

Lund University  
Department of Political Science

STVK12  
Spring term 2012  
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# Sport as a vehicle for social change

A case study from Zambia



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# Abstract

Today's presence of sport in the everyday lives of the majority of the world population has recently led development actors to promote sport as a potential vehicle for social change. At the forefront of this new discourse is the notion of sport as a universal language that unites people across the globe. Whereas sport organizations in the Global South apply participation in sports as a tool for individual and community development, this study seeks to elaborate on the difficulty to adopt the universal value of sport onto a local context. As a result, I ask the question whether and how the definition and the organization of sports in the Zambian context serve the interest of various groups within society. In order to answer this question, this thesis draws on critical theory and recognizes two main approaches. Hartmann and Kwauk's framework provides a dominant vision, in which sport essentially reproduces established social relations and on the other hand, there is an interventionist approach, in which sport contributes to social change and transformation. Using qualitative data collected during my internship with Sport in Action in Kabwata, Zambia, this thesis reveals that the impact of any sport intervention relies heavily on the context in which it is employed.

*Key words:* sport, development, dominant and interventionist approach, Sport in Action, Kabwata

Word Count: 10.473

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## List of Abbreviations

AFCON	African Cup of Nations
Et al.	Et alia
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
MTG	Moving the Goalposts
MYSA	Mathare Youth Sport Association
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PE	Physical Education
RTP	Right to Play
SARPN	Southern African Regional Poverty Network
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SIA	Sport in Action
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNOSDP	United Nations Offices for Sport and Development
ZSCGA	Zambia Strategic Country Gender Assessment

# 1. Introduction

*It is 2012 and all is quiet on the streets in Zambia. Everybody crowds in front of the few televisions available in Chilenje nervously awaiting what could be one of, if not the greatest, triumph in the history of sports in Zambia. Stophila Sunzu starts running, he shoots...he scores! For the first time in the history of the Chipolopolo ("The Copperbullets" - and name of the Zambian male football team) Zambia wins the African Cup of Nations beating Ivory Coast after penalty shoot-out. What has electrified and unified millions of people in Zambia for weeks piles up with the final whistle in Libreville in Gabon. It is the feeling of collective achievement that creates a strong sense of national pride amongst all Zambians; for one night at least, everybody seems to be the same. The powerful atmosphere of cohesion and joy, created through the passion for sport, appears to let everybody forget for a moment about their struggles in daily life. Even those who are not interested in football are captured by the state of enthusiasm and join the celebrations, not just for the football players, but celebrating a whole nation; Zambia.<sup>1</sup>*

## 1.1 Sport for Development – a new discourse

It is becoming more and more evident that the pursuit of sports, both actively and passively, occupies an important place in the lives of the majority of the world population. Whereas many participate in sports to stay fit, others make a living from it. Some experience sport as part of their culture, while others dedicate their time to just watching it. Many studies state that sports have become an important part of the social and cultural profiles of many societies around the world (Coakley 1998; Frey and Eitzen 1991; Guttmann 1988; Hargreaves 1986). Due to the changing political and economic environments within which sports organizations operate, sport nowadays has acquired a rather universal character that is argued to unite people across the world more than ever before.

The prominent case of South Africa illustrates the fact that sport connects people like little else does. When Nelson Mandela left prison on Robben Island and was

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<sup>1</sup> These observations are based on my personal experiences when watching the final of the African Cup of Nations together with many Zambian friends in Chilenje, Zambia.

elected president in 1994, he adopted his experience of the time in prison and "used sport to define South Africans' sense of themselves, as he struggled to pull umpteen tongues, groups and faiths into one" ("Bafana Bafana and the birth of a nation" 1996:43). Also worth mentioning is that at that time rugby, which was seen as the sport of apartheid, aroused a feeling of accomplishment, reconciliation, and national unity during the win of the Rugby World Cup in 1995, well recorded in John Carlin's book "*Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Changed a Nation*" (2008).

Even though the link between sport and development in its broadest definition appears not to be a new phenomenon within academic literature, it is the recent expansion of sport as a vehicle for social change that resulted in mainstream development bodies increasingly recognizing the role and utility of sports to actually meet development goals.

Whereas during the past there was little recognition among humanitarian organizations to take sport into account as a development tool, current trends reveal an increasing recognition of what Levermore describes as "a new engine that complements development assistance in many ways, particularly in being able to reach areas that traditional development agencies and techniques/processes have had difficulty reaching" (Levermore 2008:183). The emerging discourse is commonly referred to as Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), "a title recognized in a variety of cultural and political spheres and inclusive of the multiplicity of organizations operating beyond the radar of most national governments' domestic and foreign policies in order to meet development goals" (Kidd 2008:371). Pursuing a vision created by prominent development stakeholders such as the United Nations system, these organizations perceive sport as "a powerful tool to strengthen social ties and networks, and to promote peace, fraternity, solidarity, non-violence, tolerance and justice (UNOSDP n.d.).

Consequently, researchers have started to document the functionalist role of sports in community life in general and development work specifically. They thereby emphasize how participation in sports entails positive impacts on health (Huggins and Randall 2007; Meier 2005; Levermore 2008), influences personal and social

competencies, self-discipline, and body awareness (Meier 2005), creates role models (Meier 2005; Huggins and Randall 2007), enables social networks and space for all subjects to renegotiate societal norms and structures (Huggins and Randall 2007) and even gives reason to get up in the morning (Meier 2005).

Not surprisingly development scholars responded differently which highlights that sport consists of activities and situations that embrace or challenge particular ideologies. While the proponents of sport as a promising alternative to mainstream development processes are quick in pointing at the positive features associated with it, this thesis demonstrates that such potential of sport as any other approach to development must be examined within the context of cross-cutting dimensions of development rather than overemphasizing and romanticizing its “mythopoeic nature” (Coalter 2010a:296).

## 1.2. Aim and Purpose

The overall aim of this thesis is to conduct a case study on the role of sport in local development processes in Zambia, particularly in Kabwata, the community I worked in for three months in 2012. In order to investigate powerful assumptions such as the one from Nelson Mandela who claims that “sport has the power to change the world” (Daily motion n.d.). I consider my personal experiences in working in a sport-NGO in Zambia essential in order to contribute to a critical debate about the sport/development nexus.

Whereas ‘development’ has become both a watchword and a fascination in the development arena, the problem is that it means many things to many people. Perhaps the simplest definition of development is that given by Chambers (1997), for whom development means just ‘good change’. However, development is an inherently ambiguous concept that goes beyond the mere definition of ‘good change’. Thomas (2000) argues that development generally implies an all-encompassing change, not just an improvement in one aspect...changes in society have implications for the people who live in that society” (Thomas 2000:24). As a result development is not always seen positively. This thesis employs a meaning of ‘development’ that depends on the subjects we deal with. Whereas Sen (1999)

refers to development as essentially a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy (Sen 1999:3), this thesis recognizes that the ‘power’ of sport signifies not only the potential for social and political emancipation but also for the marginalization and dominance of groups based on geography, politics, and economics as well as gender, race, sexuality, class and ability (Darnell and Black 2011:369). Any successes or failures of applying sport to the field of development must be studied through analyses of its organization, implementation and eventually participation. Making use of the opinions of participants involved in the organization of sport in Kabwata, it becomes evident that today’s universal character of sport enters constant negotiations with local agency. In order to investigate the potential of sport to serve as a vehicle for social change in Kabwata, the research question of this thesis is:

In what ways do the definition and the organization of sports in the Zambian context serve the interest of various groups within society?

In order to find answers to that question, this study makes use of theoretical considerations in line with critical theory and applies both a dominant and interventionist approach. Whereas the former argues that sport essentially reproduces established social relations, the latter perceives sport as contributing to more fundamental change and transformation (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:284). Referring to “*Sport and Development: An overview, critique and reconstruction*” by Hartmann and Kwauk (2011) this thesis identifies both the limitations and potential of sport as a developmental tool within a local context.

The purpose of this study is not to appoint one or the other approach as representative of my case in study, but rather to situate the Zambian case within the field of already existing research. The study focuses on Zambia as an example due to increasing recognition of sport in everyday lives after the win of the Africa Cup of Nations by the ‘Chipolopolo’. Given the recent expansion of sport as a tool to meet development goal within the development arena, the empirical analysis will elucidate how ‘global’ values attached to the presence and expansion of sports is in steady negotiation with local organization and meaning in the society in which it is to be employed. Consequently, this thesis concludes that any



impacts of sport interventions depend on the way participants understand,  
construct and evaluate these activities.

## 2. Methods and Research Design

In order to analyze the potential and limitations of sport as a developmental tool within a local context this section emphasizes why a case study is the most suitable research approach. Holliday argues that a case study can open up a world, but the reader must be aware of the very particular world being exposed (Holliday 2007:46). The use of the term ‘case’ associates this study with a location, such as the community (Kabwata) and organization (Sport in Action (SIA)) I have been working with. While concerns regarding the external validity or generalizability of case study research (Bryman 2008:55) seems to dominate scholarly debate, I agree with Walliman who claims that such studies do not aim at arguing whether the findings can be generalized; they rather seek to focus on one or few cases in order to discuss theoretical analysis (Walliman 2006:12). My case in study is of exploratory character that applies triangulation of methods: literature review, documentary analysis as well as qualitative interviews in order to comprehend the many ways in which sport consists of activities and situations that embrace or challenge ideologies in Kabwata.

### 2.1 SIA and the role of sports in Zambia

Scholarly work on the connection of sport and development in Zambia is almost non-existent. Indeed, the presence of sport in African societies appears to be limited in scope compared to the dimension it acquired in the ‘Global North’. Thus, the lack of presence of sport in Zambia would let sport appear the least obvious case to be linked with development processes. Though currently ranked 164 (UNDP) in the Human Development Index (HDI) and lagging behind in achieving the targets set by the Millennium Development Goals, Zambia consolidated democracy throughout its post-colonial past and experienced peaceful shift in governance 2011. Whereas these records appear to interest development scholars far more than sport interventions, recent events in Zambia caused a stir in almost every newspaper’s sports section around the world during spring 2012 when the ‘Chipolopolo’ beat Ivory Coast in the final of the AFCON to ascend the throne of African football. While a mounting recognition of sport in

the lives of the majority of the Zambian population does not build a connection to development processes by default, nevertheless it sheds light towards the role of organizations such as SIA in the communities. Founded in 1988, SIA was the first Zambian sports NGO whose purpose is to improve people's quality of life through sport and recreational activities. With Sport for Development (the use of sport as a tool for social change) as its underlying principle, SIA seeks to positively impact the lives of thousands of children throughout 24 districts in Zambia (SIA 1).

A linkage between SIA's visions and recent events in Zambia has been noted by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon who connects the triumph within sports with development challenges lying ahead adding that the world had witnessed more than sporting success in Zambia's football victory; it had also its spirit. He notes that "with hard work, energy, perseverance and faith – Zambia has proven anything is possible" (UN Newscenter 2012).

The programs of SIA arguably offer a rich context in which to explore the critical debate about the sport/development nexus, since their mission reflect to make use of values attached to sport along social and cultural values that construct the organization of sports in Kabwata. Any successes or failures of sport in development contexts must then be investigated through analyses of sport as a human construct; that is, "people interacting with each other and determining what sports should be like, who should play them, and how various sport activities should be integrated into their lives" (Coakley 1998:62).

This becomes apparent when taking into considerations the efforts of other organizations in Africa to apply sport activities as a tool to improve the lives of the marginalized in society. An example of the increasing institutionalization of the link between participation in sport and development is the work of the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA) in Kenya which is recognized worldwide for its efforts in using sport as an entry point to community development. The rationale behind the use of sport in HIV prevention programmes, for example, is based on claims that sport can provide an attractive and accessible platform to disseminate health information, and that "it can foster life skills that are necessary to translate knowledge, attitudes and behavioral intentions into actual behavior" (Delva et al. 2010:1012). Today the International

Platform on Sport and Development (sportanddev.org) lists hundreds of such sporting organizations that work to meet various development goals and to make a positive and sustained contribution.

Even though these organizations work along guidelines embodied in the universal vision of sport, the differences in the way sport is understood and organized highlight the need to study sport in context. Regarding the case under study, the next section turns to the methods that provide the discussion with the data needed.

## 2.2 Contextual Background

In order to get to know the context in which one is investigating it is essential to review already existing material on the subject. Creswell argues that a literature review “shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the one that is being undertaken” (Creswell 2009:25). Feeding the discussion on sport’s role in development processes in Zambia, prominent case studies in similar settings as well as evaluations and assessment of the organizations’ programmes helped me to develop an analytical framework. Nevertheless, since case studies tend to be exploratory, the lack of academic work related to my topic and population being studied encouraged me to listen to participants and “build an understanding based on what is heard” (Creswell 2009:26). In short, literature review and documentary analysis are valuable methods when examined in the context of other sources of data, such as interviews.

## 2.3 Semi-structured Interviews

Within qualitative research, the interview is probably the most widely employed method since it is its flexibility that makes it so attractive (Bryman 2008:436). Useful for gaining information on a particular area to be researched, there are different types of interviews, including closed and open-ended, semi or unstructured interviews.

In my study I conducted semi-structured interviews due to the fact that a flexible question order and a rather liberal context allowed for a mix of standardized and in-depth information. Qu and Dumay argue that “because it (the semi-structured

interview) has its basis in human conversation, it allows the skillful interviewer to modify the style, pace and ordering of questions to evoke the fullest responses from the interviewee...it proves to be especially valuable if the researchers are to understand the way the interviewees perceive the social world under study” (Qu and Dumay 2011:246). However, mounting critique regarding interviews as a research methodology highlights the problems of representation and nature of language. In particular, as Alvesson argues “language constructs rather than mirrors phenomena, making representation and empirical work privileging “data” a basically problematic enterprise” (Alvesson 2003:13 cited by Qu and Dumay 2011:240). Hence, the interplay of various methods becomes necessary in order to avoid a reliance on interviewing alone that would bring about an overly empiricist analysis.

## 2.4 Research Design

Due to the fact that the literature review revealed that Sport for Development is quite a recent phenomenon within the academic world, it quickly became evident that the sport/development nexus split into two broader fields. Those who advocate the pro-social force of sport are facing mounting concern of others who warn of romanticizing the power of sports (for a discussion see: Coalter 2010a). Assessment reports on the actual implementation processes of sport programmes directed towards development processes then became important when linking organizations’ visions to the way the people in Kabwata actually construct, define, and organize sport. For the latter, the presence of sport in the media after the win of the AFCON enriched the data available in the public spheres.

Interviews were conducted with local staff members of SIA as well as Edusport, another Zambian sport organization. As mentioned above, I used semi-structured interviews based on an open-ended interview guide that can be seen in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. The choice of interview subjects was based on a non-probability sampling, since my case aims at providing a better understanding of a particular context in Kabwata. The six interviews were conducted in February and March 2012 within the organizations’ environment and covered various persons

who were different in age, gender and embodied different tasks in the organizations. The interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes and interviewees were elaborately informed about the purpose and utilization of this study before responding to my questions. While ethical questions were considered, I informed participants about their right to anonymity so that they could speak freely and without restraint.

Notes were taken during the interviews, and further field notes describing the course of the interrogations assisted the process of verbatim transcription. I did not experience any barrier of language and data collection was facilitated since the official language in Zambia is English. The rather close working relationship with the participants allowed me to speak in a comfortable environment as well as to access the participants easily. Moreover, several sport events as well as my daily working routine within the framework of a sport NGO provided me with the contextual understanding necessary to realize that any impact of sport interventions in development depends entirely upon the manner in which sport is employed.

## 2.5 General limitations

Due to the fact that I was only in Zambia for ten weeks, time constraints prevented me from interviewing more participants from different backgrounds which would have enriched my discussion. Moreover, the fact that social change does not happen overnight revealed the need for an intra-generational study which was beyond the scope of this thesis.

A subsequent limitation to my study was the reliance on many voices and reports that derive from SIA or likeminded organizations. Using the documents that are available and accessible entails the chance that the composers are likely to have a particular point of view that they want to get across. Due to the current hype about sport in Zambia and my daily work based on ideologies very much in line with the universal, prosocial characteristics of sport, this research entailed a danger of drifting into a biased and rather romanticized view on sport in development. Nevertheless, the aim of the thesis is not to ascertain an absolute role of sport's contribution to development processes but rather highlights the various roles that

sport can play. While this section informed the reader about certain limitations that occurred along the process of conducting this study, the triangulation of methods in a case study highlights the need to link data to its historical and theoretical foundations.

## 2.6 Guiding principles along critical theory

In line with the use of the term 'sport' as a human construct, defined by the ones who are exposed to it, this thesis seeks to examine whether dominant forms of sport in most societies have been socially constructed in ways that privilege some people over others. Such assumptions emerge when considering the complexity and diversity of social life as well as seeking to understand relations of power within society. Taking into account the work by critical theorists who note that there is no one universal explanation of social life, one could argue that there is yet to be one universal explanation of the organization and meaning of sport. In his book *'Sport in Society'*, Coakley notes that "people using critical theory assume that behavior and social life are limited by historical, social, and material conditions, but they do not assume that all social life is driven and shaped by a unified set of factors that exist outside of people's relationships with one another" (Coakley 1998:41). Given the magnitude of the concept within social sciences, critical theory in its broadest terms in this thesis is meant to emphasize that the relationship between sports and society is never set once and for all time (Coakley 1998:42). As a result Coakley emphasizes four guiding principles: (1) we must study sport in context due to specific historical and cultural circumstances (2) the magnitude of the meaning requires to study sport by identifying whose ideas about sports are most important when it comes to using resources to develop sports; (3) the definition and organization of sport will usually reflect the rest of society, but it is also possible for sports to become sites for challenging, resisting, and even transforming the way social life is organized; and (4) people socially construct sports continually; therefore we must study sports in connection with various forms of social relations as well as the overall processes of social development in societies (Coakley 1998:42/43).

Along these guidelines, I make use of the work by Hartmann and Kwauk who critically investigate the sport/development nexus. They identify a *dominant vision*, in which sport essentially reproduces established social relations, and an *interventionist approach*, in which sport is intended to contribute to more fundamental change and transformation (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:284). Even though the former is quite conclusive from an empirical perspective, I expose this approach and examine it in ways that allows for alternative ways of defining, organizing and playing sports since it is the interventionist approach that appears to be in line with the spreading recognition of sport as a vehicle for social change. In order to employ these points of departure to my case study, the next sections seek to provide a better understanding of the two approaches.



## 3. Theoretical Framework

The previous section highlights that guidelines of critical theory seems appropriate when seeking to understand the everyday realities of sport in the lives of individuals, groups, and societies. A closer look at both approaches reveals that any attempt to impose internationalist values attached to sport onto a particular society entails the possibility to create situations and activities in which sport both embraces and challenges particular societal patterns.

### 3.1 The dominant approach

This approach refers to developmental ideals that emerged during colonial times and were revalorized and accentuated in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century with the emergence of neo-liberal ideologies. By that, scholars point at “the ability of sport to transform, or give the perception of transformation, of backward societies into more modern, civilized and unified ones” (Elias and Dunning 1986 cited by Levermore 2009:29). The example of Nelson Mandela applying sport to reconciliation processes in challenging times after apartheid in South Africa is only one of the many cases in which sport appeared to have the “capability to civilize” (Levermore and Beacon 2009:12). Moreover, Levermore (2009) identifies characteristics closely associated with modernization and neo-liberalism that allow sport to become the perfect space for young people to gain access to social networks and opportunities from which they were once alienated. The resultant emerging networks argued to recalibrate underprivileged individuals into ‘proper’ citizens engender the “right environment for individuals to lift themselves (and eventually) their communities out of their otherwise challenging and marginalized circumstances. Much like the ethics driving neo-liberal development, the organization of sport along guidelines set by powerful bodies is assumed to give individuals and communities a fair chance at looking and behaving like those in more affluent (and ‘developed’) settings” (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:289).

It is the extremely idealized beliefs that such interventions directed towards socialization are mutually beneficial, though the reality is that many attempts to link sport with development programmes failed to bring about notable social change. That is not surprising since the authors remind us that this dominant vision is not really about structural transformation and change. Rather, it is primarily about “sport’s ability to re-socialize and recalibrate individual youth and young people that, in turn, serves to maintain power and hierarchy, cultural hegemony, and the institutionalization of poverty and privilege. It is, in other words, a fundamentally reproductive vision of development” (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:291).

These interventions that appear to serve the interests of those already privileged and in power are identified by scholars as new forms of dependency in which subjects are socialized into a predetermined world (see: Coalter 2010b ). As a result, the organization of sports leaves them with little room to reciprocate and influence society with their own understandings (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:292). This framework entails strong characteristics of what Foucault theorized as “the control and influence of knowledge /power over the trajectory of human life” (Foucault 1978 cited by: Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:292), and puts into question the opportunities that sport presents to enable forms of resistance to dominant development and political economic relationships. Nevertheless, critical theory is not meant to accept this dominant approach without studying possible ways in which sport activities become sites for challenging, resisting, and even transforming the way social life is organized.

### 3.2 The interventionist approach

The notion to study sport in connection with various forms of social relations allows for an alternative role of sports in society. Indeed, very much like the dominant vision, this approach considers sport to take on a functionalist role, though one that rather engages directly with the relations of dominance and that produce the needs for development in the first place (Darnell 2010:71). Recognizing social inequalities and seeking to reshape social order, sport takes on a more radical social change emphasis, focusing on the empowerment of

otherwise marginalized through an understanding of the broader structures of power and privilege within they are contained (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:293). The foundation for this rather collective resistance against hegemonic structures and relations of inequality is ascribed to the school of thoughts that emerged primarily in Latin America during the 1950s and onwards. The dependency school dominated by Prebisch, Frank, and Wallenstein along with postcolonial theories take on this central issue of power relations and primarily point at the need to an inclusion of more local, indigenous understandings/inputs in order to radically disrupt entrenched systems of (Northern/Western) knowledge that create an air of immutability over development (Levermore 2009:40). A more specific notion of the peripheralization is displayed by critical feminists who highlight the unequal position of many women in relation to men, especially in what we refer to as developing countries. Considering these assumption, it becomes evident that proponents along the interventionist approach in the sport/development nexus point at the importance to take the needs and desires of communities in which sport is about to be applied as the point of departure for any connection to development processes. Here Hartmann & Kwauk draw upon the concept of “authentic liberation” (Freire 1970/2008 cited by Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:294) by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. The transformative character that is attached to the recognition of sport as a vehicle for social change is in line with what he calls “the humanization of marginalized youth”, in which their “experiences are legitimated and their critical praxis, their action and reflection upon the world is directed towards transforming it” (Freire 1970 cited by Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:294).

Whereas both approaches entail broad assumptions that sport is somewhat related to developmental processes, the next section employs empirical material based on my work in Sport in Action in Zambia as well as other, already existing studies on sport-related development programs in Africa. The aim is to highlight that “much work remains to be done to illustrate how sport is being mobilized in development, with what implications, and the position of sport in relation to mainstream development studies” (Darnell and Black 2011:371).

## 4. Sport as a vehicle for social change: Limitations and opportunities

This chapter aims to analyze the qualitative research conducted for this case in study by presenting it in several themes along the conceptual framework outlined above. The overarching themes that emerged out of the literature review, document analysis and interviews include (a) Sport mirrors and reinforces unequal relationships in society and (b) sport as a vehicle for social change. While these themes entail sub-themes and prominent developmental issues present in Kabwata, this chapter embodies the purpose of this thesis to show that sport consists of situations and activities that embrace and challenge particular ideologies. Moreover, I situate the Zambian case within the field of already existing research in order to further contribute to a more critical discussion on the cross-cutting dimension of sports within development processes.

### 4.1 Sport as a mirror of society

Sport as a social construction means that whatever definition of sport is applied, the meanings that people give to the activities are the results of people interacting with each other and determining what sports should be like, who should play them, and how various sport activities should be integrated into their lives (Coakley 1998:62). Looking at the recent discourse of sport for development, the development arena is peppered with proponents that are quick to point at the many prosocial features of sport creating an image of sport as a panacea to cure all. This section, however, reminds us that throughout history, and especially in modern times, sport as a social construction carries the potential to reproduce and maintain particular ideologies and structures of society which impede the initial concept of social inclusion and development.

Methodologically, it was beyond of the scope of this research project to identify a conclusive trend in Zambia regarding the role of sports in the lives of the population. However, a closer look to societal patterns in Kabwata reveals that the organization of sport presents the interest of some groups while it marginalizes

others in that particular society. Apart from drawing on the voices of interviewees, reference to similar case studies seeks to compensate for the lack of scholarly work on the Zambian context as such.

#### 4.1.1 Leering at the more affluent

Kabwata is a community outside of Lusaka in which SIA is only one of many civil society organizations reflecting the weakening of state capacities in Zambia during post-colonial development and reveals the institutional gap that reflects the lack of interest among state institutions to invest in the evolution of sports. Indeed, while Physical Education (PE) as a standalone subject in Zambian government schools reflect some sort of sport interventions in everyday lives of many children, SIA works in close relationship with non-government schools in Kabwata in order to provide participants with different activities. Whereas the historical records in Zambia do not point at prominent development interventions through sport, the dominance of modern sporting forms, such as football and basketball, in Kabwata reflects that as in other locales, colonization imposed Western sport onto indigenous physical cultures, sport and games (Meier and Saavedra 2009:1160). Consequently, if I employ the dominant approach to my case in Kabwata, one could argue that participation in sports would give individuals and communities a fair chance at looking and behaving like those in more affluent (and developed) settings (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:289). For example, one of the site-coordinators in SIA responded to a question about his personal role model:

*“Well, my role model is always Jordan...Michael Jordan... he has always said: when you fall down just pick yourself up and move on!”*

*(Interview 1, 2012)*

Whereas this statement reveals a leering at the Global North, the potential of sport to rather reflect and even reinforce existing patterns of unequal power relations between Global North and Global South also raised scholarly concerns. Giulianotti (2004) among others refers to a form of neo-colonial repositioning, whereas Nicholls points at a “vertical hierarchy” which affects donor-recipient

and North-South relationships (Nicholls 2009:158). These assumptions become apparent with regard to the neglect of local non-elite sport programmes.

#### 4.1.2 “We are not investing for tomorrow”

Akindes and Kirwin (2009) argue that with all emphasis on elite sports, the potential for sustainable development and growth of local non-elite programmes has been severely diminished. The authors refer to both the national governments as well as the steering bodies such as FIFA and argue that further imbalances in time and money devoted to sport activities in the Global South could become a causal factor for actually missing initial targets. For example, the authors refer to Baba Moussa who provides several examples of the structural organization of sport in Benin that conflict with sport-in-development, detailing for example that 80 percent of sports budget are allocated to elite sports, particularly football (Baba Moussa 2003 cited in Akindes and Kirwin 2009:239).

As our guidelines along critical theory remind us, this raises questions about whose ideas are most important when it comes to developing and organizing sports in local communities. The fact that sport organizations such as SIA emerged in the first place emphasizes the limited amount of resources made available by the state to boost local and non-elite sport activities. However, the recent win of the AFCON gives reason for hope that increasing interest among government, the corporate sector and Zambian citizens to embody sport more thoroughly in everyday life will make a difference.

Such sentiments were stressed by Mwape, program development manager in SIA, who says:

*“...after winning those games, almost everyone of the corporate world and the like they are trying to get involved in what...in football; which is good! And all I can think is the Football Association of Zambia (FAZ) should use this kind of opportunity for them as well to lobby funds from the corporate world and to push it down to the what...the grassroots; for the future to be sustained...In situations of just focusing on the elite, that means you are just investing for today; we are not investing for tomorrow” (Interview 4, 2012).*

The current neglect of local sport initiatives also shows that the cost of playing sports remains beyond the means of some people. Sleaf argues that in an ideal world everyone would have the freedom to take part in any sport; in the real world, where resources are limited, this does not happen (Sleaf 1998:90). Indeed, interviews with staff members and participants of SIA in Kabwata revealed that there is a dependency on resources made available by the organization in order to cover transport costs, education as well as health care whereas the organization itself is dependent on external funding and donations from partners. As one site-coordinator stresses:

*“Well I would say one of the weaknesses would be funding...funding is coming in pretty late. And for us, who are coordinators, we have got responsibilities and we are growing up so we need some extra money to use for rentals, our food...”*  
(Interview 1, 2012).

Whereas such donor-recipient relationships appear to impact the realities of everyday lives, it is important to bear in mind that the dominant vision is not really aiming at transforming these realities, but rather maintain and reinforce them. That this issue is not limited to North-South relations becomes evident when looking at girls' and women's participation in sport in Kabwata.

#### 4.1.3 Gender and sports

Whereas an explicit discussion on the gender dimension in sport would go beyond the scope of this study (for detailed discussion see Guttmann 1991; Oglesby 1978), the literature review identified that as sports were developed, they often contained a gender logic that was consistent of dominant forms of gender ideology in the culture as a whole. Coakley argues that this gender logic usually disadvantaged women due to the 'common belief' that women were naturally inferior to men in any activity requiring physical skills (Coakley 1998:9-10). Whereas the recognition of women and girls participating in organized forms slowly improved in terms of equal access and participation patterns, it would be wide off the mark to assume that sport as a universal language would encourage

such development in less developed regions such as Kabwata by default. Determining what sports should be like, who should play them, and how various sport activities should be integrated into their lives, Kabwata reveals a socio-cultural context of established gender norms that often prevent women and girls from participating in social activities outside the home, including sport. This view is supported by one of the few studies on the connection between sport and development in Zambia in which Lindsey and Grattan argue that their findings about the potential contribution of sport to development in Zambian communities was shaped by, and potentially challenged, both local and global conditions (Lindsey and Grattan 2012:92). Therefore, it is especially the lack of time and division of labor that leave few girls or women to think of the perceived 'luxury' of recreational activities (sportanddev.org).

Whereas scholarly literature on the development of sport in Zambia or its interactions with gender is nearly non-existent I make use of the case study of Saavedra on the Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) in Kenya. In her work, Saavedra points at the vulnerability of women due to sexual division of labor. The study shows that integrating girls into sports faces challenges due to internal problems at home, early pregnancy as a result of their inability to control their own sexuality, limited budget for transport and no permission by family members. When eventually participating in sports, the lack of professionalization of female sports is actually preventing women from continuing with sports (Saavedra 2009).

It then comes not by surprise that far-ranging research by Meier and Saavedra reveal that girls and women have little personal free time. Moreover, "even if they can go to school, the possibility of being actively involved in sports is very limited" (Meier and Saavedra 2009:1161) As the previous section showed, sport faces severe financial and human resource shortages in most schools, and is considered a luxury compared to other "more serious" subjects (Meier and Saavedra 2009:1161). From my personal experiences and work with SIA the provision of Physical Education lessons as well as afternoon activities at non-government schools in Kabwata was the only possibility for many girls to get active in sports in some way.



Furthermore, the actual vision of social inclusion through sport is at odds with local agency is reflected within SIA's own organizational framework. Aiming "to engage girls in the program activities in the different communities" (SIA 2010), Mwape himself perceives girls as hard to achieve and identifies gender imbalances within the organization as one the major shortcomings to change these patterns (Interview 4, 2012).

Annie, program and outreach officer at Edusport, stated similar sentiments:

*"...obviously we saw that girls had less opportunities to get access to sport facilities, and also just because of the gender mix, or gender role socialization in the communities where they would say: No, you are a girl; you are not supposed to put on a skirt like that; you are not supposed to put on a short; what are you doing on the field of play, you are supposed to be at home doing some house chore"*

*(Interview 5, 2012).*

One of the site-coordinators confirms the influence of traditional beliefs on female participation patterns when he answers a question on similarities and difference of men and women in sports:

*"...maybe the difference would be that the boy child gets exposed more than girl child. Because when you look at our culture, the girl child has to do the chore before they leave home. And the boy child is always relaxed and can move up and down at any time"*

*(Interview 1, 2012).*

#### 4.1.4 Conclusion: A reproductive vision of development

These examples show that the organization of sports in a local context might actually become incompatible with the recognition of sport as a universal language; that is, everybody is encouraged to understand it, but not everybody knows how to speak it.

Thus, before talking about the beneficial outcomes of actual participation in sport, one wonders whether the organization of sport in Kabwata, a human construct

based on interpersonal relationships, actually includes the intended beneficiaries in the first place.

Once again it is important to remember that the dominant approach to the role of sport in society does not perceive the organization of sports as a platform for structural transformation or change. What Hartmann and Kwauk refer to as a “reproductive vision of development” (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:291) demonstrates that sport-based programmes may end up serving the interest of those already privileged and in power.

However, what then about the few girls who manage to participate in sports and enter the sporting arena together with boys? My personal observations working with boys and girls every day on the fields in Kabwata revealed that there was nothing worse for the boys than losing a racing duel against a girl. On the other hand, girls were facing laughter and teasing from boys the moment they were missing a ball, would fall on the ground or received a goal.

Taking the gender logic as an example, the traditional approach to sport in development reveals that particular ideas within society can be found in sports and that these activities tend to promote or even reproduce these perceptions in the community and society as a whole.

However, Coakley also reminds us that cultural ideology is never established ‘once and for all time’; people constantly question and struggle over it. Bearing in mind the guidelines of critical theory, the next section stresses that it is also possible for sports to become sites for challenging, resisting, and even transforming the way social life is organized.

## 4.2 Sport as a vehicle for social change

*“For me...from sport I get to understand that, the challenges I might face today might seem to be difficult for me but it is not the same for everyone out there...So sport means getting the chance to meet different people from different communities...different countries.... So I get to understand that through sports, I should be able to interact with whatever will come my way. I should be able to understand anyone’s situation. With that, that would help build the community and make everyone in the community to feel part of it; because everyone matters”*

*(Interview 2, 2012).*

#### 4.2.1 Sport as an alternative strategy for development

This statement above was made by one of the volunteer peer-leaders of SIA who are actively involved in the provision of Physical Education lessons in Kabwata. He was responding to a question concerning the importance and meaning of sport in his life and in the community. The response strongly describes the overall vision of SIA to work with children from challenging backgrounds.

Embedded in their mission, SIA seeks “to use sport and recreation as a tool to improve the quality of children’s lives by providing a program that will bring about motivation, self-development, child protection and self-reliance through social and economic empowerment” (SIA 1). When I apply the interventionist approach to my case under study, SIA then reveals the strong emphasis on social change, focusing on the empowerment of otherwise marginalized through an understanding of the broader structures of power and privilege within they are contained (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:293).

During the last two decades, development stakeholders across the world apply similar vision and missions seeking to mobilize sport as a vehicle for sustainable social development. Whereas Right to Play (RTP) seeks to “create a healthier and safer world through the power of sport and play” (RTP 1), Moving the Goalposts (MTG) uses football as an entry point for reproductive health, human rights and economic empowerment initiatives (MTG 1).

What Kidd, one of the leading scholars within the sport/development nexus, refers to as ‘mushrooming phenomenon’ (Kidd 2008:370) displays the contemporary discourse on Sport for Development embodied by the UNOSDP who argues that sport is seen as transcending a variety of social and political barriers that have been understood as enduring challenges of development, such as geopolitical inequality, post-conflict reconciliation, and entrenched divides of race, class and gender (UNOSDP).

It is the latter, the focus on gender, that I consider a reasonable example to enter the discussion about sport as a vehicle for social change. Since a progress report on the efforts made by Zambia to meet the Millennium Development Goals notes that gender equality in terms of women’s participation in decision making and

shares in education are major challenges in the Zambian context (UNDP 2011), literature review reveals that Zambia provides one of the many examples in sub-Saharan Africa of a post-colonial development that failed to commit thoroughly to the fight for gender equality. This failure as well as the lack of commitment by the state to ease the situation of women is explained by the Zambia Strategic Country Gender Assessment (ZSCGA) which identifies “culture, in this case patriarchy, and socialization as the key to gender relation, whether social/power or economic” (Milimo et al. 2004). For example, an awareness of gender inequality encounters internal contradictions within the legal system as well as traditional beliefs and norms embraced in the family structures. That is, Zambia’s constitutional and legal system reinforces and institutionalizes gender inequality since “many discriminatory practices are legal under customary law and serve to legitimize negative rules and norms practiced by government departments” (SARPN 2008).

It is the expansion of sport as a “new engine that complements development assistance in being able to reach areas that traditional development agencies have had difficulty reaching” (Levermore 2008:183) that encouraged organizations including SIA to recognize social inequalities and to reshape social order through sport activities. Employing the interventionist approach to my case study in Zambia, the next section reveals the many ways sport can challenge the ‘common sense’ that arguably prevent girls and women to benefit from the positive features associated with participation in sports.

#### 4.2.2 Challenging ‘common sense’

Against the background of social and cultural values in the Zambian context, it is then somewhat ironic that the most prestigious and successful Zambian athlete is a woman. Not only is Esther Phiri one of the best in the midst of her companion international athletes, but she also records these success stories within the boxing ring; often argued to be an epitome of masculinity (Meier and Saavedra 2009:1163).

It is the recognition that such examples embody the goal to challenge gender stereotypes that often discourage and exacerbate female involvement in sports.

Throughout my stay in Kabwata it became evident that increasing recognition of female participants might change the behavior among all subjects on and off the field, yet it appears not to change the attitudes among the ones who seek to maintain privilege and power within society.

It is here where I see an important role of SIA within the communities that point at a crucial element of the interventionist approach. That is, in order for girls and women to decode and act upon existing structures and relations of power, one needs to educate not only those who seek to become socially included, but also those who use their power to maintain these structures.

In a survey conducted in 2010, 56 out of 88 participants responded that most boys in their community respect and accept that girls are participating in sports (SIA 2010:52).

As a result, SIA makes the assessment that “an awareness of girl’s enjoyment and ability to participate in sport has lead to more supportive and encouraging attitudes of parents and teachers toward their (girls) participation and increased awareness of gender issues” (SIA 2010:19) and that girls are accepted and involved in playing sports (SIA 2010:20).

As the introductory statement of this sections highlights, the popularity ascribed to sport is based on the common view of activities that bring together people from different backgrounds. I assume that it is this creation of a diverse and dynamic setting that the interventionist perspective refers to as a place in which participants would be empowered to participate critically in the transformation of not only their own experiences in society but also of the world itself through a collective resistance against relations of inequality that get reproduced through sport (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:293).

Interviews with participants in sports supported the transformation of their own experiences as one of the peer leaders in Edusport notes:

*“I knew if I get into sport I would be doing something, and I would be able to educate my friends and to tell them what’s in sports. And I would stop...like...doing bad things at least, for instance the alcohol. Because mostly, girls, if they don’t have nothing to do, they get into prostitution” (Interview 3, 2012).*

As a result most interviewees perceived sport as a place in which they could collectively resist against existing patterns of behavior in the community they were living in. The need to challenge the gender logic that exists in sports and which is reproduced through the traditional and cultural beliefs of what a girl or woman is capable and entitled has been mentioned by Annie who refers to an American female football player and the leading principle in her understanding of women in sports:

*“I am a woman...I have to be coached as a football player but I have to be treated as a woman” (Interview 5, 2012).*

Similar sentiments were voiced by another interviewee when responding to questions that pointed at similarities and differences between men and women on and off the field.

*“...they don't have to say like:” This work is for a girl” as for instance the football is only for guys, and netball is only for girls. Anyone can play any sports. They have to be equal...They just have to work together. That's the key...Working together!” (Interview 3, 2012).*

The efforts made by SIA reflect a point of departure towards ways to challenge not only the behavior among boys and girls on and off the field, but also their attitudes towards gender relations. Coaching gender-mixed basketball and handball teams during the afternoons in Kabwata showed me the potential of sport to act upon common sense behavior and to impose new perspectives on gender relations onto the broader society. Many male peer leaders working in SIA embody this goal since they work on a daily basis to make everyone realize that sport is for everyone as the following exemplar quotes from a peer leader testifies:

*Any kind of sport any person can play...as long as they have the mindset and they got the interest of learning a sport and they got the heart to play the sport, you can play it. Be it male or female. Any sport is for anybody” (Interview 2, 2012).*

That these individual stories reflect the idea of the universal applicability of sport within contemporary development discourse becomes apparent when looking at other case studies undertaken in the field.

'*Letting Girls Play*', a case study on girls' participation in sports in Kenya, emphasizes the use of sports to transform the ways in which girls think about themselves and the ways in which their communities perceive them. Brady and Khan highlight MYSA's awareness of including parents and the community as such in the transformative process. Whereas the context is different to the one in Kabwata, they note in their report that "in some instances staff visited parents at home, where they could describe the program as an opportunity for girls to learn and develop new skills and do what boys were able to do...engaging parents was one way to allay their fears" (Brady and Khan 2002:13). Pointing at the very importance to empower the marginalized through education that addresses not only the one seeking to overcome subordination but also those who maintain and reinforce it, this report emphasizes that "it is difficult for adolescent females to take on new roles and enter into public sphere without support from boys and freedom from harassment" (Brady and Khan 2002:22) Voices claimed that "when you (girl) go for training and you miss something small, the boy can insult you and this might stop you from playing (Brady and Khan 2002:22).

Going back to the *Zambian* context, similar efforts have been undertaken by Edusport. Within their organizational framework they run a program called 'Go Sisters' that aims to provide girls with an education, as well as dealing with economic empowerment, HIV/AIDS, and other issues. Annie from Edusport argues that this program motivated Edusport to ensure that "we fight the issues of gender inequality in our organization and in the communities and the country at large" (Interview 5, 2012). Reflecting on the need to include parents as well as boys in sport programmes, she states:

*"So we had to involve the parents and started...like...a formation of parent forums; talking to parents about the importance of girls participating in sports and how sport can help them improve their lives, not just to be at home"* (Interview 5, 2012).

Bearing in mind the more radical vision of social change within the interventionist approach, the argument that girls' participation in sport activities start at the household level points at the crucial efforts by organizations such as SIA to engage directly with the relations of dominance that produces the needs for development in the first place. Moreover, the conduction of surveys as well as the close work with family and community members emphasize the pleas already made by scholars of dependency school; that is, the importance to take the needs and desires of communities in which sport is about to be applied as the point of departure for any connection to development processes.

#### 4.2.3 Conclusion: Sport as an educational setting

Along with my personal experience in Kabwata, the interventionist approach makes clear that a rather transformative idea of sport requires an alternative vision of education. Despite the manifold features associated with participation in sports, it is the educational purpose that Saavedra describes as a learning process in which participants get to know their community and the world and thus sees possibilities for themselves that they might not have imagined otherwise (Saavedra 2008). It is the setting that is created through the provision of sport activities that provides individuals with an opportunity to reflect and act upon their world; in short, getting educated about the relationship within which they are contained and how to challenge and transform it.

Embodying much more than the mere opportunity of participation, the power of sport to create settings and situations in which individuals interact with each other in order to challenge particular patterns display the concept of empowerment associated with the interventionist approach to sport.

Though a very complex and broad concept in development studies, empowerment here could be understood along with education, a term that Freire perceives as the recognition of existing structures and relations of oppression and which enables them (the marginalized) "to decode and act upon these realities" (Freire 1970 cited by Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:294).

However, in his work *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* (1970) Freire makes the crucial statement that those settings need to emerge according to an understanding



of the world by intended beneficiaries rather than the ones who provide the setting in the first place. Employing his work as a point of departure for the concluding discussion of this thesis, he states that:

“One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect that particular view of the world held by the people...It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their view and ours. We must realize that their view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their situation in the world (Freire 1997:76-77).

## 5. When ‘global’ values meet local agency

This thesis revealed that the presence of sport in today’s everyday life situations is hard to neglect. During the last decades, people around the world increasingly talk about sports – at work, at home, in bars, at dinner tables, etc. (Coakley 1998: 9). They all seem to know what they are referring to when they talk about it, yet whenever the word ‘sport’ is used in those conversations, “everybody has his or her idea of what is meant by the term” (Sleap 1998:3). Sleap identifies that despite its magnitude, and perhaps because of its magnitude, sport is an ambiguous term that has different meanings to different people (Sleap 1998:2). Along with the idea of sport as human construct sport interventions are constantly influenced by how people do sports and how it is organized. While current developments point at the common belief that sport is a global phenomenon resistant against different social and cultural influences (Hackl 2009:10), my experiences in Kabwata embody the skepticism from the point of view of critical theorists regarding ideas of ‘global’ values. As a result, it is those influences that eventually allow everybody to attach their own understanding and meaning to it.

### 5.1 Applying the approaches

Having identified two major approaches that guide the critical debate on sport’s role in ongoing development processes, it becomes evident that the cross-cutting dimension of sport as a concept linked with development makes it difficult to appoint its absolute function. I agree with critics who consider a major limitation of critical theory that none of its variations provide clear guidelines for determining when sport reproduces dominant forms of social relations in society, and when it become sites for resistance and transformation of social relations (see: Coakley 1998:50). Whereas today’s presence of sports gives proponents of Sport for Development reason to believe that sport possesses universal values regardless of cultural context, scholars increasingly argued that participation in sport leads to no particular pattern of developmental outcomes. For example, Guest argues that

sport does not directly develop anyone or any particular cultural community. Instead, sport as a medium simply holds a broad and enduring appeal that resonates with people in many types of cultural communities (Guest 2009:1348). Pointing at the consistent maintenance of hegemonic structures, it becomes evident that “engaging and participating within the larger development ‘industry’ without succumbing to its traditional shortcomings is, of course, a very difficult challenge” (Darnell and Black 2011:372).

Using the case of Kabwata in Zambia as an illustrative example, the two approaches appear questionable in order to investigate whether sport is a vehicle for social change. Whereas the local context revealed that participation is still beyond the means and opportunities of many subjects in society, interviewees who eventually participated in sport collectively underpinned the many positive features associated with sports.

It becomes evident that socialization ultimately occurs through the social relationships that accompany sport participation, not through the mere fact of participation itself. That is, role models like Ester Phiri in Zambia and the efforts of sport organizations such as SIA in Kabwata reveal that the linkages between sport and development go beyond the mere benefits or participation. Overemphasizing the prosocial power of sport would carry the dangerous assumption that the lessons learned by sport cannot be learned in other activities by people who are not regularly involved in sport. It is, therefore, not surprising that many critiques consider those efforts as insufficient or ineffective as long as they are not combined with other, non-sport programming and investment to achieve broader development goals (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:298).

Whereas the dominant and interventionist approach were helpful to point at the multifaceted roles that sport can take in relation to development processes, they build at the same time upon world views pointing at the cross-cutting dimension of the sport/development nexus that entails much more than just the role of sports in society. They embrace essential interventions along cultural, historical, political and economic dimensions that cannot be captured by focusing merely on sports programming and participation made available by SIA.

## 5.2 Is it really sports?

Closely linked to that discussion is the lack of scientific evidence about the impacts of development-oriented sport programmes. Whereas both interventionist and dominant approach stress the functionalist value attached to sport, they do not reveal clear concept of how to actually measure and assess that it is sport that leads to maintenance or change of particular ideologies. Along with my personal experiences working in SIA, issues concerning monitoring and evaluations related heavily on the presumed instrumental role of sports embodied in the visions, missions, and objectives of the organization. Within academia this concern caused a lively discussion as Coalter notes, “we need to be as clear about the limitations of ‘sport’ as its strengths and to recognize that sport needs to be embedded in much broader policies and practices to contribute to development” (Coalter 2009:72).

To further study the role of sport in development processes one should be careful to label Sport for Development as an international practice undertaken within the Global South. My experience working in a local NGO revealed that those activities are supported from and largely driven by the Global North. I therefore agree with Lindsey and Grattan who argue that this view is reflective of, but also could perpetuate, the lack of rigorous examination of the perspectives of individuals from the Global South who could be considered to be at the frontline in delivering sport-for-development activities (Lindsey and Grattan 2012:92). The lack of what Guilianotti calls a “meaningful dialogue with recipient groups” (Giulianotti 2010:367) enables me to conclude that despite laudable ambitions and objectives for social intervention, these activities might help marginalized groups to do better in society, but they “do little to change the institutions, policies, practices and more fundamental conditions that have helped to produce and maintain the marginality of the oppressed” (Hartmann and Kwauk 2011:298).

## 5.3 A look into the future

That sport might be an alternative method to achieve development goals remains to be questioned regarding the steady negotiation between the ‘global’ value

attached to it and the organization of sport according to local agency. My findings suggest that the impact of sport is better understood within a framework that MacAloon refers to as an “empty cultural form filled in with meanings, values and ideas by the culture in which it takes place and the individuals who take part” (MacAloon in Guest 2008). Zambia remains an interesting case for further studies due to the increasing presence of sport in the lives of many Zambians after the win of the AFCON in 2012. The momentum for taking sport into consideration as a tool that can complement development processes might assist the new government since it involves contingent factors to be addressed on the way to overcome more general impediments to national development processes. Though not a panacea for development, I remain convinced that when employed properly, access to and participation in sports can serve as a positive development influence. The many smiles I have seen on the faces of children chasing the ball on the sandy roads in Kabwata tell me so.

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## List of Interviewees

Interview 1 = Site-Coordinator at Sport in Action in Lusaka, Interview. 19th March 2012

Interview 2 = Peer-leader at Sport in Action in Lusaka, Interview. 16th February 2012

Interview 3 = Peer-leader at Edusport in Lusaka, Interview. 16th February 2012

Interview 4 = Mwape Konsolo, Program Development Manager at Sport in Action in Lusaka, Interview. 15th March 2012

Interview 5 = Annie Namukanga, Program and Outreach Officer at Edusport in Lusaka, Interview. 19th March 2012

## 7. Appendices

### Appendix 1

#### **Sample Questions which were asked to members of Sport in Action and Edusport**

##### First block - Organization SIA/Edusport

- 1) Can you describe your role and responsibilities in the organization
- 2) What made you participate in this organization?
- 3) What do you perceive as the major characteristic that distinguishes SIA/Edusport from other sport organizations in Zambia?
- 4) Can you describe the importance of NGOs for the development of Zambia
- 5) Can you describe the strengths of this organization in promoting development processes in the communities? And are there any weaknesses or shortcomings?
- 6) And regarding my specific interest in the fight against gender inequality, how do you describe the role of this organization to tackle current inequalities between boys and girls, men and women?!

##### Second block – Personal perceptions on sport

- 1) What meaning does sport have in your personal life?!
- 2) Can you describe the roles and opportunities for men and women in sport? Are there similarities or differences?
- 3) From a personal perspective what are the major contributions of sport to the lives of the many children in the communities?
- 4) What other factors do you think influence the potential of sport as a developmental tool?

##### Third block – Sport in Zambia

- 1) Can you reflect upon the recent win of the African Cup of Nations a few weeks ago
- 2) Do you think this success has an impact on the role of sport in Zambia? And why?
- 3) What do you perceive as the major opportunities of using sport more thoroughly in Zambia? And what are the major obstacles?
- 4) Can you describe your perception on what needs to be done in order to ensure equal opportunities and rights between men and women?!
- 5) How do you think sport can contribute to that?

## Appendix 2

### **Sample questions which were asked to members of Sport in Action and Edusport**

#### First block: Getting involved in sport activities

1. Can you describe the importance of sports in your life?!
2. How often and where do you engage in sport activities?
3. What are the reasons for you to participate in sport activities?
4. How would you describe the relationship to your fellow teammates/coaches?
5. Do you have a role model and why him/her?

#### Second Block: Obstacles and challenges

1. Can you describe your access to sport
2. Are you member in a registered sport organization, why or why not?
3. When did you decide that you would like to engage in sport?
4. What do your parents think about you doing sport?
5. What do your friends think about you doing sports?
6. Can you describe the roles and opportunities for men and women in sports? Are there similarities or differences?

#### Third Block: Changing perceptions on gender relations

1. Can you describe how your life has changed since you started playing sports?
2. What role does sport play in your future?
3. Are there some sports that are more accessible to women than to men, and vice versa?
4. What would you tell other girls in order to become active in sports?
5. Can you describe the role of organizations like SIA/ Edusport in this community in providing you with opportunities to do sports?