they wanted to win. During graduation football tournaments, it was recognised that those teams who did include their female team players were, in the end, more successful in achieving their goals.

Finally and possibly more pronounced was the admission by all respondents that participation in the WKU programme had led to a better understanding of physical health and their personal relation with their own bodies. All parent respondents credit sport participation with healthier lifestyles and improved attitudes towards school, their families, chores and

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[23] This was more evident amongst female participants of the BSA football programme in Lusaka, Zambia which, unlike WKU, is an out-of-school programme. This requires further time and financial resources for girls to participate, creating tensions and conflicts over their role and responsibilities within their family structures. See also Saavedra (2003); Meier (2005) on women and footbal; See Malherbe et al., (2009) for the role of women in society.

social relations. Over three quarters of learner respondents concurred, adding that in many ways the care they show for their own physical image has contributed to enhancing their respect for others'. Both male and female respondents highlighted this in relation to (risky) sexual behaviour and the right to refuse sex, drugs, alcohol and cigarettes.

4.4.2 Social development

In chapter one it was argued that sport could therefore be seen as both a means to an end or an end in itself through the participation of individuals as agents of change or as a product of change. Collins and Kay (2003: 230) re-iterate this point through their assessment of "Bourdieu's concept of individual social capital and Putnam's of communal social capital [which, when] brought together, people may choose to gather social capital in both forms as skills and contributions, as consumers and clients and active members".

During observation and participation it was noted that participants as well as other observers became mutually reinforcing agents of the change process happening on the field, as much as they were beneficiaries. The interactions between participants on the field built bridges where divisions existed (especially between boys and girls) through the support one offered the other during the course of the game in order to achieve the set objectives. To those less skilled, new techniques were imparted which would enable better participation in activities next time round. In the words of one teacher, this exchange of know-how and participation is important as without it "most of the youth end up doing wrong because they cannot identify their talent if there are no development programmes" (Teacher 1 interview). With an increased collective capacity therefore, scoring a goal becomes more likely, enthusiasm and motivation elevated and, participation more vigorous.

Two parents interviewed stated that following their child's participation in the WKU programme, other parents were interested in signing-up their own children to participate: "sport is important for achieving goals in life. It is good to be part of something they are interested in; it is important for the development of social skills" (Parent 2 interview). Speaking on the experience of her son's involvement with WKU a mother emphasised the contextual relevance of football to the children of her community "it is like staple food" (Parent 1 interview) and as such it should be made available to all. "It exposes them to many beautiful things [but] the most important is that it focuses on what they [participants] actually need based on their own thoughts and opinions" (Parent 1 interview).

There was, nonetheless a clear call for more action, particularly in relation to establishing long-term legacy projects in their communities that focus on monitoring behaviour (especially in relation to crime), education and essential infrastructure and services. Whilst the majority of respondents identified government (at the various levels) ultimately responsible for such developments, disillusionment in their timely delivery means that NGOs like WKU are called upon to take the lead with such initiatives in close consultation with community members and politicians. "Trust is very important to build social networks and relations" (Parent 2 interview) especially if buy-in by community members in terms of time as well as money is to be leveraged. Through the establishment of youth centres in communities WKU has built a level of trust that leaves community members confident in the activities suggested, but communication of planned projects, their objectives and running is not forthcoming enough. It is a role and concern that WKU acknowledges as important but for which its resources limit the extent of its coverage and capacity to administer efficiently. The reverse side of the coin is a feeling of exclusion or resentment even, by those not involved in the process, leading to the creation of new social divisions or the reinforcement of already existing ones. The latter point is a concept that figures predominantly in Bourdieu's perception of *habitus* and the influence of social structures on the individual as well as collective meaning of sport. This perception is highly relevant in South Africa where participation in certain sports codes is still considered to be socially defined according to race or ethnicity, with football a predominantly black sport and rugby predominantly white.

With this in mind, the perceptions of respondents to the 2010 FIFA World Cup are of significant relevance to social development. From the personal, to the community to the national level, public perception is that the World Cup is a "unique", "once in a life time", "exciting" experience that they want to be part of in some way or another, generating sentiments of individual, communal and national pride and unity. Nonetheless, there is no illusion amongst respondents that the World Cup is the panacea to all their troubles. Younger respondents, whilst optimistic in hinging their hopes for increased revenue, job opportunities and social interactions from, amongst other things, tourism inflows, are still aware that it is unlikely for said tourists to visit or even house themselves in the poorer communities and townships where they reside. This latter sentiment is reflected in their elders' cynicism on how big a slice of the cake will the poorer communities in the country actually get to taste, if at all. However, none of those interviewed had any direct or indirect involvement with World

Cup preparations, nor have they seen any particular developments – apart from those concerning training grounds and their immediate precincts – within their communities. As one parent commented, "attention is concentrated in the suburbs. They [government, the OC, FIFA] should remember to look at the children in the townships" (Parent 1 interview).

In an interview with one eThekwini official, the contrary was stated and municipality investments are said to go beyond the urban precinct; upgrading of roads, sport facilities and greening projects are underway in poorer areas like Kwamashu, Umlazi and Clermont (Bannister interview). Also "[w]herever possible, local labour and sub-contractors based in each community [are used], thereby making use of local skills and, given the scope of work, increasing the skills base" (eThekwini Municipality, 2010).

The main problem therefore seems to be a lack of accessible "information about legacy projects and what will happen afterwards" (Parent 2 interview), adding "fear" and resentment within social structures in certain poorer communities. As a result protests by disenchanted residents against government failure to ensure an equitable World Cup, "caring only for the rich" (Pillay, 2010) whilst basic service delivery and infrastructure have been replaced by multi-billion rand football stadiums, have become daily features on the news. One disheartened mother's claim that "FIFA is only here by name and the community benefits from the World Cup is [sic] just a tale" epitomises these and other concerns that will be discussed further below.

4.4.3 Economic development

There are a number of concerns about the economic implications of sports programmes in LDC. These issues are also heightened within the confines of national boundaries where large disparities are often visible in the quality of infrastructure and services available to richer and poorer suburbs, districts and provinces. As Andreff (2005: 1) synthesises, the slogan:

> "*No queremos goles, queremos frijoles* (we do not want goals, we want beans) [...] painted on a Mexico stadium during the Football World Cup in 1986 [...] expresses the economic dilemma that sport has to cope with in developing countries. Sport events and sport teams cannot make people forget underdevelopment, poverty, hunger and illiteracy. Whatever is stated in the policy declarations of the government, sport is

neither a top priority in the state budget, nor a pillar of the country's education system, in any developing country"

This thought trend emanated strongly from the research conducted amongst respondents living in or, nearby informal settlements, townships or underprivileged communities. Both young and older respondents highlighted the need to "feed the poor" whilst at the same time praising the architectural attributes of the new Moses Mabhida stadium in Durban. It is within this contradictory dilemma that the economics of sports development in South Africa is presented here. The debate has deeper rooted implications for macro-economic policy which, since 1994, has been undergoing perpetual processes of review and scrutiny in order to "get the basics right" for the equitable empowerment of those still suffering from the effects of apartheid, whilst on the other hand, prioritising "the interests of economic growth and acceptance into a neoliberal world order" (Desai, 2010: 3).

The main dilemma faced by political and economic leaders behind the South African transformation project was more complicated than a mere battle of semantics[24] on whether redistribution should come before growth or not. The eventual choice to move from reconstruction and development in 1994 to a growth oriented strategy in 1996, exemplified the level of political and stakeholder influences prevalent at the time, resulting in little „trickle-down' to the poor to date (Desai, 2010). The decision to use the 2010 World Cup to spur growth as a „catalyst' for development rather than invest directly in improving township conditions, has therefore come under close scrutiny. Toursim KwaZulu-Natal (2010) reckons little immediate economic benefits for the poor will be seen following the event, but remains confident, that investments in improved rail and inner-city transport facilities, sports precincts and security will contribute – in the long run – to improve overall living conditions for the province (Tourism KwaZulu-Natal, 2010).

Nonetheless, confidence is low amongst community-based respondents, as signs of improvements to their surroundings as a result of sports-based investments are lacking. Where these had been implemented in the past, one parent noted "it was quickly taken over by vandalism and shut down". The main reason for this was discontent in the first place for its very construction; "government needs to listen more carefully to what its people say [they

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[24] This is based on conference proceedings held at the Graduate School of Business at the University of Kwazulu-Natal in September 2009. See also Bond (1997).

need]" (Parent 2 interview). This feeling of disenfranchising by officialdom reverberates amongst the respondents, with few actually expecting any improvement of their personal and communal conditions following the end of the tournament. None of the respondents indicated any expectations of personal improvements in their immediate future, with few hazarding a guess on the likely improvements of conditions at the communal level. Such fears are corroborated by studies conducted by Baade and Matheson (2004), Hagn (2007), du Plessis and Maennig (2007; 2009) amongst others, whereby the envisaged economic benefits from developments surrounding sports events such as the 2010 World Cup are considered to be well over stated, increasingly so for the poor.

Opinions however, differ when discussing the implementation of grassroots projects and programmes like WKU. All respondents see such programmes as good examples of local empowerment opportunities through the capability development of participants and mobilisation of community members and resources. All respondents encouraged their further appearance, however how they should be designed and implemented, in a way that as many people as possible can benefit, remains an issue of concern to community members. This is seen as necessary "in developing community identity and capacity to take action and change [...] giving power to local community groups and giving participants a say in how local opportunities are managed" (Long and Sanderson, 2002: 8). Apart from direct employment of community members, there is also an economic value to the learning of skills learnt from working within sports for development programmes which need to be accounted for by programme and policy evaluators. This is indeed also an argument offered by the organisers of the world cup in retaliation to the construction of stadia around the country. There construction workers were not only paid regular salaries but also given highly-technical and useful training that would "look well on their CVs" following the completion of the stadia.

A further benefit highlighted by parents and community members was the exposure of their children to opportunities that may emanate from „networking' or rubbing shoulders with people from the sports industry[25]. Since their graduation from the WKU life-skills programme, a number of children have either been flown to Cape Town for the opening of the new FIFA Football for Hope centre in Khayelitsha, selected to play in the World Cup

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[25] The use of the term industry in this context is not limited to the private or commercial sector, but rather as a broader, all-encompassing definition of actors involved in the sports code including coaches, NGOs, etc.

football festival in Johannesburg, or won tickets to watch World Cup matches. In the words of one of the selected respondents "seeing my favourite hero play is priceless!"

4.4.4 National development

Chapter one underpinned development within the context of this research, as a process that concentrated on localising efforts at the grassroots level. Starting with the empowerment of individuals to that of community regeneration, the bottom-up approach envisaged has as its main objective (i) the targeting of root causes for underdevelopment and, (ii) the gradual scaling-up of the developmental ladder of recipients. Sport and particularly the WKU programme is one component of the bottom-up approach. On the other hand, the World Cup is a form of top-down policy strategy attempting to boost development through large scale capital investment projects that may impact positively on tourism and international trade. The pertinence of this to the research stands in the respondent's perceptions of the nature and extent of their contributions to national development.

In terms of grassroots initiatives, respondents envisaged the contribution of the WKU programme as complimentary to national development through the empowerment of the individuals participating in the programme. In turn, the potential for these kids to "become something" as a result is beneficial both for the community as well as national economy. The children themselves envisage becoming teachers, doctors, social workers with the ultimate objective being, as one particular student claimed, "to support those in need". Parents and educators mentioned improved health conditions, which meant less, would be spent on medical and health care; skills development to access jobs and reduce reliance on social welfare; taking kids of the streets reduces criminal activities allowing communities to prosper from improved social conditions and possible local business investments. Additionally, for those children who managed to participate in FIFA sponsored events - through their involvement with WKU - it presented them with the opportunity to be seen as representing their community and country on the field of play and TV, which "may inspire like-minded children nationwide to do the same" (Parent 2 interview). However, parents are also aware of the possible conflicts it may generate between those who do and those who do not manage to

get on the team, resulting in vindictive retaliation on their own children and locations where programmes are conducted.[26] As Long (2002: 8) details,

> "[t]here is clearly a need for careful evaluation research to investigate the potential role of community-based sport in social renewal. Such research should be focused on local schemes, involving initial baselining, tracking of effects over an extended time period, coupled with in-depth qualitative investigation and informed by a broad conceptual framework of the potential economic and social benefits from sport. Over time this would provide a firmer basis for developing local policies for community sport and leisure in the context of broader regeneration strategies."

On FIFA's announcement that South Africa would be hosting the 2010 World Cup one of the viewers of the live broadcast in Ellis Park in Johannesburg screamed "it's bigger than the elections!"[27] Whether or not that same gentleman still thinks the same way today I don't know, however when answering to the question "is the World Cup good for South Africa?", perceptions amongst respondents indicated overall optimism especially with regards to confirming South African identity, national unity (in rallying behind Bafana Bafana) and, building of a positive image for foreign visitors. The latter most often followed by the classification "for tourism", "for business" or "for the economy". In the words of Horne and Manzenreiter (2006b: 129), "This indicates how the hosting of a major sporting event provokes a certain reflection on the subject of national identity, provoking the opportunity for a reassessment of self-image with a view to re-branding the country on the global market".

To Alegi (2002) this is tantamount to "playing to the gallery" through the corruption of local and national qualities and values as they are replaced with aspiration transcended by the imagery of foreign Mecca's of hope, prosperity and success. He further stipulates elsewhere (Alegi, 2010) that this aspiration has undermined the political and economic rationale, as well as obligations, behind public policy in Africa; this is no more visible than in the choice to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The purpose of which being an inherent need to

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[26] This comment was made by a couple of parents, (i) in relation to a community youth centre that was vandalised and closed due to restrictions on admission of certain patrons and, (ii) in relation to sentiments of jealousy by community children at the participation of a youth at a FIFA sponsored event in Cape Town in December 2009.

[27] Comment made by Peter Alegi during a seminar on "African Soccerscapes" at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban – 03/03/2010.

rekindle Africa's renaissance and boot-out "stereotyped images of Africa as a primitive, tribal, wild, sick, conflict-ridden, chaotic place populated by kleptocratic tyrants and faceless victims in need of Western help" (Alegi, 2010: 130) according to rules imposed by the "hegemony of modern values or of the more industrialized societies in the ordering of nations on the global stage" (Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006b: 130). To Alegi (2007: 1), this comes at a cost and not as a benefit, to local grassroots development programmes, as it tends to divert more than contribute to the rolling-out of "the grassroots game".

When questioned why the World Cup is an important incentive the majority of respondents stated that it was because football was important to South Africans, especially in the townships. Others also went further in stating that it was an opportunity to get the house in order since years of bad governance had still not delivered appropriate services and infrastructure for them. It was also considered a form of government management accountability in front of the rest of the world; "I hope they [foreigners] come and see how we live, so they can go back and tell their friends and families about it" claimed one student. This echoes the thoughts of many in South Africa that have claimed they would use the media frenzy circulating the event to voice their concerns over failed governance in the hope that someone will eventually listen.

And if the World Cup is a success? Opinions are still divided: one respondent claimed "I am hopeful that after, beyond 2010, from the tax that will come from all these things, the prices, [charged by] like SAA, [for] the shirts - SA jerseys, the tax will come with a miracle of money that will help all those people that are suffering. Maybe the government will have money after the World Cup. Maybe he [the government] can help us who are poor". On the other hand, a second community member opined that "the only people who are going to benefit are the people who are already in business ... and its not accommodating the poor South Africans. To me bringing the World Cup to SA was a selfish thinking of some other people who are going to be rich by bringing the World Cup here but otherwise it is not helping poor South Africans. So I think we stand a 50-50% chance." On whether they were aware of any World Cup-related legacy projects, only those community members and stakeholders actually working in the field of football for development knew of certain projects such as FIFA's FfH programme or the 1 Goal: Education for all campaign. Details of future government or SAFA football for development specific programmes were not known

by the majority of respondents though, which was considered to be a major problem in leveraging support for the promotion and wide-spread delivery of such programmes.

4.5 Conclusion

The attention given to the end beneficiaries rather than strict objectives in the bottom-up approach adopted by WKU is reflected in the differentiated understanding of the perceived benefits of the programme on development. The qualitative nature of the research also lends to the variegated meanings behind the interpretations provided by respondents, as these are symptomatic of their individual context, influences and bias. Whilst making it difficult to ascertain conclusively the absolute worth of WKU's programme (the limited number of respondents do not permit this), it is relevant in extracting the values given to elements of the programme's curriculum both by what is said, as well as by what is not.

Activities on the field revealed aspects of the course instruction that was not mentioned by the respondents in interviews or questionnaires, especially amongst boys in connection to their relationship with girls during a game. Whilst few male respondents highlighted the respect of girls on the field, in practice attitudes proved otherwise. Whether or not this was merely to achieve their goals (literally) or in the name of team-spirit, cannot be established across the board, but was most definitely experienced.

One concern raised frequently in this connection, especially by parents and community members, was the sustainability of the programmes and how to monitor or ensure that these lessons learnt will not be quickly forgotten the moment „school is out'? It is obvious that WKU cannot work in a political and social vacuum; government and community buy-in is essential for the programme's merits to extend beyond the confines of the football pitch. The importance of equitable and targeted distribution of resources based on needs assessments rather than top-down outcome objectives (as is current policy within government), is an auspicious but necessary consideration. Appropriate information and communication with community members, NGOs and practitioners of policy decisions, funding opportunities and development plans is something "we keep wondering about [but] not knowing/having direction [it is difficult] to start challenging for your goals" (WKU Facilitators focus group).

5. Analysis and Next Steps

> *The first FIFA World Cup ever on African soil is to kick-off.*
> *The opportunity could not be bigger to create a meaningful synergy*
> *between the different actors in development through sport in*
> *general, and football in particular.*
>
> Wilfried Lemke

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter will conclude the study by assessing the results from fieldwork reported in the previous chapter against the study's intentions set out in the introduction. The main purpose is to understand the contextual significance of the design and implementation of WKU's football programmes and their contribution – if any at all – to the development of participants and their immediate communities as defined in chapter two. It will also evaluate respondent's considerations of the impact of the 2010 FIFA World Cup on the delivery of WKU's programme and development in their communities and South Africa.

5.2 Implications for football as a development tool

This section will address the implications of the replies for football as a development tool, whether as a means to an end or as an end in itself. The first key research question asked at the beginning of the study concerned stakeholders' perceptions of the extent to which Whizzkids' football programmes in Edendale and Lamontville contributed to participant and community development. The objective was two-fold: (i) to assert the effectiveness of WKU programmes in delivering development through football and; (ii) understanding the validity of football programmes as both a means and an end to development.

In terms of the former objective, perceptions amongst respondents – both participants and community members – were overwhelmingly favourable of the design and methodology of implementation. Reservations, especially amongst participants, were voiced with regards to the length, location and facilities/facilitators. Similar trends were visible regarding the legacy or follow-up to the programme. Opinions differed somewhat however with regards to the focus of the programme's content. Overall, perceptions are such that can suggest a positive outlook to the implementation of such programmes.

However, as far as the programme's validity as a developmental tool, it cannot be underlined strongly enough that much of the success lies in the capacity of the organisation to

deliver a programme that meets the community's needs (and that of its participants – in this case HIV/AIDS education). In addition, the construction of a social bond based on mutual trust enables positive interactions with the community that is then translated into an effective partnership that monitors the programme's implementation, evaluates the outcomes and suggests recommendations for its improvement.

The responses provide an interesting picture of the structurisation of football development programmes as well as their expected objectives and outcomes. Table 5.1 presents these in the form of a response-based SWOT analysis, summarising key strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the delivery of football for development programmes.

Football for development SWOT analysis	
Strengths	**Weaknesses**
✓ Allows the implementation of evidence-based contextual activities together with community; ✓ Adopts a qualitative, normally rights-based, approach to programme design and implementation; ✓ Establishes strong bonds on the basis of common qualitative objectives and outcomes; ✓ Bridges socio-economic differences based on class, gender, ethnicity, education; ✓ Develops individual capabilities through direct interventions and developmental processes.	- Difficult to assess the impact of development as benefit values are generally subjective; - Non-reproducible: specific to geographic location, resource availability, timing, partners and design; - Output/outcome targets are generally quantitative, failing to monitor qualitative improvements; - Generally lacks continued financial resources and qualified/skilled staff – dependent on volunteers; - Limited monitoring and evaluation capability and resources (time consuming and technical)
Opportunities	**Threats**
✓ Provides community members to engage in public processes and build social networks on the basis of their needs and resource availability; ✓ Active engagement of beneficiaries in outcomes; ✓ Flexible in design and delivery approaches; ✓ Builds partnerships between public/private, local/ municipal levels of decision-making; ✓ Stimulates a culture of accountability through participant/community buy-in	! May enhance socio-economic exclusion and divides based on non/participation in programmes ! Value and outcomes are subjective and therefore not easily referenced or replicated; ! Dependent on active involvement of community members – could lead to significant delays; ! Could threaten political leadership or entice co-option by local leadership; ! Inconsistent flow of resources (all types);

Table 5.1 – Response-based SWOT analysis of football for development programmes

It highlights that football, as a construct of society has proven to be a crucial element in the formulation of identities; allowing participants and fans a voice with which to develop personal capacities, as well as bring to the fore individual and social grievances. It has also cautioned the overzealous proliferation of sports programmes implemented as „white elephants' as without the proper guidance of expert staff, it may also instigate or reinforce potentially new and divisive animosities between certain social groupings. At this stage there is little to testify in favour of the positive spill-over effect of international tournaments such

as the World Cup on the delivery of locally-based football programmes, as both the staff at WKU, participants and community members (of this particular programme) have yet to see any real increases in support, whether technical, physical or financial. It is therefore important to clarify the classification of football programmes, at the various levels of implementation, according to their focus, their intended purposes and, resources required for their implementation at the time of their design. This contributes to attracting community buy-in through their engagement in the „ownership' of resources (inputs) and results (outcomes) in a sustainable manner.

5.3 The World Cup and development

During the past 12 months that the research has been developing, not a day went by that the 2010 FIFA World Cup was not mentioned. This was particularly true in relation to Bafana Bafana's performance on the field of play and the tournament's contribution to the country's developmental path, as well as, the regeneration of underprivileged communities. In relation to the first issue the study does not provide any relevant insight, apart from the unilateral confirmation of respondent's support for the national team as well as rallying national unity. Concerning the tournament's scope in using football as a driver of development, responses to the study's second key question resulted to be predominantly distrustful of such a premise. The main reasons behind this were qualified as being due to the lack of appropriate information, as well as the feeling of disenfranchisement of poorer communities with regard to development policy in general. None of the respondents noted any particular development project within their communities during the last 12 months. Most only considered the new Moses Mabhida football stadium in Durban and road infrastructure as the main physical legacy of the tournament. Only one parent mentioned knowledge of a community project, which later turned out to be a private sector initiative.

As such, football, development and, the 2010 FIFA World Cup seems to be a line-up that has yet to deliver the anticipated results. Whilst the refurbishment of stadiums, construction of new public infrastructure and, the *Win in Africa with Africa* programme are all considered to be 2010 legacy projects, there seems to be a key failure in the way such messages are being delivered to the general public. Responses dictate that more needs to be done to (a) inform the public about the real legacy of the tournament and, (b) ensure that the „trickle-down effect' of the World Cup actually reaches the people who need it most. The call for more sustainable jobs rather than game tickets or short-term contractual work was what is

really needed according to some concerned construction workers at the new Soccer City football stadium in Johannesburg in May 2010[28].

Attempts at contacting officials from government's sports and recreation department, the KZN province, SAFA and the LOC on matters relating to plans to develop sports infrastructure and World Cup legacy projects have proven to be relatively futile. Requests for information on the allocation of financial resources to the LOC/SAFA from FIFA for the tournament's preparation and respective legacy programmes have also produced no official responses. Figures included in this study have therefore been collated from various secondary sources in order to ensure as close a representation as possible to actual amounts disbursed in the process[29]. The reflections that follow also take these limitations into account.

5.4 Next Steps: Reflections on research outcomes for football for development programme interventions and policy

The research undertaken has uncovered a number of important characteristics of sports for development programmes which are noteworthy for their further effective implementation and wide-spread use. Amongst these characteristics are those that concern inputs and those that relate to outputs which, whilst distinctively different from both a resource and definition point of view, are closely inter-related and cannot be taken independently of each other and addressed separately (See also Collins and Kay, 2003). Key understanding of the distinctions between semantically similar indicators such as output and outcome and their usage is, as figure 5.1 demonstrates, the correlation between inputs, outputs and outcomes and their interaction with the socio-economic context within which the sports programme is implemented, and the relevance each has to programme's evaluation.

The lack of theorisation "of the mechanisms by which sport may bring benefits – to whom, under what circumstances" (Collins and Kay, 2003) is further highlighted by some of the responses, especially in relation to the way World Cup-related projects may contribute to

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[28] These comments were made during the presentation of „symbolic' World Cup game tickets to site workers on World Cup stadia by Danny Jordaan as part of the LOC's and FIFA's committment to ensuring accessibility to the tournament of some of the porrest people in the country. Tickets were made available in August 2009 following the establishment of a ticket fund by FIFA, the LOC and SAFA in collaboration with the Wrld Cup's official partners and sponsors. In total 120,000 tickets will be distributed.
[29] This includes contributions to SAFA for football development schemes under the FAP, GOAL programme, Win in Africa with Africa and other programmes supported by FIFA (2006; 2007b; 2008). To date it is estimated that FIFA's total contribution to South Africa is just over US \$1bn which includes the US \$523 million recently confirmed by FIFA Secretary-General Jerome Valcke, paid directly to the LOC (BBC, 2010).

development. However, as Humphrey and Tomlinson (1986) observe, whilst important, theory is not necessarily crucial to the eventual realisation of programme objectives and easily overcome by employing appropriate skills and creativity during the delivery phase. A key success factor of the WKU programme.
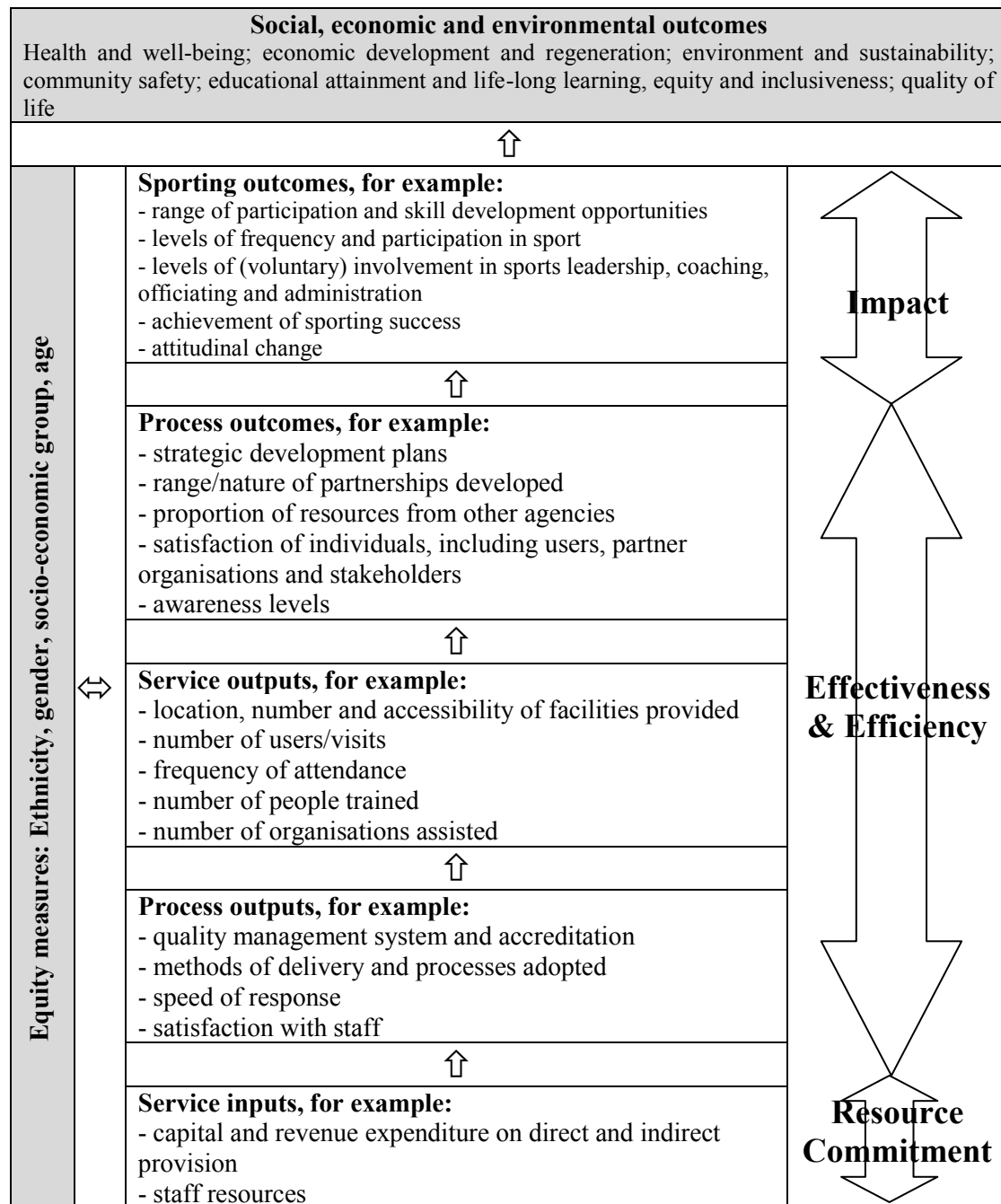
Social, economic and environmental outcomes
Health and well-being; economic development and regeneration; environment and sustainability; community safety; educational attainment and life-long learning, equity and inclusiveness; quality of life

⇧

Sporting outcomes, for example:
- range of participation and skill development opportunities
- levels of frequency and participation in sport
- levels of (voluntary) involvement in sports leadership, coaching, officiating and administration
- achievement of sporting success
- attitudinal change

⇧

Process outcomes, for example:
- strategic development plans
- range/nature of partnerships developed
- proportion of resources from other agencies
- satisfaction of individuals, including users, partner organisations and stakeholders
- awareness levels

⇧

Service outputs, for example:
- location, number and accessibility of facilities provided
- number of users/visits
- frequency of attendance
- number of people trained
- number of organisations assisted

⇧

Process outputs, for example:
- quality management system and accreditation
- methods of delivery and processes adopted
- speed of response
- satisfaction with staff

⇧

Service inputs, for example:
- capital and revenue expenditure on direct and indirect provision
- staff resources

Equity measures: Ethnicity, gender, socio-economic group, age

Impact

Effectiveness & Efficiency

Resource Commitment

Figure 5.1 - Sport benefits plan (Collins and Kay, 2003: 223)

Research into ways to improve and facilitate effective management processes of grassroots programmes is thus important given the limited capacity such organisations have

within their structures or to employ external consultants to do so for them. In addition, the relationship between grassroots programmes and national initiatives should be investigated further to acquire a more widespread view of the effectiveness of one in comparison to the other. On the basis of the above, table 5.2 draws out some of the main issues raised by respondents and the literature reviewed in chapter two. It contextualises these in relation to their expected impact on the design and delivery of football/sports for development programmes at different levels of decision-making and the respective key players involved.

Key considerations for policy/programmes at the national/horizontal level	
Objectives	
1. Adopt a participatory approach to sport policy including civil society bodies in an *ex ante* debate on targets and objectives, resource allocation and policy definition, rather than *ex post*. 2. Mainstream sport within public policy; the aim is to instil a culture of using sport and sport network to achieve public policy objectives. 3. Establish guidelines for the perpetuation of sports in civil society and public policy in order to limit possibilities of marginalising the subject matter during key decision-making debates and ensuring the inclusion of the opinions and suggestions of third parties. 4. Guidelines should also include measurable indicators monitoring inputs, outputs and outcomes of both a quantitative and qualitative nature. 5. Ensure minimum financial resources within national budget and departmental votes for sports, recreation and culture activities, including the development of programme management skills. 6. Engage media more effectively to ensure the communication and information of civil society on public debates concerning sports and activities, programmes, infrastructures that are being implemented. 7. Partnerships with academia or technical/expert institutions having proven expertise in defining and implementing sports programmes at all levels should be encouraged to motivate for adoption of evidence-based and needs-based solutions.	
Key Players	**Central Administration:** Ministry for Sports, Recreation and Culture; Ministry of Economic Development; Ministry of Social Development; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Health - SAFA/PSL **Regional Administration:** Provincial Government Departments - SAFA Regional Executives **Civil Society:** NGOs; Industry; Media; Academia
Key considerations for policy/programmes at the local level	
Objectives	
1. Concentrate programmes where there is evidence this is needed in collaboration with already existing structures or activities, building on strengths that are already present in the area or remit. 2. Focus on capacity building – from a physical as well as human perspective; Programmes are recommended to facilitate knowledge-sharing and the transfer of skills that will ultimately enable the improvement of social conditions, access to networks and personal employability traits. 3. The ultimate goal of community-based projects should be the eventual ownership by the community of, if not the complete project, elements of it. 4. Set appropriate target indicators that are achievable and allow ease of monitoring and evaluation.	
Key Players	**Municipal Administration:** Local counsellors; Local Football and sporting clubs; Local businesses; Civil society; NGOs

Table 5.2 – Key considerations for a football for development framework

The overall objective being the establishment of a socio-economic and political environment that considers sports as an important contributor to civil society development; Enhance civil society accessibility to government debate on sports and development policy ex-ante;

Promote accountability and effective participatory social auditing within public policy; Incentivise private participation through legislative and capacity building opportunities and; introduce qualitative outcome evaluator mechanisms rather than quantitative to ensure intended objectives are monitored appropriately and met.

5.5 Concluding remarks

SAFA's recent launch of a grassroots football programme and youth mobilisation campaign that would see the delivery of coaching sessions for players, parents and educators in all of SAFA's regional districts throughout the country (SAFA, 2010a), suggests that central administration is heeding some of the suggestions raised from the ground, adding relevance to this case study. It also suggests that the World Cup is indeed being leveraged to encourage uptake in football participation (which grew by only 5% between 1990 and 2002[30]) through raising awareness of football's contribution to personal development and social cohesion (SAFA, 2010b), in an attempt to help raise the levels attained in 1996 with the winning of the African Nations Cup on home soil and ridding past speculations of corruption (Bob and Swart, 2009b) in South African football.

As such the hosting of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa is significant on various levels. At the international level it brings the world's largest sporting event to Africa for the first time in the tournament's history, adding the country to list of elite nations around the world that have had the onerous task of providing a home for the people's game. Secondly, it consolidates South Africa's transition from the sidelines of global politics and football to the centre of the pitch, providing South African people with a great sense of pride through their achievement since the first democratic elections in 1994. It also contributes to dissipating past notions of African pessimism through the construction and provision of world class infrastructure and services, epitomising the result of nearly 20 years of hard work in reconciling former animosities and the reconstruction of a divided state through a sport that identifies with nearly 9 million people (2002 spectator figures) and over 2 million participants around the country (South African Tourism, 2005).

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[30] By 2002, football accounted for 20% (10,211,000) of the total active population in sports activities (South African Tourism, 2005).

However, from the slanting wooden planked walls and uneven linoleum flooring of the Lamontville township shacks, one WKU participant admits it is difficult to see what his mother calls any "real tangible impact" from the organisation of the tournament as they are used to hearing empty promises by government; "its been 7 years since we were promised an RDP [low-cost, government subsidised] house" (Participant interview 6). Whether poorer South Africans will be left short-changed after the final whistle will be blown on the 11 of July in Johannesburg is, however, still to be seen. President Jacob Zuma has called for patience as the impact will not necessarily be seen by the end of the games or even the year. FIFA President Joseph „Sepp' Blatter is confident it will bring hope. Though with already over 50 municipal service delivery protests having been staged around the country in the first quarter of 2010 - half of the 109 protests recorded for the whole year of 2009 (Municipal IQ, 2010) - patience is seemingly in short supply. Whether hope is indeed the last to die, is one credence many would like to see transformed into something more than just a tale.

Ke nako!

6. Appendices

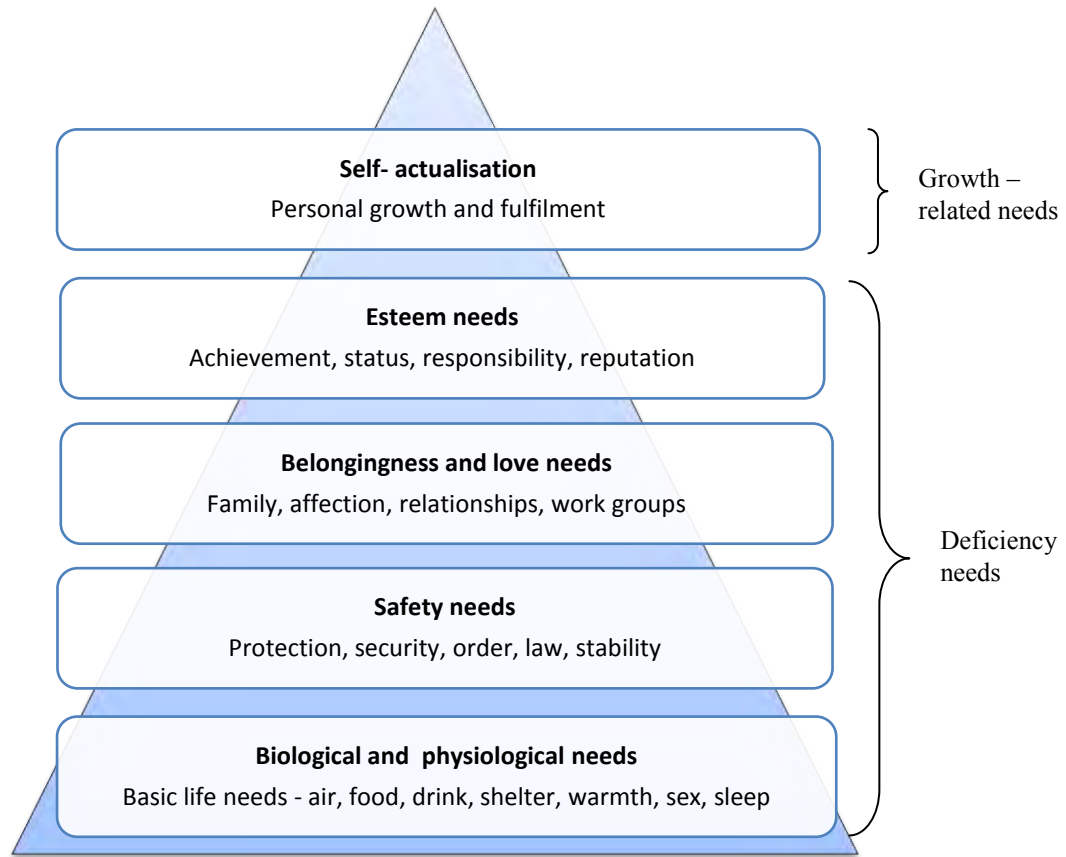## 6.1 Maslow's Hierarchy of needs

Figure 6.1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs

6.2 Sport and the Millennium Development Goals (1-3 and 6-8)

Sport can help to alleviate poverty by:
• Growing sport-related industry through national and international investment in accessible sport and recreation opportunities for everyone. Sport economies are generally 1–2% of GNP, growing faster than most other sectors.
• Providing young people with essential employment skills (e.g., negotiation, conflict resolution, and leadership experience) that increase their employment chances.
• Teaching young people how to protect themselves against disease, and mobilizing peer groups to reinforce healthy behaviours; reducing disease burden increases individual earnings, productivity and, the ability of communities to mount sustainable businesses and economic activities.
• Instilling values of honesty, respect, teamwork, and fair play that help build increased social trust in communities.
• Helping individuals exit poverty through participation in sport organizations that connect them to expanded opportunities and access to sport scholarships and jobs.

Sport, physical education (PE), and play are important to increase school enrolment and retention:
• PE and sport in schools reduce negative attitudes to school and decrease dropout rates.
• PE and sport enhance social and cognitive development, and academic achievement.
• Sport contributes to children's social skills, teaching them cooperation and teamwork, how to manage winning and losing, self-discipline, respect for one's opponent and rules.
• Sport teaches about tolerance, acceptance, and inclusion.
• Involvement in sport programs helps increase self-esteem, positive self-perception, and alleviate school-related stress.

Sport can be a non-threatening means of reducing gender-related discrimination and developing female leadership by:
• Including girls in sport activities alongside boys is a powerful means of altering gender stereotypes.
• Inclusive extracurricular sport and physical activity programs help foster greater gender equality in schools and contribute to reduced school drop-out rates among girls.
• Sport improves female self-esteem and self-confidence, strengthening girls' abilities to challenge inequality.
• Sport and physical activities can give females access to safe public spaces and develop social networks.
• Recruiting and training women through sport develops and mobilizes female community leaders and role models; increases community commitment to including girls in sport, and provides employment opportunities.

	Sport offers an ideal means to reach out to and equip youth to protect themselves against HIV/AIDS and other diseases: • Sport can be used to empower children and youth with prevention messages and teach them the skills necessary to establish and sustain healthy behavior patterns. • Sport is a perfect medium to transmit non-political messages about HIV/AIDS prevention to youth at risk. • Prominent athletes and local coaches can be powerful role models, exerting strong positive influences on youth. • Involving people living with HIV/AIDS in sport-based prevention initiatives can be a powerful means of reducing stigma, discrimination, and HIV/AIDS. • Including sport federations and NGOs in HIV/AIDS prevention

efforts can contribute to improving the reach and impact of these initiatives.
• The enormous popularity of sport events can provide a powerful communication and mobilization platform for effective preventions and treatment campaigning.

	The power of sport to serve as a social mobilization vehicle on behalf of environmental issues and sustainability is enormous but largely unrealized: • Sport has the power to call attention to environmental issues and to promote the development of environmentally friendly sport facilities and events. • Sport programs can be an effective means of mobilizing young people and communities to clean up problem areas and to promote healthy stewardship of shared public space, even in the absence of public waste control services. • The attraction of organized sport, and the convening and mobilizing power it offers, can be leveraged to reinforce the message of environmental sustainability and to initiate and

sustain activities to protect and restore local environments.

	The global reach of sport, and coverage of existing transnational institutions, provides enormous potential to build development partnerships needed to accelerate progress on meeting the targets MDGs by 2015: • Sport offers a long tradition of partnership involving all sectors (public, private, and voluntary), institutional structures and networks that can be mobilized to build and strengthen global development partnerships. • International sport federations can play a critical role in developing mainstream sport capacity partners, encouraging and supporting members to participate in shared Sport for Development and Peace initiatives. • Through international events, sport provides a global platform

to mobilise support for specific campaigns like the fight against racism and peace.

Figure 6.2 Sport and the MDGs (Source: SDP IWG, 2006: 165-174)

6.3 Key steps to inclusive PRSPs (SDP IWG, 2008: 251-252)

1. Adopt participatory policy and program development and consultation processes.
Policy and program development processes should engage all key stakeholder groups. These inclusive processes will help define needs, opportunities, and priorities. Stakeholder groups may include but are not limited to:
• Target beneficiary populations;
• Relevant government departments and agencies;
• Local governments;
• Schools;
• Sport federations and national Olympic and Paralympic committees;
• Domestic and international civil society organizations engaged in development;
• Private sector organizations involved with sport and/or development;
• UN and other multilateral partners, including regional bodies such as the European Union and African Union;
• Donor governments (where applicable); and
• Media.

2. Apply an evidence-based approach.
An evidence-based approach makes effective use of research evidence, best practice guidance, and effective consultation and evaluation mechanisms. This approach will help to identify needs, contribute to effective program and policy design, and ensure continuous improvement.

3. Adopt a rights-based focus.
A rights-based focus recognizes and enforces the right of individuals to sport and play, as set out in relevant international treaties and national laws, and seeks to promote inclusion and prevent discrimination.

4. Commit to learning and development.
A learning and development focus emphasizes the need to share lessons learned with Sport for Development and Peace practitioners and policy-makers and to collect feedback from stakeholders to continuously adapt and improve policies, initiatives, processes, and relationships.

5. Commit to transparency and accountability.
A commitment of this nature can foster trust, effective partnerships, public support, and successful policies and programs.

6.4 Detailed Fieldwork Schedule[1]

Respondents	Number	Methodologies	Languages[2]	Location	Interviewer	Completion Date
BSA and YOFO staff	6	Open-ended interviews + Participation	EN	Lusaka, Zambia	JA	September-November 2008
Educators + participants	14	4 Semi-structured interviews + 17 Questionnaires	IsiZulu/EN	Edendale	JA/Nobuhle Majola	October – November 2009
WKU staff	6	6 Semi-structured interviews	EN	Greyville	JA	10/02/2010
WKU Facilitators	4	1 Semi-structured Focus Group + 4 Questionnaires	EN	Greyville	JA	05/02/10
Educators	4	4 Semi-structured interviews	EN	Edendale/ Umlazi	JA	10/03/2010
Parents	22	3 Semi-structured interviews + 20 Semi-structured questionnaires	IsiZulu/EN	Umlazi	JA	09/04/2010
Stakeholders	4	2 Semi-structured interviews +/or E-mail correspondence		Various	JA	May 2009 – May 2010
Programme participants	20	6 x Semi-structured interviews 4 x Focus Group for 5 Kids each + 20 Questionnaires	IsiZulu/EN IsiZulu/EN	Edendale/ Umlazi	JA/Nathi Mbanjwa	09/04/2010
Total	**60[3]**	**20 Semi-structured interviews + 5 Focus Groups 44 Questionnaires**				**20 April 2010**

Table 6.1: Detailed research schedule

Notes:

1 – A Literature review was completed in October 2009. A two-week pilot phase followed to test interview questions and questionnaires. Ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Ethics board was granted on 4 December 2009.
2 – All interviews were recorded digitally. Interviews held in IsiZulu were conducted by the researcher and a native IsiZulu interpreter. IsiZulu filled out questionnaires were translated into English by an accredited translator.
3 – Total does not include interviews carried out in Lusaka, Zambia or during the pilot phase.

Name of Respondent/ Interviewee	Occupation	Research tool used; Date & Location
Mr. Thomas Farrar	Monitoring & Evaluation Officer – Africaid, Durban, South Africa	Interview, Greyville, Durban - 02/10/2009
Mrs. Sue Bannister	Deputy Director – Strategic Planning and Coordination Unit, Ethekwini Municipality, Durban, South Africa	Interview, Moses Mabhida Stadium, Durban
Mrs. Orli Bass	Researcher – Human Sciences Research Centre, Durban, South Africa	Interview, CIRRR, Durban - 30/10/2009
Mr. Marcus McGilvray	CEO & Founder – Africaid, Durban, South Africa	Interview, Greyville, Durban - 04/02/2010
Mr. Oliver Walsh	Marketing Director – Africaid, Durban, South Africa	Interview, Greyville, Durban - 10/02/2010
Mr. Paul Kelly	Programme Director – Africaid, Durban, South Africa	Interview, Greyville, Durban - 10/02/2010
Mr. Matthias Kasper	Intern – Africaid, Durban, South Africa	Interview, Greyville, Durban - 10/02/2010
Ms. Nobuhle Majola Ms. Sthule Biyela Mr. Francis Maphanga Mr. Sphelele Sbisi	Programme Facilitators – Africaid, Durban, South Africa	Focus Group, Greyville, Durban - 05/02/2010
Mr. Federico Addiechi	Head CSR – FIFA, Geneva	E-mail correspondence - 03/03/2010
Parents		Interviews, Lamontville - 19 April 2010
Programme participants	Interviews and Focus Groups held on the premises of Esigodini primary school, Edendale and Ndongeni senior primary school, Umlazi.	Edendale - 22 February 2010 Umlazi - 10 March 2010
Educators	Interviews Focus Groups held on the premises of Esigodini primary school, Edendale and Ndongeni senior primary school, Umlazi.	Edendale - 16 and 22 February 2010 Umlazi - 10 March 2010

Table 6.2: List of interviews, focus groups and key correspondence with respondents

<u>*Notes:*</u>

Parent, teacher and participant interviews are not detailed on request made by the interviewees.

6.5 Participant and Stakeholder interview topic list

Participants (learners)

1. How long have you been participating in the Whizz kids programme?
2. Do you like the programme?
3. What do you think the programme provides you with?
4. What does your family think of the programme?
5. Did you have problems participating in the programme? What do you think are the benefits to you as a person?
6. What do you think are the problems of the programme?
7. Do you think the programme can also help your community?
8. Do you think your participation in the programme can help the community as well?
9. What are your dreams in life?
10. Do you think the football programme can help your dreams come through?
11. What have you learnt from the football programme?
12. Do you think you can help improve the programme?
13. Do you know that the World Cup is going to be held in South Africa?
14. Do you think the World Cup is good for South Africa?
15. Do you think the World Cup is good for your community?
16. Do you think the World Cup is good for you?
17. Do you think it is good for the programme that Whizz Kids is linked to FIFA's Football for Hope programme?
18. Does the WhizzKids programme make you feel more part of the World Cup?
19. Do you know if FIFA is doing anything to help your community/all South Africans?
20. Do you know if government is doing anything to help football for development programmes in your community/South Africa?

Stakeholders (including parents/guardians, community members, professionals)

1. What is your relationship to the participant of Whizzkids' programme?
2. Do you have other children of your own or others that may be under your care?
3. Are you employed? Earn a salary?
4. Do you like sports? Do you think sports is good for your children? Do you encourage them to play sports?
5. Do you think children have enough time and facilities to play sport in your community?
6. Where do you think is best for your children to play sports?
7. What do you know about the programme? Do you know what Whizzkids teach your child?
8. Do you like it? Are you happy/upset your child is participating in the programme? Why?
9. Is the programme good or bad for your child's development? Why?
10. Is the programme good or bad for your community? Why?
11. Have you met with the educators that teach your child at Whizzkids? Would you like to?
12. Do you think the World Cup is good for South Africa? And for your community? Why?
13. Do you know if the government or FIFA are doing anything for your community to help improve football for development programmes like Whizzkids in your community?
14. Do you think the government/FIFA should do something in your community? What?

Note: The questions were used more as a guide for the researcher rather than as a prescriptive schedule for the conduct of the interviews, which followed a conversational format with the questions incorporated into the discussion if and when deemed necessary/relevant.

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Interviews